



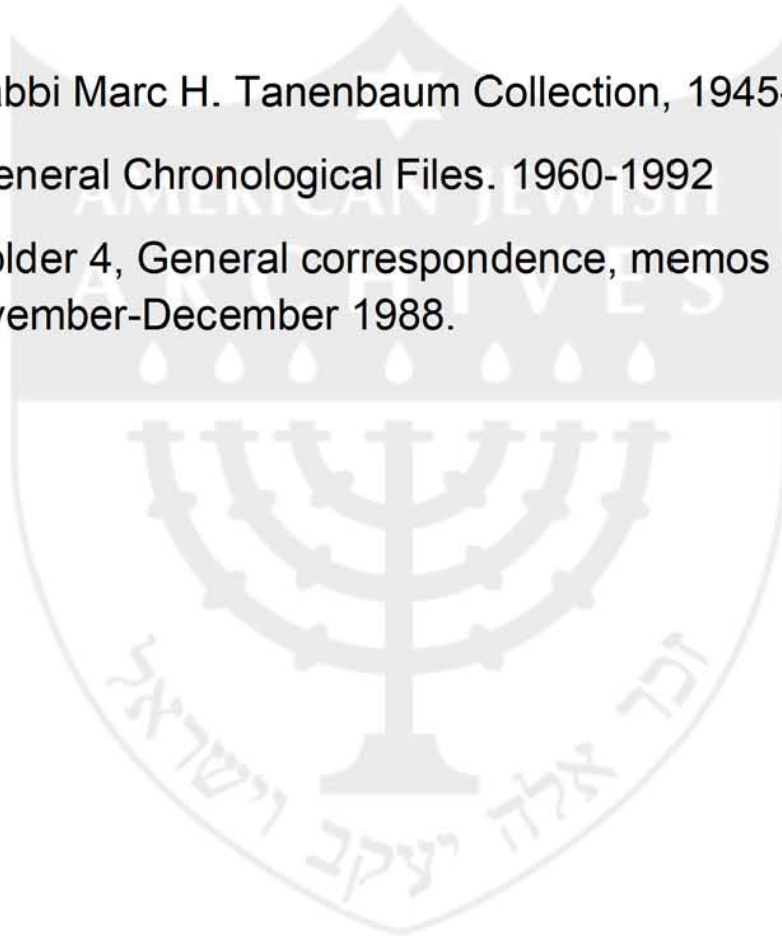
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NOV - 7 - 88 MON 18:42 P. 01



**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

Contact: Richard Cohen Associates
(212) 758-6969

For Immediate Release

Morris B. Abram
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein
Executive Director

**CONFERENCE OF JEWISH PRESIDENTS
OPPOSES BID BY ARAFAT TO ADDRESS
CURRENT SESSION OF UN ASSEMBLY**

****PLEASE NOTE: CORRECTED TEXT****

The head of a coalition of 48 national Jewish organizations says PLO chieftain Yasir Arafat should not be invited to address the United Nations General Assembly.

Morris B. Abram, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, said he had learned that a request would be made to the UN by Arafat to speak during the current session of the Assembly.

"This request must be denied," Mr. Abram declared in statement released today, adding:

"Yasir Arafat, as chairman of the PLO, heads a gang that has been officially identified by the government of the United States as a terrorist organization. He should not be invited to address the UN.

"The United Nations was established in the wake of Hitler's crimes. Its forum should not be offered to one who would destroy a state that has served as the refuge of Hitler's victims."

Mr. Abram cited four main reasons for rejecting Arafat's bid:

(MORE)

"1. Arafat is the head of no state; rather, he leads an organization which the United States has formally declared to be 'terrorist.'

"2. By its charter -- the Palestine National Covenant -- the PLO is sworn to a policy of destroying Israel, a member-state of the United Nations, and committed to a strategy of terror to accomplish this end. In fulfillment of its stated purpose, the PLO and its constituents have carried out literally thousands of crimes and atrocities against innocent persons over the past quarter-century, causing international revulsion.

"The victims of these crimes have been not only Israelis and Americans but nationals of many other countries, not the least of them Palestinian opponents of the PLO.

"Unless and until this policy is abrogated and this strategy abandoned, Arafat should not be permitted to address the UN.

"3. One of the chief victims of the PLO has been the United Nations itself. When Arafat last spoke before the General Assembly of the United Nations, he appeared wearing the symbol of assault and aggression, a pistol holster strapped to his side -- an act without precedence and, thankfully, without repetition.

"The presence on its rostrum of the head of an international terrorist gang, an organization at the center of a network that had launched attacks against the citizens of countries around the world, served only to debase and degrade the United Nations as a force for peace. Only in recent months has the UN's reputation begun to recover. To invite Arafat again could be a fatal blow from which the UN might never recover."



November 9, 1988

PALESTINIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS - YES,
AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE - NO

In the event that, during a special convening of the Palestinian National Council (PNC), the PLO declares the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, the following points should be kept in mind.

1. The qualifications accepted by the international community for recognition of a state would not exist in this case. Therefore, the PLO would be creating fiction in order to generate political and public pressure on Israel.

2. One supposition is that the PLO may, from a legal and U.N. standpoint, base its declaration of an independent Palestinian state on U.N. General Assembly Resolution 181 (Partition Plan). While that resolution made recommendations in 1947 for resolving the Arab-Israel conflict in accordance with the circumstances that existed at the time, the resolution was rendered unimplementable following its rejection by the Arab states and their combined military attack on Israel in 1948. Events in the region of the last 40 years have also made the 1947 resolution irrelevant. Since then, the international community has adopted a different legal and U.N. basis for resolving the Arab-Israel conflict: U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which are suited to the current circumstances in the Middle East, and make no mention of a Palestinian state. They are the only resolutions which have been accepted by Israel, the Arab states, and the entire international community.

3. In any case, suddenly pulling Resolution 181 from the recesses of the past, would not reflect a reversal of the PLO's strategic objectives or a PLO readiness to accept the existence of the State of Israel. It would be an indication of a tactical ploy. A number of high-level PLO leaders have reiterated time and again that the Palestinian state would be an interim solution that is part of a phased program which seeks, as its final objective, to seize "all of Palestine." Abu Iyad, one of the leaders of the PLO and number two in the Fatah hierarchy, said in Al-Anba, (Kuwait), September 7, 1988, "we must propose a political initiative which is not new in terms of the phased program nor in relation to our political situation with the passage of 14 years (note: the reference here is to the 1974 12th PNC which adopted the phased program). The initiative will provide a new instrument for moving the phased program along."

Ahmed Abd El-Rahman, PLO spokesman and editor of its periodical Filastine Al-Thawrah, emphasized in its September 25, 1988 issue that the establishment of a Palestinian state in the territories "does not contradict striving for the strategic and historic objective, which is the liberation of Palestine and the restoration of its Arab character in full."

Abd El-hamid El-Saih, chairman of the PNC said in Al-Shara, (Lebanon), August 22, 1988 "we will take what we can, and afterwards we will demand the rest of the territory. We are not opposed to getting a state which would encompass a quarter or half of our territory, and afterwards we will demand the rest."

4. A state in Judea-Samaria and the Gaza district (a small area of 2,200 square miles), with a population of approximately 1.5 million Palestinians, would not be capable of giving full expression to the aspirations of many Palestinians who do not live in the territories, nor to the final objectives of the PLO. As a result, the state would be irredentist: it would seek to give expression to this at the expense of Israel or Jordan, or both.

5. Within the framework of inter-Arab politics, another state - between Israel and Jordan - would probably be oriented towards extremist Arab regimes. It would pose a direct threat to both Israel and Jordan, serve as a base for international terrorism, and be another source of instability and violence in the Middle East.

6. There is consensus in Israel regarding the basis of a resolution: the Palestinians have the right to participate in determining the final status of Judea, Samaria and Gaza district. This has been Israel's policy since the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1978.

7. A PNC declaration of an independent Palestinian state would constitute a unilateral act that would bring no benefit to the peace process, which requires negotiations and the attainment of mutual agreement by the participants in the talks at each and every stage. Israel continues to view a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation as the negotiating partner likely to advance the peace process.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 10, 1988
to AJC Professional Staff
from Ira Silverman
subject AJC Leadership Letters

Please find the attached copy of the most recent AJC Insider letter, designed to inform leadership of AJC's activities.

You will now automatically receive a copy of each letter once it is processed.





**The American Jewish
Committee**

Institute of Human Relations
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"FOR YOUR INFORMATION"

November 8, 1988

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Dear :

I am writing this a few days after returning from AJC's annual National Executive Council meeting in Boston, and want to pass along to you some of the exuberance with which this meeting seems to have been received. For close to four days, several hundred AJC leaders from across the country gathered at the Westin Hotel in Copley Place, and thrashed out AJC's responses to some of the most pressing issues confronting American Jews today.

I tried to touch off the extended week-end by outlining, to the opening session at the John F. Kennedy Library and Museum, how I visualized AJC five years from now. Following that, though, everything was in the here and now. Just to tell you who led what topic will give you the flavor of our discussions:

David Singer and Earl Raab on "Political Attitudes of American Jews"; Michael Kramer and Jay Bushinsky on "Election 88 in the U.S. and Israel"; "Education Policy in America," a report of AJC's Task Force; Dr. Arye Carmon on "Challenges to Democracy in Israel," with a report by Alfred H. Moses, chair of AJC's Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations; Tullia Zevi and Rabbi Awraham Soetendorp of Holland on "Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism in the International Arena"; Rev. Diane Kessler and Rev. John MacInnis on "Remembering Kristallnacht"; the Presidents of Wellesley and the University of Massachusetts on "The College Campus: Tolerance or Intolerance"; Clarence Wood and Jonathan Kaufman on "Blacks and Jews: Sharing a Common Agenda"; Jerome Shestack leading a discussion on "Religion and Society"; and Daniel Pipes and Aharon Barnea on "Middle East Update: Aftermath of the Uprising."

On a more personal level, we presented our Distinguished Leadership Award to our devoted members David and Patricia Squire, and our American Liberties Medallion to Ambassador Sol Linowitz. Ted Ellenoff gave his Presidential address, explaining particularly AJC's role in support of Israel and in Black-Jewish relations. We presented farewell citations to two long-time AJC staff members: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum and Sergio Nudelstejer. Given the richness of this program, it's hard to pick out a highlight unless it was some closing remarks at the dinner Saturday night, where Bernard Cardinal Law movingly told of how Rabbi Tanenbaum, Rabbi Jim Rudin, and others at AJC had joined with him over the years in strengthening Catholic-Jewish relations.

But if there was one overriding theme during the sessions, I guess it would be the political attitudes of American Jews. This is hardly surprising, given the timing of the meeting, coming as it did less than two weeks prior to the 1988 American Presidential election.

The kernel of our involvement in the subject has been the latest in-depth study of such attitudes by Steven M. Cohen, Professor of Sociology at Queens College, and one of the country's leading experts in the field, who has been surveying this area for us over a period of some years.

His study was based on two simultaneous surveys -- one of 1,252 Jews, the other of 1,217 non-Jews -- undertaken in April and May 1988, long before many voters had decided or even knew for sure who would be on the tickets. But the results do give us some indication of the kinds of concerns American Jews bring to the voting booths -- and to their thinking and behavior generally, which probably will be valid long after the 1988 elections are history.

We will publish the findings of Professor Cohen's study in a matter of a few weeks, and I will be happy to send a copy to you at the time. Meanwhile, without going into any heavy statistics, let me summarize the findings in this way: a commitment to liberalism, and a fear of anti-Semitism or "anti-Israelism," seem to be the two primary political motivations of American Jews who in several key areas remain well to the left of the national political center.

Also, more than three-quarters of American Jews believe that "anti-Semitism in America is currently a serious problem for American Jews," the highest figure recorded since the AJC surveys first asked the question in 1983. Many Jews' fears of anti-Semitism were found to center on the Rev. Jesse Jackson and on blacks generally. When asked if they thought that Rev. Jackson was anti-Semitic, 59 percent responded in the affirmative, and only 10 percent disagreed. In addition, almost half the Jewish respondents -- 46 percent -- said they believe that "many" American blacks are anti-Semitic. Remember, these are just the perceptions of the Jews, and may not reflect the reality. Nonetheless, we are beefing up our staff work both to study and combat anti-Semitism wherever it arises.

As you may know, the media have picked up much of this material from Professor Cohen's study; a number of news stories stemmed from the discussion on it at the opening session of the NEC meeting at the Kennedy Library in Boston. Beyond that session, the attitudes detailed by Professor Cohen were much in evidence as background at other sessions, notably those on blacks and Jews and on bias on college campuses.

I assure you we will take the important findings uncovered by Professor Cohen as a backdrop against which we will fashion pertinent AJC activities over the coming period. I welcome your comments.

As ever,


Ira Silverman

IS/cpa



CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Morris B. Abram
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein
Executive Director

To: Presidents Conference

From: Morris B. Abram, Chairman
Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Director

You are all aware of the PNC declaration of a Palestinian State and the attendant publicity. As the enclosed materials explain, the PLO continues to refuse to recognize the state of Israel, explicitly accept 242 and 338, and end terrorism against Israel.

At a special meeting of the Conference convened on Tuesday Nov 15, Ambassador Moshe Arad reported on the Algiers meeting and its implications. After a thorough discussion it was agreed that:

- a press conference be convened promptly to present the position outlined in the statement issued by the Chairman (see enclosed),*
- a committee be formed to draft a text for an ad and funding be sought,
- background materials be distributed to member organizations and to media,
- contact be made immediately by the Conference with the Department of State and with the incoming Administration,
- local organizations and CRCs should meet with local editorial boards and commentators, and meet with their Senators and Congressmen,
- the Conference prepare for a possible visit by Arafat while keeping up ongoing efforts with both the State Department and the U.N., pending a request for a visit.

* On Tuesday November 16, the Conference of Presidents held a press conference that was attended by more than 20 representatives of the media. Several camera crews were also present.

Attached are fact sheets, a listing of available materials, the Chairman's statement, and the exchange between the 51 Senators and Secretary Shultz.

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American Gathering/Federation Jewish Holocaust Survivors	Association of Reform Zionists of America	Herut Zionists of America	National Conference on Soviet Jewry	Rabbinical Council of America	Women's League for Conservative Judaism
American Jewish Congress	B'nai B'rith	Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs	National Committee for Labor Israel	Religious Zionists of America	Women's League for Israel
American ORT Federation	B'nai B'rith Women	Jewish Labor Committee	National Council of Jewish Women	Union of American Hebrew Congregations	Workmen's Circle
American Zionist Federation	B'nai Zion	Jewish National Fund	National Council of Young Israel	Union of Councils for Soviet Jews	World Zionist Organization/American Section
American Zionist Youth Foundation	Central Conference of American Rabbis	Jewish War Veterans of USA	National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods	Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America	Zionist Organization of America
AMIT Women	Emunah Women of America	JWB	National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council	United Synagogue of America	
	Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations	Labor Zionist Alliance			

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL - POLICY BACKGROUND

Palestinian involvement in the peace process - YES, An independent Palestinian state - NO

In the event that, during the upcoming Palestinian National Council, the PLO declares the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, the following points should be kept in mind:

1. The qualifications accepted by the international community for recognition of a state would not exist in this case. The PLO would be merely generating political and public pressure on Israel.

2. The PLO may base its declaration on U.N. General Assembly Resolution 181 (Partition Plan - 1947). The resolution was rendered unimplementable following its rejection by the Arab states and their combined military attack on Israel in 1948. Events in the region over the last 40 years have also made the 1947 resolution irrelevant. The international community has adopted a different legal and U.N. basis for resolving the Arab-Israel conflict: U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. They are the only resolutions which have been accepted by Israel, the Arab states, and the entire international community.

3. The PLO's "acceptance" of Resolution 181 would not reflect a reversal of their strategic objectives or the acceptance of an Israeli state. A number of high-level PLO leaders have reiterated that the Palestinian state would be an interim solution that is part of a phased program which seeks, as its final objective, to seize "all of Palestine".

Abu Iyad, number two in the Fatah hierarchy, said in Al-Anba, (Kuwait), September 7, 1988, "we must propose a political initiative which is not new in terms of the phased program...The initiative will provide a new instrument for moving the phased program along."

Ahmed Abd El-Rahman, PLO spokesman, emphasized in the September 25, 1988 issue of Filastine Al-Thawrah, that the establishment of a Palestinian state in the territories "does not contradict striving for the strategic and historic objective..."

Abd El-hamid El-Saih, chairman of the PNC said in Al-Shara, (Lebanon), August 22, 1988 "we will take what we can, and afterwards we will demand the rest of the territory,...and afterwards we will demand the rest".

4. A state in Judea-Samaria and the Gaza (2,200 square miles), with 1.5 million Palestinians, would not be capable of giving full expression to the aspirations of many Palestinians who do not live in the territories, nor to the final objectives of the PLO.

5. Another Arab state between Israel and Jordan would probably be oriented towards extremist Arab regimes. It would be a threat to both countries, a base for international terrorism, and another source of instability and violence in the Middle East.

6. There is consensus in Israel regarding the basis of a resolution: the Palestinians have the right to participate in determining the final status of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. This has been Israel's policy since the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1978.

7. A PNC declaration of an independent Palestinian state would constitute a unilateral act that would bring no benefit to the peace process, which requires negotiations and the attainment of mutual agreement by the participants in the talks at each and every stage. Israel continues to view a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation as the negotiating partner likely to advance the peace process.

THE PNC DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS

AN ANALYSIS

The Algiers conference of the PLO National Council (PNC) produced two documents: A declaration of Palestinian statehood and a political resolution. The declaration attracted special attention because it was portrayed as an historic turning-point, an act of moderation that implied acceptance of Israel and a departure by the PLO from its previous extreme stance and activities. The political resolution dealt with implementation and more immediate issues. Following is a concise analysis and Israel's reaction.

1. The declaration of Palestinian statehood is worded in the kind of terminology that is used in Declarations of independence. It makes reference, for example, to the Palestinian natural, historic and legal right to the land of Palestine. However, these references are made in exclusive terms. The import is that the Palestinian Arab people have exclusive rights to the land of Palestine, while Israel is defined as a ruthless, alien occupier of the land.

2. The declaration bases the legitimacy of the Palestinian statehood on several international documents and resolutions. These include: The Covenant of the League of Nations, the U.N. Charter, the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 (which dealt with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and determined the status of its successors) and UN resolution 181 of 1947 (the "Partition Resolution") which called for the establishment of two states, one Arab and one Jewish, in Palestine. However, all these references are quoted in an effort to legitimize exclusive Arab rights and ownership of Palestine. The reference to Resolution 181 is worded in a way that ignores the basis for the Jewish state and is oblivious of the fact that the Arabs rejected that resolution in 1948 and invaded Israel so as to destroy the state and prevent the fulfillment of the UN Resolution, thus rendering it null and void.

3. The declaration contains a rejection of Israel's right to exist, since its establishment was realized by uprooting the Palestinians from their homeland, which constituted a violation of international principles, and contradicts the Palestinian people's "right of return, to self-determination and to sovereignty on the territory of its homeland." (The right of return of the Palestinian people to Palestine constitutes one of the central principles by which the PLO strives toward the liquidation of the State of Israel.)

4. The declaration's reference to violence and terrorism is directed against Israel, and, in conjunction with this, it contains a call "to continue the struggle in order to eradicate the occupation and establish the basis for the sovereignty and independence" of the Palestinian Arab state. The political resolution adopts what is known as the "Cairo Declaration" of

Mr. Arafat, in which he undertook to refrain from terror attacks on targets outside Israel.

5. The declaration contains no reference to Resolution 242, but it adheres to all the decisions of the Arab summit conferences, including the 1967 Khartoum decision not to make peace, not negotiate and not recognize Israel, and all the U.N. resolutions since 1947, which also include, as is known, resolutions deligitimizing Israel's existence and equating Zionism with racism. The political resolution refers to the 1967 U.S. Security Council Resolution 242 as a basis for an international conference, providing it is coupled with all other U.N. Resolutions and providing it is accompanied by a recognition of the Palestinian right to self determination.

Conclusions:

The PLO Resolutions and the Declaration of Statehood are an exercise in disinformation whose purpose is to create the impression of moderation and to demonstrate that those who perpetrate violence in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district are achieving results in the political arena.

The documents are an attempt to create the impression of a novel and important change toward moderation by referring to such U.N. resolutions as 181 and 242, which had been totally rejected by the PLO in the past. But there is no acceptance of, or adherence to them. On the contrary, these resolutions and other declarations are cited as legal bases for Palestinian Arab rights while explicitly rejecting similar rights for the Jewish state.

There is no recognition of Israel, no call for peace with Israel, no acceptance of Israel's right to exist and no renunciation of violence and terror.

In sum:

The PLO continues to adhere to its ideology as enshrined in its infamous National Covenant. It continues to reject Israel's existence and aims at her destruction in stages. In this way the PLO demonstrates that it is the very opposite of peace.

For its part, Israel will continue to search for peace through direct negotiations with Arab countries and with those Palestinian Arabs who are not members of the PLO. Israel remains committed to the Camp David Accords.

Prime Minister Shamir stated, immediately after his appointment by President Herzog to head the new government, that the first order of business of his government will be to issue a call to Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs to join Israel in negotiations toward achieving peace.

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TEXT OF PALESTINIAN DECISION ON U.N. RESOLUTION 242

ALGIERS, Nov 15, Reuter ² The following is an unofficial translation of selected portions of a resolution passed Monday by the Palestine National Council:

"The Palestine National Council Affirms:

1. The need to hold an effective international conference on the Middle East question and its essence, the Palestinian issue, under the supervision of the United Nations and with the participation of the permanent member states of the international Security Council and all the parties to the dispute in the region, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian people, and on the basis of that the international conference should be held on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and the guaranteeing of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, and first of all its right to self-determination, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions relevant to the right of self-determination of peoples and the illegitimacy of seizing the lands of others by force and by military invasion and in accordance with United Nations resolutions relevant to the Palestinian question."

(text continues)

"The National Council renews its commitment to the United Nations resolutions which affirm the right of peoples to resist

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foreign occupation and colonialism and racial discrimination and their right to struggle for independence, and announces once again its rejection of terrorism in all its forms, including state terrorism, affirming its commitment to its previous resolutions on this subject and the resolution of the Arab summit in Algiers in 1988 and U.N. resolutions 420159 of 1967 and 40061 of 1985 and the contents of the Cairo declaration made on November 7, 1985, on this subject."

(text continues)

"The Palestine National Council affirms its previous resolutions on the special relationship between the brotherly Jordanian and Palestinian peoples and that the future relationship between the states of Jordan and Palestine will be based on confederal foundations and on the basis of the voluntary choice of the two brotherly peoples to strengthen the historical links and the vital common interests between them."

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Original documents
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Following is a partial listing of background material relevant to the recent PNC declaration that are available from the various member agencies. Please contact them directly to order copies.

American Jewish Committee: Contact George Gruen #751-4000

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1. "The Palestinians: An Essay on the Uses of Propaganda and Terror." A Publication of the AJC Commission on International Affairs. Phil Baum, Director. Howard Stanislawski, Policy Analyst.

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1. "Islam in the Palestinian Uprising." By Robert Satloff. October 1988.

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Further listings will be sent in the next mailing.

NOV 23 1988

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Israel Office

date November 13, 1988

to Steven Bayme

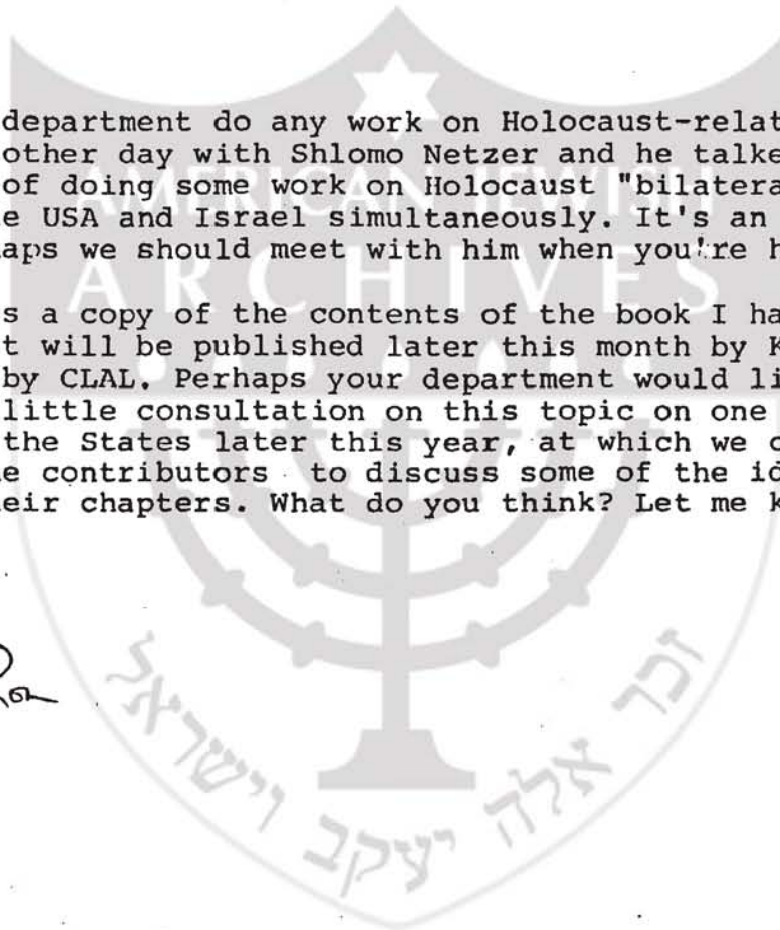
from Ron Kronish

subject

1. Does your department do any work on Holocaust-related matters? I met the other day with Shlomo Netzer and he talked about his ideas of doing some work on Holocaust "bilaterally", i.e. in the USA and Israel simultaneously. It's an interesting idea. Perhaps we should meet with him when you're here.
2. Attached is a copy of the contents of the book I have completed editing. It will be published later this month by KTAV and sponsored by CLAL. Perhaps your department would like to sponsor a little consultation on this topic on one of my visits to the States later this year, at which we could invite some of the contributors to discuss some of the ideas in some of their chapters. What do you think? Let me know.

Regards,

Ra



Towards the Twenty-first Century:

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
in Israel and America

Essays in Honor of Rabbi Leon Kronish
on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday

Edited by
RONALD KRONISH

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Maxine Kronish Snyder

Israel Office

date November 14, 1988

to Mort Yarmon

from Ron Kronish

subject Charley Levine

See the attached, which Charley Levine says he got for free from The Nation, which is now appearing as a daily.



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The Nation

11. 10. 1988

November 15, 1988

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Director of International Relations
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Marc:

"For almost nine hundred million people, approximately one sixth of mankind, the march of human progress has now become a retreat...(I)t is children who are bearing the heaviest burden of debt and recession in the 1980s. And in tragic summary, it can be estimated that at least half a million young children have died in the last twelve months as a result of the slowing down or the reversal of progress in the developing world."

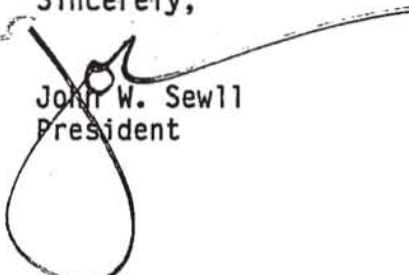
These sobering words are from the opening of UNICEF's annual report, The State of the World's Children 1989. Yet despite this bleak backdrop, the report chronicles a new ethos and awareness for children worldwide and widespread social achievements of historic importance recorded in many nations. I hope that you will join us for an off-the-record dinner discussion and review of the report on Wednesday, December 14, 1988 with James P. Grant, UNICEF's Executive Director. We are pleased that Lawton Chiles, senior Senator from Florida and Chairman of the National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality, has agreed to chair the dinner discussion.

To commemorate the tenth anniversary of the International Year of the Child, this year's State of the World's Children reviews the achievements for children over the past decade and, more importantly, looks forward to what might be achieved in the coming decade. The report argues that in most nations the reacceleration of progress for children is contingent upon international action not only to resolve the debt crisis but also to allow a return to economic growth. But even a return to economic growth is not sufficient. What is now required is a commitment to development which unequivocally puts the poor first and takes as its central purpose the task of enabling all families to meet their own and their children's essential needs.


The dinner will be held at ODC's offices at 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest, Suite 501. Cocktails will be served at 6:00 p.m.; we will sit down to dinner at 6:30 and adjourn at 9:00. After 6:00 p.m., please use the lower level entrance to the building accessible via either of the driveways off Massachusetts Avenue. Free parking is available in the garage after 6:00 p.m.

I hope that you will be able to join us for what we expect will be a stimulating and informative discussion on the future of our children. Please call Kelly Bemby, ODC's receptionist, at 202/234-8701, by December 8, to let us know whether or not you plan to attend.

Sincerely,


John W. Sewell
President

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 16, 1988
to Ira Silverman
from Andrew Baker 
subject AJC Support for Community of Democracies Conference

Over the past few years I have had ongoing conversations with Charles Tanguy, a retired foreign service officer who now works with a group called the Committee for a Community of Democracies, based in Washington. At various times he has also met with Marc Tanenbaum, Hy Bookbinder and others in efforts to find individual supporters for their work.

On December 5-8, they will hold their All Democracies conference at the Ford Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Former Presidents Ford and Carter will open the program, which will bring together former parliamentarians from around the world.

Two representatives from Israel will participate--Gideon Remez and Netanel Lorch. Charles Tanguy tells me that, as a way to assist the conference, ADL has agreed to cover the transportation expenses of Mr. Remez. He has asked if we might be able to help by offering the same assistance for Mr. Lorch's travel expenses, about \$1,500. We would be free, he tells me, to program Mr. Lorch for an AJC event if we wished.

I am enclosing a copy of Charles Tanguy's letter to me along with the bio of Netanel Lorch that accompanied it. I told him I would be happy to convey his request to you in the hope that he would get a speedy reply. If you need more information you can ask me or telephone him directly.

Best regards.

cc: Shula Bahat
Marc Tanenbaum ✓



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November 10, 1988

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Charles R. Tanguy

Rabbi Andrew Baker
 Director of the Washington Chapter
 American Jewish Committee
 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
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Dear Andy:

It was a great joy to have lunch with you yesterday. As always, conversation with you was as stimulating as it was enlightening. I will certainly bear your thoughtful comments in mind as the effort to form the new Government of Israel progresses.

I am grateful for your continuing interest in the Committee for a Community of Democracies-USA (CCD-USA). I have drawn strength from your unfailing encouragement for our program to build up solidarity and cooperation among all of the world's democracies. As I mentioned to you, we are now fully engaged in final preparations for the culmination of this phase of our program, a conference of all of the democracies at the Gerald R. Ford Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, next December 5-8. We expect to have some 70-75 representatives from 50 democracies from every major area of the world. In keeping with its unswervingly democratic regime and its strategic and moral importance, Israel will have two participants. We hope very much that they, and the other participants, will agree on CCD-USA's three major objectives: the establishment of an intergovernmental Association of Democracies, an independent International Institute for Democracy working in parallel with the Association, and an assembly of parliamentarians from democratic countries.

We are pleased that Israel will be represented by Gideon Remez, one of Radio Israel's top political commentators, and Netanel Lorch, a Senior Research Fellow at the Truman Institute of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a past Secretary General of the Knesset. The Anti-Defamation League has kindly met our request to show its

Rabbi Andrew Baker
November 10, 1988
Page 2

support for the Conference by paying the round-trip air fare for Mr. Remez. (The hotel room, meals and other local expenses at Ann Arbor for Mr. Remez and the other delegates will be covered by a grant from the Gerald R. Ford Foundation.) It would be most helpful if the American Jewish Committee could show its support by covering Mr. Lorch's round-trip air fare Tel Aviv-Detroit. I understand that this would be on the order of \$1,500 economy class.

The financial contribution we are requesting from the American Jewish Committee would not only provide some easement to our Conference budget, which is already very tight, but it would also give a great boost to our spirits and the prestige of the Conference to have the manifest endorsement of a second major Jewish organization.

I would simply add that the Israeli Embassy in Washington has consistently shown its support for our endeavor, including the All-Democracies Conference. Moreover, we continue to enjoy the support and encouragement of Elyakim Rubinstein, Secretary of the Israeli Government and former Minister of the Israeli Embassy here.

I am enclosing Mr. Netanel Lorch's curriculum vitae. As you will see, he has had a distinguished career in several fields in addition to those indicated above. He is a prolific author and was for many years one of Israel's top diplomats. The materials I gave you yesterday contain detailed information on the Conference. If you have any questions or would like additional information, please give me a call.

I would also like to confirm that the American Jewish Committee would be free to program Mr. Lorch on any mutually agreed basis before or after the All-Democracies Conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Thank you for your consideration of our request.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Charles R. Tanguy
Program Director

Enclosure

CRT/eb

CURRICULUM VITAE

Netanel Lorch

Born 1925, Kuenzelsau, Germany

Immigrated to Israel in 1935 with parents, settled in Jerusalem

Married to Erika, nee Frost; three children

EDUCATION: 1943 - Graduate of Teachers Seminary
1951 - M.A. (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Summa cum Laude in General History, Philosophy, English
1978 - Diploma, Senior Civil Servants College
1986 - Ph.D. (Hebrew University) Political Science

From 1941 Member of Hagana

1943-44 Instructor and teacher in immigrant youth village,
Kfar Hanoar Hadati

1944-46 Military service in Jewish Brigade Group,
2nd Battalion (British Army)

1946-47 Program writer for Palestine Broadcasting Service

1947-55 Regular military service in Hagana and Israel
Defence Forces

1947-49 Platoon and Company Commander in Jerusalem during
siege (some activities described in "O Jerusalem"
by Collins and Lapierre)

1950-51 Aide-de-Camp to Chief of Staff, Yigael Yadin

1952-55 Founder and first Chief of Historical Division,
I.D.F. Transferred to reserves with rank of Lt. Colonel

1955-58 Israel Consul in Los Angeles, California,
Information Officer (inter alia worked with Leon Uris
on idea and execution of "Exodus")

1958-60 Established Israel Legation in Colombo, Sri Lanka,
and served as Charge d'Affaires

1960-63 Established the African Division of the Israel Ministry
for Foreign Affairs and served as its Director

1963-67 Ambassador to Peru and Bolivia

1967-68 Director, Information Division, Ministry for
Foreign Affairs

1968-72 Director, Latin-American Division, Ministry for
Foreign Affairs

1972-83 Secretary General of the Knesset (Parliament of Israel)

1983 Senior Research Fellow, The Truman Institute,
Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
Visiting Lecturer, Bar Ilan University, Tel Aviv

President, Central Institute for Cultural Relations with Latin America
Spain and Portugal (since 1984)

President, Israel-Peru Friendship Association

Deputy Editor, Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel

Member of the Board, Israel Society for Military History

Member, Board of Governors, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Fellow, The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Member of the Board, Jerusalem Institute for Victims of Mental Stress

Member of Consultative Committee, Bnai Brith International Center et al.

Member, Executive Committee, Israel Society for Parliamentary Affairs

Member, Executive Committee, Movement for Tolerance (Committee for Debating
Societies; Committee for Non-Violent Elections)

Member, Israel Council for Democracy

Member, Israel Council for Foreign Affairs

Former President, Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments
(affiliated to Inter-Parliamentary Union)

Former Chairman, Education Committee, Yad Ben Zvi

Former Chairman Public Administration Committee, Israel Management Center

Former Member Executive Committee, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Formerly Member of Senior Academic Appointments Committee;
and of Committee for Administrative Control.

Former Chairman Control Committee, Israel Society for Sound Management

Former Member of the Board, Jerusalem War Memorial

Former Member of the Board, Shazar Center for Jewish Heritage



PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

- ISRAEL'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (Hebrew), Massada, 1958.
So far 8 editions, well over 30,000 copies, still considered the standard work on the subject. Published also in English - THE EDGE OF THE SWORD, Putnam's, 1961; new edition ISRAEL'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, Massada, 1970. Included in the New York Times list of best books of the year.
- THE WHISPERING RIVER (Hebrew), Maarakhot, 1969. On Israel and Peru.
- ONE LONG WAR: ARAB VS. JEW SINCE 1920 (English), Keter, 1976. Also pocket edition, so far 15,000 copies. Also in Hebrew - Keter, 1978; Spanish - Plaza y Janes, Barcelona 1980, second edition 1983.
- Seven chapters in ISRAEL LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS (Hebrew), Institute for Cultural Relations with Latin America, Spain and Portugal, Jerusalem 1977.
- ISRAEL AMONG THE NATIONS (Hebrew), Am Oved, 1980.
A concise history of Zionist and Israel diplomacy from the first Zionist Congress to the Peace Treaty with Egypt.
- THE KNESSET FROM A DIFFERENT ANGLE (Hebrew), Idanim-Yediot Aharonot, 1984.
- The KNESSET (English) Israel Museum Products Ltd., Jerusalem, 1988
- Articles HEBREW ENCYCLOPEDIA on "War of Independence", Peruvian and Bolivian Jewry; ENCYCLOPEDIA JUDAICA (English); ZIONIST ENCYCLOPEDIA (English); POLITICAL LEXICON OF THE MIDDLE EAST (Hebrew and English) et al.

ARTICLES

- Diplomatic History, International Relations
- "Political Forces in Ceylon" (Hebrew), HAMIZRACH HECHADASH (NEW MIDDLE EAST), 1961.
 - "Basic Factors in Israel African Relations", HAMIZRACH HECHADASH (NEW MIDDLE EAST), 1962.
 - "Israel and Africa", THE WORLD TODAY, Chatham House, London 1963.
 - "Israel - Fait Colonial?" (French), REVUE SOCIALISTE, 1968.

Also published in English and Spanish.

- "An Israeli View of the Third World", in ISRAEL IN THE THIRD WORLD, Transaction Books, 1976.
- "Jerusalem's Destiny" (Hebrew), on the political and military struggle for Jerusalem 1948, CATHEDRA, quarterly publication of the Ben Zvi Institute, Jerusalem.
- "Israel and Latin America" (English), JERUSALEM QUARTERLY, Winter 1982.
- "Israel and Spain" (Hebrew), IDF OFFICERS' MONTHLY REVIEW, 1986.
- "Ben-Gurion and the Big Powers 1956" (Hebrew), IDF OFFICERS' MONTHLY REVIEW, 1987.

Military Affairs

- "Problems of Historiography of Israel's Wars" (Hebrew), MAARAKHOT (Israel's Defence Forces monthly), 1954.
- "On Jewish Land Acquisition Policy and Defence in Mandatory Palestine" (Hebrew), MAARAKHOT, 1955.
- "Termination of Wars and Termination of Conflicts in the World and in the Middle East" (Hebrew), MAARAKHOT, 1978.
- "La Defense de l'Etat d'Israel" (French), section of HISTOIRE DE L'ETAT D'ISRAEL, Editions Privat, 1983.
- "A Comparative History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict" (English), REVUE INTERNATIONALE D'HISTOIRE MILITAIRE, 1979.
- "The British 'Ultimatum' to Israel in December 1948" (Hebrew), MAARAKHOT.
- "The Trigger effect of Terrorism" (Hebrew), for war studies Commemorati Volume honouring the first editor of MAARAKHOT. MAARAKHOT and Minist of Defence, Tel Aviv, 1988

Jewish Communities

- "On Latin America's Sephardic Communities" (Hebrew), TRIBE AND PEOPLE, 1970.
- "Some Jewish Factors in Israel Foreign Policy" (English), ISRAEL MAGAZINE, 1973.

- 1992 (Quinto Centenario de Expulsion y Descubrimiento) - El Olivo XII/27 Madrid, 1988

Parliamentary Affairs

- "Israel's Parliament - the Knesset" (English), THE PARLIAMENTARIAN, London, June 1977.
- "Parliaments and the Audio-Visual Media" (English), CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY INFORMATION, Assoc. of Secretaries General (ASGP), Geneva 1978.
- "Monitoring the Implementation of Laws" (English), CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY INFORMATION, ASGP, Geneva 1979.
- "Interjections" (English), CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY INFORMATION, ASGP, Geneva 1981.
- "Ancient Societies, New States" First Jewish Asian Colloquy, Singapore. Melbourne 1986.
- "The Knesset and Israel's Foreign Relations" (English) in PARLIAMENTS AND FOREIGN RELATIONS edited by Prof. L.M. Sondhi, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1988

Public Administration

- "Projecting Israel's Image Abroad" (English), PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN ISRAEL AND ABROAD, 1969.
- "Computerizing the Knesset" (Hebrew), NIHUL (quarterly of the Israel Management Center), January 1983.
- Political Appointments in the Civil Service (Hebrew) Nihul, June 56, 1987

General

- "Nationalismus und Nationale Identitat in Israel" (German), KRISENHERD NAHOSTEN, Ed. Schweitzer/Nimitz, 1972.
- "La Biblia en la Cultura de Israel" - (Spanish) El Olivo XII/27, Madrid 1988

IN PRINT

- BIG POWER VS. SMALL POWER: THE THREAT OF BIG POWER INTERVENTION IN ISRAEL-ARAB WARS, 1948 AND 1956. (Hebrew) Ph.D. thesis, submitted

to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in summer 1985.

- ISRAEL'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE - (Hebrew) Updated, revised and enlarged edition. Massada, 2 Vols.
- "Ben-Gurion in the Sinai Campaign" (1956), CENTENARY OF BEN-GURION, YAD BEN ZVI (English).
- GALILEE IN 1948 (Tuv Tveria - Hebrew)

In Preparation MAJOR DNESSET DEBATES - 5 Vols. (English)



Over one hundred articles (Hebrew, English and Spanish) in Israel's press and abroad.

Lectured extensively on Israel and Middle East problems at many universities, symposia and workshops. Samples of lectures in 1984:

- "A Historical Vision of Israel and Spain" (Spanish), University of Navarra, Pamplona, April 1984.
- "A Comparative View of Israel-Arab Wars" (Spanish), Institute of National Defense, Lisbon, May 1984.
- "Interaction of Middle East Conflicts" (German), Studientag für Nahost Probleme, Zurich, April 1984.
- "Objectives and Achievements of Israel-Arab Wars" (Hebrew), The Leonard Davis Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- "Israel's Governmental System" (English), Israel Academic Committee for Peace in the Middle East, June 1984.
- "Jewish Dimensions of Israel's Foreign Policy" (Hebrew), Senior Staff and Command College, Israel Defense Force, April 1984.

Some recent lectures:

- Life and Work of Ben-Gurion (Spanish)
Venezuela, Peru, Guatemala et al November 1986
- Manipulation of Threats (English)
Stanford University Graduate Seminar, January 1987
- Ben Gurion and Jerusalem (Hebrew)
Hebrew University of Jerusalem Symposium, February 1987
- Ben Gurion and the Big Powers 1948, 1956
Bar Ilan University Symposium, February 1987
- Life and Work of Ben Gurion
Argentina (Rosario, Cordova, Buenos Aires), May 1987
- The Bible in Israeli Culture;
1492 - Expulsion and Discovery
Spanish-Israeli Symposium, Barcelona, Madrid, Sept. 1987

University Courses

- Since the winter semester of 1983-84, teaches two courses on Israel-Arab Wars (chronological; comparative) at Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan (Tel Aviv). Voted outstanding lecturer by students.
- 1987-88 - Diplomatic and Military Aspects of Israeli-Arab wars (special Course for Senior Civil Servants, Davis Institute, Hebrew University, and Information Center, Ministry of Education)

- 1987-88 - Israel's Politics - Military Doctrine, Hebrew University



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November 16, 1988

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director, International Relations
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Marc:

On a separate matter involving Project South Africa, a member of our South African Management Committee, Raymond Louw, will be visiting the United States in December to assist us in our fundraising and linking efforts. He is a distinguished journalist and an astute observer of the current South African scene who we feel fortunate to have on our team. A brief biographical sketch about him and some related material are enclosed.

His itinerary while here will be:

December 5-6	:	New York
December 7-8	:	Washington
December 9-13	:	Chicago/Midwest Area
December 14-15	:	San Francisco
December 16-17	:	Seattle
December 19-20	:	New York (tentative)

I hope we will be able to set up an appointment for you and perhaps some of your staff to meet with him while he is in New York. Nancy Starr is handling his schedule.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



Norman Hill
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* Honorary member

SOUTHERN AFRICA REPORT



EDITOR: RAYMOND LOUW

EVERY WEEK

SA relief at Bush victory, but it buys limited time to ward off sanctions

SOUTH AFRICANS HEAVED SIGHS OF RELIEF as the American presidential election ended with Republican George Bush succeeding to the White House, but business and political circles were already cautioning that it merely gave the country a short respite which it would be criminally negligent to waste.

The negative side of Bush's victory were the gains by the Democrats in the US Senate and House of Representatives, both already dominated by the party. Democrats have vigorously pursued punitive sanctions policies and their gains will give them extra muscle to reintroduce more practical catch-all versions of the Dellums/Gray/Cranston sanctions Bills.

And that operation can be expected to start early in the New Year. Though there

will be the six months' "honeymoon" that Congress customarily allows a new president to enable him to find his feet and arrange staffing, it will not apply to a sanctions Bill against SA as all the groundrules for this type of legislation have already been gone over.

A new version of the Dellums Bill, watered down only in degree from the broad "no trade with SA unless it hurts the US" law which foundered only in the last weeks of this year's Congress, can be expected to be introduced in February.

Though it will certainly take several months to get to the dangerous stage, the actual time available to SA is limited to about six or seven months.

This time round a Dellums-type Bill will be much more threatening because, apart from the extra power the Democrats have in the Senate, Bush is not a Reagan. He does not have the same powerful communication skills and presence or command the same support. He also has the immense US Budget deficit problem, inherited from Reagan but which he cannot tackle effectively because of his election commitment to not raising taxes.

Perhaps an even more politically

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debilitating problem for him will be the skeletons of the Iran-Contra and General Noriega drug scandals, which were brushed aside during the heady election campaign, but which now will be brought out of the cupboard, dusted off and refurbished with additional information dredged up by Congressional investigating committees.

Bush can be seriously weakened over these issues and with a more resistant Congress find it more difficult to impose the veto. With their additional gains in the Senate and the House of Representatives the Democrats are much closer to the magic two-thirds of votes in both houses required to overrule the presidential veto. They were heading for 60% of both houses as the final votes were coming in.

The question is how will SA use the short respite it has been given? It is fully aware of what's likely to happen--Foreign Minister Roelof "Pik" Botha mentioned in a radio interview that February could signal the start of new US sanctions action. SA's problem is that the price has just been raised.

Where last year the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela would probably have been good enough to have held back sanctions, now more than Mandela's release is demanded. Other political prisoners must be included and the outlawed liberation movements must have their restrictions removed and be allowed to participate in the negotiations.

Whereas the release of Mandela at one time focused largely on the personality, it is now recognised, especially after the banning order on Mandela's colleague Govan Mbeki effectively neutralised him and brought no change to the political situation, that a Mandela release would have to include an extra political process.

Fears in the business community are that if the lengthy time already taken to discuss the release of Mandela, let alone actually freeing him, is the measure of the speed of government response, nothing much will happen in the time available and the country will be faced with the agonising spectre of drastic US sanctions by this time next year.

But, it will not end there because in the last two years the rest of the West's trading nations have come to understand that if they carry on trading with SA in materials and products on which the US has imposed sanctions they are likely to be barred from the lucrative US market.

This was a threat that even the tough

Japanese motor manufacturers could not endure. Indeed, the watchword for most European companies in business with SA has become: How will our trade with the US be affected by this transaction with SA?

However, Bush's victory is likely to speed up the Angolan peace process and possible Namibian independence. The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker, who has been a major participant in this operation, will have a stronger hand to play.

The Angolans and Cubans will be influenced by the knowledge that US aid for the Unita rebels of Dr Jonas Savimbi will continue and this should persuade the Cubans to speed up the withdrawal schedule for their troops, the factor holding up SA agreement to the Angolan peace terms, and in its train Namibian independence.

But this area will become a trouble spot again unless SA really makes a serious effort to address its internal problems and begin negotiations with the black liberation movements.

The one sign that it is moving in this direction is the new African policy which the government has adopted. The government's thrust into Africa--represented always as a response to Africa seeking out SA because of the contribution it can make to the Continent, instead of a SA initiative complementing what many African countries have long maintained.

But the new Africa policy will fail--as it did after the late Prime Minister Balthazar John Vorster's efforts to win African friends--if it is not followed up by serious and meaningful attention to internal problems.

Tutu attacks lack of freedom in Africa

AN OUTSPOKEN attack on African countries for being less free than they were under colonial rule and for detaining people without trial was made by Cape Town Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Nairobi, Kenya, while attending the All Africa Council of Churches.

He said that if detention without trial was wrong in SA it was wrong elsewhere in Africa.

Comment

Newspapers in SA have reported little of the conference and Tutu's attacks on African states have gone unrecorded.

Thatcher wants Mugabe, Botha at 'her' summit

AN APPEAL to Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe to participate in a regional summit with SA President Pieter Botha over which British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher would preside has been made by the British Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Mrs Lynda Chalker, according to informed sources in London.

In an hour-long talk with Mugabe on November 7 she asked him to join with other regional African leaders in having talks with Botha.

She said Thatcher was prepared to preside over the meeting during her planned visit to Zimbabwe later this year. The condition imposed on Botha was that the African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela would be freed from prison.

Chalker told Zimbabwean businessmen in Bulawayo that while Mugabe was an "unwavering advocate of sanctions" Britain was staunchly opposed to them. Britain believed that "the right way forward is through dialogue".

Chalker said both Zimbabwe and Britain agreed that change was urgently needed in SA, but had no faith in sanctions being able to bring about the end of apartheid.

Among "positive developments" in the southern Africa region were the Angolan/Namibian negotiations. Under "United States mediation," progress had far exceeded the expectations of the first meeting between Angola, Cuba and SA, she said.

Comment

This is the latest scenario in the many that have come from sources in London and in SA about Thatcher's visit to southern Africa and her pre-occupation with achieving a solution of the SA issue.

Chalker's comments on the progress in the Angolan negotiations under US mediation tend to support the view that Thatcher is anxious that Britain, particularly with its long association with the southern Africa region, should be the instrument in bringing about reconciliation among the countries in the region and progress in the ending of apartheid and the installation of a representative government in SA.

Success in such a venture would be a coup for Thatcher and would give her enormous leverage in restoring unity and prestige to the British Commonwealth.

Mandela release rumours mount

RELATIVES OF FIVE "Rivonia trialists" who were jailed for life with African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela in 1964 have been told that their menfolk are shortly to be released.

Some of the relatives have confirmed that they have been officially informed of this but no dates have been given. At the same time reports that ANC leader Nelson Mandela was to be released swept Cape Town and Johannesburg, but government sources denied that he would be released in the "immediate future".

The last government statement on Mandela was made in Switzerland by President Botha when he said Mandela was co-operating with the authorities. Botha added that he was flexible on the subject of Mandela's release.

Mandela's wife Winnie who visited him on November 7, said he had told her that he thought prospects for his release this year or next year were "highly debatable".

The "Rivonia trialists", who were sentenced for sabotage, conspiring to overthrow the state and other crimes in 1964, were senior ANC members Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Matsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni.

Sentenced with them were Dennis Goldberg, released in 1985 after accepting a presidential offer of conditional freedom, and Govan Mbeki, who was released in 1987, only to be restricted under a banning order a few months later.

Comment

The reason given in government circles for withholding release from Mandela while allowing his colleagues to go free was that Mandela was still under treatment in a private clinic in Cape Town for the attack of tuberculosis he suffered a few months ago and that until the treatment was completed he could not be set free.

If the government is serious about releasing the men, it means that, at last, it has accepted the criticisms of trying to draw blacks into the governing system without enabling their "real" or "authentic" leaders to be released to take part.

Release of the prisoners could also mean the government plans to unban restricted political organisations and make them legitimate to enable them to take part. But there is no sign that this is its intention. Its

attacks on the ANC have been stepped up in recent weeks and it is difficult to imagine that it could have mounted such a campaign of vilification if it planned to unban it.

Another theory, mentioned by the ANC in London, is that the government intends recognising the released prisoners and Mandela, when he, too, is released, as an "internal wing" of the ANC which would be able to consult and negotiate with the government.

The release of Mandela without some prospect of his being involved in negotiation would be meaningless, if not provocative for blacks. It would inevitably lead to Mandela's breaching one of the strict emergency or other regulations which would result in his return to prison or, like Govan Mbeki, being banned. But this, too, would lead back to jail because Mandela would be unlikely to heed a restriction order.

What makes the whole exercise all the more unlikely are the attacks launched by the government on other organisations such as the four black student bodies which were banned in October.

A government about to enter into negotiations with an ANC leader and his organisation is unlikely to have restricted much less important organisation as drastically as the four.

However, there is speculation in black publications that the banning of these organisations was to prepare for Mandela's release by minimising their ability to organise massive popular demonstrations.

The ANC in Lusaka, Zambia, suggested that the release was intended to create a climate for SA to increase its African contacts.

It said feelers had been put out to Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Botswana's Prime Minister Quett Masire to meet President Botha and these were likely to be more favourably received if the prisoners were released.

Footnote: The British government has announced it is investigating claims by Conservative MP Andrew Hunter that three alleged ANC members were recruiting terrorists and assembling bomb components in London with the help of the IRA (Irish Republican Army) which is outlawed in Britain.

The ANC has dismissed Hunter's allegations as "recycled" SA intelligence-sourced smear material and has challenged Hunter to repeat them outside the privilege of parliament so that action could be brought against him.

Pik Botha clashes with foreign media

STINGING REBUKES and demands for questions to be answered marked a heated clash between Foreign Minister Roelof "Pik" Botha and 400 diners at the annual banquet of the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Johannesburg. Botha accused the foreign media of being "superficial" and of "knowing absolutely nothing" about SA and of "descending" on the country to pick up "all the dirty work" instead of the beauty, promise and goodwill.

In one exchange he said the journalists did not understand Africa, African aspirations or African history. He said blacks did not want a Westminster-style democracy. Even if all the whites were removed from SA tomorrow, what would be put in its place would not work.

Questioned on the lack of arrests of rightwing activists in the way anti-apartheid activists were arrested, he said, "it's not a question of arresting a few people and that's the end of it; there are whites in this country who could put together a more efficient violent organisation than the ANC".

Botha refused to accept the planned thank you speech from one of the correspondents and returned to the podium and quoted part of a speech by Paul Kruger (turn of the century president of the Transvaal Republic) who addressed a Johannesburg audience, "Friends, citizens, thieves and enemies". Botha said "that is how I look at you this evening".

Botha spoke on the subject, "What it is to be a South African" and became increasingly aggressive and critical of the journalists as he proceeded. He brushed aside the first question about an American State Department official's remarks about the Angolan peace talks, failed to answer the next question from Sowetan editor, Aggrey Klaaste, and shortly afterwards was involved in verbal brawls with the audience.

A few days later FCA chairman Peter Hawthorne (Time magazine) resigned because he "felt responsible".

Comment

What emerged from several of his answers, however, was that SA was seriously embarked on a new policy thrust into Africa. He kept returning to the subject of Africa and of his knowledge of the continent.

His responses to questions about rightw-

ing violence made it clear that the government is deeply worried about its growth and the possibility that the CP could wrest power from the National Party. Some of his answers reflected an exasperation that the journalists appeared not to realise the threat the Conservative Party holds for the NP.

Another of his answers suggested that the decision to suspend publication of the Weekly Mail for a month had not been unanimous in the cabinet. The reply indicated there had been some division. He referred to his taking collective responsibility for cabinet decisions. There was almost the suggestion that he had opposed the ban.

This would explain his anger at being questioned on the ban.

Missing activists worry detainees' group

CONCERN OVER the disappearance of activists, the increase in the number of assassinations, the large number of detainees who have been held for more than two years under emergency regulations and whose plight has been forgotten by the public, has been expressed by the National Detainee Forum (NDF), a new body which brings together 30 detainee support structures from many parts of the country.

The NDF held its first conference in Cape Town on November 5/6 and representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross attended.

The theme was "working under severe repression", which conference delegates said was borne out by security police "trailing delegates", a visit by the police to the organisers before the conference and the questioning of a delegate for four hours by the police.

The conference also expressed concern over the large number of political prisoners, especially those convicted of criminal offences in "clearly political" circumstances.

The conference also drew attention to the large number of activists forced to leave home because of harassment and threats to their lives, the large number of people living under house arrest because of restriction orders, restriction orders on anti-apartheid organisations and the increase in the number of death sentences in political trials.

The NDF said it would publicise these issues, explain how repression works and how community awareness could be used to counter it.

Conservative Party CBD policy starts to crack

THE FIRST CRACKS have appeared in the ultra-rightwing Conservative Party's (CP) policy of keeping urban central business districts (CBDs) white and of rejecting government plans to "open" them to all races.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has made it clear that the party has no intention of denying blacks access to the CBDs. It wants them to have the opportunity of buying goods in white stores.

Treurnicht was responding to an attack on the party by President Botha who said that if the CP carried out its policy of abolishing "open" trading areas in the "little" towns it had gained control of in the October 26 municipal elections, all would "bleed to death" because businesses there would no longer enjoy the support of everybody.

He claimed that if the CP persisted with the policy, the country would be ruined and brought to the brink of revolution and chaos.

Treurnicht denied Botha's statement was an accurate reflection of his party's policy which was that business areas should not be separated from residential areas (in terms of race group legislation).

"Business areas can, therefore, not be 'open' areas where anybody can trade and own property," Treurnicht said. "This situation would affect the rights of certain population groups."

Carletonville (Western Transvaal) and Boksburg (east of Johannesburg) town councils, both of which have now been taken over by the CP, have reversed decisions of the previous councils to "open" the towns' CBDs to all races and have applied to the Constitutional Development and Planning Department to prevent the previous decisions from being carried out.

But here, too, cracks have appeared in party policy. Some CP-controlled councils have decided to discuss the matter, while Krugersdorp, west of Johannesburg, has opted to allow "open" trade to stay because of the "vast investments" made in the CBD.

The Carletonville proposal was put forward by a white shopkeeper who is a tenant of an Indian. He claimed Indians used illegal methods to obtain ownership of undertakings in the business area and by opening the CBD to all races these actions would become legal.

However, he hastened to say that the

CP's policy was not to exclude people of colour from buying in a white area.

Comment

The speed with which Treurnicht reacted to Botha's criticism indicates how sensitive the issue is, especially in rural towns which rely heavily on black customers.

While the CP wants to retain white occupation of CBDs and prevent blacks from gaining a foothold in the economy of the towns, they do not want to lose their custom because, as Botha says, it would spell ruin.

The injustice of this policy appears not to have occurred to Treurnicht or members of the party. However, the NP policy was not particularly just either. "Open" CBDs means that blacks can trade there but they are still barred from owning property or of living in them. This, of course, is discriminatory and places obstacles in the way of blacks building up capital.

However, some black leaders believe the opening of CBDs, especially in the larger cities where property values and, therefore, rents are high and where the business competition is fierce, is starting at the wrong end of the economic ladder. They believe with justification that suburban and regional shopping areas, where property values are lower and the competition is not as intense, should have been opened to blacks.

But as these shopping areas are in white residential suburbs this would have meant giving blacks access to those residential areas, effectively creating a breach in the racial wall raised by the Group Areas legislation which demarcates living areas (and thus schools) on racial lines. The National Party's "reform" did not extend to this.

So far the CP attempts to restore apartheid have not elicited any response from blacks--probably because the number able to take advantage of "open" CBDs is small. A boycott by black consumers of white shops in these "return to apartheid" CBDs, would be illegal under the emergency regulations, but should one be mounted it would be interesting to note the economic damage that would be caused and its effect on CP policies.

THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT has handed over grants of Canadian \$50 000 and Can \$30 000 (a total of about R160 000) to the Media Defence Trust and to the Anti Censorship Action Group (Acag) as its contribution to a British Commonwealth strategy to counter censorship in SA.

Botha rescues Heunis ...but for how long?

PRESIDENT BOTHA has personally stepped in to stop speculation that Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis was to be moved to a less important portfolio while Foreign Affairs Minister Roelof "Pik" Botha or National Intelligence Services director-general Dr Niel Barnard takes over his portfolio.

The reports of the impending cabinet shuffle, widely published in government-supporting, as well as opposition papers, angered President Botha who labelled them attempts by the enemies of the National Party to destroy it. Confusion and division were being sown by this "malicious gossip".

He said he had no intention of reshuffling his cabinet at this stage "so the speculation could be stopped".

National Party sources say the government is considering an inquiry into who was responsible for the persistent stories about Heunis, which originally surfaced before the general election in May last year. When they first appeared Heunis's successor was named as Pik Botha, but much later Barnard's name was introduced.

It was this aspect that led to the consideration of an investigation because national intelligence was involved and some of the matters published could have impinged on the Protection of Information Act.

Another story that emerged was that some National Party backbenchers had signed a petition calling for the dismissal of Heunis, but these were rejected by President Botha "with contempt". Yet other reports spoke of a bitter power play in the cabinet where a clique with links with the security establishment was trying to displace Heunis in the continuing battle for succession to the presidency after Botha.

Journalists have noticed how some cabinet ministers inquire with obvious delight into situations in which their colleagues have blundered or been the object of personal controversy.

Botha declared journalists sucked "reliable information" out of their thumbs.

Heunis has earned a fair amount of publicity with the launching of Reform and Future, a publication by his Constitutional Development and Planning Dept which is intended to show how far the government has gone in the reform process. Heunis used the occasion to announce that provision had to be made for the "probable appointment"

of blacks to parliament and that legislation to enable this to be done was to be introduced at the next session of parliament in the New Year.

He said there was no other way for a future dispensation in SA but by "negotiation, dialogue and consultation with each other". He agreed that black town councillors who came forward in the elections, "will have to be acknowledged".

Comment

The fact that many National-Party supporting newspapers ran the story prominently and referred to sources within the party as having supplied the information points to the story being accurate. But it appears President Botha did not want to be seen to be following the Press, so he dropped the idea of moving Heunis.

Heunis is Cape leader of the National Party but ever since he scraped home in the general election last year with a small majority over Dr Dennis Worrall, the independent candidate who had been SA ambassador to London, his position has been shaky.

He was appointed acting state president while Botha was away and some commentators have noted that the stories about his departure popped up at this time, almost as if the intention were to denigrate Heunis.

Heunis' shaky position in his constituency was confirmed in the municipal elections where votes for independents put his seat in jeopardy.

The upshot of all this is that Heunis is out of favour with President Botha who is pre-occupied with the need to pursue the National Council proposal for bringing blacks into government.

So far Heunis has been incapable of bringing this about, and without a dramatic development like the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the chances of the new initiative to put blacks into parliament succeeding are as remote as ever.

Botha is obviously looking around for a successor, but he will introduce him only when publicity about Heunis' position is not as intense as it has been recently. Botha hates any impression that his actions are dictated by the Press.

The successor, however, is unlikely to fare any better than Heunis as the flaw in the proposal remains the lack of "authentic" black leaders who have to be released from jail, or brought back from exile, to enable them to take part.

Police apologise for midnight quiz of editor

LAW AND ORDER MINISTER Adriaan Vlok and the police have apologised to editor Aggrey Klaaste, 48, of the black daily, *The Sowetan*, for the actions of two junior policemen who woke Klaaste late on November 3 and quizzed him about a "Nation Building" plan he had launched in his paper.

The plan received much media attention following a speech in which he called on the people of SA to embark on a positive nation-building programme, which involved "picking up the pieces and rebuilding all structures that have collapsed in black communities".

But despite the publicity, the policemen--one white, the other black--asked Klaaste for details. They wanted to know who he worked for, who was "behind the campaign" and who were members of the organisation?

Newspaper Press Union (the publishers' organisation) president Jolyon Nuttall condemned the police action. Nuttall was also given an apology by Vlok.

In launching the "Nation-building" campaign, Klaaste said there was no secret agenda. Nation-building, he said, was designed to rebuild the structures in all forms in black society to highlight the role blacks could play in a future SA and to show whites they would be included in the "happy" future.

When the paper had run out of ideas, money or managerial skills help would be sought from "white friends", he said.

Klaaste said Afrikaners were oppressed and despised before 1948 (when their National Party came to power). They suffered under colonial rule as much as blacks, but after building themselves up into a powerful volk (people), they made the fatal mistake of "forgetting the rest of us". Today that contempt for the humanity of others is reaping the whirlwind.

"Had the Afrikaners done for all of us all the things they did to build themselves they would have been in a comfortable leadership position today instead of their monolith cracking while the anger of the dispossessed is becoming too powerful to ignore," he said.

Afrikaners massaged their bruised consciences by pointing to the debacle of post-independent black Africa when "nation after nation tumbled". SA blacks had not helped to nullify that stereotype, he said.

"One moment we are bowed, scraping

slaves, happy to lick the baas's (Afrikaans for master) hand...the next we are engaged in unbelievable acts of violence and, more irrationally, against ourselves". How could the average white have confidence in such people?

It had taken the security forces a long time to deal with the violence unleashed in 1984 while there was a swing to the right among the whites. Meanwhile, the angry black community held its breath and prepared for the next, inevitable explosion.

Something had to be done to stop this madness. For years blacks said the only leaders of consequence were political and they were in detention, jail, exile or dead. But there were many others doing excellent work. Black leaders were needed to decrease the fear in the hearts of young Afrikaners who were afraid of black numbers and who perceived blacks as a vast population of gullible people easily swayed by communists and other radicals.

Klaaste said blacks had a unique humanity, called ubuntu, the ethic to forgive and forget which would enable them, after the collapse of power structures, to do good things for all South Africans.

Comment

Klaaste's speech has been widely acclaimed by whites, but blacks were less certain and want clarification. There is a view that his call for other leaders to come forward comes perilously close to a similar appeal for leaders to take part in a national forum.

'A free Mandela would bring sanity to SA'

THE HOPE that the release from prison of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela would bring sanity to SA politics and weld all the factions in the country and "make SA a better place for us all" is expressed in a leader in the Sowetan, the black daily newspaper in Johannesburg which says "most of us" are awaiting the release "with undisguised eagerness".

"We believe among other things that his leadership qualities, and the experience he must have gained in being jailed for so many years will possibly turn him into something of a political saint. The good news will be that the young people who have revered him without knowing him will have a chance of seeing such a good leader among them, bringing together all the factions in the

country," the paper states.

"We hope the expectations raised about the release of Mr Nelson Mandela will not evoke the usual petulant reaction from the government which does not like to appear to be pushed into taking even the most sensible of actions."

It would do the government and the country a wealth of good if Mandela and the other political prisoners were released before Christmas. This single act, more than anything else, would enable the government to re-establish its credibility in Africa and the world which it is fighting to achieve, the article said.

Mandela is the type of courageous and able leader who would be able to deal with the formidable problems surrounding his name as well as bringing light into the lives of all South Africans.

"We fear though that the government would once again shoot itself in the leg diplomatically, by restricting the leaders as soon as they are released," Sowetan states.

Comment

This leader gives an indication of the fervour that would greet Mandela should he be released. The Sowetan has leanings towards black consciousness, which is opposed to the ANC, yet it gives unstinted support for the role that it expects Mandela could play in SA.

And there is no doubt that hundreds of thousands of blacks would travel to see him. This, of course, is one of the fears of the authorities who believe they might not be able physically to handle the demonstrations without the possibility of bloodshed, and in those circumstances the bloodshed could easily assume large-scale proportions. Such a situation would be intolerable for SA and could very well turn a political triumph for the government into a disaster.

However, should the initial period be weathered, Mandela is likely to find himself in difficulties in trying to contend with the numerous factions, who though they may initially come together, will inevitably divide and claim for themselves leadership of the liberation struggle.

In referring to political prisoners, the Sowetan obviously has its eyes on the jailed Pan Africanist Congress leader, Zephania Lekoane Mothopeng, 75, five years older than Mandela, who is serving a 15-year sentence and is due for release only in 1994. There has hardly been any reference to him in the pleas for release of prisoners..

Fall in BoP surplus has weakened defences

By Howard Preece

SA DESPERATELY NEEDS to obtain a large surplus on the current account of the balance of payments in 1989. Unless that happens the prospects of the country being forced into some further unilateral default on foreign debt repayment obligations during 1990-91 will become a very real possibility.

Attention is particularly focused at present on the parlous state of the gross gold and foreign exchange reserves. These have fallen from fractionally over R7 000-million at the end of October 1987 to R4.6bn at the end of October this year.

Bad though that sounds the situation is worse in two respects. First, the Reserve Bank borrowed nearly R1 700-m from other central banks in the second quarter of this year--we don't know what has happened on that front since--to help shore up the gold and foreign exchange holdings. It is possible that some of that money was repaid in the third quarter although it could be that even more was borrowed.

Second, the rand value of the reserves is not what really matters, it's their worth in terms of dollars and other major currencies that counts. On that basis the October to October slide in the reserves was even greater than appears from the official figures--there was a 45% crash from \$3 400-m to \$1 850-m.

Now the current account of the BoP is still in surplus. There was admittedly only a fairly derisory surplus of R432-m in the first half of the year but this has certainly picked up over the second half of 1988. It looks in fact from the preliminary import and export

figures from Customs and Excise as though there was a surplus of between R500-m and even as high as R1 000-m between July and September.

The Reserve Bank has disclosed that the surplus for that quarter was R4 500-m on a seasonally adjusted annualised basis but without knowing the subjective factors that make up the seasonal adjustment calculation that figure has to be treated with caution. It does appear though as if the current surplus for 1988 will be at least R1 500-m.

While that is low by the 1985-87 standards when aggregate surpluses of over R19 000-m were chalked up it is still a good effort--or rather it would be if it were not the huge drain on the capital account.

Reserve Bank Governor Dr Gerhard de Kock estimates the capital outflow at R4 900-m for the first three quarters of the year. The fourth quarter will be hit by debt repayments and by year-end dividend and interest payments so the outflow for the full year could be as much as R6 000-m.

Every cent that goes out of SA is, of course, reducing total debt. But that is no consolation if the reserves simply cannot handle the cash flow pressures.

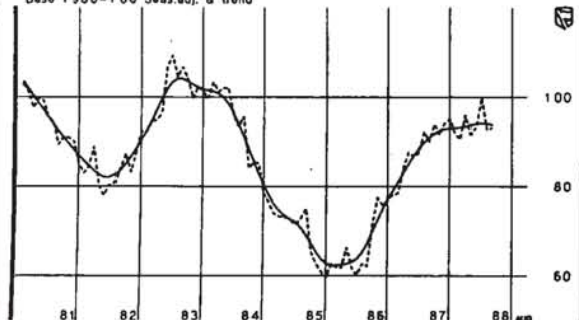
What is not known is how much of this year's outflow has been a result of traders switching from foreign to domestic finance and how much from "leads and lags"--importers rushing to pay bills as quickly as possible and exporters leaving foreign earnings abroad as long as possible, both groups doing so for fear of continuing downward movements in the foreign exchange value of the rand.

But both those factors have a built-in reverse gear. At some point in its fall the rand is bound to seem undervalued and then importers hold off payments while ex-

Business Cycle Indicators Standard Bank

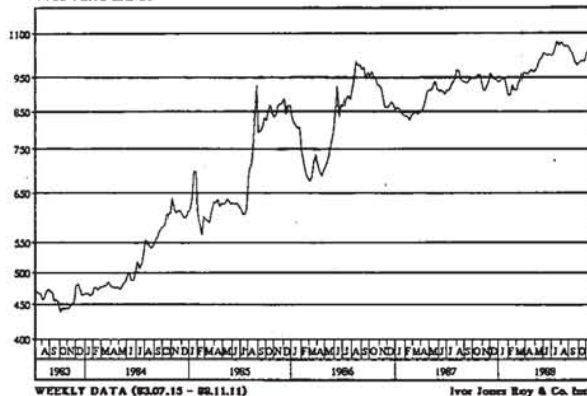
COMP. INDEX OF LEADING INDICATORS

Base 1980=100 Seas. adj. & trend



Gold Price--Rands Ivor Jones, Roy & Co Inc

GOLD PRICE RANDB



WEEKLY DATA (83.07.15 - 88.11.11)

Ivor Jones Roy & Co. Inc.

porters rush money home. Also, it is easy enough to manipulate the forward dollar premium to make it even more sensible for importers to use foreign rather than domestic trade finance if that is necessary.

The real worry lies in the question of how much of that R5 000-m capital outflow in the first three quarters of the year arose from foreign creditors refusing to renew maturing lines of credit outside of SA's standstill net and how much of a political problem there might have been in getting foreign trade credits.

If those factors have been the overriding reasons for the reserves slump this year that bodes extremely ill for next year as well.

In any event, SA has only one real defence line--a much larger current account surplus. The Stellenbosch bureau for economic research thinks the surplus in 1989 could be R4 900-m. It will need to be. If that comes about naturally through declining import volumes and better exports, fine. But if exports disappoint (what if gold falls into the mid-\$300s, for example?) then government will have to pursue even tighter monetary and fiscal policies and take further measures directly to restrain imports.

INTEREST RATE SUBSIDIES for first-time home buyers have been increased by 2.5% because of the 2% Bank rate increase announced on November 2. The subsidy of 33.5% was payable on interest rates up to 13.5%. That rate has now been increased to 16%, according to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Agricultural Minister Wynand Wentzel and Manpower and Public Works Minister Pietie du Plessis. They also said the government planned to help farmers and the small business sector for the same reason.

Most promising oil find yet off Mossel Bay

SOEKOR (the oil search parastatal) has expressed cautious optimism about the latest oil strike by a drill 110km (about 70 miles) south-south west of Mossel Bay, which has become the centre of SA's oil search programme and for the R5 000-million oil from gas Mosgas scheme.

The new find, the fourth in the area in the last two years, has been named E-AR1 and is said to be the best yet.

A spokesman said it could indicate that operations were nearing a fruitful area. It would require two years of further seismic surveys and studies and further borehole drilling to establish whether the find would be economically viable.

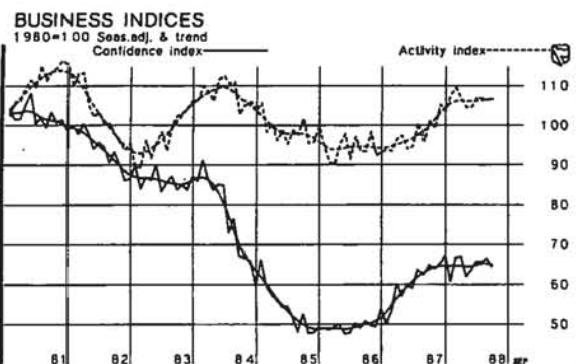
Economic Affairs Minister Danie Steyn says the yield could be 10 200 barrels of oil and condensate and 22-million cubic feet of gas a day which compares with other strikes of 7 000 barrels of oil and 58-million cubic feet of gas a day (hole E-AD1) and 5 000 barrels of crude oil and five-million cubic feet of gas a day (hole E-AA1, 120km (about 75 miles) south-south west of Mossel Bay and 5.5km (3.5 miles) from E-AD1). Another find off the Cape west coast produced 200 barrels a day.

Comment

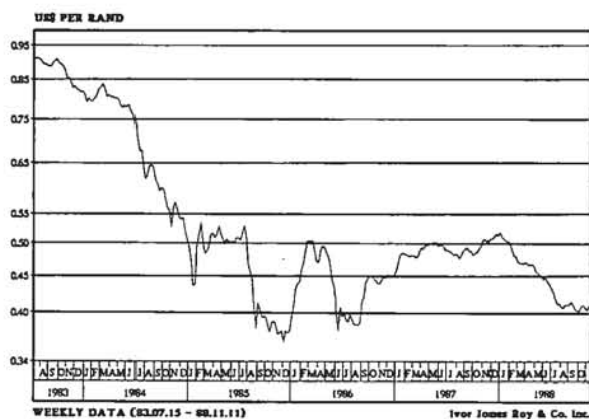
SA's oil consumption is about 180 000 barrels a day, so it has a long way to go to be independent of imported oil despite the sizable production from the Sasol oil-from-coal plants in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

A find which could supply SA's oil requirements would overcome the oil embargoes and give an enormous boost to white morale as well as to the economy.

Business Cycle Indicators Standard Bank



US \$ per Rand Ivor Jones, Roy & Co Inc



Bank rate rise could be too little

By Harold Fridjhon

BANK RATE WENT UP two full percentage points to 14.5% from 12.5% on November 2 and in the light of the end-of-October state of the gold and foreign exchange reserves one questions whether the 200 point rise is sufficient.

South Africa's foreign resources are in a lamentable condition with the gold reserves down to a low point of 3.26-million ounces as the Reserve Bank sold or swapped 790 000 ounces during the month to bolster its holdings of foreign exchange.

The extreme seriousness of the situation is that the Reserve Bank is unable to raise funds abroad to tide the country over what could be a difficult, but hopefully a temporary, period. All sources of credit appear to be closed, even from the International Monetary Fund which is the lender of last resort to members who are suffering from current account problems.

One assumes that it was the Reserve Bank's presentation to the cabinet illustrating the gravity of the country's financial position which convinced the politicians that this time around minor tinkering with the Bank Rate would have been a further essay in futility.

The series of one-percentage point rises this year have failed to brake demand and the soaring increase in bank credit. But as politics take precedence before economic policy the looming monetary problems were never seriously attended to.

More important, most South Africans appear to be blithely unaware of the gravity of a situation which is entirely of the government's making. The politicians, persisting as they did with policies which have outlawed this country, should have instituted a regimen of fiscal austerity earlier in the year.

But they were hoist with their own petard because to have done so would have revealed that everything

in the garden was not as rosy as they claimed it was.

Had Bank Rate been lifted by two or even three percentage points in June, crisis would not have arrived just ahead of Christmas when seasonal over-spending will keep the banknote printers working overtime and will inhibit efforts to bring some stability in the economy by the end of the first quarter.

An early general election will not help matters because a policy of draft and pretty picture painting will exacerbate what is already an untenable situation. The prognosis is that if there should be an election Bank Rate will remain at current levels. If no election is called Bank rate could rise again in March, coupled with a further package to restrain consumer demand.

Last week rates in the money market were adjusted upwards to an orthodox alignment with Bank Rate, although the rate for 90-day acceptances (BAs) at 15.20% is higher than it ought to be. The discount houses claim that the rate is rising in order to attract buyers. It is in fact a defensive rate because of the volume of BAs being offered to them.

Pressure on the market is subsidising as debt to the Reserve Bank drops towards a more manageable R1 000-m with the approach of the midmonth dip.

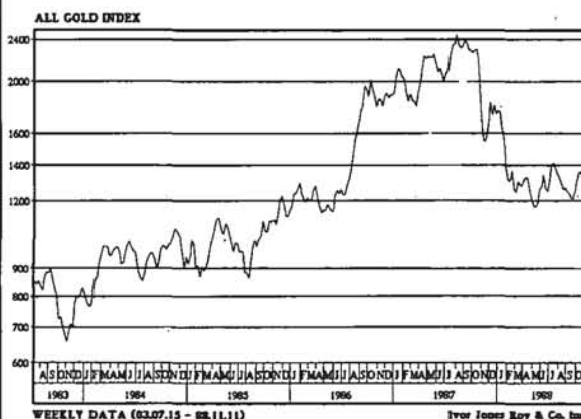
The rand has moved away from its low point of \$1 = R2.50 to R2.44, largely because of dollar weakness, and firmed prices for gold and platinum. The Reserve Bank has intervened in the market, but only marginally because it lacks the resources to prop up the currency.

The stock exchange is still in the doldrums with the industrial index failing to reveal the shallowness of trade. The index is dominated by a handful of the bluest of blue chip shares, always in demand by the as-surers and other institutions.

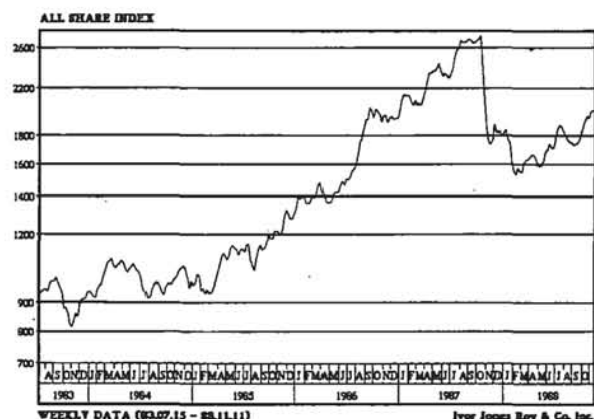
A close analysis of trading reveals that on most days there are fewer gainers than losers on the market lists. The professional punters have deserted Diagonal Street, which is too slow moving, for the excitement of the option market based on the long-dated bond 11% 2008 issued by the electricity utility Eskom.

For the rest the gold share market is showing early signs of bullishness as many believe that gold might be coming back into favour because of inflationary fears in the Western--and Pacific--economies.

JSE--All gold index Ivor Jones, Roy & Co Inc



JSE--All share index Ivor Jones, Roy & Co Inc



More sport bosses meet with ANC

THE SEVEN-MAN executive committee of the SA Soccer Federation (SASF) has held talks with the African National Congress (ANC) in Lusaka to discuss the SA sports situation and "the strengthening of international links" though it claimed this did not mean it had pleaded for an end to the sports boycott against SA.

The delegation also discussed the internal sports situation in SA, unity among internal soccer administrations on a "principled nonracial basis" and sponsorship of nonracial sport.

This was the third soccer body and fifth sports organisation to hold meetings with the ANC within a month.

The SASF said the meeting was a follow-up to talks between SASF president Rama Reddy and the ANC at the International Conference Against Apartheid Sport in Harare, Zimbabwe, last December. It claimed the "sports moratorium on international tours to and from SA" was not the reason for the meeting.

Two of the other three soccer bodies, the National Soccer League (NSL) and the SA Soccer Association (SASA), have also had talks with the ANC and are considering disbanding and forming a single soccer administration with the SASF. The ANC had requested this in the same way that it had asked the white and black rugby bodies to form a single nonracial administration. They maintain this has always been their intention and that they were not reacting to "instructions" from the ANC. They acknowledged, however, that the ANC request had influenced them.

There is a strong feeling among the ad-

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Publisher: RAYMOND LOUW
Production: JEAN RAMSAY

Postal address:
SOUTHERN AFRICA REPORT
P O Box 261579
Excom 2023
SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: (011) 646-8790

Alphaprint

Telex: SA 48-6053
4th/5th Floors
Royal St Mary's
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SOUTH AFRICA

ministrations that unity cannot be achieved on a nonracial basis in an apartheid society, they said.

Comment

The frequency of trips to see the ANC in Lusaka has escalated to such an extent that the ANC is now virtually holding court on a weekly basis to decide issues for South Africans.

The impression given is that nothing of importance involving SA's outside contacts or involving internal matters concerning blacks can be achieved without a discussion taking place with the ANC beforehand and with the organisation's approval.

These talks, mostly with blacks and on an informal basis, have been going on for years. Originally they took the form of discussion groups with an exchange of views, but gradually the character has changed as more whites joined in the trek to Lusaka.

Now the sessions appear to relate to seeking advice and having issues decided by the ANC. The boycott of schools by young students a few years back had the approval of the ANC, but was rapidly changed to participation, to which the ANC gave its blessing, when it became clear that "education for liberation" was a better option than "liberation before education".

It is a long way from a government in exile, but the ANC appears slowly to be

Suspended Weekly Mail to sue Pik Botha

THE EDITORS of the Weekly Mail have protested at remarks made by Foreign Minister Roelof "Pik" Botha about the news published in the paper and intend bringing an action for damages against him.

Botha told the annual Foreign Correspondents Association dinner in Johannesburg that the paper had been banned for inciting racial hatred and that he regarded it as one of "the most vicious" papers he had seen. He said it "contributed to more violence in the country".

Co-editors Anton Harber and Irwin Manoim said that Botha was not satisfied with the government's decision to ban the paper and had made public allegations that were both unfounded and defamatory.

To report on violence is very different from orchestrating it. Botha should show whether his allegations have any more substance than those made by J C G "Stoffel" Botha, who banned the paper, they said.

SOUTHERN AFRICA REPORT



Southern Africa Report
Association

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RECEIVED 09/21/88

9 September, 1988.

Mrs Nancy Starr
Chairman
Executive Committee
Project South Africa
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N Y 10010
UNITED STATES of AMERICA

Dear Nancy,

Project South Africa's philosophy of linking American organisations with South African projects so that the South Africans can benefit from the knowledge, information and other resources as well as the moral and physical support of the US links has never been better demonstrated than during the recent, and now on-going, campaign here by the embattled freelance and other journalists against a government attempt to stifle them with severe restrictions.

The government introduced regulations requiring journalists and certain "news agency businesses" to register with the Department of Home Affairs. Failure to do so could result in the maximum penalty of 10 years jail or a fine of R20 000 (about \$8 500) being imposed. The Home Affairs Minister empowered himself to deregister summarily any of the businesses or the journalists whose activities he judged to be a threat to the maintenance of public order or to the ending of the state of emergency. A decision to deregister would be the minister's. There was no provision for a court hearing of any complaints, or for the victims to make representations to the minister--an authoritarian decision against which there was to be no appeal. Any journalists continuing to work after deregistration faced the penalties mentioned above in addition to the loss of their livelihood.

A Save the Press Committee was formed and it began a major campaign against the regulation. Composed of freelance journalists, South African correspondents for foreign papers and representatives of some news agencies and journalism trade unions, the committee began campaigning against considerable obstacles. The so-called "mainstream" newspapers--belonging to the established Press groups--were (with one exception some weeks later) not interested because the minister had said he would exclude them.

Invoking Project South Africa "linkage" techniques, the committee rapidly got in touch with the World Press Freedom Committee and Freedom House in New York and the International Press Institute in London, all of whom compiled dossiers containing information about registration issues, the arguments that had been used against the procedures in other parts of the world and case studies. This material was couriered to me in Johannesburg and used in

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the compilation of a protest and written submission to the minister.

The result of these representations and lobbying activities with other organisations, including the US Embassy and the American Chamber of Commerce, resulted in the repeal of the legislation a few days ago. The minister has stated that he plans to continue his attack on the Press by the use of other measures, but in the meanwhile, the PSA technique, plus the other tactics had warded off probably the worst threat of the many that the Press has faced in this country.

Some journalists would have refused to register and would have been turned into criminals; some of the others who did register would have felt intimidated and restricted their reporting for fear of being struck off and those that did not would probably have been struck off and would have lost their livelihood and perhaps have been forced to leave the country. Those "exempted" by the minister would, of course, have suffered professionally an equally awful fate of being tainted as "acceptable" to the government and, therefore, lacking in credibility.

The "crimes" it is understood the government is trying to stamp out are the reporting of news and events embarrassing to the government such as the continuance of apartheid practices, unlawful violence by state and security officials and the many other abuses of power and acts of deprivation of blacks--the kind of story that appears in "alternative" newspapers like "Weekly Mail", "New Nation" etc.

So here we have PSA linkage aiding a SA organisation with hardly any resource with the result that an extremely worthwhile anti-apartheid and anti-censorship activity was concluded satisfactorily (for the time being). The US (and British) links gain because they have done something worthwhile, they are encouraged to help others, the SA story is played back to them and they can use it to help others.

This particular example of PSA activity is perhaps more dramatic and, in this instance, more successful than those more down-to-earth. But the day-to-day linkages of PSA have equally rewarding benefits on both sides of the Atlantic. The support, moral and physical, given to organisations, some desperately poor and ill-equipped at grassroots level, cannot be underestimated in its morale-building effects on the people in them. The feeling they have that there is someone out there who cares, who really cares, unlike the brusque, often unfeeling if not ruthless officialdom they have to deal with in SA cannot be over-estimated. It not only builds their confidence to continue to strive and hope for a future free of discrimination, but helps to restore and build dignity and self-respect, too.

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The US organisation that assists gains because it realises from the contact with the SA body that it is exercising a worthwhile influence not only at the grassroots level to a small community but in the wider battle against discrimination and deprivation and it is learning a different aspect of the SA picture.

I believe this insight into the work of Project South Africa should be made available to a wider audience in the US.

Yours sincerely,

Raymond Louw,
Member of the Management Committee, PSA South Africa.

jr/RL

Raymond Louw

South African journalist Raymond Louw was born in Cape Town in 1926.

He spent 38 years (1944--1982) at The Rand Daily Mail, rising from proofreader's assistant to editor (for 11 years) and finally to general manager of the South African Associated Newspapers, owners of the paper.

In 1983, he founded Southern Africa Report, a weekly newsletter with a worldwide circulation that reports and analyzes events in southern Africa. Currently, Mr. Louw serves as acting editor of The Business Magazine, a new black business monthly.

During his distinguished career, Louw has been active in the fight for freedom of the press in South Africa. As a founder of the Conference of Editors, he formulated and introduced to South Africa a method by which editors can jointly protest encroachments on press freedoms. He is currently chairman of the Save the Press Committee -- a coalition of South African correspondents working for foreign publications, representatives of news agencies and journalists' trade unions -- which has successfully resisted recent government efforts to require registration of journalists (foreign and domestic) and further regulation of press activities.

Raymond Louw is a member of the International Press Institute and has participated in numerous symposia on South Africa. He recently addressed the European Human Rights Commission. In 1976, he received the Pringle Medal from the South African Society of Journalists in recognition of his service to the profession.

Louw has been active in efforts to improve the social and educational condition of black South Africans. He has participated in programs of the Rand Bursary Fund and Operation Snowball and is a deputy chairman of *Phuthing* (a Sotho word meaning "bring together"), one of the four non-racial schools established by the New Era Schools Trust.

Raymond Louw and his wife, Jean, reside in a Johannesburg suburb. They have three children.



CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Morris B. Abram
Chairman

November 16, 1988

Malcolm I. Hoenlein
Executive Director

PART II

TO: PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE LEADERSHIP

FROM: MORRIS B. ABRAM, CHAIRMAN
MALCOLM HOENLEIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

This is the second part of a mailing updating recent meetings of the Conference.

I. NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON TOURISM REPORT

Enclosed is a summary of the most recent meeting of the Presidents Conference's National Committee on Tourism to Israel, chaired by Rabbi Joseph Sternstein. As the report indicates, the Committee has accomplished a great deal since its establishment several months ago. It is our hope that all member organizations will participate in the Committee's deliberations and maximize use of the available resources. National Committee coordinator Carolyn Greene has been working with the CJF on a session on tourism that will be held at the General Assembly session in New Orleans. Please note the programmatic recommendations in the report and direct them to the appropriate persons in your organizations. (See enclosed)

II. MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR CLAYTON YEUTTER, US TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

The Conference held an intense session with the US Trade Representative - Clayton Yeutter. The primary issue on the agenda was the upcoming hearings based on a complaint filed by the Arab-American Anti-discrimination Committee regarding alleged violations of worker rights by Israel in the territories. He was challenged on a number of legal and jurisdictional grounds. Specific concerns were raised regarding the standing of the petitioners and the limiting of testimony to issues relating to practices inside the green line. The Ambassador assured the large turnout that he would not allow the hearing to turn into an anti-Israel circus, the size of the hall and attendance is limited, etc. In addition several other items were discussed including the US-Israel Free Trade agreement. Special thanks to Martin Ingall of AIPAC and Mike Perry of JLC for the pre-meeting briefing. A tape of the meeting is available from the Conference office.

III. CORRECTED STATEMENT ON POTENTIAL ARAFAT VISIT

Enclosed is the corrected release regarding Arafat's proposed visit to the UN. An early draft was inadvertently included in the first part of this mailing. Additional related materials are enclosed.

IV. U.N. NOTES

The Chairman issued a statement lauding the results of the U.N. years vote challenging Israel's credentials. Last year 80 countries voted in support of Israel. This year 95 voted positively, the rest were either neutral or voted against. While the Soviet Union cast negative votes, most other Eastern bloc countries were either neutral or positive. The vote reflects the growing standing of Israel and the successful efforts of the Israeli mission to the U.N. led by Israel's Ambassador Yochanan Bein. This also underscores the importance of continued efforts of the community to reach out to Ambassadors, and other representatives of U.N. member countries, to educate, encourage, at times remonstrate, and express gratitude to them. Letters to countries that switched their votes this year and those countries that continue to be supportive are in order.

In addition, the President of the Security Council, Dante Caputo opened this session on November 11th with a statement regarding the Holocaust with specific mention of the Jewish victims. This, despite pressure from Arab countries was a result of an instructive of Ambassador Bein in which the Conference assisted.

V. PNC DECLARATION

Enclosed memo and material on PNC meeting and Declaration.

VI. SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH LEADERS

A delegation of leaders of South African Jewry met with Conference members on November 15. Harry Shwartz, a member of Parliament and Chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the South African Board of Deputies delivered a incisive and comprehensive analysis of the current situation and future prospects. A tape of his remarks and the dialogue that ensued is available in the Conference office



Contact: Richard Cohen
(212) 758-6969

For Immediate Release



**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

**AMERICAN JEWS REMAIN 'DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS'
OF THE P.L.O.'S INTENTIONS TOWARD ISRAEL,
ABRAM OF PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE REPORTS**

Morris B. Abram
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein
Executive Director

NEW YORK, Nov. 16 -- American Jews are "deeply suspicious" of the P.L.O. declaration of a Palestinian state because the Palestine National Council in Algiers failed both to renounce terrorism and to repudiate the P.L.O. call for destruction of Israel, a national Jewish leader reported today.

Morris B. Abram, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, spoke at a news conference here in behalf of the 48 national groups that make up the Jewish umbrella organization.

He said that over the past three days he had met personally or spoken with representatives of nearly all of the Presidents Conference constituent members and that they had urged him to "speak out and make clear that the U.S. Jewish community is not deceived by the P.L.O. public relations campaign and remains deeply suspicious of P.L.O. intentions."

Mr. Abram said he was gratified at the response of the U.S. State Department, which he said "clearly has not been deceived by the PLO propaganda blitz.

"Our government's policy," he said, "is that the U.S. will not talk with the P.L.O. unless and until that organization renounces terrorism, accepts UN resolution 242 and recognizes Israel. Behind all the hoopla in Algiers, it is now clear that the P.L.O. did none of these things.

Did the P.L.O. Repudiate Terrorism?

"First: The P.L.O. did not repudiate terrorism. On the contrary, it proclaimed the right 'to resist foreign occupation and colonialism.' This is a forecast of more terrorism to come -- and not only in the so-called 'occupied territories.'

"Let it be recalled that among hundreds of other victims of terrorist acts carried out by Al Fatah -- the branch of P.L.O. that Yasir Arafat personally heads -- were the United States ambassador and charge d'affaires in Khartoum, the Sudan, in 1973.

"In 1985 Yasir Arafat gave his formal and public pledge in a meeting with President Mubarak of Egypt that any future acts of terrorism would be limited to the 'occupied territories.' The grisly record of P.L.O. terrorist attacks against targets inside Israel proper and against Jews and Israelis abroad since 1985 gives the lie to Arafat's latest rejection of terrorism in all its forms."

"It also reveals that in the mind of Arafat and the Palestine National Council all of Israel is occupied territory. This is a formula for continued warfare against Israel -- not peace. Indeed, only two weeks ago, in an interview with Time, Arafat declared: 'We are opposed to a Zionist state; Zionism is a racist movement, according to a UN resolution....We don't want a racist state in this area.'

"Is this a formula for peace?

"Second: The P.L.O. did not recognize Israel. The Palestine National Covenant remains the charter of the P.L.O. Article 15 of that covenant declares as its purpose 'to purge the Zionist presence from Palestine, adding: 'The liberation of Palestine...is a national duty to repulse the Zionist, imperialist invasion.' Article 9 declares: 'Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine and is therefore a strategy and not tactics.' Article 19 states: 'The partitioning of Palestine in 1917 and the establishment of Israel is fundamentally null and void.'

"As long as the Palestine National Covenant remains its constitution, the P.L.O. cannot be said to recognize Israel."

Did the P.L.O. Accept UN Resolution 242?

"Third: The P.L.O. did not accept United Nations Resolution 242. Rather, it linked its acceptance of 242 -- which in fact does not mention Israel by name but rather speaks of 'every state in the area' -- with all the other resolutions relevant to the Palestinian issue passed by the UN over the past 40 years.

"Among those specifically cited by the PNC is UN Resolution 181, also known as the 1947 UN Partition Plan. That resolution called for a Jewish state and an Arab state on the territory of the British Mandate. It was accepted by the Jewish representatives, and out of it developed the State of Israel. It was rejected by all of the Arab states -- there was no 'Palestinian people' in 1947 -- which then launched a war of aggression to drive the Jews into the sea.

"Neither Yasir Arafat nor the Palestine National Council can turn back the clock of history to 1947. The P.L.O. cannot base its claim to statehood on a UN resolution that the Arabs denounced and then, by an act of military aggression, turned into an irrelevancy.

"Another UN Resolution included in those that the P.L.O. embraces as part of its 'acceptance' of 242 is the infamous 1975 resolution that labeled Zionism 'a form of racism and racial discrimination.' This surely is no concession by the P.L.O. for the cause of peace.

"Still another UN Resolution 'relevant' to the Palestinian issue is 38/180D, adopted in 1983, which "calls on all states to put an end to the flow to Israel of any military, financial and economic aid.

"Is accepting 242 as merely one of the 'relevant' UN resolutions on the Palestinian issue a positive or constructive approach to peace?

"Fourth: In declaring its claim to the territory, the P.L.O. could not even bring itself to mention the immemorial attachment of Jews to the Holy Land. Instead, the declaration spoke of Palestine as the land that gave birth to Islam and Christianity while Judaism, the mother of them both, was omitted.

"Is this a demonstration of peaceful intentions?

"Fifth: A major figure in the deliberations in Algiers, and one of Yasir Arafat's closest advisers, was Abul Abbas, the P.L.O. terrorist who led the hijacking of the Achille Lauro that resulted in the murder of an American citizen, Leon Klinghoffer. Abbas is a fugitive from justice who is being harbored by the P.L.O.

"Is this a demonstration of peaceful intentions?

'We've Heard This Song Before'

"And finally: We have heard this song before from the P.L.O.

"Nearly 15 years ago -- in June of 1974 -- the Palestine National Council met in Cairo and proclaimed its readiness to participate in the post-Yom Kippur War peace conference taking place in Geneva on condition 'that the national rights of the Palestinian people are recognized as an issue at the conference.'

"In 1974, as today, the policies of Yasir Arafat and Nayef Hawatmeh carried the day. Then too they were described as the P.L.O.'s 'moderate wing.' But what separated the 'moderates' from the 'hard-liners' then -- as now -- was not any reluctance to commit terrorism or any disinclination to wipe Israel off the map.

"Rather, the difference then -- as now -- was between those who insist on destroying Israel all at once and those who are willing to eliminate Israel gradually: first by taking over Gaza and the West Bank and setting up a Palestinian state there, then by using it for what the PLO's Abu Iyad called last year 'a base from which to liberate Jaffa, Akko and all of Palestine, after which we will take Palestine and turn it into a part of the greater Arab nation.'"

Mr. Abram concluded: "The American Jewish community strongly supports the idea of peace talks with Palestinians, but not with the P.L.O. It is not a question of whether or not 'to negotiate with one's enemy' but rather whether Israel should negotiate with an enemy that has vowed and continues to seek its destruction.

"For American Jews, as (I believe) for the American people, the answer is a resounding 'no.'"

11/16/88

X

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X

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 17, 1988
to A. James Rudin
from Andrew Baker
subject Episcopal Middle East Forum



cc: Eugene DuBow
George Gruen
David Harris
Geri Rozanski
Marc Tanenbaum ✓

I attended a public forum on the Middle East, held last evening at the Episcopal Cathedral of Washington. The stated purpose was to offer Palestinian, Israeli and American perspectives, and these were presented, respectively, by Halil Yohan, Mordecai Baron and Ronald Young. David Shipler served as moderator of the program.

Yohan was a stand-in for Ziad Abu Zayad, who had been the scheduled Palestinian speaker. He is assistant editor of "Palestine Perspectives," and chairman of the Council of Presidents of Arab American organizations. In his remarks Yohan described how the intifada has shattered the various myths associated with the Palestinians--beliefs that the territories could never be relinquished by Israel, that Palestinians are too weak to resist, that the might of Israel could not be opposed. He stressed the importance of the recent PNC meeting in Algiers and the Palestinian Declaration of Independence. He belittled those who focused on a close reading of the communiques that were issued, and instead maintained that it should be understood as a clear Palestinian acceptance of a "two-state" solution. In closing, he reminded the audience that the residents of "occupied Palestine" had endured many years of British rule and Ottoman rule, and they would not be deterred.

Baron, who publicly places himself on the left of Israel's political spectrum, said he could agree with much that Yohan said. He tried to offer a description of how Israelis view the Palestinians and the conflict, saying 20-30% favor keeping the territories under any circumstances, 20% like himself favor leaving the territories "for Israel's good as well as the Palestinians'" and the remainder have fears about how any peace can be achieved. He maintained that Israel must negotiate with the PLO, that King Hussein was no substitute, and that it should be left to the Palestinians to decide if there is to be an independent state on the West Bank or some confederation with Jordan. He, too, saw positive things in the Palestinian National Council meeting in Algiers and said that he and his fellow leaders of Peace Now would embark on an information campaign in Israel on interpreting the Palestinian declarations. He

acknowledged, however, that it would have been better--"especially for our work within Israel"--if the PLO had spoken more clearly and forthrightly.

Ronald Young, a former church pastor, anti-war activist and American Friends Service Committee representative in the Middle East, described his efforts as the director of the recently-formed United States Interreligious Committee for Peace in the Middle East. He explained the importance and the difficulty of working with a group of Christian, Jewish and Muslim leaders. ("Real Jews, real Christians and real Muslims," as he put it.) He emphasized the need to focus attention on what the United States could and should do and resist the temptation to take sides or direct one's instructions to Israelis or Palestinians. He reviewed several often-repeated arguments for U.S. involvement in the Middle East, in order to refute them. There are those, he said, who maintain that Israel is a "strategic ally" and "reliable friend" which serves our geopolitical interests in the region. This "Kissingerian view", according to Young, dismisses anything Israel does to the Palestinians as irrelevant. There are others, in contrast, who assert that the U.S. must have an "even-handed approach" to the Middle East, and this, he says, usually translates into a policy of selling arms to both Arabs and Israelis. In contrast, the Interreligious Committee for Peace would argue that the U.S. should place the well-being of the people of the region and a peaceful settlement as the number one priority.

Since he was addressing a largely Christian audience, Young emphasized the need to understand that Israel grows out of the course of Jewish history and that it is not some of "figment" of U.S. policy. "The Israelis are not Jewish Contras," he said. He recounted the experience of one Palestinian Muslim who spoke to a church group about the Middle East and found himself confronting so much anti-Jewish sentiment that he spoke up in their defense.

Young mentioned his committee's commitment to human rights and warned against its misuse. He asserted that Israel had, out of its legitimate concern for security and survival, over the past twenty years trampled on the human rights of Palestinians, which drew applause from the audience. He quickly followed by saying that over these last months of the intifada, in turn, Israel has also been unfairly criticized in the name of human rights, to which no one applauded.

In closing, Young argued for concerted pressure to be placed on the U.S. government and particularly on the Reagan administration before it departs. As an example, he cited an unnamed "Israeli friend" who said that "at least once every twenty-four hours Israel needs to hear from America that it must trade territory for peace."

There were between four and five hundred people present. While it appeared that some were Arab, most people were apparently associated with the diocese or with the other Christian groups that co-sponsored the forum.

Even though the political leanings of the speakers could have been predicted and the apparent pro-Arab sympathy in the audience was not surprising, several points emerge that bear attention:

It was a large crowd in attendance for such an event, and the program's organizers intend to mount similar events in the future. (It was announced that a national gathering of the U.S. Interreligious Committee for Peace in the Middle East is scheduled for Washington in early March, 1989.)

Taking note of Ronald Young's admitted need to say certain things to Christian groups and having observed the generally chilly response in the audience, it is hard not to conclude that there is a greater degree of latent anti-Jewish sentiment present in these discussions than might have been imagined. If Young is surprised at this, so should we be.

AB:lgr

encl.





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November 18, 1988

Memorandum to: Board of Directors

From: Dusty Rhodes

I thought it would be useful to summarize the points on fund raising I wished to make at our recent Board Meeting.

1. Money raised on an unrestricted basis is important as it gives us the ability to respond quickly to crises. Moreover, when the IRC moves into refugee situations, we attract other sources of money by virtue of our outstanding reputation. Charitable organizations have followed when the IRC has led, contributing to IRC programs they know will be well run. As an example, approximately \$900,000 will be spent on the IRC Malawi program in 1988. \$150,000 of that came from IRC, the rest from other sources.
2. The historical sources of these revenues are:
 - Direct Mail
 - Foundations
 - Corporations
 - Board Members
3. Al Kastner's and Charlotte DeFries' efforts of many years have consistently resulted in large amounts of direct mail income - we expect \$1.5 million from this source in 1988.
4. The number of Foundations and Corporations contributing to IRC have declined.
5. We would like to enlist the support of Board Members as we seek to increase the number of contributing Foundations and Corporations. Susan Stark will be sending a list of existing and targeted institutions to each of you. We would appreciate your advice in approaching these sources.
6. Additional plans include:
 - * The implementation of Nancy Starr's bequest and pooled fund programs.
 - * The identification and solicitation of successful refugees as a source of funding.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: RAAP Executive Committee

November 21, 1988

FROM: Jerry R. Kirk, Chairman

Please find enclosed a first draft of our potential letter to Pope John Paul, II. We would deeply appreciate your comments and/or suggestions with respect to any improvements that could be made.

Cardinal Bernardin will need to take the final version with him to Rome on December 5, 1988. Correspondingly, I would ask that if you desire to comment, please return your suggestions by phone no later than Tuesday, November 29. Deen will take your suggestions by phone.



P.S. Reminder ... the next Executive Committee conference call is on Thursday, December 1st at 9:30 a.m. EST.

RELIGIOUS ALLIANCE AGAINST ' PORNOGRAPHY

800 COMPTON ROAD, SUITE 9224
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45231
(513) 521-6227

Dr. Jerry R. Kirk, Chairman
Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Vice-Chairman

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BISHOP PHILIP OF DAPHNOUSIA
Archdiocese of North and South America
REV. MILTON B. EFTHIMIOU
Archdiocese of North and South America

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RABBI MARCH TANENBAUM
RABBI MORDECAI WAXMAN
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President, National Association of Evangelicals
MRS. FRAN WOLFLEY
Women's Fellowship Commission
National Association of Evangelicals

ROMAN CATHOLIC

HIS EMINENCE JOSEPH CARDINAL BERNARDIN
Archbishop of Chicago
HIS EMINENCE JOHN CARDINAL KROL
Archbishop of Philadelphia (retired)
HIS EMINENCE BERNARD CARDINAL LAW
Archbishop of Boston
HIS EMINENCE JOHN CARDINAL O'CONNOR
Archbishop of New York
MOST REV. JAMES W. MALONE
President, National Conference of Catholic Bishops
BISHOP ROBERT J. BANKS
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FATHER BRUCE RITTER
President, Covenant House

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

ELDER JOHN K. CARMACK
President of North America, N. E. Area
DR. RICHARD P. LINDSAY
Special Representative

November 21, 1988

His Holiness Pope John Paul, II
The Vatican
Vatican City, Italy

D R A F T

Dear Your Holiness:

The Religious Alliance Against Pornography in the United States was born at the home of John Cardinal O'Connor in July, 1986. Cardinals O'Connor and Bernardin co-hosted a meeting of religious leaders in America including the highest level leaders of the Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Protestant, Mormon and Jewish communities. We met to join together in the effort against pornography in America.

At the beginning of our first gathering, Cardinal O'Connor introduced the meeting by saying, "This is the broadest coalition to ever come together in our country to tackle any social issue."

Within two and a half hours, every person joined in a common statement and commitment, which I have enclosed, and which includes the following: "We are in unanimous agreement that hard-core and child pornography are evils which must be eliminated." We have deep concerns about all pornography but have chosen to focus on that which is illegal and can be prosecuted through enforcement of laws in the United States.

Since the Religious Alliance was formed, we have had two national conferences in Washington D.C., with nearly 400 leaders present at each. We have recruited the top leadership of nearly 50 religious bodies, have supported stronger legislation against child pornography and hard-core obscenity, and are in process of mobilizing the leadership and membership of denominations across the United States for this effort.

Joseph Cardinal Bernardin provides strong leadership for our alliance as Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee and strong theological insight and undergirding for our purpose, our priorities and our program. "All of us here tonight affirm that human persons are made by God, in God's image, and with the dignity that rests on the loving design of the Divine Creator. Further, we all affirm that how we treat the neighbor is a significant dimension of our real worship and service of God. Therefore, as believers, we really have no choice; we must and do oppose pornography because it exploits and degrades the human person."

"In all senses of the phrase, pornography is no respecter of persons. Children are victimized; women are degraded; men are perverted; the young and the insecure are seduced; families are undermined; personal and social relations are twisted. God's gift

His Holiness Pope John Paul, II
November 21, 1988
Page Two

of sexuality is reduced to a bestial level that knows nothing of the personal dignity, human tenderness, mutual love, and ethical commitment that are part of the Divine plan."

In Matthew 18, Jesus says, "It is not the will of My Father in heaven that one of these little ones perish." In light of Cardinal Bernardin's words which describe the destruction of pornography, and of God's love described in Jesus' words, we believe we are called to become God's instrument of love by using every means available to minister to the victims and to eliminate the devastations of pornography.

The sexual revolution is destroying the lives of people and pornography is one of the most significant instruments of promoting that sexual revolution. Sexually transmitted diseases are spreading at epidemic rates throughout our country and around the world, with the prevalence of pornography a significant contributor. We believe the sexual revolution is a world-wide problem in need of strategies and solutions that include and involve religious leaders of the nations of the world. We believe your moral influence could be extremely helpful in the battle against pornography in America and world-wide.

Therefore, we come to you for your help and guidance. Your words against pornography in Los Angeles were very important. We believe the impact of your leadership on the Roman Catholic church in America and the broader religious community could be greatly enhanced through a pastoral statement from you to the Bishops in America and through participation of the Pontifical Commission for Social Communications and the leadership of Archbishop John Foley. We believe that this would greatly strengthen and enhance the leadership of Bishops in America in educating and mobilizing the Roman Catholic church for righteousness and against the plague of pornography. We believe God would use this to stir other religious leaders of our country through the Religious Alliance Against Pornography.

We request a meeting with your representatives and with you to talk about a world-wide strategy that would ultimately bring religious leaders of the nations of the world to meet in Rome to talk about methods for dealing effectively with the evil of pornography world-wide.

We know your deep commitment to young people and to their moral purity. We celebrate your commitment to marriage and marital fidelity and to strengthening family life. We believe that by our working together, and through your moral and spiritual leadership in the world, we could see significant change enhancing and preserving the dignity of persons and moral and spiritual renewal.

Warmly and gratefully yours,

ON BEHALF OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Jerry R. Kirk, Chairman

Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Vice Chairman



ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO

POST OFFICE BOX 1979

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60690

Office of the Archbishop

October 24, 1988

Dear Jerry,

I have just returned from Rome. While there, I inquired about the possibility of our enlisting the support or blessing of the Pope as we strengthen RAAP's position in our own country and seek to enlist the support and participation of others elsewhere.

Within the last year or so, the Holy Father has made some public statements about the evil of pornography and the need to combat it. The agency in the Holy See responsible for any initiative which might be taken (some initiatives have been proposed but nothing more than statements have emerged so far) is the Pontifical Commission for Social Communications. I met with Archbishop John Foley (formerly of Philadelphia) who is President of the Commission. He is very interested. An intervention on our part would be helpful to him because, while he has made certain suggestions, he has not yet received any authorization to proceed.

We worked out the following procedures:

First, I would ask you to prepare a memorandum explaining exactly what we have in mind. In doing this, we must remember the special character of the Holy See. By that, I mean that we could not expect the same kind of participation/involvement that you, I and the others have been giving. At the same time, moral support on the part of the Holy Father (and perhaps some kind of involvement on the part of Archbishop Foley) would be invaluable. To the extent that we are trying to mobilize forces beyond the United States, we would have to articulate our mission differently. For example, specific references to our Constitution would not be appropriate, etc.

Second, when the above-mentioned memorandum is completed, I would send it to Rome with a covering letter addressed directly to the Holy Father. Then, subsequently, I would follow this up with a visit to the appropriate persons.

October 24, 1988

Page 2

I will go to Rome again on December 5. If we could have drafts of the memorandum and my covering letter by then, I will review them with Archbishop Foley. Upon my return I would put them in definitive form and send them to Rome through the Apostolic Pro-Nuncio in Washington, Archbishop Pio Laghi. I am scheduled to return to Rome in 1989 in late January (date set), February or March (date not yet set), and April (date set). This would provide me with ample opportunities for the initial follow-up.

Perhaps when you have a chance you could call so we can discuss the matter. Many thanks.

With cordial good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,



Archbishop of Chicago

Dr. Jerry R. Kirk
Chairman, Religious Alliance
Against Pornography
800 Compton Road
Suite 9248
Cincinnati, Ohio 45231



National Conference on Soviet Jewry

DATE: November 21, 1988

TO: Board of Governors,
Member Agencies, Federations/CRC's,
Soviet Jewry Chairs, Interested Parties

FROM: Myrna Shinbaum, National Director

SUBJECT: **Gorbachev's Visit to the United Nations**

Mikhail Gorbachev will be coming to the United Nations, December 7-9. While this is not an official visit, he will be meeting with President Ronald Reagan, Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George P. Shultz. NCSJ has convened meetings of its member agencies and Executive Committee to discuss the visit and develop a response.

Gorbachev's visit provides us with an opportunity to clarify the record on his policy toward Soviet Jews. While we acknowledge positive steps, such as the release of the Prisoners of Zion, increased emigration, and some advancement in the area of Jewish culture, freedom for Soviet Jews has not yet been realized. Until fundamental changes are instituted and Soviet policy allows for unhampered repatriation to Israel, reunification of families, and cultural and religious rights, our voices need to be heard.

In advance of Gorbachev's visit, we are seeking meetings with President Reagan, Vice President Bush, Secretary of State Shultz, and U.N. Ambassador Vernon Walters. We are also seeking a meeting with Mr. Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, for a delegation of Jewish leadership. A press conference will be held to make our statement of concerns to the American people. Additionally we are contemplating an advertisement in the New York Times, if funds permit.

The Coalition to Free Soviet Jews will be organizing a public manifestation across from the U.N. Among the themes will be the Festival of Chanukah, and a focus on the former POC's and long-term refuseniks.

The Gorbachev visit coincides with Chanukah, and at a time of many community events for Women's Plea for Soviet Jews. This year, December 10, Human Rights Day, marks the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We urge all communities to incorporate a "message to Gorbachev" in their planned events on the days of his visit in the U.S., or to create a special media focus i.e. a resolution/proclamation by the Mayor, City Council and other appropriate bodies, which should be sent by special mail to the Soviet Mission to the U.N., 136 East 67th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021.

The International Council of the World Conference on Soviet Jewry will be meeting in Jerusalem, November 30 - December 1. The American delegation, led by NCSJ Chairman, Shoshana S. Cardin, will be developing strategy and programs for the international advocacy movement, along with our colleagues from around the world.

It will be one year since the historic mobilization for Soviet Jews in Washington, D.C. Much has happened in that year; much needs to happen in the coming months and years ahead if Soviet Jews are truly to be free.

A coalition of forty-five national organizations and over three hundred local community councils and federations

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 21, 1988
to AJC Field Staff
from Judith H. Banki
subject Update on Catholic-Jewish Relations

A recent flurry of charges and counter-charges on the question of whether or not the Vatican has broken "promises" made to the Jewish community has troubled a number of you. You have asked for our clarification of these developments and our evaluation of the present status and future direction of Catholic-Jewish relations.

Jim Rudin has asked me to prepare this report in response. It will address both the factual aspects of the exchange and the underlying loyalties and emotions that get triggered in such situations of tension and misunderstanding. (In our judgment, the feeling-tone aspects of the recent exchange are central. Indeed, the emotions and loyalties have pre-determined the different readings and interpretations of the facts on this occasion.)

Allegations that promises or commitments made to Jewish representatives during their meetings with Vatican officials in Rome and also with the Pope in Castelgondolfo in the summer of 1987 -- just prior to the Pope's visit to Miami -- had not been kept began to surface in mid-September of this year. One article, reprinted in several local Jewish periodicals, claimed that the Church had promised: "a plan to fight anti-Semitism around the world"; "a major statement on the Holocaust and the Church's role in it"; and "eventual recognition of Israel." A separately-issued statement later alleged a commitment by the Church to establish a "World Jewry Desk" in the Vatican Secretariat of State.

The only official public record of the exchange between Jewish and Catholic representatives in Rome and Castelgondolfo is a joint communique issued from Rome on September 1, 1987. What does the text of this mutually agreed-upon communique say on the issues just raised?

On the question of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust:

Cardinal John Willebrands, president of the Commission for Religious Relations With the Jews, announced the intentions of the commission to prepare an official Catholic document on the Shoah, the historical background of anti-Semitism and its contemporary manifestations.

In addition, in his address to Jewish representatives in Miami on September 11, 1987, Pope John Paul II noted:

The religious and historical implications of the Shoah for Christians and Jews will now be taken up formally by the International

Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee, meeting later this year in the United States for the first time. And as was affirmed in the important and very cordial meeting I had with Jewish leaders in Castelgandolfo on Sept. 1, a Catholic document on the Shoah and anti-Semitism will be forthcoming, resulting from such serious studies.

The Catholic document on the Holocaust was intended to follow upon a formal Catholic-Jewish conference. That conference was postponed at the request of the Jewish, not the Catholic, members of the Liaison Committee.

Undoubtedly, Jews and Catholics will approach the Shoah from different historical and theological perspectives. A joint study of this frightful period may indeed engender disagreements between -- as well as disagreements among -- Catholic and Jewish scholars as to the contributory role of Christian teachings of contempt in the Nazi demonologizing of the Jews, as to whether the Church could have spoken or acted more vigorously than it did to protest anti-Semitism and to save Jewish lives. These remain open questions, to be honestly addressed in a spirit of inquiry and an atmosphere free of recrimination. To accuse the Vatican of footdragging on this consultation when it was the Jewish side that requested the postponement, is patently unfair; moreover, it creates an atmosphere of suspicion that may make this painful subject even more difficult to confront together.

The subject has been further beclouded by accusations from some quarters that the Pope has insufficiently recognized the Jews as the primary victims of Nazi persecution, or has not acknowledged that Jews were killed only because they were Jews.

These accusations are challenged by a number of papal references to the particularity of Jewish suffering, including the September 11, 1987 address in Miami, when the Pope specified the Shoah as *that ruthless and inhuman attempt to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe, an attempt that resulted in millions of victims -- including women and children, the elderly and the sick -- exterminated only because they were Jews.* He added "Never again! Never again!"

Given its stubbornness in the face of much evidence to the contrary, we should consider why this impression persists in parts of the Jewish community. (Some have even accused the Pope of a revisionist reading of history.)

The Pope almost invariably stresses the specificity of Jewish suffering under Nazism when he meets with Jewish groups, as he did recently in Vienna; he does not always specify Jews as victims on other occasions (as when he visited Mauthausen). Since it is the Christian world that needs most to be reminded of the particular fate of the Jews in the Shoah, some Jews have felt that the Pope, while clearly empathizing with Jewish suffering, has missed some opportunities to bring that message to his own faithful. Moreover, the canonization of Fr. Maximilian Kolbe and the beatification of Edith Stein were troubling to many Jews because they believed these two individuals killed at Auschwitz -- a priest who gave his life for that of another prisoner but who was also editor of a journal that printed anti-Semitic articles, and a Jewish woman who converted to Catholicism and became a Carmelite nun -- sent the wrong signal to Catholics about who were the primary victims of Nazism. These feelings have been exacerbated by the transformation of a building at Auschwitz into a Carmelite convent--another instance of what Jews see as appropriation (not denial) of the Holocaust. Appropriation is a genuine concern for Jews, and we have every right to raise the question, but not

by falsifying the Pope's record.

On the question of Israel:

Representatives of the Holy See declared that there exist no theological reasons in Catholic doctrine that would inhibit [full diplomatic] relations, but noted that there do exist some serious and unresolved problems in the area.

Regarding the state of Israel, the Cardinal [Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of State,] stated that while diplomatic relations have not been "perfected," there do exist good relations on many levels including official visits to the Holy See by Israeli leaders.

In his Sept. 11 address in Miami, Pope John Paul II stated that the Jewish people

have a right to a homeland, as does any civil nation, according to international law.

He added,

What has been said about the right to a homeland also applies to the Palestinian people, so many of whom remain homeless and refugees.

This has been a consistent position of the Roman Catholic Church for some years.

Needless to say, most Jews would welcome the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the State of Israel. It is appropriate for Jews to pursue this goal and argue its justice. However, unsubstantiated claims that the goal has been promised are mischievous. We see no evidence of such a promise by the Vatican.

On a "World Jewry Desk" at the Vatican Secretariat of State:

...Cardinal Willebrands envisaged the development of a special mechanism that would more closely follow trends and concerns within the world Jewish community and improve contacts and collaboration where the need arises, including contacts with the Secretariat of State. . .

It was agreed that as occasions require, in areas which are of concern to the world Jewish community and where religious and political issues intertwine, future exchanges between IICIC and the Secretariat of State will be possible from time to time.

In our judgment, references to "time to time" exchanges do not constitute a promise to open a Jewish Desk in the Vatican Secretariat of State. Such a desk may well be desirable, but unsubstantiated claims that the one has been promised seem an unlikely route to achieving it.

An additional observation. To base Catholic-Jewish relations on the assumption that one can drive a wedge between American Catholics -- or the "American Catholic Church" and the Pope (or Vatican) is a dangerous and self-defeating policy. All analogies are of limited value, but there are some strong parallels between Jewish attitudes toward Israel and Catholic attitudes toward the Pope. Jews may be critical of specific Israeli policies and unhappy about a number

of recent developments; we will debate these matters vigorously -- sometimes vehemently -- among ourselves. But if we sense that Israel is being criticized for the purpose of delegitimizing her as a nation, undermining her security, defaming her, we will rally to her defense. In similar vein, there is a lively internal debate among Roman Catholics about some of the emphases and non-doctrinal positions of the Pope. One need only read the pages of Commonweal, for example, to see that there are faithful Roman Catholics who are not happy with the Pope's attitudes towards women's ordination, loyal dissent or family planning, or his meetings with Kurt Waldheim. But if they believe that the Pope is being criticized by others for the purpose of maligning their Church or undermining its authority, they will close ranks and reject the criticism because of its perceived motives. Jews, who are properly offended by "Jews Yes, Israel No" attitudes should not resort to "Catholics Yes, the Pope No" approaches to issues.

The State of Catholic-Jewish Relations

Catholic-Jewish relations are alive and well in the United States. As we have previously noted, more progress toward mutual understanding and mutual respect has been made in the past quarter century than in the almost twenty centuries which preceded it. Some genuine trust has developed on both sides. Nevertheless, this is still a fragile relationship. There is a residue of suspicion of the other's motives; there remain stereotypes and pockets of ignorance. We cannot and should not avoid discussion of genuine disagreements on religious, historical or social policy positions. Hasty and unfounded accusations will impede, not advance, the process of honest discussion.

Please inform us if this issue has surfaced in your community, and send us any relevant clippings or publicity.

We will be sharing this memo with national and chapter leadership.

cc: Geri Rozanski

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Update.JB5
IAD
11/18/88:EL

Human Rights

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 22, 1988
to Ira Silverman
from David Harris
subject UPDATE ON POSSIBLE CSCE HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW

In my memo of October 7th, I noted that we had recommended, at an inter-agency meeting in the Washington office of the NCSJ, a letter from the Jewish organizations to key Administration and Congressional officials outlining suggested criteria for US approval of a 1991 human rights conference in Moscow. With our assistance, such a letter was drafted and signed by 15 agency presidents, including Ted Ellenoff. A copy is attached.

Subsequent reports indicated that the letter's recommendations were taken seriously. Indeed, the attached article in The Washington Post (November 16) underscores the point, without referring to the letter, by listing the U.S. conditions for agreement to the Moscow meeting. You will note the high degree of convergence.

David

cc: David Geller
Daniel Kamin
Gary Rubin
Marc Tanenbaum

enclosures

National Conference on Soviet Jewry

October 13, 1988



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Executive Director

Jerry Goodman

The Honorable George Shultz
Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

As the Vienna Review Meeting of the CSCE reportedly nears the end of its work, we, the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (NCSJ) and the undersigned member agencies, write at this crucial time of negotiations to communicate our concerns regarding the possible conclusion of this meeting and the Soviet proposal for a follow-up human rights conference to be held in Moscow. In June, 1987, the NCSJ Board of Governors adopted a position that Soviet performance on human rights must match the principles of Helsinki before we could consider support of a Moscow conference. In essence, our position today remains the same. In light of recent developments, we would like to elaborate on our views.

The U.S. delegation to the CSCE and the Department of State have continually held firm to the policy that performance, not merely words and promises by the Soviets, is the goal to a successful conclusion of Vienna and an agreement on the Moscow conference. We firmly support that policy and urge our negotiators to maintain this position.

We welcome and acknowledge that the Soviet government has made progress in the area of human rights, particularly in recent months. However, substantive problems still exist in the measurable performance criteria set forth by the U.S. In order for us to support a Moscow human rights conference, these issues must further be resolved.

The U.S. has set forth four major criteria to be met before considering a Moscow conference. They are:

1. Increased and sustained emigration
2. Release of all Prisoners of Conscience
3. Cessation of all radio jamming
4. Resolution of all bilateral cases

We understand that when these conditions are met, the U.S. will consider a conference only if the Soviets then agree to specific criteria concerning access. We would like to address these significant issues with our assessment of progress made, and define further improvements to be made before such a conference should be agreed upon.

We welcome the increase in Jewish emigration from under 1,000 in all of 1986 to over 2,000 last month alone. Recalling the peak figure of

51,320 in 1979, we look forward to further increases in the coming months and years.

Two points must be noted in analyzing the 1988 trend in Jewish emigration. First, we have seen a ten-fold increase in the number of vyzovs (applications) requested, yet there is no equivalent relationship between applications requested and visas granted. Second, artificial barriers to emigration still remain and must be removed to move towards the institutionalization of the Right to Leave one's country.

As you know, these obstacles continue to prevent long-term refuseniks and some new applicants from successfully emigrating. Soviet officials continue to use such methods as alleged access to state secrets, parental financial waivers, lack of kinship and induction to army service. As well, Jews are denied permission under the ambiguous reason of their emigration "not being in the interest of the state." Therefore, we seek not only substantially increased and sustained emigration, but also an emigration process free of hindrance in order for Moscow to be in true compliance with the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Accords.

Regarding Prisoners of Conscience, by some counts an estimated 200 remain incarcerated, including five Helsinki monitors. While we are grateful for the release to date of many Prisoners of Conscience, we note that three former Jewish Prisoners of Conscience are still denied the right to emigrate. Also, while the Soviets have ceased the jamming of several western broadcasts, including the Voice of America, the Voice of Israel still remains jammed. We believe that Moscow should be urged to end all jamming as a sign of its commitment to the free flow of information. Furthermore, although the Soviets have resolved many bilateral cases, approximately 50 remain unresolved to date.

In considering a Moscow conference, it is vital to give careful attention to the rules of access governing such a meeting. We must be mindful of the obstacles which occurred during the Budapest experts meeting. We believe clear and precise definitions of access must be agreed upon with the Soviets before any commitment can be made. We suggest the following:

1. Visas for all representatives of non-governmental organizations, press, private citizens and expatriats desiring to attend. (The denial of visas to three delegates to the Chautauqua Conference in Tbilisi last month confirms this concern.)
2. Unhindered travel to, and participation in, the conference by Soviet citizens.
3. Non-governmental organization representatives, private citizens, expatriats and Soviet citizens' right to:
 - a) enter and hold meetings and press conferences within the conference center,

- b) permission to use facilities outside the conference center and hold meetings and press conferences,
 - c) unhindered access to private homes of Soviet citizens, and
 - d) unhindered entry and distribution of information.
4. Unhindered press access to meetings in the conference hall, outside facilities and private homes.

True access is necessary for any meeting to take place under the auspices of the Helsinki process and we would expect any host country to perform accordingly. One question remains, however. What action would the U.S. take if a breach of access is demonstrated? If one visa is denied, or if an obstacle presents itself in Moscow (such as the denial of facilities for a privately-sponsored meeting or press conference, as occurred in Budapest) how will the U.S. respond?

Finally, we are pleased that progress is being made on the language of the Vienna Concluding Document. However, as our government has often stated, the final measure of success will be deeds, not words.

Since the signing of the Helsinki Accords, we have taken great pride in our nation's role as the moral leader and champion of human rights. For almost two years the U.S. delegation has strived for nothing less than the individual and collective rights of the citizens of the signatory countries. We continue to support that effort and look forward to the time when the Soviet government meets the commitments to which it has voluntarily agreed.

Sincerely,

Morris B. Abram, Chairman, National Conference on Soviet Jewry
Edward C. Levy, Jr., President, American Israel Public Affairs
Committee

Theodore Ellenoff, President, American Jewish Committee

Robert K. Lifton, President, American Jewish Congress

Burton S. Levinson, National Chairman, Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith

Seymour D. Reich, President, B'nai B'rith International

Hyla Lipsky, President, B'nai B'rith Women

Alan Pesky, Chairman, Coalition to Free Soviet Jews

Mandell L. Berman, President, Council of Jewish Federations

Carmela Kalmanson, President, Hadassah

Herbert Magidson, President, Jewish Labor Committee

Herbert D. Greff, National Commander, Jewish War Veterans of the
U.S.A.

Lenore Feldman, President, National Council of Jewish Women

Michael Pelavin, Chairman, National Jewish Community Relations
Advisory Council

Reese Feldman, President, Women's American ORT

Ivan J. Novick, Chairman of the Board, Zionist Organization of
America

cc: Amb. Rozanne Ridgway, Dept. of State
Amb. Richard Schifter, Dept. of State
LTG. Col. Colin Powell, NSC
Amb. Warren Zimmermann, U.S. Delegation to the CSCE
Rep. Steny Hoyer, Helsinki Commission
Sen. Dennis DeConcini, Helsinki Commission



U.S. Presents New Stand On Moscow Conference

Allies Offering to Attend if Conditions Met

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United States last week presented the Soviet Union with a newly forged Allied position on a Soviet proposal to host an international human rights conference in Moscow in 1991, in a move that officials hope may open the way for a new set of East-West arms reduction talks, State Department officials said yesterday.

The new Allied position, which represent significant shifts by the United States and Britain, was presented to Soviet officials in Europe as well as Washington and in a letter from Secretary of State George P. Shultz to Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, the officials said.

At just about the same time, however, France posed a new complication by shifting its stand on the proposed East-West talks to reduce conventional military forces in Europe, the sources said. The French demand involved the nature of the link between two separate sets of planned East-West negotiations, a 35-nation parley on confidence-

building measures and a 23-nation parley on conventional arms cuts.

U.S. Ambassador Warren Zimmermann called the French shift "a very serious problem" that took other western nations by surprise and said "it could take quite some time to sort matters out," Washington Post special correspondent Peter Hoffer reported from Vienna.

The new Allied position on the Moscow human rights conference was hammered out in intensive discussions two weeks ago in Vienna, Washington and European capitals, and involved a personal letter from President Reagan to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Reagan and Thatcher will see each other in person here today.

Previously the United States had told the Soviets and U.S. allies that it might go to a Moscow human rights conference if key conditions were met, and the British had declined to go even that far. The new position, officials said, is that the United States—joined by its allies—will attend the Moscow conference if specified conditions are met. One official characterized the change as from "maybe" to "yes, if."

Officials said the conditions for

attending the conference, which were set forth in the messages to the Soviets, included:

- Release from Soviet prisons of remaining "prisoners of conscience" who are known to the West. No number or list was given, but the United States is referring to 180 to 200 persons it believes are in this category.

- Release of the sole remaining Helsinki monitor jailed by the Soviets.

- Emigration of all Jewish "refuseniks" currently known to the West.

- A commitment to further increases in emigration from the Soviet Union.

- Progress on dismantling the Soviet jamming of Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and Radio Israel.

- A concrete affirmation that the Soviet Union will put into place laws and institutions that make permanent its recent moves toward improvement of human rights.

In addition, the Soviets were told that access to the proposed Moscow conference must be guaranteed to dissidents, human rights groups and the international press. The strict access conditions are understood to have been previously accepted by Soviet officials.

The Moscow human rights conference is one of the main issues in the way of completing the two-year-old Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Vienna. Successful completion of the Vienna talks, in turn, is a western requirement for starting new East-West conventional arms negotiations.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Israel Office

VIA FAX

date November 23, 1988

to George Gruen

from Ron Kronish

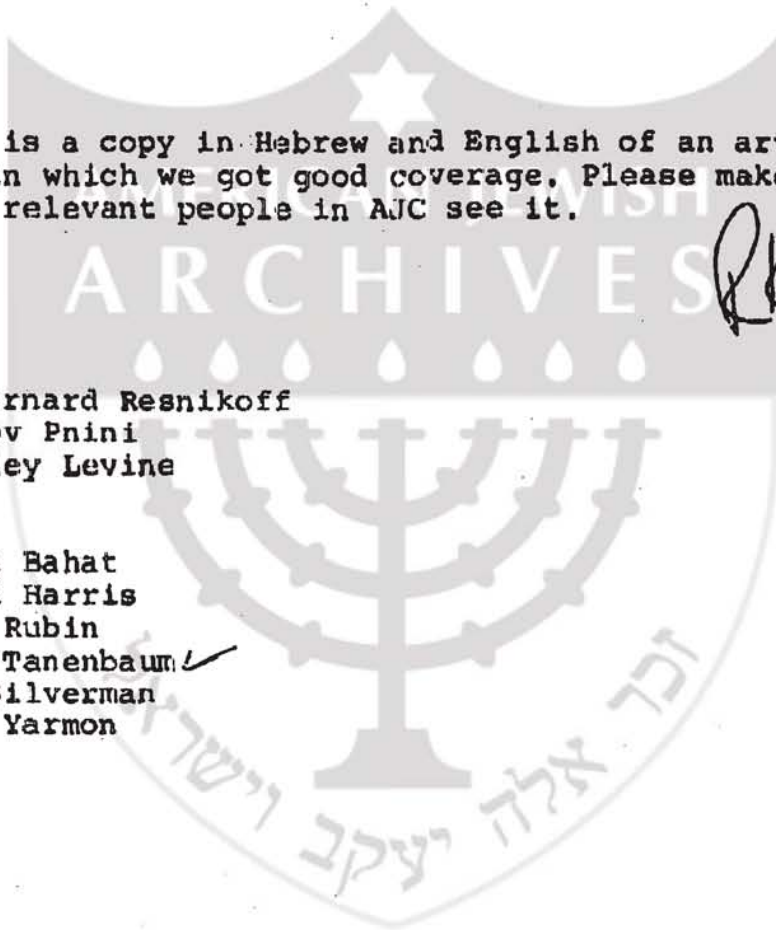
subject

Attached is a copy in Hebrew and English of an article from Maariv, in which we got good coverage. Please make sure that all relevant people in AJC see it.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

cc: M. Bernard Resnikoff
Yaacov Pnini
Charley Levine

Shula Bahat
David Harris
Gary Rubin
Marc Tanenbaum ✓
Ira Silverman
Mort Yarmon



מעריב
יום ב' 21.11.88
ש"ב בגטלו תשמ"ט

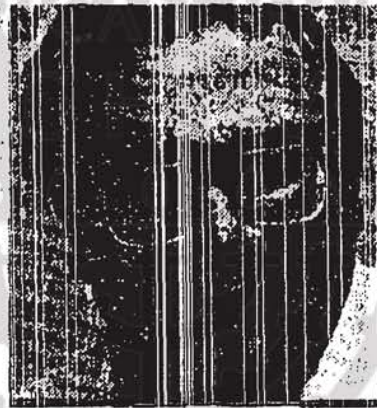
סניורה לוועד היהודי האמריקני: אנו מבינים שאין חזרה לגבולות 1947

אתנו בארץ. חיום אנו ניצבים לפני התחילת חודשה, לפני נקודת סימנה בהיסטוריה של אזורנו. סניורה הפליג באונוי שומעיו בתואורים ורודים של שיתוף הפעולה בין ישראל וירדן ומדינה פלשתינית ענמאית - שיחשך את האיורד למהדורה מזרח תיכונה של הקרילית האירופית.

דוגים חומים אמר סניורה איש גם בארץ ניברסיטת ת"א, מול אולם מלא עד אפס מקונו, כשליצרו - הסופר יהודי סמילנסקי, אייבו נתן וד"ר מתי שטיינברג. הקהל, רר בו כסילו מרצים וסטודנטים, חתאסף לכנס של "עד כאן - מרצים באוניברסיטת ת"א" אשר העלה לדיון את השאלה האם יתכן הסדר של שלום ללא אש"ף.

ד"ר מתי שטיינברג מהאוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים אמר כי אי אפשר שיהיה הסדר של שלום לסכסוך באזור ללא אש"ף ומי שפוסל אותו צריך לדעת כי הוא פוסל את חוסדו כולו.

הסופר, פרופ' יהודי סמילנסקי קבל על התנחמות הכובש שאינה נעצרת. "סוף הכיבוש אינו נראה והמשך הכיבוש - אינו נסבל. הענין שלפנינו אינו רק הערבי והכביש בוש אלא היהודי והכיבוש, והפסקתו - תוא צורך יהודי".



עורך העיתון אל-מאריד, הוא סניורה
דחה את הטענות כי הצורת אלגור אינה חרימטמנית בכל הנוגע לחברה בישראל: "תחלטה החלוקה מדכיו באופן סזרו על הקמת שתי מדינות וגלשתינה חנגדטו" רית. מי שאומר שלא זיהנה פה חברת נדר" רה בקיומה של ישראל - שיקרא את זה" חלטה שוב".
לדבריו, "הצהרת העצמאות הפכה את האמנה הפלשתינית לשענ היסטורי וננלה

מאת אריה בנדר וראומה שחור

"אף על פי שהצהרת העצמאות הפלש" תינית כאלגור מסתמכת על החלטת חד לוקח של א"מ 181, אנו יודעים שאי אפי שר לחזור לגבולות 1947. הפלשתינים מבינים שלפני 40 שנה הם החמיצו את תהודמנות. לכן אנו מבקשים ללכת לוועי" דה בינלאומית על בסיס החלטות 242 ר 338, כלומר, הגבולות הסופיים של המדינה הפלשתינית יהיו גבולות 1947".

דברים אלה אמר אחמול עורך העתון אלימאג'י, תנא סניורה, למשלחת של תור עד היהודי האמריקני שעיפה נפש במלון לרם בירושלים.

סניורה אמר כי האינתיפאדה הימשך בשנתיים הקרובות. "משום שזו הפעם הראשונה בתולדותינו שהפלשתינים נאבי קים כעצמם למען גורלם. ללא חלחס העם" מי המלכה את האינתיפאדה, לא תהיה לנו תנועה פוליטית". לדעתו ישא כעת המאד בק בעיקר אופי של התנגדות סבילה, כגון שביתה, אי תשלום מיסים וכו'.
הוא חילק לחברי המשלחת את גליון המחדורה האנגלית של עיתונו, ובו חברת רת "המדינה הפלשתינית נולדה". סניורה

Maariv - November 21, 1988

SINIORA TO THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE: WE UNDERSTAND THERE IS NO RETURN TO THE 1947 BORDER.

Aryeh Bender and Reumah Shachor

"Although the Palestinian Declaration of Independence in Algiers is based on UN Resolution 181, we know that it is impossible to return to the 1947 border. The Palestinians realize that 40 years ago they missed the opportunity. It is for this reason we are requesting an international conference based on Resolutions 242 and 338. In other words, the final border of the Palestinian State would be the 1967 border."

Hanna Siniora, editor of the newspaper Al Fajr, made these comments yesterday to a delegation of the American Jewish Committee at the Laromme Hotel in Jerusalem.

Siniora said that the intifada will continue over the next two years "because this is the first time in our history that the Palestinians are struggling for their fate on their own. Without the popular fervor accompanying the intifada, there would be no political movement." Since, in his opinion, the struggle includes strikes, non payment of taxes, etc, it can currently be characterized as civil disobedience.

Siniora distributed copies of his newspaper to the delegation which carried the headline, "The Palestinian State is Born". He denied the claim that the Algerian declaration is not forthright concerning recognition of Israel: "The (UN) partition declaration clearly mentions the creation of two states in Mandatory Palestine. Whoever says that there is no clear recognition of the existence of Israel should re-read the resolution."

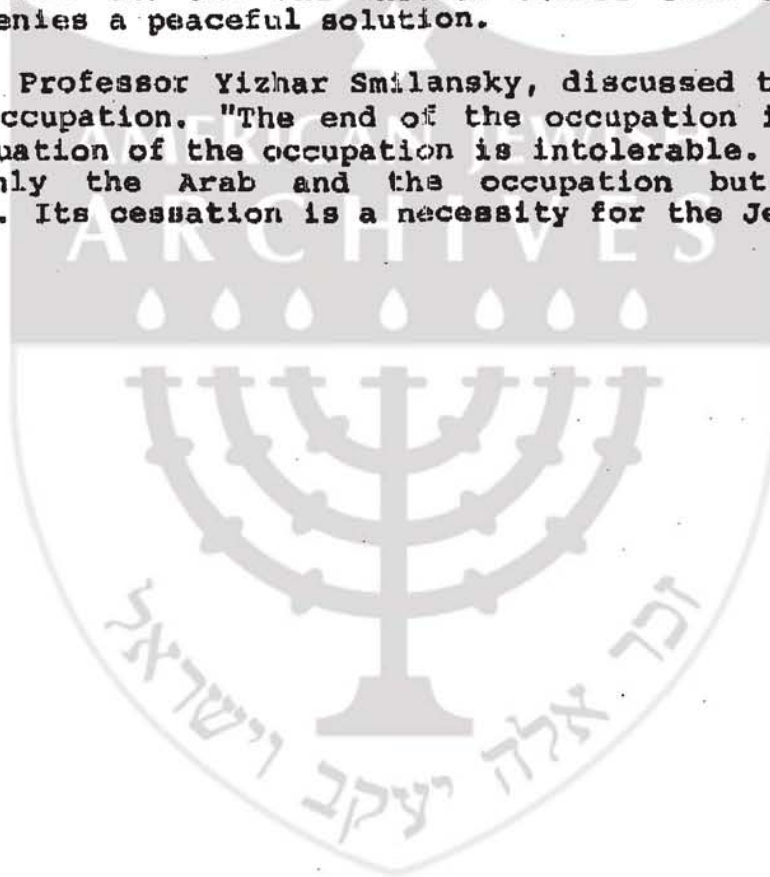
According to Siniora, "The declaration of independence has turned the Palestinian Covenant into a historical concept which has been filed away. "Today we stand before a new beginning and a historical turning point in our region." Siniora described a glowing scene of cooperation between Israel, Jordan and an independent Palestinian state that - would turn our region into a Mid-eastern version of the European Economic Community.

- 2 -

Siniora spoke in a similar vein last night at Tel Aviv University before a packed hall. Sitting alongside him were the author Yizhar Smilansky, Abie Nathan and Dr. Matti Steinberg. The audience consisted mainly of lecturers and students that had convened for a meeting called: "Until Now" - Lecturers of Tel Aviv University" which brought up for discussion the question of the possibility of a peace agreement with the PLO.

Dr. Matti Steinberg of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem said that it is impossible to have a peaceful solution to the conflict in the region without the PLO and whoever denies this should know that he entirely denies a peaceful solution.

The author Professor Yizhar Smilansky, discussed the phenomenon of an unending occupation. "The end of the occupation is not in sight and the continuation of the occupation is intolerable. The issue before us is not only the Arab and the occupation but the Jew and the occupation. Its cessation is a necessity for the Jews."



NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS
BISHOPS' COMMITTEE FOR ECUMENICAL AND INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
SECRETARIAT FOR CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-4105

202 6 659-6857

November 23, 1988

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bishop William H. Keeler and Members of the Secretariat Advisory Committee
FROM: Gene Fisher
RE: Jewish Agency Responses to Report on "Misunderstandings and Distortions"

Enclosed are copies of the first two responses to the "Blue Paper," from Judy Banki of the American Jewish Committee and from Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Chair of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC). Judy Banki's memorandum, which is most constructive and precisely to the point, will be very helpful. It is a public document which you can use as you will in your local communities.

The IJCIC response, as did the Synagogue Council of America in our meeting with them on November 1, at which we raised the issue directly, acknowledges the essential validity of the Blue Paper and the concerns it raises.

We are also in touch directly with ADL, pursuing a meeting panim al panim with them to discuss ways of clarifying the public record. I will let you know how these come out. In the meantime, I have expressed our gratitude to AJC for their timely and precise response in this urgent situation.

CCS: Ms. Judith, Banki, AJC
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, IJCIC
Rabbi Leon Klenicki, ADL
Rabbi Henry Michelman, SCA

EJF:mh

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1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-4105 • 202 • 650-6857

November 22, 1988

Ms. Judith Banki
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022-2746

Dear Judy:

Thank you very much for the copy of your memorandum of November 21 to the AJC field staff on "Update on Catholic-Jewish Relations." It is a very fine and useful response to the concerns of the Advisory Committee of the Secretariat expressed in my "Confidential Report on Misunderstandings and Factual Distortions of Catholic-Jewish Relations."

It should help to clarify the situation in the AJC network. We are grateful to you, Rabbi Rudin, and to the Interreligious Affairs Department of AJC for your timely and substantive response in this matter which is of real urgency to us.

When I return from Vienna in December, perhaps we can discuss means of distributing it more widely in both our communities. In the meantime, I will share it with our Episcopal Moderator, Bishop William Keeler, with Father Fumagalli of the Holy See, and with the Advisory Committee.

Yours in Shalom,

Eugene J. Fisher

CCS: Bishop William H. Keeler
Advisory Committee of the Secretariat
Rev. Pierfrancesco Fumagalli

EJF:mh

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 21, 1988
to AJC Field Staff
from Judith H. Banki
subject Update on Catholic-Jewish Relations

A recent flurry of charges and counter-charges on the question of whether or not the Vatican has broken "promises" made to the Jewish community has troubled a number of you. You have asked for our clarification of these developments and our evaluation of the present status and future direction of Catholic-Jewish relations.

Jim Rudin has asked me to prepare this report in response. It will address both the factual aspects of the exchange and the underlying loyalties and emotions that get triggered in such situations of tension and misunderstanding. (In our judgment, the feeling-tone aspects of the recent exchange are central. Indeed, the emotions and loyalties have pre-determined the different readings and interpretations of the facts on this occasion.)

Allegations that promises or commitments made to Jewish representatives during their meetings with Vatican officials in Rome and also with the Pope in Castelgondolfo in the summer of 1987 -- just prior to the Pope's visit to Miami -- had not been kept began to surface in mid-September of this year. One article, reprinted in several local Jewish periodicals, claimed that the Church had promised: "a plan to fight anti-Semitism around the world"; "a major statement on the Holocaust and the Church's role in it"; and "eventual recognition of Israel." A separately-issued statement later alleged a commitment by the Church to establish a "World Jewry Desk" in the Vatican Secretariat of State.

The only official public record of the exchange between Jewish and Catholic representatives in Rome and Castelgondolfo is a joint communique issued from Rome on September 1, 1987. What does the text of this mutually agreed-upon communique say on the issues just raised?

On the question of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust:

Cardinal John Willebrands, president of the Commission for Religious Relations With the Jews, announced the intentions of the commission to prepare an official Catholic document on the Shoah, the historical background of anti-Semitism and its contemporary manifestations.

In addition, in his address to Jewish representatives in Miami on September 11, 1987, Pope John Paul II noted:

The religious and historical implications of the Shoah for Christians and Jews will now be taken up formally by the International

Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee, meeting later this year in the United States for the first time. And as was affirmed in the important and very cordial meeting I had with Jewish leaders in Castelgandolfo on Sept. 1, a Catholic document on the Shoah and anti-Semitism will be forthcoming, resulting from such serious studies.

The Catholic document on the Holocaust was intended to follow upon a formal Catholic-Jewish conference. That conference was postponed at the request of the Jewish, not the Catholic, members of the Liaison Committee.

Undoubtedly, Jews and Catholics will approach the Shoah from different historical and theological perspectives. A joint study of this frightful period may indeed engender disagreements between -- as well as disagreements among -- Catholic and Jewish scholars as to the contributory role of Christian teachings of contempt in the Nazi demonologizing of the Jews, as to whether the Church could have spoken or acted more vigorously than it did to protest anti-Semitism and to save Jewish lives. These remain open questions, to be honestly addressed in a spirit of inquiry and an atmosphere free of recrimination. To accuse the Vatican of footdragging on this consultation when it was the Jewish side that requested the postponement, is patently unfair; moreover, it creates an atmosphere of suspicion that may make this painful subject even more difficult to confront together.

The subject has been further beclouded by accusations from some quarters that the Pope has insufficiently recognized the Jews as the primary victims of Nazi persecution, or has not acknowledged that Jews were killed only because they were Jews.

These accusations are challenged by a number of papal references to the particularity of Jewish suffering, including the September 11, 1987 address in Miami, when the Pope specified the Shoah as *that ruthless and inhuman attempt to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe, an attempt that resulted in millions of victims -- including women and children, the elderly and the sick -- exterminated only because they were Jews.* He added "Never again! Never again!"

Given its stubbornness in the face of much evidence to the contrary, we should consider why this impression persists in parts of the Jewish community. (Some have even accused the Pope of a revisionist reading of history.)

The Pope almost invariably stresses the specificity of Jewish suffering under Nazism when he meets with Jewish groups, as he did recently in Vienna; he does not always specify Jews as victims on other occasions (as when he visited Mauthausen). Since it is the Christian world that needs most to be reminded of the particular fate of the Jews in the Shoah, some Jews have felt that the Pope, while clearly empathizing with Jewish suffering, has missed some opportunities to bring that message to his own faithful. Moreover, the canonization of Fr. Maximilian Kolbe and the beatification of Edith Stein were troubling to many Jews because they believed these two individuals killed at Auschwitz -- a priest who gave his life for that of another prisoner but who was also editor of a journal that printed anti-Semitic articles, and a Jewish woman who converted to Catholicism and became a Carmelite nun -- sent the wrong signal to Catholics about who were the primary victims of Nazism. These feelings have been exacerbated by the transformation of a building at Auschwitz into a Carmelite convent--another instance of what Jews see as appropriation (not denial) of the Holocaust. Appropriation is a genuine concern for Jews, and we have every right to raise the question, but not

by falsifying the Pope's record.

On the question of Israel:

Representatives of the Holy See declared that there exist no theological reasons in Catholic doctrine that would inhibit [full diplomatic] relations, but noted that there do exist some serious and unresolved problems in the area.

Regarding the state of Israel, the Cardinal [Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of State.] stated that while diplomatic relations have not been "perfected," there do exist good relations on many levels including official visits to the Holy See by Israeli leaders.

In his Sept. 11 address in Miami, Pope John Paul II stated that the Jewish people

have a right to a homeland, as does any civil nation, according to international law.

He added,

What has been said about the right to a homeland also applies to the Palestinian people, so many of whom remain homeless and refugees.

This has been a consistent position of the Roman Catholic Church for some years.

Needless to say, most Jews would welcome the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the State of Israel. It is appropriate for Jews to pursue this goal and argue its justice. However, unsubstantiated claims that the goal has been promised are mischievous. We see no evidence of such a promise by the Vatican.

On a "World Jewry Desk" at the Vatican Secretariat of State:

...Cardinal Willebrands envisaged the development of a special mechanism that would more closely follow trends and concerns within the world Jewish community and improve contacts and collaboration where the need arises, including contacts with the Secretariat of State. . .

It was agreed that as occasions require, in areas which are of concern to the world Jewish community and where religious and political issues intertwine, future exchanges between IJCIC and the Secretariat of State will be possible from time to time.

In our judgment, references to "time to time" exchanges do not constitute a promise to open a Jewish Desk in the Vatican Secretariat of State. Such a desk may well be desirable, but unsubstantiated claims that the one has been promised seem an unlikely route to achieving it.

An additional observation. To base Catholic-Jewish relations on the assumption that one can drive a wedge between American Catholics -- or the "American Catholic Church" and the Pope (or Vatican) is a dangerous and self-defeating policy. All analogies are of limited value, but there are some strong parallels between Jewish attitudes toward Israel and Catholic attitudes toward the Pope. Jews may be critical of specific Israeli policies and unhappy about a number

of recent developments; we will debate these matters vigorously -- sometimes vehemently -- among ourselves. But if we sense that Israel is being criticized for the purpose of delegitimizing her as a nation, undermining her security, defaming her, we will rally to her defense. In similar vein, there is a lively internal debate among Roman Catholics about some of the emphases and non-doctrinal positions of the Pope. One need only read the pages of Commonweal, for example, to see that there are faithful Roman Catholics who are not happy with the Pope's attitudes towards women's ordination, loyal dissent or family planning, or his meetings with Kurt Waldheim. But if they believe that the Pope is being criticized by others for the purpose of maligning their Church or undermining its authority, they will close ranks and reject the criticism because of its perceived motives. Jews, who are properly offended by "Jews Yes, Israel No" attitudes should not resort to "Catholics Yes, the Pope No" approaches to issues.

The State of Catholic-Jewish Relations

Catholic-Jewish relations are alive and well in the United States. As we have previously noted, more progress toward mutual understanding and mutual respect has been made in the past quarter century than in the almost twenty centuries which preceded it. Some genuine trust has developed on both sides. Nevertheless, this is still a fragile relationship. There is a residue of suspicion of the other's motives; there remain stereotypes and pockets of ignorance. We cannot and should not avoid discussion of genuine disagreements on religious, historical or social policy positions. Hasty and unfounded accusations will impede, not advance, the process of honest discussion.

Please inform us if this issue has surfaced in your community, and send us any relevant clippings or publicity.

We will be sharing this memo with national and chapter leadership.

cc: Geri Rozanski

700-88
Update.JBS
IAD
11/18/88:EL

INTERNATIONAL JEWISH COMMITTEE
ON INTERRELIGIOUS CONSULTATIONS

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Chairman

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The Israel Interfaith Association
P.O.B. 7739
Jerusalem 91.077, Israel
(02) 63-52-12

Synagogue Council of America
327 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10016
(212) 686-8670

World Jewish Congress
501 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10022
(212) 755-5770

November 16, 1988

Dr. Eugene J. Fisher
Executive Secretary
Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations
National Conference of Catholic Bishops
1312 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Gene,

A copy of your confidential memorandum of October 11, 1988, addressed to a "Jewish Representatives List" has recently been brought to my attention.

I have read your document carefully. In general, I share the concern of your colleagues and yourself and feel personally that a number of your corrections and criticisms are appropriate and justified. I regret that some of these statements were made not only because several were inaccurate, but because they may have left the false impression that these were the views of IJCIC, or its member agencies, or the majority of the American Jewish community.

As I hope you and your colleagues know, none of these declarations cited in your memorandum was issued by any official members of IJCIC nor of IJCIC itself. The ADL is not a member of IJCIC. Its representative on our Sept. 1987 delegation to the Vatican, Rabbi Leon Klenicki, was present by virtue of a special arrangement with B'nai B'rith International. Normal discipline and courtesy should have prompted the sharing of conclusions with IJCIC prior to going public. Regrettably, none of those who spoke or wrote on this subject found it necessary to check their facts or interpretations with any of us from IJCIC who were so deeply involved in the entire process. That is both regrettable and unfortunate.

For the sake of the record, let me say that IJCIC neither sought nor received any so-called "promises" on the several issues alluded to -- the promulgation of a document on anti-Semitism and the Shoah; a "World Jewry Desk" in the Vatican Secretariat of State; and establishment at the present moment of de jure diplomatic relations with Israel.

November 16, 1988

You are fully correct in stating that our joint understanding of exactly what both our delegations discussed and agreed upon was published in the careful and precise communique that we issued in Rome at the close of our meetings. While we felt then, and continue to feel now, that an "official Catholic document on the Shoah, the historical background of anti-Semitism and its contemporary manifestations," would be of major importance, it is true that we also agreed that we will "first engage in a series of consultations on the Shoah" between the Vatican Commission and IJCIC.

As you will recall, there was some hope expressed in the Jewish delegation that that process might culminate in a Papal Encyclical or an Apostolic Letter in order to heighten the potential value of such a document. But no "promises" were asked for nor given. My impression is that we were simply open to that possibility, depending on how our consultations progressed.

I do want to differ with you, Gene, on the issue of the postponement of the Shoah consultation. You are right to assert that "the Jewish side...requested the postponement." But at no time did IJCIC "accuse the Holy See of footdragging." The actualities were that the turbulence over the audience granted by Pope John Paul II to Austrian President Kurt Waldheim in June 1987, the public upheavals during the summer, followed by the IJCIC audience with the Pope on September 1st created such a high state of stress that we thought it the better part of wisdom not to try to meet on such a sensitive and difficult subject as the Nazi Holocaust in the midst of that storm. We also felt that such a meeting in December 1987 held in Washington, DC, with the media of the world broadcasting our every move would be most counterproductive.

My impression is that Cardinal Willebrands, Bishop Keeler, and yourself understood that judgment and agreed that it was the wisest course at that time.

When we thought the atmosphere had eased somewhat after the turn of the New Year, IJCIC began to gear up planning for the Shoah consultation, and dates in the Spring of 1988 were being considered. Then another round of turbulence and stress occurred -- Cardinal Ratzinger's unfortunate press interviews appearing to denigrate Jews and Judaism; the furor over the Carmelite convent in Auschwitz and the resistance to any change; Pope John Paul's visits to Germany and the Edith Stein episode; and then the Pope's second set of meetings with Kurt Waldheim in Austria in June 1988.

Those were hardly actions on the Catholic side that contributed to an atmosphere of trust and sharing, which would have enabled IJCIC to move forward.

As for the other issues you outline in the remainder of your memorandum dealing with Israel, the Pope's visits to Austria, his views on the holocaust, and the Jewish people, I would like to respond to them in some detail in a separate document. Generally, there is much in your clarifications, that I would support, while differing in some perceptions.

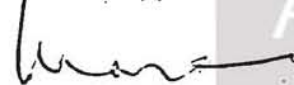
November 16, 1988

In closing, I do want to make clear my personal view in response to these Jewish spokesmen who appear to be calling on American Jews to collaborate with the American Catholic Church while ignoring or even boycotting the Vatican. I am not sure whether to characterize that attitude as one based on sheer naivete, complete ignorance of the interdependence of Catholic life in relation to the Pope and the Holy See, or just plain chutzpah. I can just imagine some of my Jewish colleagues responding to proposals from Catholic authorities for relating to American Jews but rejecting the place of Israel and Jerusalem in Jewish consciousness.

What much of this means to me is that we have an enormous task in continuing to inform and educate our respective peoples -- obviously intellectuals, leaders, as well as people in the pews -- about basic and essential facts of Catholic-Jewish relations.

We will be in business for a very long time...

Sincerely,



Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Chairman

MHT:RPR





CARDINAL'S OFFICE
1011 FIRST AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10022

November 28, 1988

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

Thank you for your gracious letter of November 7th regarding my sermon on the meaning of Kristallnacht. I was pleased that you were able to be present at Saint Patrick's Cathedral on Sunday, November 6th.

I appreciate your kind words for my health. I do feel much better these days.

With best regards, I am

Faithfully,

John Cardinal O'Connor

Archbishop of New York

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

**FROM: WORD PROCESSING
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M. Tenenbaum ✓
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Ron Kronid's fax
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Per

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

Washington Office of the American Jewish Committee
FAX TELEPHONE NUMBER: (202) 462-4664

DATE Nov. 29, 1988 - 7:20 pm

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TO: Ira Silverman w/c.c.: below

LOCATION: New York

FROM: David Harris

LOCATION: DC

SPECIAL REMARKS: CC: Shula Bahat, David Heller,
Dan Kamin, Ron Kivnick - via Fax also,
Harry Rubin, Marc Tanenbaum and
Most Yarmon

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 29, 1988
to Ira Silverman
from David Harris
subject UPDATE ON SOVIET REFUGEE ISSUE

The Problem

After speaking with several contacts at the State Department, this is what I have learned:

(1) In Moscow, the current backlog is approximately 9,000 applicants seeking permanent admission to the U.S. Between 80 and 85% are Armenians, nearly 10% are Jews, and the others are primarily Pentacostalists. The American Embassy currently is receiving new applications at the rate of some 2,000 per month. Of the new applications, as many as 25-30% are from Jews.

(2) No issuance of U.S. refugee visas in Moscow now is taking place. As things now stand, processing will not resume until January, though I gather the State Department is seeking a way to begin sooner.

(3) No applications received after June 30, 1988 have yet been reviewed.

(4) A Congressional delegation led by Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-MD), the chair of the Helsinki Commission, has just returned from a visit to Moscow and meetings on human rights with members of the Supreme Soviet. The senators and representatives were troubled to learn of the backlog in processing. Hoyer has called a meeting of congressmen only for later this week to discuss the issue. Separately, the aide who accompanied Senator Grassley (R-IA) on the Soviet trip met with Judy Golub and myself yesterday to express the senator's concern and seek our advice about how to untangle the mess in Moscow.

(5) Those Soviet Jews arriving in Rome in January and February are likely to encounter waiting periods in processing because INS is running out of refugee numbers there as well. Bear in mind that the allocation for Rome in FY89 is 12,000, but Soviet Jews and Pentacostalists are arriving in Rome at a rate exceeding 2,000 per month.

(6) Some Soviet Jews are being denied refugee status by INS.

In Rome, the number is estimated at about 30 family units (100 people). The contention is that they do not meet the refugee standard.

What's to be done?

The U.S. Government is pursuing the following tracks:

(a) Imposing stricter standards for designation of refugee status to protect the "integrity" of the limited numbers allocated to the Soviet Union (a total of 16,000 -- 12,000 for Rome and 4,000 for Moscow).

(b) Reintroducing the parole authority of the Attorney General, a practice quite common in the 1970's but not since the passage of the 1980 Refugee Act. No federal money would be available for people in this category. Each parolee would have to have an affidavit of support from a private agency or individual.

(c) Reviewing other FY89 regional ceilings to determine whether numbers could be transferred to the Soviet Union. If this is to happen, the likeliest source is from the allocation for the Orderly Departure Program from Vietnam.

(d) Insuring that those who are eligible under one of the six immigration categories (i.e. four family and two professional) come as immigrants rather than seek entry as refugees.

(e) Utilizing some of the 4,000 unfunded and 6,000 partially funded refugee slots included in the overall FY89 ceiling of 94,000 but not designated by region. In the case of the unfunded slots, the Jewish community or other private sponsors would have to pay for all expenses en route and during resettlement as there would be no U.S. Government available. In the case of the partially funded slots, the Jewish community or other private sponsors would have to cover all expenses en route but the Health and Human Services budget provides for domestic resettlement money.

(f) Possibly approaching the 101st Congress to create a new (seventh) immigrant category, that is, immigrants deemed to be of special interest to the U.S. This would provide another vehicle to permit entry into the U.S. but would have no federal funding.

The Jewish Community's Response

In our frequent contact with other Jewish agencies on these issues, the following ideas have surfaced:

(1) Meet with Members of Congress to inform them of the problem and enlist their help.

(2) Consider approaching the Administration and Congress for additional refugee numbers as provided for under the emergency provisions of the 1980 Refugee Act and invoked for the first time last year. Moreover, we would have to seek -- and this will be the much more difficult part -- supplemental funds to cover the additional numbers.

(3) Seek ways to reduce processing time en route, especially in Rome, thereby cutting the costs to the government of care and maintenance.

(4) Have UJA/CJF embark on a special campaign to raise money for Soviet Jewish resettlement. It is my understanding that such a campaign was agreed to at the CJF General Assembly meeting and will be launched in the early spring.

(5) Approach Attorney General Thornburgh to discuss the matter of INS denial of refugee status for some Soviet Jews.

(6) Advocate a 1981 interpretation that the government could use group determination to define all Soviet Jews as refugees, reversing the troubling current policy, introduced earlier this year, of individual determination.

In sum, the issues are thorny, complex and immediate. We will have our work cut out for us here in Washington, both with the Administration and Congress. It could well be that these issues also will reawaken the nashira question, prompting some to suggest that the best American solution to the numbers and dollars crunch is to divert more Soviet Jews to Israel. All of this will also require a good deal of interpretation within the American Jewish community, which is going to be asked to contribute tens of millions of additional dollars to cope with the upsurge in emigration. (By the way, the experts here expect the emigration numbers to continue to rise in the foreseeable future.)

The issue of the integration of Soviet Jews into the American Jewish community is likely to loom larger as questions may be raised by American Jews about expending such large sums on resettlement if the perception is that many Soviet Jews do not establish ties with the Jewish community. That is another reason why it is important for AJC to proceed with thinking about the conference on the integration experience of Soviet Jews into American Jewish life.

CC: Shula Bahat
David Geller
Dan Kamin
Ron Kronish - VIA FAX

Gary Rubin
Marc Tanenbaum
Mort Yarmen

Dad



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

Washington Office of the American Jewish Committee
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DATE 11-28-88

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TO: See Below

LOCATION: New York

FROM: Nisha Shier

LOCATION: DC

SPECIAL REMARKS: Shula Bahat, George Gruen,
Gary Rubin, Ira Silverman,
Marc Tanenbaum

FAX ATTENDANT SIGNATURE: _____

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 28, 1988
to David Harris
from Nisha Abkarian Shrier
subject USTR Hearings on Israel's Labor Practices

Hearing Summary:

On November 17, an interagency panel composed of representatives from the Departments of Commerce, Labor, Treasury, State, and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative heard testimony on the petition filed by the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

The ADC was represented by its national president, Abdeen Jabara, although the bulk of the testimony was given by Judith Brown-Chomsky, the ADC's counsel in this matter, and Marty Rosenbluth of Al-Haq. Chomsky and Rosenbluth argued that Israel: regularly and deliberately violates Palestinian workers' rights, tolerates severe breaches of internationally recognized labor conventions, and operates a system of legalized discrimination in the West Bank and Gaza which deprives Palestinians of economic benefits they would receive if they were Jewish. Abdeen Jabara proved to be extremely charming and urbane. He managed to describe and publicly introduce those union representatives whose requests to testify had been rejected by the USTR in September. Although Sandra Kristoff, the chairwoman of the interagency panel, rejected Jabara's request to hear brief remarks from these union officials, she said she would accept and distribute to the panel written statements submitted by December 1. We found this highly irregular.

Ms. Maria Segal, a representative of the National Association of Arab-Americans, (NAAA) stressed, among other things, the NAAA's belief that AFL-CIO's motive in defending Israel was a financial one, and that AFL-CIO's financial investments (i.e. Israel Bonds) have made it insensitive to human rights abuses by Israel. Alfred Moses summarized the AJC's pre-hearing testimony with characteristic skill and aplomb.

Media Coverage:

The hearings did not seem to attract as much attention as we had feared. The morning session attracted about 60 onlookers, half of whom seemed to be associated with the ADC, while about 30 persons were present for the afternoon session. As far as I know, the attached Washington Post article represents the only

significant national press attention given to the hearings. Anglo-Jewish and Israeli journalists were also present.

The Next Step:

Post-hearing briefs from hearing participants are due by December 1. Our original testimony will be submitted with only minor revisions. We do plan to respond to various points made by pro-ADC groups, and to highlight procedural irregularities noted during the morning session of the hearing. We expect the ADC to criticize our testimony and those of other pro-Israeli witnesses in their post-hearing brief. To the extent possible, we will respond to these allegations in our rebuttal, which must be submitted to the USTR by December 14.

cc: Shula Bahat
Theodore Ellenoff
George Gruen
Ron Kronish-via FAX
Gary Rubin
Ira Silverman
Marc Tannenbaum



GSP Annual Review Hearing Schedule

**ITC Main Commission Hearing Room
500 E St., S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20436**

Thursday, November 17

Israel Petition, 003-CP-88

Morning Session 10 am

Afternoon Session 2 pm

Witness

Witness

In Support of Petition

In Opposition to Petition

1. * ADC

1. Noel Koch

2. Al Haq

2. Anti-Defamation League

3. Jerusalem Drivers and Drivers Union

3. Jewish Labor Committee

4. National Association of Arab Americans

4. American-Israel Public Affairs Comm.

5. Israel League for Human and Civil Rights

5. AFL-CIO

6. Professor John Guigley

6. American Jewish Comm.

In Opposition to Petition

7. Bricklayers and Allied Craftmen

7. Israel Department of Arab Affairs

8. Robert Searby

8. Israel Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs

9. Prof. Saul Nesselroth

9. Embassy of Israel

10. Neil Livingstone

10. Histaadrut

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WHSH 1051
NOV 18, 1968

Arabs Assail Israel on Union Rights

U.S. Officials Urged To Shift Trade Status

By Smart, Associated Press Staff Writer

Manages administration of Arab labor organizations in American organizations yesterday that Israel's treatment of West workers in this occupied West is so bad that products of that state should lose duty-free entry into this country.

This is the first time of Israel's labor rights record under U.S. trade laws, which require countries with duty-free access under the General Agreement of Preferences (GAP) to follow international custom for worker rights. The administration also is reviewing worker rights practices of Syria, Malaysia, Burma, and Liberia.

Yesterday's unusual move, which was opposed by the Department on the grounds it appeared to impinge on Israel's economic freedom in the West Bank, the Arab-Israeli conflict from an angle.

San FRANCISCO, Nov. 18 (AP)

The Associated Press

Arab-American Groups Criticize Israel on Treatment of Workers

TRADE, From D11

East to a Washington conference with a panel of businessmen sitting in judgment.

The government of Israel, Jewish-American organizations and labor defended Israel's record on worker rights and asserted that many Palestinian unions are fronts for terrorism and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"Israel is pretty confident that the ploy by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee will prove to be another futile exercise in propaganda. This is just another attempt to embarrass Israel," said Yusef Gali, press attache at the Israeli Embassy.

Israel sent almost \$600 million in duty-free products to this country

under the GAP program last year. In addition, it benefits from a two-year-old free-trade pact with the United States, but tariffs will not be lifted under that agreement for six other six years.

By coincidence, U.S. trade officials have just completed a review of the free-trade pact and believe they have reached a settlement in which Israel could remove a series of special taxes that have been so far-reaching against American products. But no formal agreement is likely to be settled and signed until Israel sends its new government, U.S. officials said.

In the complaint to take away Israel's GAP privileges, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee accused Israel of practicing

despotic internationally accepted workers' rights in Palestinian who work as day laborers in Israel proper and of harassing union organizations on the West Bank.

Mohammed Rashid Al-Haqbi, secretary general of the Drivers and Mechanics Union in East Jerusalem, told the hearing that Israel restricts his union's ability to communicate with its members and harrasses union officials at their office.

Another union leader, Khalil Tounsi of the General Federation of Trade Unions in the West Bank, said leading union activists have been deported by Israeli military authorities and others have been restricted to their work. These actions against unions have intensified since the

West Bank uprising started a year ago, he said.

Israeli officials and U.S. labor and Jewish organizations attacked this testimony. "It is another coordinated Arab effort to drive a wedge between the United States and Israel," said Mayor Eisenberg, representing the Anti-Discrimination League of Israel.

He said the unions that have been restricted by Israel have engaged in political activities. "A number of unions are mere covers for terrorism, the FLO," he added.

David Tversky of the Jewish Labor Committee and Israel's treatment of unions compares with requirements of the International Labor Organization (ILO). The ILO has also condemned that the state of

Israel respects trade union rights in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, he said.

American unions opposed the Arab-American organization complaint. "It is the view of the AFL-CIO that... the investigation of labor for workers' rights abuse is a grave mistake which obscures the purpose and intent of the law," said Fred C. Wolf, director of the AFL-CIO's department of economic research.

"Israel, a growing democracy with a strong tradition of respect for workers' rights, is in the forefront today alongside such famous anti-worker states as Burma, Haiti, Malaysia and Syria," Oswald continued.

"Israel, a country where Arab citizens enjoy rights they dare not even dream of in Arab states, is in the forefront, while workers' rights violators of such countries as Indonesia, Thailand and Turkey are not even to be mentioned."

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Israel Office

Via Fax

date November 28, 1988

to George Gruen

from Ron Kronish

subject Hanoch Smith

Hanoch Smith submitted this proposal to me for consideration.
Are you interested? Do you have any gelt?

Perhaps you can discuss it with him if you see him in NY during
the first week in December, and get back to me.

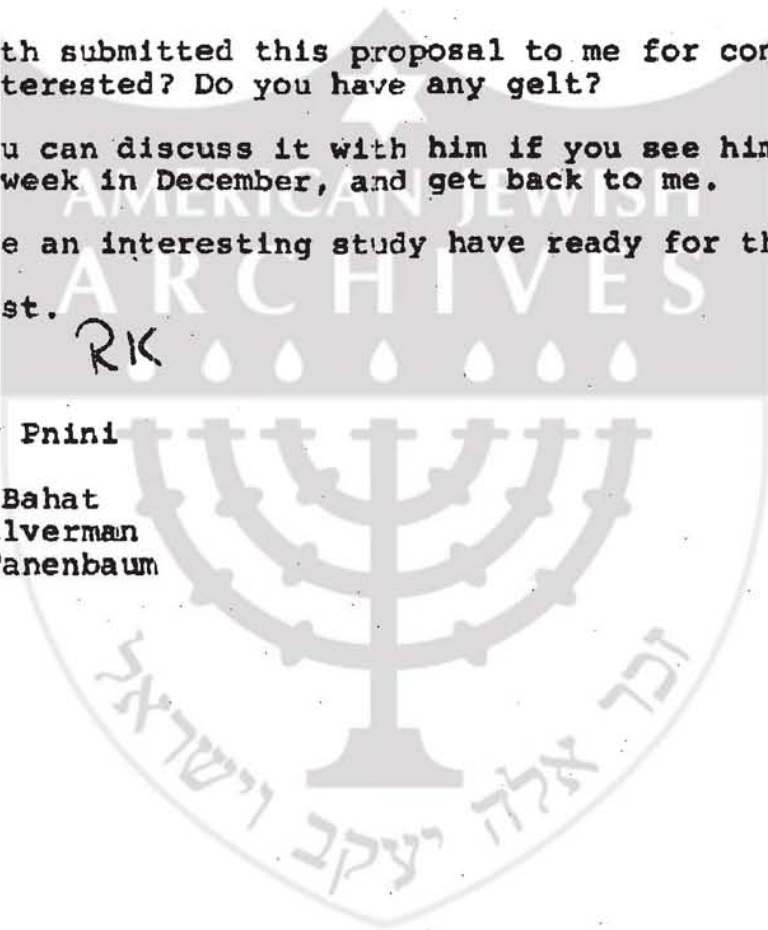
It might be an interesting study have ready for the BOG Inst.

All the best.

RK

cc: Yaacov Pnini

Shula Bahat
Ira Silverman
Marc Tanenbaum



memorandum

Mark Tawman



סמית-מרכז למחקר
ת"ד 3322 - ירושלים 91033 טל. 533198

מחקרים כלכליים וסטטיסטיים, מחקר שוק, שירותי מחקר, ייעוץ

November 17, 1988

To: Rabbi Kronish, AJC
From: Hanoch Smith, Smith Research Center
Subject: Project Proposals for the Near Future

In continuance of our conversation last week, I am outlining the following two proposals for joint work in the area of religious pluralism. In the past we have asked questions on religious matters in Israel for AJC in our current surveys. We propose to continue in earlier directions or broaden our examination in the light of the Knesseth election results. There is no doubt that these issues have come to the top of priorities between Israel and Jewish communities elsewhere.

I. A Small-Scale Study

It is proposed that in a future current survey, we ask 6-7 questions, based on updating earlier surveys on subjects related to religion, such as attitudes to conservative and reform Judaism, on the dangers of Ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) demands, on attitudes on the "Who is a Jew", relations between different Jewish communities on these issues. It would be a one-time effort and we could write a brief report correlating the findings with demographic variables such as age, sex, years of study, country of origin, religiosity.

The cost of such a survey would be \$1,500.

II. A Broader Survey

This would involve going into more depth on the issues and would contain 20-25 questions. We would try to explore the issues with the aim to find those which can be developed into a program for furthering religious understanding between the different Jewish communities, here and abroad, i.e. to find those points which can be advanced in a public education program, leading to better understanding and tolerance of non-orthodox Jewish views.

The point of this approach is that it is part of an action program and the findings can be used in public debate to promote AJC and other Jewish-American views on the subject.

This study would cost \$5,000 including the detailed report and recommendations for action arising from the report. A broad new area for AJC activity could flow from this approach.

Hanoch Smith

Judith Banki

November 28, 1988

TO: David Geller, David Harris, Ira Silverman,
✓Marc Tanenbaum



I THINK YOU WILL BE INTERESTED IN THE
ATTACHED

JHB/ch



The American Jewish
Committee

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

children in public schools are jobless or underemployed. Investment economics holds no miracle cure for poverty.

What is to become of the great mass of the poor in Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and other cities? What disturbed me about the meeting with Dukakis was not that he had no good programmatic answer to this question (nobody does), but that he was unwilling even to engage the issue. He seemed merely to assume that over time, with enough investment economics, we can manage our way past the problem. In his presidential campaign, when he promises to create "good jobs for all Americans," he continues to evade the fact that we have reached a "stalemate in our political economy," as economist Gar Alperovitz puts it, and that we cannot look to economic booms to bail us out of our social problems.

Under a Dukakis national administration, churches would need to insist loudly that poverty evokes persistent and philosophical questions about public responsibility which cannot be addressed simply by projecting a full-employment economy. Whatever its deficiencies, the philosophy of welfare economics that Dukakis seeks to supersede through technocratic proficiency is at least willing to confront the intractable fact that our economy cannot function well enough to eliminate human misery, and it accepts the concomitant moral imperative that suffering should not become unbearable. The churches need to press this unwelcome reality and imperative upon the nation's conscience, redefining the limits of acceptable political action so that income redistribution from the top down ceases to be a taboo subject. ■

Vanishing Jews and Visible Christians in Gorbachev's Soviet Union

THOMAS A. IDINOPULOS

MOSCOW IS "crumbling and cracked, grimy, leaking, peeling and flaking," wrote columnist Richard Reeves recently, adding, "Soviet Communism doesn't work . . . and the Soviets know it themselves" (*International Herald Tribune*, May 21-22, 1988).

After visiting Moscow last March, I could add to Reeves's accurate description the word "hungry." First impressions: Muscovites standing in the snow outside a meat shop on Gorky Street across from Red Square; up Gorky Street more lines for bread, fish, fruit, vodka. A greengrocer's shack above the Metro station in central Moscow selling only carrots the length of a man's finger and potatoes the size of a baby's fist. Near Tolstoy's house a group of shoppers grabbing at tiny pouches of frozen raspberries that had just arrived. And persistent rumors that in many parts of the country a doctor's prescription is needed to purchase milk.

Only the soldiers look well fed. They are also smartly dressed in the finest winter wool coats of beige, acorn brown

and navy blue, cut to the ankle, covering black knee-length boots.

The aim of *perestroika* is to clothe every Soviet citizen with a good wool coat and provide a chicken or two for every cooking pot. It is General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's goal to lift the U.S.S.R. from Third-World status (somewhere near Argentina in per capita income, with one car per 22 people and one private phone per 16 people). To achieve his goal Gorbachev has called for a measure of economic, cultural and religious freedom (*glasnost*). At the same time he has made it abundantly clear in public speeches that the Communist Party apparatus will remain dominant and will not tolerate "chauvinism, nationalism and parochialism"—i.e., freedom or individualism or human rights, Western style.

Is Gorbachev's *glasnost* cosmetic? Is it merely another counterpart of Potemkin's cardboard village which hid the ugly reality of Russia from the passing czarina? These were the questions on our minds as my wife, Leah, and I arrived in Moscow to talk with Jewish "refuseniks"—people whose requests to emigrate from the Soviet Union have been officially refused.

On March 11 at 5:00 P.M. we were among 13 Swissair passengers who arrived to a darkened and empty airport; only some 60-watters were lighting up billboard advertisements in the baggage claim area. Those in English: "Camel"; "Mastercard: Your Key to the Soviet Union"; "Pepsi Welcomes You to Moscow."

Twenty minutes passed without any sign of our luggage . . . 30 minutes . . . 40 minutes. I paced in the dark. Leah sat under the billboard lights reading *Russian Made Easy*. A tall young blonde woman, wearing huge gold loops in her ears—no doubt to offset the drabness of her customs uniform—crossed my path. I threw up my arms in mock despair. She smiled and said, "Payshoons, please."

After an hour the luggage arrived. Fortunately, the woman with the earrings was at the customs counter and waved us through without a check. I blessed her silently. Inside our bags I was bringing to the refuseniks a small library of Jewish books—history and fiction and books on the Bible, Zionism and Israel. Later I learned that books brought in by two Jewish professors on a similar mission were confiscated at customs and returned to them only as they left the country.

Thomas A. Idinopulos is professor of religious studies at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio.

Because we were forewarned not to use our room telephone, we left our hotel for a public booth nearby; a two-kopek piece reached Yuli Khasarovsky, who in excellent Hebrew agreed to meet us the next evening. In preparing for the interview I'd learned that Yuli, 46, was educated in Moscow as an electronic engineer and worked in the Soviet rocket program until he applied for an immigration visa to Israel—whereupon he immediately lost his job. When he began to teach modern Hebrew, one of nine languages he was to learn in 17 years, he was hounded by the KGB. To spare his non-Jewish wife hardship, they agreed to a divorce. He then married Inna, a mathematician, a Jew and a refusenik. We would meet with Yuli on the fourth day of a hunger strike, started on the 17th anniversary of his having become a refusenik. Inna had joined him in the hunger strike.

Leah and I walked back to our hotel, the National, where Lenin slept. The line outside the meatshop on Gorky Street had shortened. A light powdery snow was falling; large snow crystals were illuminated and lovely under the arclights of the Kremlin walls across from the National.

The next day we took the light blue Metro line from central Moscow, and 40 minutes later were walking on icy sidewalks flanking block after block of identical six-story yellow apartment buildings. Leah used her Russian on the conveniently located street signs. We heard the sound of a jogger's feet in the snow, then a voice calling in Hebrew and English. It was Yuli in a dark blue running suit. His doctor, also a Jewish refusenik, had prescribed a half-hour of light jogging each day of the hunger strike.

Yuli's apartment, like nearly all apartments we saw, was tiny, shabby, crammed with books, bikes, clothes, appliances. The small, airless rooms of such apartments actually are the envy of 280 million Soviet citizens, some of whom will arrange marriage to a Muscovite in order to live in what they call "the center."

Yuli was short, slight, handsome, almost rakish in a trim beard à la Trotsky that I associate with Russian intellectuals. As we shook hands he asked me, "Have you come to see me starve?" I replied by asking him if he had read Franz Kafka's short story "The Hunger Artist."

"Of course," he replied. "Every starving man deserves an audience."

Yuli was eager to talk, but our conver-

sation was constantly interrupted by telephone calls. One caller asked, "Will you publicly demonstrate to call attention to your hunger strike?" "Already have," answered Yuli in Russian. Another call came from Oslo—a Norwegian diplomat was asking about Yuli's health.

Between telephone calls Yuli reminded me that in 1971 he was denied permission to emigrate to Israel because he was classified a holder of "state secrets."

"Is it true?" I asked.

"Nonsense. I haven't been able to keep up with advances in electronics or do any research for more than ten years. Whatever I know is dated, useless."



"Gorbachev takes the position that refusal to allow Jews to immigrate to Israel or the U.S. is linked to the brain-drain problem."

Yuli smiled contemptuously. "Gorbachev should rather speak of the brain-dead problem. At the moment I am one of more than 600 scientists who want to emigrate from here. All of us have been dismissed from jobs, cut off from professional societies; we are rapidly losing the capacity for productive technical work."

"So what then is the real reason for the official refusal?"

Yuli looked at me thoughtfully before replying. "To show the world that the Soviet government will not bend to pressure from the U.S. You have to understand that the Soviet government wants to make deals with the West, particularly with America. 'Give us something and we will let your precious Jews go.' We are pawns. I am now the oldest pawn. A bigger pawn was Anatoly Scharansky. To improve relations with the U.S., the government let Scharansky out. I am confident that they will let me out, too, but only as a political gesture—something to make the West

believe that a new spirit of détente, *glasnost* or whatever you want to call it prevails."

I could appreciate Yuli's feelings, but was he correct about Gorbachev?

"Are you telling me that *glasnost* is not a new spirit in this country? That Gorbachev is deceiving people? Trying to get something from Reagan and using human rights to do that?"

"Yes," he said, "I do think that. And something else you should understand. *Glasnost*, human rights, letting Jews out—these acts can only go so far. Russian leaders are terrified of the national minorities. The demonstrations going on now in Armenia prove that. Armenians, Jews, Latvians—most of the 100 ethnic minorities of the U.S.S.R. want their national independence. And they want their freedom to leave the country just like Jews do.

"Everyone is tired of living under the Russians and at the mercy of Moscow. Could you imagine what would happen if one day soon the Ukrainians would begin to demand a national state of their own, free from Moscow's control? It would be a catastrophe for the Communist Party, which seeks to control the whole country from Moscow. As I see it, the Jewish problem is not in itself a big problem for the Soviet leaders. But it can become one if the party agrees to every Jewish request for emigration and allows the non-Russian ethnic minorities to believe that they, too, can succeed in getting out of the country or getting away from Moscow's domination."

THE JEWISH PROBLEM? I asked Yuli to be specific.

He replied: "The Jewish problem is what it has always been—the need for a scapegoat, a way for the Soviets to excuse their own mistakes and explain their own miseries. Jews are blamed for everything that goes wrong in this country; low work production, the food shortages, alcoholism."

"Alcoholism?"

"It is a false rumor now being spread by *Pamyat*."

Pamyat ("memory" in Russian), Yuli went on to explain, is a recently established organization dedicated to reviving traditional Russian cultural and religious traditions—evidently including the country's historic penchant for anti-Semitism. The supporters of *Pamyat* are politicians, writers, professors, Russian Orthodox priests and, surprisingly, a youth group called "the Hitlerites," who believe that

Jews were responsible for Russian defeats in World War II.

As Yuli went on to explain, there is a contradiction in the official Soviet response to the Jewish problem. If Jews want to be educated, get decent jobs and advance through the professional hierarchy, they are supposed to suppress any inclination to express their national or religious traditions; they are to become assimilated into Soviet society. At the same time, active discrimination against Jews in universities, in the work place, on their internal passports (where the word "Jew" is prominently printed) makes it difficult for Jews to assimilate.

"Look," Yuli said, "if a Jew in this country wants to make something of his Jewishness, as I and others try to do—if he is proud of being a Jew, learns to speak modern Hebrew and identifies with the Jewish national renaissance, and is even willing openly to identify with Israel and Zionism—then in the eyes of the government he is a traitor. For in the eyes of the officials, Zionism and Hebrew are expressions of an enemy state, Israel. Josef Begun was imprisoned for teaching Hebrew; so was Raul Solinichonik in Leningrad."

I interrupted: "Yuli, it can't be true that the government seeks to stamp out all expressions of Jewishness. I know that the Moscow synagogue has been restored and that many Jews attend services. By all reports the synagogue is well attended on Sabbath services. Also, I've learned that there are plans for opening more synagogues and a Jewish museum."

Yuli waited patiently for me to finish and then spoke carefully. "The government allows some Jewishness to be shown so that it can defend itself against anti-Semitism. But you should not be deceived by appearances. At the heart of Russian policies is the desire to end an independent expression of the Jewish national experience and hope."

Listening to Yuli, I knew that he had personally paid a price for his Jewishness, for teaching Hebrew, for writing letters to foreigners to dramatize the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union. One day the authorities came to arrest him for the "illegal" activity of maintaining contact with foreign agents. They took many of his books, including his prized Arabic dictionary. They wrote him a receipt for the books they confiscated. Some books were returned, but not the Arabic grammar. He was offered compensation—2,500 rubles—for the

books they kept, most of them on political subjects or on Judaism or Israel.

"Did they consider these books subversive?"

"Who knows? You are never given reasons for state actions."

"Did you accept the compensation?"

"Yes, because I wanted to buy more books."

LEAH AND I left Yuli's apartment after making a phone call to Yuri Sokol, a retired Red Army colonel and a Jew who recently opened a library of Judaica in his home. Yuli Khasarovsky agreed to meet us the next day in Sokol's apartment-library.

Sokol's apartment was nine stories up; a single elevator was available, the kind one sees in old foreign films—an open, menacing metal cage. The ropes and wires pulling the thing up and down seemed flimsy to me. We decided to trust our feet. We were let into a roomy apartment, far larger than Yuli's, which had been transformed into a reading room, with a long seminar table in the salon. Everywhere were books of Jewish history, fiction and folklore. I presented more books—contributions from the Cincinnati Jewish Community Relations Council—to Colonel Sokol, who was ceremoniously dressed for the occasion in a blue serge suit and vest, five rows of military campaign ribbons clipped to his left lapel. Sokol is a lean, wiry man in his late 60s, but he looked younger, with clear blues eyes and sporting a head shaved in military fashion. He gave the impression of intelligence, alertness, tenacity.

"What brought you to Judaism, Colonel? After all, you are a military man—Russian infantry, fought with bravery against the Germans. You receive a good pension; you have a spacious apartment. Then you decide to collect books and open a Jewish library in your apartment, and from what I hear the anti-Semites are phoning you day and night."

"It is true. I placed an advertisement in the city's newspaper to announce the opening of the library and immediately I began to receive angry calls. But to answer your question: For many years I knew nothing about Jews. My father was a Jew, but he said nothing to me about it. Throughout the years in the army I thought not at all of Jews or being Jewish—even when I knew about the concentration camps and the Holocaust. For me these terrible things happened to a foreign people. But after the Six-Day War between Israel and the Arab nations,

I began to pay attention to Israel. I read Leon Uris's book *Exodus*, and for the first time I began to realize that, as a Jew, I belonged to a real people. After that I read as much as I could about Jewish history. I began to associate myself with the Jewish people and to think of myself as a Jew."

"And the library?" I asked.

"I started the library to make it possible for other Jews to discover, as I've done, what it is to be a Jew. This library is now my dedication. I spend my entire pension on it."

"You are not wanting to emigrate, then?"

Sokol laughed. "I cannot. I must re-

The Soviet Union's Jewish community as Jewish is programmed for extinction through the process of enforced assimilation.

main here for the library. To receive guests. Do you know that only last week your own Senators Levin [Democrat Carl Levin of Michigan] and Cohen [Republican William Cohen of Maine] came to visit the library?"

At this point Yuli Khasarovsky arrived, and together with Sokol we walked about the apartment looking at the photo display of Russian Jews who had distinguished themselves in battle in the first and second world wars.

As we said goodbye to Yuli and Colonel Sokol I told them that the next day Leah and I were scheduled to visit the old monastery town of Zagorsk, 90 miles northeast of Moscow. Yuli smiled broadly. "I must tell you that when the KGB arrested me they put me in a prison in Zagorsk, within the monastery, but not a religious place. Perhaps you will see it."

Promptly at 9:00 A.M., a car, a driver and an interpreter, Elena, appeared at the National Hotel. Elena is short, well groomed, a graduate of Moscow University in English literature, a "proper lady" who used English stiffly, completing each sentence with a period before beginning a new one. I found myself speaking to her in a grammatically correct way.

We drove through the heart of Moscow. A light morning rain melted the snow and turned the streets into streams. Under the blackened sky the buildings became an extended mass of gray stone. As we turned a corner I was startled by a

flush of color: red, blue, green and gold—bright, joyous colors drawn from a child's paint box—were painted onto a Russian Orthodox church, which was like a wedding cake, topped by sugared eggs and chocolate turrets. "A museum?" I asked Elena. "No," she replied, "this church is active." The thought occurred to me that Russia clings to its Christian past the way a poor man clings to his one old, good coat.

AN HOUR and a half later we reached the town of Zagorsk, which is named for a military hero. Originally named Trinity, Zagorsk is the seat of the Russian Orthodox patriarchate, which is housed in the Monastery of St. Sergius. For the next three hours our guide, Father Maxim, showed us many of the monastery's architectural and artistic treasures. It was clear from the confidence with which Maxim spoke about the people's dedication to the church that Gorbachev has made the sun shine on this place. Every building was freshly painted; a male choir was concluding the liturgy before a packed congregation in the chapel built by Ivan the Terrible. Most of the people were old, but somebody had brought a boy's club from one of the neighboring villages. We were standing together listening to the choir. Elena, who at first stayed in the alcove of the chapel, appeared by my elbow. I was surprised, then moved, when she asked my permission to purchase a candle to light under an ikon. My eyes followed her to the ikon and watched her cross herself, three fingers to the forehead first. According to some reports there are upwards of 50 million active Christians in the Soviet Union today. Another source has it that 10 percent of the country's 280 million (about the same percentage as belong to the Communist Party) are "God-followers." Our visit later with the dean of St. Sergius's seminary at Zagorsk revealed that two of three candidates for study are turned away for lack of space. There are plans to reopen old seminaries.

In this 1,000-year anniversary of Russian Christianity, it is clear that Gorbachev has enlisted the support of the Or-

thodox clergy on behalf of *perestroika*. Russian Orthodox Christians will be allowed some freedom to worship, teach, preach and publish. At a party meeting in late June Gorbachev astonished many when he expressed a liberal attitude toward religion: "We do not conceal our attitude to the religious outlook as being nonmaterialistic and unscientific. But this is no reason for a disrespectful attitude to the spiritual-mindedness of the believer, still less for applying any administrative pressure to assert materialistic views." Perhaps this means that the 100 or more Christian prisoners of conscience held in the Soviet prisons will be released.

Easing the controls on Christians is smart politics for Gorbachev: he gains support for his reform and runs little risk of rebellion on the part of the Russian church clergy, who today as in the Czarist past remain subservient to the state. Under Gorbachev there will be a new visibility for Christians—something more than Potemkin's village. Just how much more remains to be seen.

On leaving St. Sergius's monastery I began looking for Yuli's prison, which turned out to be the 17th-century Sushilnaya Tower, a massive stone structure out of keeping with the brightly colored churches all about, each topped with a gold cross.

As we drove back to Moscow I contemplated the cruel fact that as the Russian church is given fresh visibility in the Soviet Union, so the Jewish community as *Jewish* is programmed for extinction through the process of enforced assimilation. Statistics tell the story. At present there are more than 2 million Jews living in the U.S.S.R. The majority are already assimilated to the secular Soviet culture, and were the word "Jew" eliminated from their internal passports, they would become even more assimilated. However, there is a sizable minority that wants to express its Jewishness in religious, traditional or cultural ways but cannot do so. Anti-Semitism and other sources of opposition to Jewish self-expression have created Gorbachev's Jewish problem. How he solves the prob-

lem will tell us much about his commitment to human rights.

WE DO NOT KNOW precisely how many Soviet Jews seek Jewish self-expression; the figure may run as high as a half million. What is significant is that from 1970 to the present more than 375,000 Jews have sought permission to emigrate. Approximately 250,000 were allowed to emigrate to Israel, with about half of those actually going to Israel and the other half to the United States. Today some 25,000 await permission to leave, including about 10,000 refuseniks. It is widely speculated that Gorbachev would soon like to convene an international conference on human rights in his country, in conjunction with which he will give the green light for emigration to the refuseniks and to most of the Jews who have made a first application for emigration.

After that Gorbachev seems bent on pursuing a complex policy on Soviet Jewry. Official permission will be given for the opening of synagogues, Jewish cultural centers and libraries in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, and there may be some easing of the restrictions against the teaching of Hebrew. All this will be used by officials to counter charges of anti-Semitism. Then the doors to Jewish emigration will be shut tight and government efforts will be made both to discourage anti-Semitism and to persuade Jews (perhaps by dropping the word "Jew" from passports) that their future lies in the U.S.S.R. and nowhere else.

In short, Gorbachev's policy toward the Jews will not be much different from his policy toward all other national minorities in the U.S.S.R. The relation of that policy to *glasnost*? Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg answers the question lucidly:

In the days of *glasnost*, there is more freedom of choice than before, but the entire Soviet system is being marshaled to prevent a distinctive, proud, sharply defined Jewish community from emerging—just as the regime is trying to prevent comparable kinds of self-assertion on the part of its other national groups [*New York Review of Books*, October 22, 1987]. ■

Kovadloff, J

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 29, 1988
to Ira Silverman
from Jacobo Kovadloff
subject



I have been collaborating for many years with the Central Institute for Cultural Relations Israel-Iberoamerica, Spain and Portugal. In recent years, I have been invited to several meetings of the Israeli Consulate with the idea of re-establishing the New York branch, which has not been active for the last ten years.

The several conferences and symposiums that the above-mentioned institute organized in Jerusalem during the last four years I was always asked for advice concerning the people whom they planned to invite.

This year, to my surprise, I received a phone call from Mr. Ram Kuriel of the Israeli Embassy in D.C., asking me to help contact several people (professors and writers) for the forthcoming conference in Jerusalem from January 3 to the 9th of 1988. This time I received a personal invitation from them.

The invitation only covers hotel accommodations and meals during my stay in Israel. Each guest is responsible for his or her air fare.

I think this invitation is an acknowledgment of my past cooperation with the institute. Certainly, it can be very valuable in a number of ways for me and AJC to attend this meeting.

I hope that you will approve this trip and authorize my expenses.

Please find enclosed the materials in Spanish, while I translate them into English.

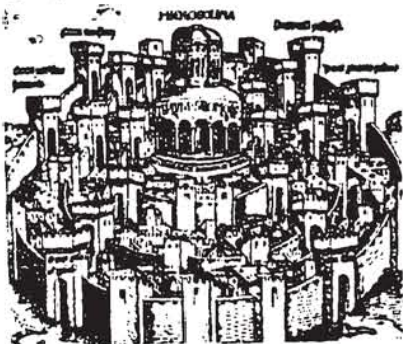
Awaiting eagerly your earliest reply.

Regards.

Enclosures

JK/iof

cc: Marc Tanenbaum ✓
Shula Bahat



FEB 03 1988

Carta de Jerusalén



מכון מרכזי ליחסי תרבות ישראל - אמריקה האיברית, ספרד ופורטוגאל
INSTITUTO CENTRAL DE RELACIONES CULTURALES ISRAEL-IBEROAMÉRICA, ESPAÑA Y PORTUGAL

Presidente: *Dr. Netanel Lorch* Director General: *Dr. Moshé Liba* Editor: *Dr. José L. Najenson*

Presidente Honorario Vitalicio: *Sr. Jacob Tsur*

Año 5 (3ra. Epoca) Septiembre-Diciembre 1987 - Elul-Kisley-Teyet 5748

Nº 46-47

CUARTO CONGRESO EN ISRAEL DE PRESIDENTES DE INSTITUTOS CULTURALES

DECLARACION DE JERUSALEN

El 4to. Congreso en Israel de Institutos y Asociaciones Culturales, reunido en Jerusalén durante el mes de Noviembre de 1987, con los auspicios del Instituto Central de Relaciones Culturales Israel-Iberoamérica, España y Portugal, ha resuelto emitir la presente Declaración:

- 1) DESTACASE el nuevo acierto del Instituto Central en convocar a Jerusalén a los Presidentes de los Institutos Culturales Iberoamericanos e Ibéricos con el fin, en esta oportunidad además, de celebrar el 30º Aniversario de su fundación, en el marco de los actos de la conmemoración del 40º Aniversario del Estado de Israel.
- 2) MANIFIESTASE la satisfacción de todos los asistentes al comprobar que desde la fecha de la 1ra. Declaración de Jerusalén, en 1984, el número de Instituciones coordinadas por el Instituto Central prácticamente se ha duplicado, pues en la actualidad llegan a 48.
- 3) SEÑALASE con honda satisfacción que luego de las Declaraciones anteriores, y cumpliendo con la aspiración en ellas expresadas, se han formalizado las relaciones diplomáticas entre Israel y España.
- 4) SEÑALASE con igual énfasis la esperanza de que, siguiendo tal línea de acción, el Gobierno de España derroque formalmente el Decreto de Expulsión de los Judíos de España.
- 5) COMPROMETESE una decidida y activa participación de todos los Institutos en la celebración de los cinco siglos del Descubrimiento de América, en concordancia con igual actitud adoptada en Israel por parte del Instituto Central.
- 6) ANOTASE con satisfacción la participación en la presente reunión del Instituto Israel-Iberoamérica con sede en Nueva York, expresándose la esperanza de una pronta integración al grupo coordinado por el Instituto Central por parte de otros Institutos de los Estados Unidos.
- 7) EXPRESASE el más caluroso y decidido apoyo a la labor destacada e infatigable desplegada por el Instituto Central, instándolo a continuar en tal senda, para consolidar y fortalecer los vínculos que unen indisolublemente a los pueblos de Israel, Iberoamérica, España y Portugal.

El material de Carta de Jerusalén puede ser reproducido. Basta con mencionar su fuente.

For your information

11-30-88

From the desk of:

JACOB KOVADLOFF

Director, South American Affairs

Dear Marc:

Please find enclosed the translation I promised you in yesterday's memo.



Jacob

Hacia el 5to. Encuentro de Escritores Judíos de América Latina y España: una culminación

1988 debería ser el año de gracia para la celebración del 5to. Encuentro — en Israel — de Escritores Judíos de América Latina y España, culminación de cuatro Encuentros anteriores organizados por el Instituto Central de Relaciones Culturales Israel-Iberoamérica, España y Portugal — cuyo Presidente y Director General son los Dres. N. Lorch y M. Liba, respectivamente — desde hace cuatro años.

Esta iniciativa original y pionera, concebida y auspiciada por dicho Instituto desde Jerusalem, comenzó en enero de 1984 con el Primer Encuentro de esa índole, al que concurren los siguientes escritores y poetas: (Argentina) Isidoro Blaistein; (Brasil) Yehudit y Moacyr Scliar; (Chile) David Turkeltaub; (Costa Rica) Rosita Kalina de Pizsk; (España) Marcos Ricardo Barnatán; (México) Margó Glantz; (Perú) Isaac Goldemberg; (Uruguay) Teresa Porzekanski.

Al Segundo Encuentro, en febrero de 1985 asistieron: (Argentina) Aída Bortnik y Bernardo Ezequiel Korembli; (Colombia) Azriel Bibliowicz; (España) Arnoldo Liberman, Mario Satz y Juan Groch; (México) Esther Seligson; (Uruguay) Egon Friedler; (U.S.A.) Saül Sosnowski; (Luxemburgo) Gerardo Mario Goloboff. Cabe destacar que el país de residencia no necesariamente es el país natal de los escritores, todos de origen iberoame-

ricano, ya que muchos de ellos se exilaron o emigraron de su tierra. En este Segundo Encuentro se agregaron — por primera vez — dos escritores israelíes, inmigrantes recientes (el Dr. Leonardo Senkman y el Dr. José Luis Najenson), quienes luego fueron elegidos Presidente y Secretario General de la Asociación Internacional de Escritores Judíos de Habla Hispana y Portuguesa (fundada durante dicho Encuentro), la cual, desde entonces, tiene su sede central en Jerusalem y filiales en Argentina, Brasil e Israel. En ese mismo Encuentro se realizó (lo que fue luego conocido con el nombre de "La Noche de Kfar Guiladi") un profundo debate sobre la espinosa cuestión de lo que significa ser (o no ser) un "escritor judío" y la incidencia de la lengua en que se escribe, a raíz de la controversia sostenida por los participantes del Segundo Encuentro con el escritor hebreo israelí A. B. Iehoshúa, en esa ocasión; una síntesis de los comentarios y la discusión se publicó posteriormente con aquel título.

El Tercer Encuentro tuvo lugar en 1986 (enero-febrero), y participaron: de Argentina Humberto Costantini — q.e.p.d. —, Manuela Fingueret y Héctor Yánover; de Brasil Hugo Schlezinger; de España) Jorge Eines; de Estados Unidos José Kozer; de Francia Edgardo Cozarnsky; de México Eduardo Luis Feher; de Paraguay Olinda Kostianowsky; y de Venezuela Elisa Lerner.

En el Cuarto Encuentro, en enero de 1988 tomaron parte: de Argentina José Isaacson; de Brasil Bella Jozef; de Costa Rica Samuel Rovinski G. de EE. UU. Regina Igel y Nora Glickman; de Francia Alicia Dujovne Ortiz y Lui-

sa Futransky; y de México Sabina Berman. Enriquecida por los dos últimos Encuentros, se consolidó la Asociación Internacional y durante esta época fue publicado el Primer número de su órgano oficial, la revista literaria "NOAH" (Noaj), que generó amplias expectativas entre autores y lectores de habla hispana. Estos Encuentros reunieron, hasta ahora, un total de 38 participantes.

El Quinto Encuentro — en Israel — sería la culminación de este esfuerzo de un lustro, por parte del Instituto Central, por reunir a escritores que aún no participaron en los anteriores, más una selección de los que ya estuvieron en ellos. Para esta oportunidad se está preparando un Congreso-Encuentro, "final", con ponencias, simposios, mesas redondas y debates, a diferencia de los eventos previos, que tenían un carácter, por así decirlo, de "iniciación" en la vida y literatura de Israel, su polifacética realidad socio-cultural y particular combinación de visiones del mundo y estilos de vida. Por ello, en lugar de las giras intensivas por el país y encuentros con escritores hebreos-israelíes y personalidades políticas y culturales "in situ", este será más bien un re-encuentro a modo de los Congresos clásicos de escritores, "centrípeto", reflexivo, y, esperamos, estimulante de nuevas búsquedas y horizontes en la imaginación creadora judeo-latinoamericana (con el famoso "guión" de Sosnowski como cuestión aún abierta).



Towards the Fifth Meeting of Jewish Writers of Latin America and Spain: a culminating event.

1988 should be the year of grace for the celebration - in Israel - of the Fifth Meeting of Jewish Writers of Latin America and Spain, the culmination of four previous meetings organized by the Central Institute of Cultural Relations between Israel, Latin America, Spain and Portugal - under Dr. N. Lorch, President, and Dr. M. Liba, Director General - in the last four years.

This original and pioneering event, conceived and sponsored by the Institute in Jerusalem, began in 1984 with the first meeting of this kind in January 1984, which was attended by the following writers and poets: (Argentina) Isidoro Blaistein; (Brazil) Yehudit and Moacyr Scliar; (Chile) David Turkeltaub; (Costa Rica) Rosita Kalina de Pizsk; (Spain) Marcos Ricardo Barnatan; (Mexico) Margot Glanz; (Peru) Isaac Goldemberg; (Uruguay) Teresa Porzekanski.

The second meeting, in February 1985, was attended by: (Argentina) Aida Bortnik and Bernardo Ezequiel Koremblit; (Colombia) Azriel Bibliowicz; (Spain) Arnaldo Liberman, Mario Satz and Juan Groch; (Mexico) Esther Seligson; (Uruguay) Egon Friedler; (U.S.A.) Saul Sosnowski; (Luxembourg) Gerardo Mario Goloboff. It should be noted that the country of residence is not necessarily the writer's native country. All are of Latin American origin but some were exiled or emigrated from their native land. This meeting was joined, for the first time, by two Israeli writers, recent immigrants (Dr. Leonardo Serkman and Dr. Jose Luis Majenson), who were then elected President and Secretary General of the International Association of Spanish- and Portuguese-language Jewish Writers. The Association was founded during this meeting and since then has had its main seat in Jerusalem, with branches in Argentina, Brazil and Israel. At this same meeting (known later as The Night of Kfar Guiladi) took place a profound debate on the thorny question of what it means to be (or not to be) a 'Jewish writer,' and the influence of the language in which the author is writing. The debate came about as a result of a controversy between the participants in the second meeting and the Israeli Hebrew-language writer A.B. Iehosua. A summary of the commentaries and the discussion was published later under the above title.

The third meeting took place in January and February 1986. Participants included: from Argentina Humberto Constantini (now deceased), Manuela Fingueret and Hector Yanover; from Brazil Hugo Schlezinger; from Spain Jorge Eines; from the United States Jose Kozer; from France Edcarg Cozarinsky; from Mexico Eduardo Luis Feher; from Paraguay Olinda Kostianowsky; and from Venezuela Elisa Lerner.

The following took part in the fourth meeting in January 1988: from Argentina Jose Isaacson; from Brazil Bella Jozef; from Costa Rica Samuel Rovinski; from the United States Regina Igel and Nora Glickman; from France Alicia Dujovne Ortiz and Luisa Futoransky; and from Mexico Sabina Berman. Enriched by the last two meetings, the International Association became consolidated and during this time the first issue of its official publication was published, the literary review "NOAH" (Noaj), which aroused great expectations among Spanish-speaking authors and readers. These meetings were attended so far by a total of 38 participants.

The fifth meeting, in Israel, would be the culmination of this five-year-long effort by the Central Institute to bring together writers who have not yet taken part in previous meetings, together with a selection of those who have already attended. For this meeting a final Congress-Meeting is being prepared, with symposiums, presentations of papers, round tables and debates. This is a departure from previous meetings which were so to speak an 'initiation' into the life and literature of Israel, its many-faceted socio-cultural reality and its particular combination of world visions and lifestyles. So, instead of tours through the country and meetings with Hebrew-language Israeli writers and political and cultural figures 'in situ,' this will be rather a re-encounter in the fashion of classical writers' congresses, 'centripetal,' reflective, and we hope a stimulus to new searches and new horizons in the creative Jewish Latin American imagination (with the famous Sosnowski 'script' as a still open question).

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016 • (212) 679-0010

To: Executive Committee

Date: November 29, 1988

From: Bob DeVecchi

Subject: Philanthropic Fund

The attached report by the American Jewish Philanthropic Fund and the case histories should be of special interest to all.

For many years, IRC has been privileged to administer the refugee resettlement program of the Philanthropic Fund. Their special case-load is registered by our offices in Europe and resettled by our offices here, with generous financial wherewithal provided by the Fund.

Charles Tanenbaum, President of the Philanthropic Fund, will report on the Fund's activities in 1988 and its projections for 1989. I urge you to read this material prior to our December 8 meeting.

Bob DeW.

encl.
rpd:hk

AMERICAN JEWISH
Philanthropic fund

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

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Hays Solis-Cohen, Jr.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Paul M. Steiner
Phoenix, Arizona

Robert L. Steiner
Washington, D.C.

Stanley R. Sundheim
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. I. Edward Tonkon
Dallas, Texas

Robert L. Weston
Cleveland, Ohio

November 28, 1988

A CRISIS OF DANGER AND OPPORTUNITY

1988 has been the Fund's most productive year of this decade. We have helped resettle a large and promising group of new immigrants, most from the Soviet Union, under its liberalized emigration policy, but also a number from Eastern Europe and Iran. The enclosed sampling of our current cases reflects both the potential of this new generation and some of the special circumstances that call for our involvement.

We have also seen fine results from our programs to assist Jews seeking to resettle in Europe, particularly in Vienna. In recent years several thousand Russian Jews who entered Vienna on visitor or transit visas are desperately trying to stay there, where they have joined the small remnant of this once great Jewish community. We are the only American Jewish group providing direct assistance to meet emergency needs and we are also helping some of their young children attend the school pictured on the enclosed sheet, where they are being prepared to enter the Austrian public schools.

These very opportunities to help in areas that other American Jewish organizations neglect or serve inadequately are the source of our danger, since costs in 1988 are running at twice our 1987 income. Our carefully husbanded reserves permit us to carry on for a while, but unless we can achieve a major increase in contributions we will be forced to make a tragic choice between turning down half of those seeking our help or helping them all as long as our money lasts and then closing our door.

In this crisis, let your year end gift speak for you. Mine was doubled.

Charles J. Tanenbaum

Charles J. Tanenbaum
President

(You may obtain a copy of the most recent annual financial report by writing to the American Jewish Philanthropic Fund or to the N.Y. State Department of State, Office of Charities Registration, Albany, New York 12231)

AMERICAN JEWISH PHILANTHROPIC FUND

SOME 1988 CASE HISTORIES

S is a research mathematician from Novosibirsk. Because he is Jewish he was not allowed to work in his profession or live in a big city, and, as an active dissident, he feared arrest any moment. His wife, 34, is not Jewish. She is a philologist and teacher who was exiled from her home in the U.S.S.R. and spent some time in prison for being an "anti-Soviet agitator." We have sent this family to the Los Angeles area where both are employed.

A is a 27 year old pianist, composer and music teacher who, because he published samisdat poems and demonstrated for greater democracy in the U.S.S.R., was unable to get work and was constantly fearful of arrest. He is Jewish, but his wife, the daughter of a dissident, is not. They have an infant son. Here, the young couple are living in Connecticut where A works as a lathe operator. However, there is a possibility of a teaching position in New Haven when he is more fluent in English.

B is a Russian Jew. His wife, a Georgian, is not Jewish. They have a grown son. B was a patent researcher. She is a historian. We sent them to Boston where B and his son, both of whom knew some English, took courses in computer hardware and are now employed as computer repair technicians. Mrs. B studied English strenuously and was hired as a math teacher in a training program to which she had applied as a student.

L, a widow, and her daughter, who came from the U.S.S.R., also went to Boston. She is a physicist, now employed by Wang on the strength of her math. Her daughter is on a full scholarship at Brandeis.

M was only 14 when she was smuggled out of Iran to Pakistan. Her mother had been able to reach the United States on a visitor's visa to see her two married daughters who are both established here. M was brought to our office in Austria and we arranged for a family reunion. M is now 15, a bright, happy student.


J is a 20 year old Iranian Jew. He succeeded in escaping from Iran to Pakistan where the Dutch Consulate gave him a visa for the Netherlands via Austria. In Austria, at the suggestion of the orthodox organization Rav Tov, he asked for our assistance to emigrate to the U.S. He is here now and Rav Tov is helping him pursue his studies.

P is a 30 year old Hungarian Jew who fell in love with a Polish refugee while they were in Austria being processed for immigration to the U.S. They are now married and here. He is a graduate student in Economics on a Fellowship at the University of Utah.



A class in
the school
in Vienna

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 30, 1988
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Jacobo Kovadloff 
subject

Please find enclosed copies of the letters sent to us in Spanish by the A.M.I.A. and the L.A.J.S.A. local people of Buenos Aires, as well as their translations into English.

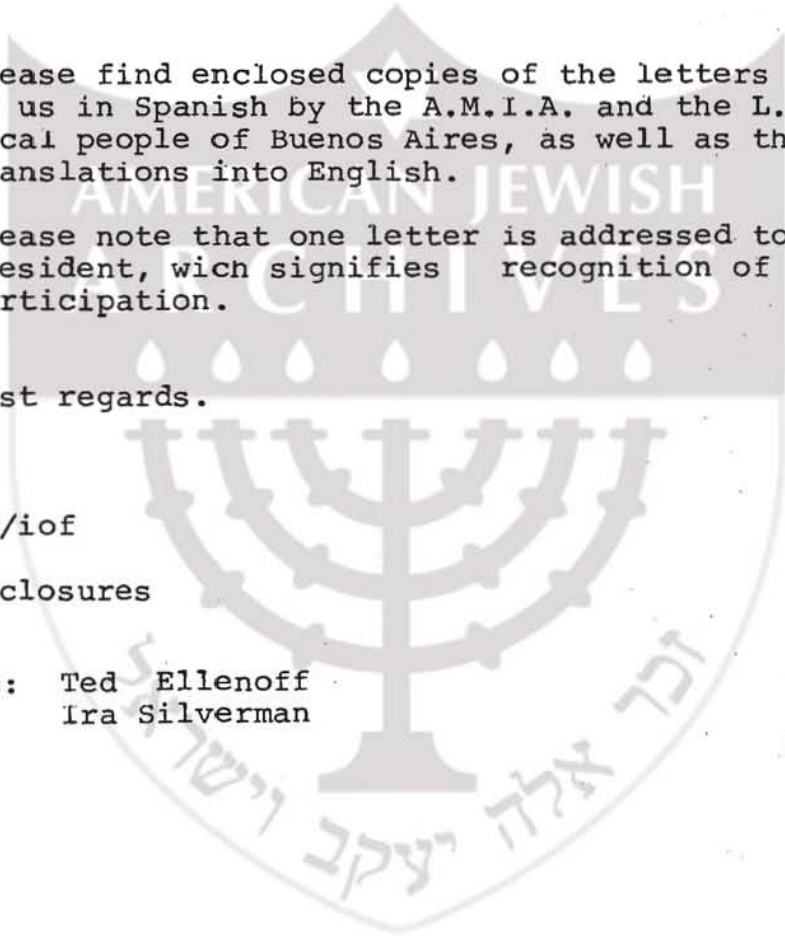
Please note that one letter is addressed to AJC's president, wich signifies recognition of AJC's participation.

Best regards.

JK/iof

Enclosures

cc: Ted Ellenoff
Ira Silverman



TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM LAJSA (Latin American Jewish Studies Association)

September 2, 1988

Dear Mr. Kovadloff:

It gives us great pleasure to write to you in connection with your participation in the Fifth International Congress of Researchers of Latin American Judaism held in Buenos Aires from April 14 to 19.

We wish to express to you our most sincere gratitude for the task you carried out, which undoubtedly contributed to enriching the analysis of every one of the subjects under discussion.

The high academic level and the wide participation in this event place us under an obligation to continue deepening and exchanging experiences and studies of Latin American Judaism.

Undoubtedly this shared activity strengthened the existing links between us, and for this reason we wish to maintain frequent contact and to provide a framework for meetings.

Expressing our gratitude once more, we remain at your service and send you our cordial greetings.

Signed,

Ana E. De Weinstein
Director
Marc Turkow Center

Dr. Alberto Cukier
Secretary General of the Buenos Aires Jewish Community

Bernard Blejmar
Institutional Adviser

Dr. Hugo Ostrover
President of the Buenos Aires Jewish Community

V
**CONGRESO
INTERNACIONAL
DE INVESTIGADORES
SOBRE JUDAISMO
LATINOAMERICANO**

LAJSA
LATIN AMERICAN JEWISH
STUDIES ASSOCIATION



AUSPICIO ACADEMICO
**UNIVERSIDAD DE BUENOS AIRES
UNIVERSIDAD HEBREA DE JERUSALÉM
UNIVERSIDAD DE TEL AVIV**

BUENOS AIRES, 14 AL 19 DE AGOSTO DE 1988

Buenos Aires 2 de setiembre de 1988

Sr.
Jacobo Kovadloff
PRESENTE

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

De nuestra mayor consideración:

Tenemos el agrado de dirigirnos a Ud. en relación a su participación en el V Congreso Internacional de Investigadores sobre Judaísmo Latinoamericano, desarrollado en Buenos Aires entre el 14 y el 19 de Agosto.

Es nuestra intención expresarle nuestro más sincero reconocimiento a la tarea por Ud. desempeñada, que sin duda contribuyó a enriquecer el análisis de cada uno de los temas abordados.

Desde ya, el alto nivel académico y la convocatoria lograda en este acontecimiento, nos comprometen a continuar profundizando e intercambiando experiencias y estudios sobre judaísmo latinoamericano.

Sin duda, esta actividad compartida fortaleció los vínculos existentes entre nosotros y es por ello que deseamos mantener una comunicación frecuente y posibilitar marcos de encuentro.

V

CONGRESO
INTERNACIONAL
DE INVESTIGADORES
SOBRE JUDAISMO
LATINOAMERICANO

LAJSA

LATIN AMERICAN JEWISH
STUDIES ASSOCIATION



AUSPICIO ACADEMICO
UNIVERSIDAD DE BUENOS AIRES
UNIVERSIDAD HEBREA DE JERUSALÉM
UNIVERSIDAD DE TEL AVIV

BUENOS AIRES, 14 AL 19 DE AGOSTO DE 1988

Reiterándole nuestra gratitud, y quedando a su disposición,
hacemos propicia la oportunidad para saludarle muy cordialmente.

Lic. Ana E. de Weinstein
Directora del Centro Marc
Turkow

Lic. Bernardo Blejmar
Asesor Institucional

Dr. Alberto Cukier
Secretario General
Comunidad Judía de
Bs.As.

Dr. Hugo Ostrower
Presidente
Comunidad Judía de
Bs.As.

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM LAJSA (Latin American Jewish Studies Association).

September 8, 1988
Buenos Aires

Dear Mr. President:

It gives us great pleasure to write to you in connection with the Fifth International Congress of Researchers of Latin American Judaism held in Buenos Aires April 14 to 19.

We wish to express to you and to the members of your institution our most sincere gratitude for your cooperation in the successful outcome of this Congress.

The high academic level and the wide participation in this event place us under an obligation to continue deepening and exchanging experiences and studies of Latin American Judaism.

Undoubtedly this shared activity strengthened the existing links between us, and for this reason we wish to maintain frequent contact and to provide a framework for meetings.

Expressing our gratitude once more, we remain at your service and send you our cordial greetings.

Signed,

Ana E. Weinstein
Director
Marc Turkow Center

Dr. Alberto Cukier
Secretary General of the Buenos Aires Jewish Community

Bernard Blejmar
Institutional Adviser

Dr. Hugo Ostrover
President of the Buenos Aires Jewish Community



LAJSA
LATIN AMERICAN JEWISH
STUDIES ASSOCIATION



AUSPICIO ACADEMICO
UNIVERSIDAD DE BUENOS AIRES
UNIVERSIDAD HEBREA DE JERUSALEM
UNIVERSIDAD DE TEL AVIV

BUENOS AIRES, 14 AL 19 DE AGOSTO DE 1988

Buenos Aires, 8 de setiembre de 1988

NOV 28 1988

Sr.
Presidente
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 St.
New York
U.S.A.

De nuestra mayor consideración:

Tenemos el agrado de dirigirnos a Ud. en relación al V Congreso Internacional de Investigadores sobre Judaísmo Latinoamericano, desarrollado en Buenos Aires entre el 14 y el 19 de agosto.

Es nuestra intención expresarle a Ud. y a los miembros de su Institución nuestro más sincero reconocimiento por la colaboración // prestada para el exitoso logro de este Congreso.

Desde ya, el alto nivel académico y la convocatoria lograda en este acontecimiento, nos comprometen a continuar profundizando e intercambiando experiencias y estudios sobre judaísmo latinoamericano.

Sin duda, esta actividad compartida fortaleció los vínculos existentes entre nosotros y es por ello que deseamos mantener una comunicación frecuente y posibilitar marcos de encuentro.

//////

CENTRO DE DOCUMENTACION E INFORMACION
SOBRE JUDAISMO ARGENTINO MARC TURKOW / AMIA
AYACUCHO 632, 3° PISO / (1026) BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA
TELEFONOS 49-0518/2069



LAJSA
LATIN AMERICAN JEWISH
STUDIES ASSOCIATION



AUSPICIO ACADEMICO
UNIVERSIDAD DE BUENOS AIRES
UNIVERSIDAD HEBREA DE JERUSALEM
UNIVERSIDAD DE TEL AVIV

BUENOS AIRES, 14 AL 19 DE AGOSTO DE 1988

Reiterándole nuestra gratitud, y quedando a su dis
posición, hacemos propicia la oportunidad para saludarle muy cordialmente.

Lic. Ana E. Weinstein
Directora Centro Marc Turkow

Lic. Bernardo Blejmar
Asesor Institucional

Dr. Alberto Cukier
Secretario General
Comunidad Judía de Bs. As.

Dr. Hugo Ostrower
Presidente
Comunidad Judía de Bs. As.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

memorandum

date November 17, 1988
to David Geller
from William Gralnick
subject Meeting at Mexican Consulate

cc: M. Tanenbaum ✓
G. Rozanski
J. Kovadloff

We met with Consul General Raul Lopez Lira Castro and Trade Commissioner Jorge Barreto. The consulate with (13) persons is one of Miami's largest.

The meeting was conducted in Spanish. It was a pleasant, comfortable but, overall a very non-specific meeting. The Consul General claimed to be a generalist and any detailed responses would have to come via the embassy. With that said, the following points were made by him after our opening explanation of AJC and the visit:

- 1) Mexico's biggest problem is economic. Discussions with the Bush people on foreign aid have already begun.
- 2) The new immigration law will be good for some Mexicans already here. They are watching however for negative impact on the economy.
- 3) Mexico has for a decade been devoid of terrorism. The police have the capacity to detect and deter terrorists. The legislature is the place where opposition views are expressed "in a civilized fashion".
- 4) Mexico's relations with her neighbors, with Israel, and with the U.S. are excellent. He had no comment on the Palestinian declaration of independence.
- 5) Mexico and Guatemala are in the process of negotiating a major trade accord.

We left telling Lopez Lira to feel free to use us as a resource.

Best regards.

WAG:gs



INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

(212) 679-0010

To: Angie Duke, Dolores Smithies,
Bruce McColm, IRC Executive Committee
cc: Roy, Al

Date: November 30, 1988

Subject: El Salvador

From: Bob DeVecchi

Roy Williams just returned from El Salvador. His visit was a follow-up to the Board delegation's trip last July and in anticipation of a second Board delegation trip in 1989.

In spite of all our concerns about the deteriorating situation - political, economic and social - Roy's realistic assessment of things concludes on a more positive note than I would have anticipated.

Roy will report on his trip at the December 8 meeting of the IRC Executive Committee, to which Angie, Dolores and Bruce are especially invited. In the interim, I urge you to read his report.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

B. DeV.



encl.
rpd:hk

Trip Report
El Salvador November 16-23, 1988

The objectives of this mission were two-fold; in part it served as a followup by staff to the August overview by members of the IRC Board. (See Linda James report of August 1988, attached as Appendix I.) In addition, a further aim was to evaluate the effectiveness of program objectives in relation to the changing political situation.

Some broad conclusions had been reached by the mission headed by Ambassador Duke in July. These indicated that positive signs of movement towards democracy were present in spite of some obvious difficulties and that our programs for the displaced were responsive to real needs and, also contributed to the fostering of democratic institutions. The upcoming elections in March were to be a benchmark for this evaluation with a followup trip anticipated shortly afterwards.

In the interim this trip report will speak to these objectives with conclusions drawn from the impressions of a four day trip to San Salvador and the resettlement areas.

I.

The major concerns regarding our presence in El Salvador in addition to the basic philosophical rationale relate to security for personnel, duration of the program (its quasi development nature), and program costs recognizing the great difficulties in raising funds for work in Central America.

We have been hearing and reading a great deal about the worsening security situation. The guerrillas are ranging further afield and there is an increase in the activities of the "Death Squads." To the extent that this information was accurate there could be severe limitations on our ability to operate.

There is no doubt that security concerns exist. The staff is well aware of the constraints on their movements and the possibility of unpredictable behavior on the part of both the government and the opposition. Recently, however, there has been only one alarming incident. One of the senior Salvadoran employees was detained for four hours by the guerrillas. He was released unharmed after questioning. It is, interestingly, the conclusion of some that the event actually served a useful purpose as there was an opportunity to fully explain the objectives of the IRC program.

It is clear that there is an awareness of the security issue but so far no sense among staff or others that there exist significant limitations on the range of program activity. I think it is fair to say that security is probably more an issue

in Pakistan and at times in the Sudan than is the present case in El Salvador.

II.

The relationship with AID has provoked some minor concerns. The role of AID in the country is so significant that it is very difficult to separate the aims of our program from the much broader AID interests. This sometimes leads to confusion as to how we deal with the resident bureaucracy in terms of who has authority for what.

For some, the association automatically ties us into the plans of the U.S. Government. This is a minority position and it remains to be seen if there will be any significant effect either on relations with other organizations or on security.

III.

In looking at how long we can reasonably expect to remain in El Salvador it is useful to recall the original reasons for being there. The intent was clearly stated as providing assistance to the furthering of the then newly emerging democratic institution under Duarte.

Given the nature of this objective it is arguable that there always was, or should have been, a recognition that this implied a need for longer-term quasi-development work with the displaced. The classic IRC model of refugee emergency relief - usually short-term - had limited relevance in El Salvador.

To be effective in such work it is necessary to develop clear time frames and definitions of activities. This doesn't preclude the shutting down of a program in an emergency but it does underscore the need for planning purposes of a reasonably long stay measured in years and not months. Democratic institutions require time to emerge as do the elements of the societal infrastructure supporting them. Specifically, we are now involved in the relocation of the displaced from makeshift housing to permanent sites combining upgraded housing and agricultural opportunities. These new settlements require months of negotiations for land rights, surveying and finally construction. Planning, to be done effectively, should be done in phases so that materials may be purchased in the most cost effective manner and local staff hired and trained.

These phases are also determined, in part, by funding support. Our present agreement with AID expires in December and is renewable for at least one year. The existing projects will not be completed by December in any event so some continuation is mandatory.

It is significant that the international community has decided to pour enormous resources into the redevelopment of the Central

American region in terms of the needs of the displaced and refugees. The Italian Government in particular has committed many millions of dollars to this end - namely the reestablishment and support for democratic institutions. Their teams are presently in the region meeting with UNHCR, UNDP, and governments to develop a plan of action to be coordinated at a region-wide meeting in Guatemala in May.

IV.

The issue of funding is critical. It seems clear that program funds will be available; certainly through AID and perhaps through the soon to be available European funding. The core staff and other administrative costs remain largely uncovered and it is reasonable to assume that they will remain so. The IRC investment in El Salvador should be expected to be between \$125-150,000 for 1989. This is probably going to have to be drawn from general funds as we have had little success in earlier fund raising efforts.

It is, of course, possible that some of the new European money could offset these costs or that significant public events in the region would redirect the attention of foundations and others.

For planning purposes, however, let us assume that none of these options develops. Then, the decision has to be made on whether or not we can afford this program and how it ranks in relation to other demands on our resources. We presently are developing the 1989 budget and will shortly have an estimate as to the level of overall general funding required.

V.

Finally, the nature of the El Salvador environment either for progress or decline will be clearer following the elections in March. If one speaks to the common citizen the remark that "nothing will change" is heard as often as not. If true perhaps in some sense at least the lack of deterioration could be seen as positive.

At this stage, the political element in the equation we are trying to balance cannot presently be evaluated. We should have resolved the other points at issue by March. It is important for IRC and the staff in El Salvador that we be clear in our minds what our preferences are.

An effective program of the kind we have in El Salvador can, as indicated earlier, be planned with projects to be completed in one year. It is my view that our present undertaking will require at least an additional three to six months, depending on activities of other cooperating groups. We are presently being pressed to continue the agreement with AID through 1989. I feel

we should plan on doing this. The work done to date has been effective. There do not seem to be any compelling security or programmatic reasons to withdraw at this point, issues of budget aside. This last element will be assessed before the end of the year.



**REPORT ON THE
IRC DELEGATION TO EL SALVADOR
JULY 1988**

The IRC program in El Salvador began in August 1984. It is a departure from traditional IRC refugee programs in that it assists Salvadorans in their own country who have been displaced by civil war, drought, and a major earthquake.

The El Salvador program began rather modestly, focusing on health care and nutrition. The budget was approximately \$200,000 and funding was provided through private sources only. Although there was some growth, the program remained fairly consistent in its approach and funding base, through spring of this year.

In May 1988, the program accepted a grant from USAID (the U.S. Agency for International Development) to assist in the resettlement of the displaced. Currently, the El Salvador program operates out of San Salvador, with a sub-office in San Miguel, and an operating budget of \$1.2 million, the bulk of which is USAID funding.

In order to evaluate the impact of such a proportionally large grant and to chart a future course for IRC in El Salvador, especially in light of changing political realities in that country, the IRC Board of Directors invited a special delegation to visit El Salvador to review the program. The delegation consisted of IRC Board members Angier Biddle Duke and Dolores Smithies; Bruce McCole, the executive director of Freedom House; Jane Gaynor, an IRC volunteer promotional writer; and Linda James, the coordinator for IRC's Overseas Programs Department. The visit took place from July 18 to 22, 1988.

In the short time available, the delegation was able to meet with a broad spectrum of Salvadorans, diplomats and international officials. To best utilize the delegates' expertise, group members split up to see as much of the program as possible.

Meetings were held with the Minister of Defense, General Eugenio Vides Casanova; Dr. Martinez Moreno, an international lawyer and former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Monsignor Rivera y Damas, Archbishop of San Salvador; Dr. Armando Calderon Sol, mayor of San Salvador; Dr. Ricardo Acevedo Peralta, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ruben Zamora of the Democratic Convergence, a coalition of leftist parties; Italo Oriolo, ICM Country Representative; Roberto Rodriguez, UNHCR Chief of Mission; U.S. Ambassador Edwin Corr; Dr. Patricia Marin and Ernesto Attias, UNICEF's Country Director and Displaced Project Officer, respectively.

The delegation met with John Heard, the Associate Director and Director of Operations; Ron Witherill, Director of

Infrastructure and Rural Development, and Ray Lynch, the Displaced Project Officer of the USAID Mission. Visits were also made to IRC's projects in the areas just outside of San Salvador, in Ciudad Delgado, and to the USAID funded project, La Esperanza, in La Union.

In addition to the formal meetings, the delegation was graciously hosted at a cocktail reception in the home of Florence and Roberto Mathies. There they were able to meet with many of the country's leading business and political leaders.

Throughout the week's meetings flowed an undercurrent of significant changes that are occurring in El Salvador. The direction and outcome remain uncertain and the next ten years were projected as volatile ones. The war has left all sides weary but, unfortunately, an agreement does not appear realizable at this time. Much will hinge on the outcome of the March 1989 elections. The party that takes control will inherit a very difficult situation. President Duarte is terminally ill; the government is plagued by severe corruption; death squad activity has increased; and the guerillas, having faced a possible decline in their rural activities, are increasing their efforts in urban areas. Their efforts to destabilize the country's infrastructure continue nationwide.

Although US policy will be a factor in the situation, (US aid to El Salvador exceeds the country's national budget), current US policies are not expected to change significantly. According to Ambassador Corr, in a recent meeting Ruben Zamora raised the possibility of a Democratic administration in the United States offering to incorporate the guerillas' views. Stephen Solarz, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, flatly informed him that present policy had bipartisan support which would continue in the following administration.

Despite a real polarization of political attitudes, a common thread ran through all conversations, that of "construir la paz", or building peace. There was a consensus that this meant moving away from survival programs toward development efforts. With the number of displaced Salvadorans estimated at 125,000 to 800,000 (depending on the source and the term's definition), concern was voiced that much of the population was developing a dependency attitude. The need to stress self-help programs was strongly emphasized.

The USAID program in El Salvador was developed as a result of the Kissinger Commission's report on Central America. The mission's projects strive to promote stabilization, growth, and democratic development within the country.

Current USAID projects for displaced Salvadorans emphasize community development and self-help efforts to resettle people into new communities. These efforts are being made in conjunction with national agencies working with the displaced and

land distribution (CONADES, ISTA, FINATA).

IRC's USAID-funded project, which commenced on April 1, is targeted toward relocation and resettlement of displaced living in camps and the dispersed population. Many of the displaced have attached themselves to other established, yet marginally poor, communities and live on the fringes of haciendas and agrarian land reform co-operatives. In conjunction with ISTA and FINATA, IRC identifies land that is available for use in relocating displaced persons. IRC then surveys displaced communities to determine those who might be interested in relocating and assists them in facilitating the move.

The first relocation site, La Esperanza, is located in the province of La Union, some 200 km. east of San Salvador. It is not in a conflicted zone. In three short months, 35 families have been resettled there, temporary housing has been constructed, and work has commenced on more permanent structures. Seedlings have been planted, latrines were installed, a well was dug, and a new sturdy pump is in use. Immunization and health education are provided and a sense of community spirit is evident among the population.

The project, which has received material assistance through UNICEF and the Boy Scouts, is considered a model program of integrated self-help. IRC has begun promotional work in additional communities, with a projected goal of resettling several hundred families by the end of the year.

The delegation was very pleased with the IRC program and the infrastructure that is being developed. It was noted that the projects were consistent with IRC's programs elsewhere in the world, reflecting the agency's emphasis on self-help and self-sufficiency. This approach that IRC/El Salvador incorporates in all of its projects, received widespread support from the Salvadoran political spectrum, the business community, the U.S. Government officials, and the PVO community.

IRC's current policy is to work with both the displaced and the marginal communities in which they settle. The delegation emphasized the need to continue such a policy, to avoid discrimination and possible resentment that could develop.

At the present time, there do not appear to be any major political liabilities to IRC in receiving USAID funding. The country director, Robyn Ziebert, has been quite successful in negotiating a very flexible operating program grant with USAID which permits her to run the program in a manner consistent with IRC philosophy. This flexibility also gives her a final decision on project locations. This is crucial in a country where conflictive zones change on a fairly frequent basis.

However, given the country's volatile political climate, the delegation urged that IRC continue its policy of maintaining

neutrality and cordial relations with all factions to ensure that IRC does not become linked with any particular element.

As the political situation is in a state of transition, with the outcome uncertain, the El Salvador program should be closely monitored. It is recommended that a follow-up evaluation be conducted in approximately six months, to re-assess the situation at that time.

The delegation wishes to thank Robyn Ziebert and the IRC staff in El Salvador for their kind hospitality and to commend them for the fine work being done there.

L. James/NY
August 1988



SHATTERED SOUNDS -- VANISHED VOICES

A Musical Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of Krystallnacht

created, arranged & directed by

Neil W. Levin

The barbarous night of November 9, 1938, the infamous Krystallnacht, signalled the onslaught of the unfathomable tragedy and monstrous catastrophe that was to befall the Jewish people. It also brought to a sudden and abrupt end the magnificent, stirring sacred music traditions that had flourished among Jews in German-speaking lands for centuries. It silenced forever both the rich musical creativity that had characterized German Jewry and the once-vibrant voices that soon vanished: dedicated cantors, composers, singers, conductors, and whole choirs of children--many of whom were to perish in the Holocaust.

AMERICAN JEWISH

Shattered along with the glass on that fateful night in 1938 was a precious legacy not only of German and German-speaking, but of all Jewry: a legacy of sacred sounds that for centuries had reverberated with pride and reverence from pulpits and choir lofts of glorious synagogues in Berlin, Frankfurt, Vienna, Mannheim, Munich, Konigsberg, Hamburg, Leipzig, and a host of other cities and communities, small as well as large. Each had its own long-standing heritage and distinct tradition as part of the larger tapestry of German Jewish culture.

Since the terrible events that began a half century ago, very little of this musical heritage has survived. Generally forgotten and submerged within currently prevalent eastern European and American practices, our awareness of this once-thriving culture becomes increasingly dimmed with the passage of time.

SHATTERED SOUNDS -- VANISHED VOICES is a large-scale musical and dramatic presentation that both recalls the event and impact of Krystallnacht itself and commemorates some of the grand cultural achievements of pre-war German and Austrian Jewish life. In the form of a cantata -oratorio with spoken narrative and audio/visual components, it reconstructs authentically the actual music of the German Synagogue, in all its diversity. All the music has been painstakingly researched and pieced together from original sources. Many selections have been unearthed from rare manuscript collections long thought to have been lost.

CONTENT

SHATTERED SOUNDS -- VANISHED VOICES is scored for full mixed chorus; 3 cantors and soloists--tenor, baritone and bass; childrens' choir; organ and other instruments; a choral group of reunited Holocaust survivors who will sing together for the first time since 1938 when they constituted a childrens' choir in the Worms synagogue;* and, dramatic speaker/narrator.

The presentation is made up of liturgical pieces and excerpts from numerous and varied German and Austrian synagogue music traditions and composers, representing many different communities, and drawn from the yearly liturgical cycle. Each text sung is selected from a specific community tradition or repertoire of a particular city; for example, a Psalm setting from the Berlin tradition; a "Sim Shalom" (prayer for peace) as sung in Munich; a "Shma Kolenu" (Hear Our Voice) from the Vienna Stadt Templ; a stirring hymn from the Hamburg tradition; etc. In effect the entire presentation thus constitutes an imaginative "last musical service" of the composite German Synagogue prior to the devastation of Krystallnacht; as if one could recall, or could have recorded, the simultaneous services throughout German and Austrian synagogues on the very last Sabbath before the destruction was unleashed and the voices silenced.

At one focal point eight different traditional versions of "Shma Yisroel"--each from a different city--are heard simultaneously, juxtaposed against each other gradually and culminating in a deliberate cacophony that symbolizes the agonized horror of Krystallnacht as well as a defiant reaffirmation of faith.

At several other points childrens' voices are heard in the very melodies children once sang in German synagogues, homes, and schools. The childrens' choir (in addition to the full professional chorus) lends an important emotional as well as cross-generational element to the commemoration, and signifies a spirit of regeneration.

Interwoven throughout the music is a continuous dramatic narration that tells the story of Krystallnacht in poetic terms and relates various aspects of the prayer texts and music to it. The narration is partly original and partly based upon first-hand accounts, impressions, recollections, and translated German Jewish poetry.

An audio-visual component includes projected photographs and slides relating to Krystallnacht--synagogues, cantors, choirs, etc. Photographs of German childrens' choirs in their synagogues will be projected as the contemporary childrens' choir sings the same melodies that had been sung formerly in Europe.

The final segment includes a newly-composed setting, written in this 50th anniversary year by the composer son of the last cantor of Mannheim. This demonstrates a creative continuity and a symbolic projection of what might have been the musical course of German Jewry had it not been for its destruction.

* * * *

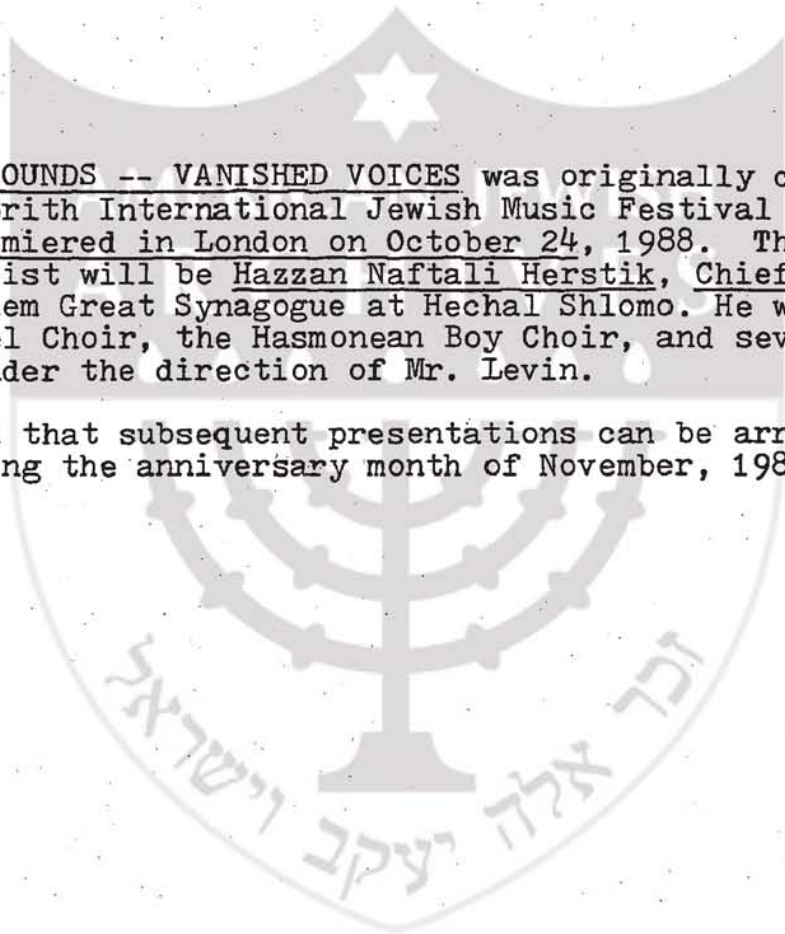
Since Krystallnacht in its most direct manifestation was an attack specifically on synagogues as the symbols of Jewish life, and since more than anywhere else music was the central element in the service of German synagogues, a musical presentation is the most logical way

of commemorating this tragic event. It is through the emotional language of the music of German Jewry, and the actual flavour of what it was like to have experienced the German synagogue service, that much of the significance of Krystallnacht can be felt and understood by contemporary Jewry. At the same time, this presentation is a fitting tribute to the highly developed culture that was German Jewry, as well as a ringing defiance of those who sought to assure its extinction and obliteration even from memory.

* * * * *

SHATTERED SOUNDS -- VANISHED VOICES was originally commissioned by the B'nai Brith International Jewish Music Festival in England, and will be premiered in London on October 24, 1988. The primary cantor soloist will be Hazzan Naftali Herstik, Chief Cantor of the Jerusalem Great Synagogue at Hechal Shlomo. He will be joined by the Zemel Choir, the Hasmonean Boy Choir, and several other soloists under the direction of Mr. Levin.

It is hoped that subsequent presentations can be arranged in American cities during the anniversary month of November, 1988.



SHATTERED SOUNDS -- VANISHED VOICES

PERFORMANCE FORCES:

Tenor Cantor Soloist
Baritone Cantor Soloist
Bass-Baritone Cantor Soloist
or Mezzo-Soprano Soloist

Soprano Soloist

Mixed Chorus

Childrens' Choir

Organist

Harp, trumpet, flute, cello

Narrator

LENGTH:

65 minutes* (in original version)

ADDITIONAL SET-UP:

Slide projection facility**

Audio tape playback**

**optional in an
abridged version

COST OF PRODUCTION:

\$20,000

This covers all musical as well as production costs: fees to performers, assistants, production personnel, choral preparation and contracting, royalties to the commissioning agency for musical arrangements and narration script, music copying and multiple production of parts.

POSSIBLE ALTERNATE VERSIONS:

- *1) Abridged version, lasting 35 minutes.
- 2) An actual Shabbat service utilizing the appropriate musical selections, adding or substituting others, and reconstructing a German service as it would have sounded in 1938 just prior to Krystallnacht; on the Shabbat closest to the anniversary date.

SHATTERED SOUNDS -- VANISHED VOICES

CITIES AND COMMUNITY TRADITIONS REPRESENTED:

Berlin
Frankfurt a/M
Leipzig
Dresden
Hamburg
Munich
Worms
Vienna
Konigsberg
Hannover
Breslau
Mannheim



AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

CANTORS & COMPOSERS REPRESENTED:

Louis Lewandowski
Salomon Sulzer
Emanuel Kirschner
Leon Kornitzer
Israel Meyer Japhet
J. Peissakowitsch
Raphael Hofstein
Max Lowenstamm
Samuel Lampel

and, various traditional melodies of the German synagogue traditions in various communities

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Bob Edgar
Director

November 1988

MEMO TO: Friends of the Committee for National Security

FROM: Bob Edgar, Director

As you may know, the Committee for National Security is a national, private organization composed of prominent Americans who share a common concern about the excessive reliance on military power to resolve complex foreign policy problems. To meet the challenges of our rapidly changing world, we believe that America needs a new, broader concept of national security. The Committee's work is grounded in the belief that in a democratic society, foreign policy is inevitably influenced by public knowledge and opinion.

Since coming to the Committee for National Security in July of 1988, I have dedicated myself to reshaping the mission of this important organization to meet the current needs of the arms control community and the general public. CNS is especially interested in informing those persons who do not have the time to study the important national security issues in great detail.

During this time of transition, it is critical that we keep up-to-date on the changes taking place within Soviet society and on the opportunities for additional arms control agreements. Therefore, over the next few years, we plan to distribute every few months, our latest observations and opinions on these issues by way of short, easy to read "Issue Briefs." Please find enclosed the most recent in this series.

It would be helpful to have your reactions to both content and format. If you would like more information about CNS, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you for your interest in issues of public policy.

Contact: Mark Pekala, (202) 745-2450

October 27, 1988

The Soviet Union Under Gorbachev : Major Initiatives are Producing Mixed Results

When Mikhail Gorbachev succeeded Konstantin Chernenko in March of 1985, he inherited the leadership of a country suffering from enormous economic, political, and social problems:

- o The Soviet Union was mired in a decade-long period of economic stagnation, the technology gap between the Soviet Union and the United States was widening rapidly, and the plight of the Soviet consumer was growing worse from year to year.
- o The Soviet political structure was collapsing under the weight of bureaucracy, inefficiency, incompetence, and corruption.
- o Soviet foreign policy was meeting failure after failure as it increasingly relied on military instruments and as the Soviet model of economic development was exposed as inappropriate for the entire developing world.
- o Many Soviet citizens responded to the deteriorating situation and their inability to affect it by retreating into apathy and alcoholism.

Gorbachev warned that the Soviet Union would enter the twenty-first century as a "second-rate" power if massive and revolutionary changes were postponed; in three and a half years in office, he has introduced a remarkable number of such initiatives. While the results produced by these reforms have been uneven, they may nonetheless represent the most sweeping reorganization of Soviet society since its founding in 1917.

Economics

Among all the issues that Gorbachev currently confronts, his top priority has been and will continue to be improvement of the Soviet economy. For the period 1976-1985, the average GNP growth rate in the USSR was just over two percent per year. GNP had increased by less than 1.5 percent in 1984, and in the first quarter of 1985, Soviet economic growth was essentially flat. Moreover, the quality of Soviet goods was acknowledged to be extremely shoddy. Since 1985, Gorbachev has expended enormous effort to improve the economy through his program of "perestroika," or restructuring:

- o The major element of perestroika is an effort to reduce or eliminate central planning in the economy and replace it with market mechanisms that offer unprecedented autonomy to enterprise managers and allow the law of supply and demand to operate more freely.
- o Enterprises will have to earn a profit or go bankrupt.
- o Private enterprise is encouraged in certain sectors.

There is enormous resistance to Gorbachev's proposed reforms among Party officials and enterprise managers. The Soviet economic system rewards high gross output, and innovation or experimentation that reduces short-term output is punished. Few economic managers are willing to accept responsibility for introducing new products and production techniques that may result in reduced output in the short term, but such new production techniques are essential to the long-term success of perestroika. Gorbachev himself complained in September 1988 that "we are going slowly, we are losing time, and this means we are losing the game . . . the economy has not emerged from a state of stagnation."

Politics

The keystones of Gorbachev's political reforms are "glasnost" ("openness") and "democratization." Glasnost has made remarkable strides in the Soviet Union; the media are now encouraged to publicize material that, ten years ago, would have landed its author in jail. "Democratization" has also taken root:

- o Gorbachev has proposed and has begun to institute multi-candidate, secret-ballot elections for many Party and government posts. Such proposals have not been heard in the Soviet Union since the 1920s.
- o He has also called for the creation of a full-time legislative body. The Soviet Union has never had a serious legislature, but secret-ballot, multi-candidate elections will take place in April to select the 2,250-member Congress of People's Deputies, which in turn will select the 450-person, full-time, bi-cameral legislature, the Supreme Soviet.

In spite of these strides toward "democratization," one-party rule by the Communist Party is not likely to be modified in the foreseeable future. The Kremlin reshuffle that took place at the end of September increased Gorbachev's power -- for example, he prepared the way for adding the position of "President" to his portfolio -- but it also demonstrated its limits. He was unable to remove from the ruling Politburo his two most active opponents, Yegor Ligachev and former KGB chief Viktor Chebrikov.

Foreign Policy

Because Gorbachev's primary aim is to reinvigorate the Soviet economy, he has made great efforts to create a stable international situation and defuse tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. Gorbachev believes that tranquil relations with the United States and other countries will allow the Soviet leadership to divert attention and resources inward. Since Gorbachev's rise to power, Soviet foreign policy has shown an impressive degree of flexibility and pragmatism and a new willingness to compromise and make concessions:

- o The Soviets made unprecedented concessions in agreeing to the 1987 intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) treaty, and, in early discussions on limiting non-nuclear weapons, they have offered to agree to a pact that requires, for certain systems, deeper cuts for the Soviets than for the West.
- o The Soviet withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan was regarded as highly unlikely even three or four years ago; it is now scheduled to be completed in early 1989.
- o The Soviets are allowing, even encouraging, increased political autonomy and economic independence in Eastern Europe.
- o Moscow appears to have decided to scale back new commitments of military and economic assistance to third-world socialist regimes. The money spent on these regimes in the past has not provided a sufficient return; Gorbachev can save scarce

resources and, at the same time, improve relations with the United States by reducing commitments to these countries.

- Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders have argued for vastly increasing the conflict-resolution and peace-keeping powers of the United Nations.

The Soviet Military

Under Gorbachev's leadership, the influence of the Soviet military in national policymaking has declined noticeably. In contrast to the situation over most of the last fifteen years, the new Soviet Defense Minister, Dmitri Yazov, is not currently a voting member of the Politburo. Gorbachev has substantially reduced the military's public profile, and he is also arguing for major modifications in the Soviet view of international security:

- He has suggested that Soviet security cannot be achieved without taking into account the security of the United States. He believes that security in the nuclear age is a "mutual" endeavor and cannot be achieved unilaterally.
- He has argued that war is not a viable policy option in the nuclear age and has asserted that national security must be guaranteed through political and diplomatic means, not through military force.
- He hopes to cut the Soviet military budget substantially and divert the savings to the civilian economy. In 1987, he argued that defense "is a load on the economy, apart from all else because it diverts enormous resources that could be redirected, and it is well known where; we have plenty of problems."
- He has argued for restructuring Soviet and Western military forces along the lines of "reasonable sufficiency," a term that signifies levels of armaments that are sufficient for defense but incapable of offensive operations.

Human Rights

The Gorbachev leadership has also begun to make strides in the area of human rights. Major cases -- such as the release from exile of the well-known dissident, Andrey Sakharov -- have received extensive coverage, but movement has taken place on other fronts as well. While Soviet progress on human rights is undeniable and should be encouraged, Soviet citizens still live under the weight of a great many onerous restrictions and prohibitions. For the most part, only small, initial steps have been taken to this point, but they contrast sharply with the former Soviet disregard for the issue of human rights:

- Over 300 political prisoners have been released in the last three years, and the Soviets have made public a commitment to eliminate the brutal practice of subjecting dissidents to psychological "treatment."
- Restrictions on the study and practice of religion are being eased. Over 100,000 bibles were recently imported for sale to Soviet citizens.
- The Soviet legal code is being revised to eliminate restrictions on a wide variety of political and other activity. Catch-all laws prohibiting "anti-Soviet behavior" that have been used in the past to prosecute dissidents will be eliminated.
- 1987 emigration of Soviet Jews was up eight times over the 1986 total (8,149 in 1987 up from 914 in 1986), but it is still drastically lower than the peak of over 51,000 in 1979.

Gorbachev's Prospects for Success:

By no means are Gorbachev's reforms permanent or irreversible. The only group in Soviet society that unequivocally backs Gorbachev consists of artists and intellectuals; their work has been allowed to flourish in response to Gorbachev's call for glasnost. Among other groups, however, conservatism and opposition to reform remain strong. Most Party bureaucrats and economic managers, for example, are threatened by the reforms; in order to streamline the Soviet economy and make it work more efficiently, hundreds of thousands of bureaucrats will have to improve their productivity drastically or lose their jobs. Gorbachev is asking these very people to implement the reforms that threaten their livelihood. It is far easier and safer for these bureaucrats to resist the changes of perestroika.

In addition, the Soviet population is increasingly skeptical about perestroika. For the first two to three years of Gorbachev's tenure, the Soviet "man in the street" generally applauded Gorbachev and wished him well while hoping, above all, for more and better goods and services. Three and a half years into the Gorbachev era, such improvements have not materialized, and the Soviet populace may be less committed to the new economic thinking.

For many, Gorbachev's rise to power has meant little more than fresh calls for discipline, order, and hard work. Glasnost has gone too far for some, and the drastic restrictions on alcohol sales are unpopular in large sectors of the population. Gorbachev faces an enormous, but not insurmountable, "Catch-22" situation. Soviet workers have shown quite clearly that they simply will not work harder unless quality goods reach the retail shelves. With nothing attractive to buy, there is no incentive to improve work habits. It is just as clear, however, that quality Soviet goods cannot reach the stores unless the productivity of the Soviet work force increases. The Soviets have recently taken out several multi-billion dollar loans from West European banks, and this money may be used to stock Soviet stores with a wide variety of attractive Western and Asian consumer goods, which would provide the Soviet work force with tangible incentives.

The US Response

Despite the fact that Gorbachev's economic reforms face an uncertain future, he has made clear his intention to push forward on all the above elements of Soviet policy. We can therefore expect continued flexibility in Soviet foreign policy, for example, and continued advances in the area of human rights.

President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz have affirmed that the developments currently taking place in the Soviet Union are bringing "positive" changes and are welcomed by the United States. US-Soviet relations have improved over the last several years, at least partly as a result of the new world view represented and publicized by Gorbachev. This improvement is in fact at the very heart of the Gorbachev strategy; he has made it clear that he seeks a relaxation of superpower tension in order to be able to devote increased attention and resources to the domestic economy. To achieve this end, Gorbachev has introduced major changes in Soviet foreign policy and has offered significant concessions in US-Soviet negotiations.

The United States, of course, has a role to play in this relationship as well. If Soviet concessions are met with hostility and aggression, Gorbachev's thinking will be exposed as faulty, his goals may appear unattainable, and his domestic support may dwindle. The proper question for American policymakers to consider, however, is not whether the United States should help Gorbachev; the task is to determine how changes in the USSR affect US national security interests. And it is clear that the changes instituted thus far offer substantial opportunities for increased cooperation and reduced tension between Washington and Moscow.

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About
The Committee
for
National
Security...

About The Committee for National Security...

A national, private organization founded in 1980, the Committee for National Security (CNS) is composed of 130 prominent Americans: former senior government officials, arms control negotiators, ambassadors, retired military officers, scientists, academics, and laypersons with particular interest in foreign policy. Committee members share a common concern about America's drift toward excessive reliance on military power to resolve complex foreign policy problems.

CNS believes that efforts to enhance national security cannot be divorced from action to reduce the risk of nuclear war through verifiable, bilateral arms control negotiations, preserving existing restraints such as the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM), and the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Deep cuts in offensive nuclear weapons can be achieved while maintaining a robust research program on defensive weapons within the bounds of the ABM Treaty.

To meet the challenges of our rapidly changing world, CNS believes America needs a new, broader concept of national security—one that emphasizes international cooperation, development, and economic stability, taking domestic, social and educational needs into account along with military capabilities.

The Committee's work is grounded in the belief that in a democratic society, foreign policy is inevitably influenced by public opinion. Therefore, informed public debate on a range of issues is of the utmost importance. CNS encourages community and civic leaders across the country to bring their influence to bear in their own communities.

The great strength of CNS lies in the expertise of the Committee members who can speak with the authority of personal experience to editorial boards and lead discussions with business and civic leaders across the country. Because of their careers and reputations, they are in demand for local radio and TV interviews.

Because CNS does not have nor intend to establish chapters, our staff works with local organizations, such as World Affairs Councils, to build CNS issues into their programs. Repeated visits sustain the momentum. Cities are chosen for their politically strategic importance or because they have had little past exposure to these issues.

To gain further understanding of the Soviet Union, CNS is publishing a series of short, illustrated books under the title, "Beyond the Kremlin." The first book, *The Other Side*, was published in February 1987 and is in its second printing.

Other CNS activities include a *Workshop On Negotiations*—a leaders' guide and videotape on the art of successful negotiation; *Breaking the Deadlock*, a CNS arms control paper which outlines offensive cuts and limits on SDI; an annual *Military Budget Study*, in addition to a variety of other educational materials.

To avoid needless duplication, the Committee is presently engaged in a number of cooperative endeavors with other organizations which share common goals. Examples are the *Guide to Films About the Soviet Union*, prepared by CNS and the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union at Columbia University, and a Media Information Project, conducted jointly with the Arms Control Association. This is designed to provide information to journalists and media representatives on a regular basis through frequent briefings in Washington and across the country. We strive to correct or refute unfounded or misleading statements about U.S. and Soviet military capabilities and actions relating to arms control.

Financial support for the CNS program comes from individuals, corporations, and foundations. Other valuable support is supplied by dedicated volunteers and interns. The Committee for National Security is a tax-exempt, nonprofit organization.

Freedom House

48 East 21st Street
New York, New York 10010
212/473-9691
TELEX: 429439—FREEDOM

Freedom's Advocate the World Over

December 2, 1988

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*Executive Committee

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

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

This is a time of transitions, and we are pleased to announce one of our own: by unanimous votes of the Boards of Directors of the two organizations, Freedom House will now assume sponsorship of the work on human rights and democratization that has been carried on over the past five years by Prodemca (Friends of the Democratic Center in Central America).

For reasons that lawyers can explain, this will not be a formal merger. As a legal and financial entity, Prodemca will be dissolved. But Penn Kemble, Prodemca's President, will become a Senior Associate with Freedom House, and his responsibilities will include work in the Washington community on Central American issues. Several of Prodemca's Board members will join the Freedom House Board. And, we very much hope, those who have supported and participated in the work of Prodemca will find a way to renew those efforts now through Freedom House.

In recent years Prodemca and Freedom House have worked closely together on Latin American issues; this move will avoid wasteful organizational duplication and strengthen our organizational base. It should as a result be possible to advance the views that we share much more effectively.

That is something which is critically needed. It seems likely that Central America, despite the scant attention it received in the recent presidential campaign, may be one of the first international crises the new Administration and the new Congress will have to face. The Sandinista regime in Nicaragua has scorned the commitments it made to democracy under the Esquipulas Accords, and seems determined to crush both the Nicaraguan resistance and the peaceful civic opposition. Violence and political polarization are increasing in El Salvador. Congress will have to vote on aid to the Nicaraguan resistance next March, and both El Salvador and Panama will hold crucial presidential elections at about the same time. All these events will test the strength and the imagination of democracy's friends, both here and in Central America.

It is especially important that we in the United States do not fall back into the divisiveness and partisanship that often weakened us in the past. Freedom House, a 47-year-old organization with a distinguished record of service in the cause of democracy and human rights, brings together Democrats and Republicans as well as figures from business, labor, the universities and the professions. As a result of the stronger Washington presence we anticipate, Freedom House can be the organization that draws together both the ideas and the coalition of forces to help establish an effective pro-democratic foreign policy for the Hemisphere in the year ahead.

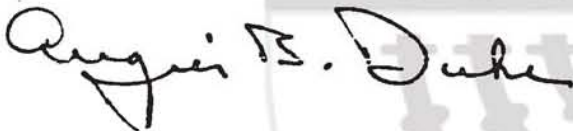
We are all proud of the work Prodemca's members, officers and staff did in the debates of the past few years. We believe the positions that Prodemca developed and defended will be vindicated in the years ahead. But if that is indeed to happen, we and Freedom House will need your strong and continuing support.

We have enclosed a booklet about Freedom House that describes its work (which goes well beyond Central America) and the benefits its members receive. We hope that you will make use of the enclosed envelope to send in your check of \$25.00 or more for a year's membership in Freedom House.

And if you believe, as we do, now is the time to again ask the American people for support for the cause of democracy in the Americas, then we hope you will also enclose a large tax-deductible contribution along with it as you possibly can.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Angier Biddle Duke
Member, Board of Trustees
(former Chairman, Prodemca)



John W. Riehm
President



Penn Kemble
Senior Associate
(former President, Prodemca)



R. Bruce McColm
Executive Director

P.S. We also enclose the first fruits of our co-operation: a proposal for Central America that has stirred much attention among Democrats and Republicans in Congress and in the Bush Administration-to-be.



**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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December 5, 1988

The Reverend Leonard P. Boyle
Prefect
The Vatican Library
Vatican City, Italy

Dear Father Boyle,

It was a very great personal pleasure and privilege to meet you through the good offices of Msgr. Pier Francesco Fumagalli.

The Vatican Library you preside over is exceedingly impressive, and I am grateful to you for the courtesy of escorting me through its treasures.

In the near future, I should like to avail myself of its considerable resources for the research I am doing.

In particular, thank you for the generous gift of the magnificent book on the Library. I plan to read it carefully.

With warm good wishes for a joyous Christmas holy season, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations

MHT:RPR



**The American Jewish
Committee**

Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022-2746
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Bertram H. Gold

John Slawson

December 5, 1988

Monsignor T. Josef Metzler, OMF
Prefect, Vatican Archives
Vatican City, Italy

Dear Monsignor Metzler,

It was a very great personal pleasure and privilege to meet you through the good offices of Monsignor Pier Francesco Fumagalli.

The Vatican Archives you preside over are exceedingly impressive, and I am grateful to you for the courtesy of escorting me through its treasures.

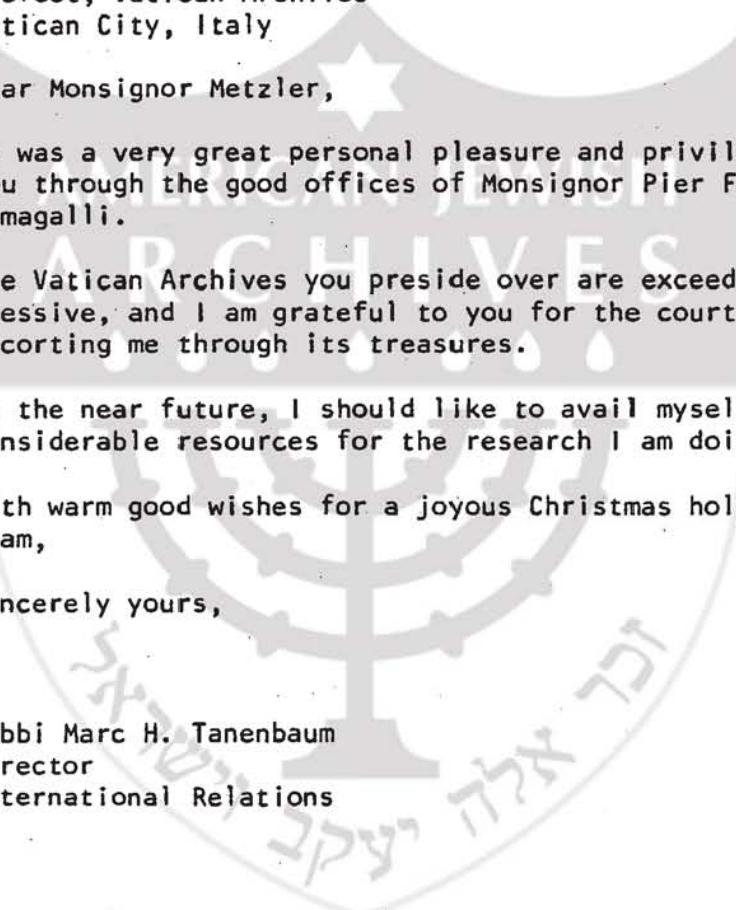
In the near future, I should like to avail myself of its considerable resources for the research I am doing.

With warm good wishes for a joyous Christmas holy season, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations

MHT:RPR





**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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December 5, 1988

Director
IDOC International
Via S Maria Dell'Anima 30,
1-00186 Rome, Italy

Dear Sir,

Professor von Gesau has informed us that in the 1960s IDOC published a study he prepared on the Vatican and the Middle East.

I wonder whether it might be possible to purchase a copy of that document?

I would be interested in any other published materials that might be available from IDOC on that subject -- also on the Vatican and Islam, the Vatican and Israel.

Thank you in advance for the courtesy of your attention.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations

MHT:RPR



SECRETARIATUS
AD CHRISTIANORUM UNITATEM FOVENDAM

E Civitate Vaticana, die Dec. 12th, 1988

PROT. N. J. 500 /88/b
(In responsione fiat mentio huius numeri)

Commissione per i Rapporti Religiosi con l'Ebraismo

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,


I have the pleasure of sending you the enclosed text of the message of His Holiness Pope John Paul II for the **World Day of Peace** which will be celebrated next January 1st.

The Holy Father has chosen as theme for this day, "**To build peace, respect minorities**".

I take this occasion to express my best wishes to you, in communion of action and prayer, that the Eternal One will give peace and blessings to you, to the entire Jewish community, to all humanity.

With cordial greetings,

Sincerely yours,


Johannes Cardinal Willebrands
President

Rabbi Marc H. TANENBAUM
Chairman, International Jewish Committee on
Interreligious Consultations - SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA
326, Lexington Avenue
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 (USA)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 13, 1988
to David Jaffe, FAX # 313-962-0176
from Marc Tanenbaum
subject AJC Response to Arafat speech

Missed you and Erica last week in Detroit. Following is AJC's response to the Arafat speech: ~~in Detroit:~~

While we find some positive aspects in today's Arafat's address in Geneva, overall it is disappointing. It hardly advances the search for Middle East peace when it clearly evades the minimum requirements set forth by the United States and Israeli governments as prerequisites for serious peace talks. Arafat still does not speak in terms of clear-cut acceptance of Israel's right to exist as an independent sovereign state, and for unconditional rejection of terrorism. After years of justifiable mistrust of PLO's ideology and behavior, we would be remiss indeed if we accepted Arafat's words at face value. Let him speak now in clear, unambiguous words and match his words with deeds. Today's news from Israel, of increased violence in the territories, contradicts his presumed peaceful intentions.



NORTH AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON ETHIOPIAN JEWRY

165 East 56th Street • New York, New York 10022 • (212) 752-6340

TO:

FROM:

RE:

Dear Marc --

I don't know the correct salutation for a President-Elect, and of course I don't know the tone of your personal correspondence with Mr. Bush, so I just placed a tentative first paragraph on the letter.

I'm attaching some material that has been appearing re Israel's potential "deal" with the Ethiopians. The details as presented here are probably questionable, but there is a serious possibility of action on this front, too. I didn't know if anything (and if so, what) on this should be included in the letter.

Thank you so much for what you are doing.

PS Would it be corny to include a Biblical quotation on the return of the exiles, or is Mr. Bush fond of such offerings?

Dear Mr. President-Elect,

Let me begin by offering (again??) my congratulations on your election, and my best wishes for the success of your new administration. All our hearts are with you.

I am writing about a specific concern of mine, and of the American Jewish community -- one which we know you share in a very personal and meaningful way. I speak of the plight of the ten to twenty thousand Jews still in Ethiopia.

In early 1985, it was your compassionate and masterful intervention that sent American planes to save those Ethiopian Jews left behind in Sudanese refugee camps when Operation Moses ended prematurely. Nearly a thousand Ethiopian Jews have you to thank for their lives, and their freedom in Israel. Now, they -- and we -- are asking you to look with renewed compassion at the families they left behind in Ethiopia.

The remnant of Ethiopian Jewry consists largely of women, children, and sick and elderly people. They are the population that was too frail to attempt the arduous trek to Sudan and, ultimately, Israel. Bereft of their husbands, sons and brothers, they live in intensified poverty and despair in Ethiopia. They have not seen many of their family members for more than four years. Without your help, they will probably never see them again.

~~Today~~ I believe that a window of opportunity for this shattered community of broken families is opening precisely as you take office. After years of dependence on the Soviet Union, President Haile Mariam Mengistu is turning to the West for aid. He has publically expressed his hope that your administration will offer improved relations between Ethiopia and the United States.

If you will make the family reunification of Ethiopian Jews a firm part of the agenda when such an improvement is discussed by the United States and Ethiopia, I believe there will be real hope for a second great Exodus, and the joyful reunion of parents with their children, husbands with their wives. Ethiopia, as a signatory of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, may finally be amenable to applying the principle of family reunification to this tiny, fragile minority within its borders. Israel stands ready to accept and cherish every Ethiopian Jew who can reach safe haven there.

I can not think of any gesture that would more generously and clearly demonstrate your vision of a "kinder, gentler" world, than to exert the great power of the United States on behalf of this powerless people.

Please let me know how I can be of help.

Please add to the envelope for Marc from Barbara at NACEP → Babar

S.U. - 5th -

FBI-*AFR*-88-241
15 December 1988

EAST AFRICA

Ethiopia

Mengistu Holds Talks in Arusha, Departs
EA0212234188 Addis Ababa in Amharic to Neighboring Countries 1600 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary general of the WPE Central Committee, PDRE president, and commander in chief of the revolutionary armed forces, returned to Addis Ababa this afternoon after attending the seventh summit meeting of the leaders of the Preferential Trade Area [PTA] for eastern and southern African states.

Comrade President Mengistu Haile Mariam was met on arrival at Bole International airport by Comrade Fikre Selassie Wogderes, member of the WPE Central Committee Politburo and PDRE prime minister, and Comrade Fiseha Desta, member of the WPE Central Committee Politburo and PDRE vice president. Also present at the welcoming ceremony were members and alternate members of the WPE Central Committee Politburo, members and alternate members of the WPE Central Committee, and ministers. Before his return from Arusha, Comrade President Mengistu yesterday and this morning received and held extensive talks with the leader of the Kenyan republic, President arap Moi, the leader of the republic of Zimbabwe, President Robert Gabriel Mugabe, and SWAPO President Sam Nujoma, on bilateral and international issues.

Comrade Berhanu Bayeh, member of the WPE Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister, was also present at the talks. Comrade President Mengistu was accorded a warm sendoff on his departure from Arusha this afternoon.

Mengistu Returns From Kenyan Celebrations
EA1312212788 Addis Ababa in Amharic to Neighboring Countries 1600 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary general of the WPE Central Committee, president of the PDRE, and commander in chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces returned to Addis Ababa today after attending Kenya's jubilee independence anniversary celebrations, the Ethiopian News Agency reports. He was met at Bole International Airport by Comrade Fikre-Selassie Wogderess, member of the WPE Central Committee Politburo and prime minister, and Comrade Fiseha Desta, member of the WPE Central Committee Politburo and PDRE vice president. Members and alternate members of the WPE Central Committee Politburo, members and alternate members of the WPE Central Committee, and the Kenyan ambassador to Ethiopia and embassy staff were also present.

Before returning home, the comrade president met Ethiopian nationals at the Ethiopian Embassy in Kenya. He told them that the PDRE cares not only for its citizens at home, but also for those residing abroad. He added that

since the PDRE would not deprive them of their national identity, they should discharge the responsibilities of their citizenship by contributing toward reconstruction efforts. [pasage omitted]

Eritrean Sees Pressure for 'Federal' Deal
PM1212151788 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 9 Dec 88 p 3

[Talhah Jibril report: "Eritrean Official to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: Israel Asks Ethiopia To Resume Falasha Emigration"]

[Text] Rabat—An Eritrean official has disclosed to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that Israel has asked Ethiopia to resume the Falasha Jews' emigration to Israel via Kenya in return for material and technological aid that Tel Aviv will provide to Addis Ababa in the agricultural field.

ELF Foreign Relations Office member Mohammed Ali Kadi said that Israel made an offer to Ethiopia to utilize and develop Eritrean seaports on the Red Sea "to counterbalance the Arab presence in that waterway."

Kadi pointed out that Ethiopia is seeking to strengthen relations with both Israel and the Arabs at the same time, especially since Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev voiced reservations about Ethiopia's playing the role of the "African Cuba" in the continent.

He added that Gorbachev has urged the Ethiopians to resolve the Eritrean problem politically, namely by adopting the republics system for the various local nationalities, with Eritrea given a position similar to that of Belorussia inside the Soviet Union. He indicated that Soviet policy toward the Horn of Africa has been undergoing some changes because Moscow is no longer enthusiastic about shouldering additional burdens, that is, in terms of backing and arming Ethiopia. But this, he says, does not mean that the Soviets have abandoned Ethiopia. They simply do not object to its opening up to the West.

Furthermore, Mohammed Ali Kadi said, Western Europe has recently made some moves to find a settlement to the Eritrean problem. In this context, he said: Information we have received from the French Socialist Party indicates that President Mitterrand raised the issue during his recent visit to Moscow. This is because the Socialist Party supports the Eritreans' right to self-determination. He added: British officials will also raise the issue during Gorbachev's visit to Britain in light of British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe's visit to both Sudan and Ethiopia in September.

Kadi said that the EC supports the Eritrean cause within the framework of a federal solution and proposes that the federal solution be interpreted as "true and developed autonomy."

Handwritten marks on the right margin, including vertical lines and two large 'X' symbols.

hk

Herlinde Koelbl
Fotografin

Rosenstraße 3
8027 Neuried/München
Telefon 089/751161

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum,

recently I tried to reach you in your office. Rita told me you were ill and still in the hospital and that things seem to be looking up. I hope you are feeling as well as possible under the circumstances.

I'm planning to be in New York towards the end of June and hope to see you back in your office with your usual energy.

All best wishes

Herlinde Koelbl

CAPITAL NOTES

A PUBLICATION OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION
FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

FOR THE NATION'S ITALIAN AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

Succeeds Judge Montemuro

Massaro Heads CSJ Governing Body

The transition has gone smoothly. This is the consensus among Italian American leaders from across the country on the naming of New York State Supreme Court Justice Dominic R. Massaro as President of the National Commission for Social Justice. He succeeded Pennsylvania Superior Court Judge Frank J. Montemuro, Jr., as head of the nation's most extensive Italian American anti-defamation apparatus a little more than six months ago. Judge Montemuro, of Philadelphia, had headed the 31-member national body—with state chapters throughout the nation—since its inception in 1982.

Following service as National President of the Order Sons of Italy in America, Judge Montemuro directed the Order's anti-defamation programs, from 1978 onward, when he assumed the chair of the commission's predecessor, the Institute for Liberty and Justice. The Institute was an outgrowth of the earlier Commission Against Bias, Bigotry and Defamation, which finds roots as far back as 1960 when it was created from the Order's long-standing National Public Relations Committee.

Judge Massaro's election, at the same time, was unique. He brings to the post earlier credentials, and direct experience in the field both as a New York city and state human rights commissioner. An articulate spokesman,

he likewise boasts a 30-year history of solid service to the Order in an extraordinary array of posts, including eight years as National Deputy, its highest appointee and official representative to Washington, D.C.

Published, with degrees in economics, government and the law, Massaro was nominated to the judiciary by New York's Governor Mario Cuomo in 1986 following a "highly qualified" rating by the State Judicial Screening Committee. He is Chairman of the Italian Apostolate of the Archdiocese of New York, past Chairman of the Board of Verrazzano Institute and of the Garibaldi-Meucci Museum, as well as past president of both the Italian American Coalition of the City of New York and the Italian American Center for Urban Affairs. He holds scores of awards and recognitions; and has been knighted five times, including Commendatore by the Italian Republic in 1968 and with the Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem by the Vatican in 1973.

At the time of his election to CSJ's top post, the new national president noted his interest to add another dimension to the Commission's work: public education programs aimed at intergroup understanding and cultural appreciation among America's many ethnic and racial groups.

CSJ NAMES NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

56 Prominent Americans to Serve

The national Commission for Social Justice (CSJ) of the Order Sons of Italy in America has announced the formation of a 56 member National Advisory Board.

In making the announcement, Judge Dominic R. Massaro of New York City, the CSJ's National President, noted that the Board includes "... a wide and impressive cross-section of prominent Italian Americans and a variety of key ethnic and community leaders drawn from both the public and private sectors." The CSJ President said, "The Advisory Board represents a valuable resource in our battle for the dignity of the individual and in our increasing efforts toward the promotion of intergroup understanding and cultural appreciation."

*COMPLETE LISTING OF
NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD
MEMBERSHIP INSIDE*

WASHINGTON CSJ SITE

As the nation's oldest, largest and most geographically representative organization of American men and women of Italian heritage, the Order Sons of Italy in America has enjoyed a Washington presence since the turn of the century. Its Roma Lodge No. 71—the first in the Capital—was established as early as 1911. Its initial National Home site was purchased in 1958 at the urging of Massachusetts' John Volpe, one of the Order's better known personalities. The National Commission for Social Justice is so headquartered today.

In furtherance of its national mandate, CSJ will henceforth utilize the Nation's Capital for both Commission meetings and as a preview site for all CSJ programs prior to national dissemination. "That we are an information conduit to thousands of Italian American outlets from coast to coast combines with Washington as the seat of government to warrant its choice, not simply as a national headquarters but also for previewing programmatic thrusts," CSJ National President Judge Dominic R. Massaro of New York City, noted.

"I think it extremely important for Italian Americans and others to see clearly the Order's continuing capability of performing on many stages—and the Washington stage is no exception," he said.

Immediate plans call for a joint American Jewish Committee/CSJ Washington premiere of "The Righteous Enemy," a documentary film on Italian efforts at saving Jews from the Holocaust during World War II. This for September and prior to a ten city national film tour. Also, a two day training seminar for all CSJ state chairpersons on ways and means of best combatting defamation has been scheduled before year's end.

REFERRAL/ TRACKING SYSTEM ESTABLISHED

The national Commission for Social Justice has established a new nationwide deferral and tracking system. All complaints filed at the national office are now being referred to the appropriate CSJ state chapter for handling. The new national tracking system will require state chapters to submit 60-day status reports on action taken relative to the complaint. State chapter statistics on all complaints received, whether directly or by deferral, will be computerized, tracked and reported by the national office on a quarterly basis.

Commenting on the new system, CSJ Executive Director Michael A. Caira said, "Local instances of bias, bigotry and defamation can best be handled at the community level, through personal contact, negotiation, mediation and cooperation with state civil rights agencies." He added that the national office will provide appropriate technical assistance.

Caira noted that, "In light of ever increasing complaint filings at both the national and state levels, we want to be certain to utilize our resources with maximum efficiency and optimum effectiveness. Deferral and technical assistance is the way to achieve this goal."

"Matters of clearly wider import or ramification, as well as those dealing with offenses that intrude across state boundaries—network syndicated television or national company product violations, for instance—will be coordinated at CSJ's Washington office," he stated.

STRENGTHENING CONGRESSIONAL TIES

In a letter to all 35 Italian American members of the Congress, CSJ has requested referrals for handling of "any instances of bias, bigotry, defamation or discrimination against Americans of Italian descent."

The national legislators were reminded that the Commission "enjoys a structure in the states with the capacity to respond in positive fashion whether by way of negotiation, or, if warranted, legal redress" to any referral.

At publication time, led off by Congressman James A. Traficant, Jr., of Ohio, who praised CSJ's program of "promoting a better understanding among ethnic groups," two dozen members have responded in positive fashion. Noted Congressman Leon E. Panetta, of California, "Discrimination or bigotry against any group of Americans harms all groups and loosens the fabric that binds this nation together. Until the day arrives (when we can eliminate the problem), I know we can count on CSJ to devote time and energy to efforts to end its cause."

Members of Congress who currently serve on CSJ's National Advisory Board include Silvio O. Conte, MA; Peter A. DeFazio, OR; Joseph J. DiGuardi, NY; Thomas J. Downey, NY; Dante Fascell, FL; Vic Fazio, CA; James J. Florio, NJ; Thomas M. Foglietta, PA; Dean Gallo, NJ; John J. LaFalce, NY; Daniel A. Mica, FL; Joseph Moakley, MA; Constance Morella, MD; James J. Oberstar, MN; Leon E. Panetta, CA; Matthew J. Rinaldo, NJ; Peter W. Rodino, Jr., NJ; Marge Roukema, NJ; and James A. Traficant, Jr., OH.

CSJ

National Advisory Board

Sister Matthew Anita, S.S.J.
President, Chestnut Hill College
of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA

Francis X. Bellotti
Former Attorney General
of Massachusetts
Boston, MA

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
Former U.S. Secretary of
Health, Education & Welfare
Washington, DC

Anthony J. Celebrezze, Jr.
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Columbus, OH

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Miami, FL

Joseph J. Fauliso
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Hartford, CT

Vic Fazio
U.S. Congressman
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Bishop of Galveston-Houston
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James J. Florio
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Blackwood, NJ

Thomas M. Foglietta
U.S. Congressman
Philadelphia, PA

Dr. Murray Friedman
Middle Atlantic Regional Director
American Jewish Committee
Philadelphia, PA

Arthur J. Gajarsa
Attorney
Washington, DC

Dean Gallo
U.S. Congressman
Parisippany, NJ

A. Bartlett Giamatti
President, The National League
of Professional Baseball Clubs
New York, NY

Joseph N. Giamboi
President, National Italian
American Bar Association
New York, NY

Richard D. Gidron
President, The Gidron Foundation
New York, NY

Dr. Rose Basile Green
Educator and Poet
Philadelphia, PA

General Andrew P. Iosue
United States Air Force (Retired)
Universal City, TX

John Cardinal Krol
Archbishop of Philadelphia (Retired)
Philadelphia, PA

Dr. Myron B. Kuropas
Supreme Vice President, Ukranian
National Association
DeKalb, IL

John J. La Falce
U.S. Congressman
Buffalo, NY

Julius La Rosa
Multimedia Entertainer
Irvington, NY

Adele Malone
President, Malone Trucking
Waltham, MA

Joseph Maselli
President, American Italian
Federation of the Southwest
New Orleans, LA

Daniel A. Mica
U.S. Congressman
Palm Beach, FL

Joseph Moakley
U.S. Congressman
Boston, MA

Toby Moffett
Former U.S. Congressman
West Hartford, CT

Constance Morella
U.S. Congresswoman
Bethesda, MD

James J. Oberstar
U.S. Congressman
Chisholm, MN

Sister Francesca Onley
President, Holy Family
College of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA

Leon F. Panetta
U.S. Congressman
Monterey, CA

Joseph R. Paolino, Jr.
Mayor, City of Providence, RI

Jeno Paulucci
Chairman, National Italian
American Foundation
Heathrow, FL

Paul S. Polo
President, The Gunver Manufacturing Co.
Manchester, CT

Fortune Pope
President, The Pope Foundation
New York, NY

Joseph Preite
Editor, *L'Agenda*
New York, NY

Matthew J. Rinaldo
U.S. Congressman
Union, NJ

Peter W. Rodino
U.S. Congressman
Newark, NJ

Marge Roukema
U.S. Congresswoman
Ridgewood, NJ

Peter F. Secchia
Chairman, The Universal Companies
Grand Rapids, MI

Ray Shamie
State Chairman, Massachusetts
Republican Party
Boston, MA

Anthony Spadorcia
Former Adjutant General,
Massachusetts National Guard
Boston, MA

Frank D. Stella
President, National Italian
American Foundation
Detroit, MI

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director, International Relations,
American Jewish Committee
New York, NY

Julia Tashjian
Secretary of the State of Connecticut
Hartford, CT

Rev. Dr. Silvano M. Tomasi
Provincial Superior
Missionaries of St. Charles
New York, NY

James A. Traficant, Jr.
U.S. Congressman
Youngstown, OH

John A. Volpe
Former Ambassador to Italy, Governor
of Massachusetts and U.S. Secretary
of Transportation
Nahant, MA

CSJ . . . ACROSS THE NATION

DENVER, COLORADO . . . Bowing to objections from the Italian American community, members of the Colorado Legislature's Joint Budget Committee dropped their plans to eliminate Columbus Day as a state holiday. Luciano Busnardo, President of OSIA'S Denver Lodge, was one of the organizers of the successful effort to retain the Columbus Day holiday.

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA . . . Columnist Jim Shertzer of the *Winston-Salem Journal*, apologized for having offended Italian Americans by his recent review of the movie *Moonstruck* in which he described the movie by using misspelled words and exaggerated broken English. Shertzer, the paper's entertainment writer, reviewed the column and printed an apology after receiving numerous calls and letters from OSIA members in Winston-Salem.

BURLINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS . . . Over six hundred people attended the Fifth Annual Law and Justice Day Breakfast held at the Burlington Marriott Hotel. The Massachusetts CSJ presented Law & Justice Awards to Pennsylvania Superior Court Judge Frank J. Montemuro, Jr., former National OSIA and CSJ President, and Staff Sergeant Carmen V. Tammaro, head of the Mass. State Police detail at Boston's Logan Airport. The organization Students Against Driving Drunk (S.A.D.D.), represented by its Founder and Executive Director Robert Anastas, received the annual Public Service Award.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA . . . State and National CSJ officials gathered recently at Philadelphia City Hall for a special CSJ awards ceremony. Four high school juniors from Philadelphia were honored for winning the annual Pennsylvania CSJ sponsored Law Day Essay Contest. The awards were presented by CSJ National Secretary Carrie Rice, and Pennsylvania CSJ President Gabriel Bevilacqua, Esq.

ALBANY, NEW YORK . . . State CSJ officials met recently with New York State legislators to discuss allegations of discrimination against Italian American faculty at Lehman College and City University of New York. The meeting centered on specific instances of discriminatory practices within the CUNY system. The New York CSJ has been working to revert what is described by CSJ Chairman Joseph Parillo as, ". . . a pattern of discrimination against Italian Americans. . ."

WARREN, OHIO . . . Local OSIA and State CSJ officials reacted quickly to complaints that a televised political ad was derogatory to Italian Americans. CSJ State Chapter Chairman Thomas F. Folino, Esq., appeared on television and before the press to denounce the commercial as "stereotypical and derogatory."

CAPITAL NOTES

ORDER SONS OF ITALY IN AMERICA
219 E ST., N.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002

A PUBLICATION OF THE NATIONAL
COMMISSION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

"CAPITAL NOTES": Official Publication of the National Commission for Social Justice (CSJ), a legally incorporated, not-for-profit arm of the Order Sons of Italy in America (OSIA). OSIA is America's oldest, largest and most geographically representative organization of men and women of Italian heritage.

Commission For
Social Justice

**Order Sons of
Italy in America**

S. Joseph Avara
National President, OSIA
Chairman of the Board

Hon. Dominic R. Massaro
National President, CSJ

Michael A. Caira
Executive Director

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Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022-2746

**TEXT OF JOINT STATEMENT
ON LAW OF RETURN AND RABBINICAL COURTS BILL
ISSUED BY 27 AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

(This statement was sent to President Haim Herzog, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in Jerusalem and to Ambassador Moshe Arad in Washington on November 11, 1988.)

We reaffirm our devotion to the State and the people of Israel. We are one people, with a single destiny. We reject any effort to divide our people by legislative action of the Knesset. All Jews, including those of us who are not citizens of Israel, are affected by the possibility of a change in the definition of who is a Jew under Israeli law, either through amending the Law of Return or adoption of the Rabbinical Courts bill.

Both Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres, as heads of their respective political parties, have repeatedly made clear that the issue of "Who is Jew" should be removed from the political arena. Mr. Peres has called for a moratorium on any political action on this question for at least ten years, and Mr. Shamir has stated publicly on numerous occasions in the United States that the question of "Who is a Jew" should be decided by the Jewish people, and not by a political body such as the Knesset.

In this spirit, we appeal to the political leaders of Israel to heed the overwhelming voice of Diaspora Jewry. Changing the definition of "Who is a Jew," through amending the Law of Return or other legislative means, would inflict enormous damage, actual and symbolic, on the Jews of the Diaspora. The unique partnership between the Jewish people and the State of Israel must be preserved.

AMERICANS FOR PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

ASSOCIATION OF REFORM ZIONISTS OF AMERICA

B'NAI B'RITH

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

FEDERATION OF RECONSTRUCTIONIST CONGREGATIONS & HAVUROT

HADASSAH

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

(OVER)

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MERCAZ

NA'AMAT, USA

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR LABOR ISRAEL

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS

RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL ASSOCIATION

RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL COLLEGE

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES

WORLD UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS





The American Jewish
Committee

Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
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212 751-4000 / FAX: 212 319-0975

Theodore Ellenoff
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November 21, 1988

Dear IRC Member,

It gives me much pleasure to invite you to attend the next commission meeting on Monday, December 12, in Room 800B.

Addressing the meeting will be Dr. Barry Rubin, a Fellow at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and Senior Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Dr. Rubin is the author of numerous books on international affairs and the Middle East, including Modern Dictators, Secrets of State, The Arab States and the Palestine Conflict, and Paved With Good Intentions: The American Experience in Iran.

Among the questions we will discuss will be King Hussein's severance of administrative and legal ties with West Bank Palestinians; the suggestions for the creation of a Palestinian government in exile; implications of Israel's deportation policies and the U.S. reaction; implications of the recent Israeli and U.S. elections.

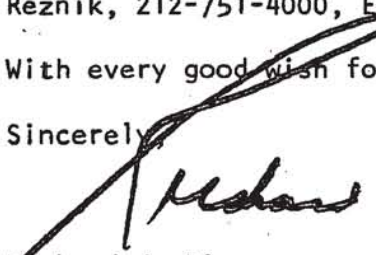
As time allows, we will also review our concerns in the USSR, in Germany and Austria, in South America, and South Africa.

Enclosed please find some of our latest publications on the PNC meeting in Algiers. These will serve as backgrounders for the discussion at our December 12th meeting.

Please let us know that you will attend by calling Rita Reznik, 212-751-4000, Ext. 314.

With every good wish for a Happy Thanksgiving Holiday!

Sincerely,


Richard J. Rice
Chairman

RJR:RPR
Enclosures

88-550

RHETORIC AND REALITY
Resolutions of the Palestine National Council

by **George E. Gruen, Ph.D.**
Director, Middle East Affairs
The American Jewish Committee

Support for the Palestinian Uprising

The Palestine National Council concluded its emergency session in Algiers, on November 15, with a proclamation establishing "the state of Palestine on our Palestinian soil, with its capital in Jerusalem." This symbolic action has attracted world-wide attention and has been greeted with a mixture of enthusiasm and skepticism by Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as abroad.

The declaration is clearly intended to provide hope and encouragement to the Palestinians who have been engaged for nearly a year in an uprising (the *intifada*) against Israeli occupation. The declaration is long on eloquent rhetoric but short on some crucial practical details. The documents issued by the PNC do not clearly define the territorial limits of the proposed state, nor do they say who its provisional leadership will be other than to affirm that the Palestine Liberation Organization remains the "sole, legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people. There is also no indication of what role the residents of the territories will have in picking the proposed state's leadership.

The Palestine National Council (PNC) decided to "provide all means for intensifying the *intifada* in every aspect and in every way," by such means as reinforcing local institutions and organizations, "including attack groups and the popular army." The PNC also called upon the Palestinians "outside the homeland" to intensify and increase their financial support to needy families in the territories and on "the Arab nation" to increase "political, financial, and media support for the *intifada*." The PNC also called on the United Nations to "place occupied Palestinian territory under international supervision to protect our masses and end the Israeli occupation."

The proposed Palestinian state has thus far been recognized by 27 states. With the exception of Marxist Cuba, Nicaragua, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, they are all either Arab states or countries with significant Muslim populations. U.S. State Department spokesman Charles E. Redman reiterated U.S. opposition to the PLO declaration of independence. "The status of the West Bank and Gaza cannot be determined by unilateral acts of either side, but only through a process of negotiations," he said. In Britain, the Foreign Office called the declaration of independence "premature." The official Norwegian reaction was that while the PNC declaration might be a step forward in the Middle East peace process, under international law a state could not be recognized until it had a government able to demonstrate that it was in effective control of a specific territory. The reaction of other Western European countries was similar. French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas told the National Assembly on November 16 that while "the recognition of a Palestinian state by France raises no difficulty of principle," French law made it impossible to recognize "a state that does not dispose of a defined territory."

Efforts to Change U.S. Policy

A major declared objective of the Palestine Liberation Organization is to bring about a change in the United States policy of support for Israel and to convince the new administration of President-elect George Bush to begin a dialogue with the PLO. In further-



ance of this objective, the Palestine National Council adopted resolutions intended to give the impression that the organization is now prepared to enter into internationally-sponsored negotiations for peace with Israel on the basis of a two-state solution. Speaking in English to underscore that his message was intended for an American audience, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat said that "the ball is now in the American court." Referring to the just concluded PNC conclave, Arafat declared, "this could be the session of peace if the U.S. Administration and Israel wish it."

Any genuine movement toward peace should, of course, be welcomed and encouraged. A close reading of the PNC texts and statements by PLO officials, however, leads to the conclusion that the PLO is still very far from meeting the long-standing American requirements for an explicit, unambiguous recognition of the legitimacy of the State of Israel and a total renunciation of violence against Israel.

For example, many media reports from Algeria have claimed that there was a historic breakthrough in that the PNC for the first time explicitly endorsed United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. This action was regarded as implicit recognition of Israel since the resolution, unanimously adopted in November 1967, links "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied" in the June 1967 war to termination [by the Arabs] of "all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force." Resolution 338, adopted after the October 1973 (Yom Kippur) War, called on the parties to enter into negotiations to implement resolution 242.

Explicit reference to these two resolutions was approved by a vote of 253 to 46, with 10 abstentions. Arafat's supporters thus easily defeated the objections of the hardline rejectionists. But was this really a clear cut victory, as Arafat claimed, for the "moderation, flexibility and realism, which the West has been urging us to show"?

PLO Conditions for International Conference

In fact, the Palestine National Council did not give unqualified endorsement to resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for any international peace conference, as has long been demanded by the United States. These resolutions served as the basis of the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty. To implement the Palestinian declaration of independence, the PNC affirmed "the necessity of holding an effective international conference" -- this is the same formulation as in recent Soviet statements -- under UN auspices "with the participation of the permanent member states of the United Nations Security Council and all the parties to the dispute in the region, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing, . . ." The international conference is to be held "on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the assurance of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and, first and foremost, their right to self-determination in application of the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter concerning the rights of all peoples to self-determination and the inadmissibility of seizing the lands of others by force and by military invasion, and in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations regarding the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Arab Jerusalem."

This elaborate formulation as well as the reference elsewhere in the PNC document to

UN General Assembly Resolution 181 of November 1947 (the UN Partition Plan) as the basis of the Palestinian state's "international legitimacy," means that the PLO does not necessarily limit the proposed state to the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, but may claim such pre-1967 Israeli territory as the Western Galilee, Beersheba and parts of the coastal area that Israel captured in the 1948 War of Independence. Israel had to fight for its survival after the Palestinian Arabs and the neighboring Arab states, which had vehemently denounced the partition proposal at the UN, went to war against Israel in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the creation of the Jewish state.

Arafat Opposes a "Zionist State"

Among the UN resolutions PLO officials regard as "relevant to the Palestine question" is General Assembly Resolution 3379. Adopted on November 10, 1975 by a coalition of Arab, Muslim, Soviet bloc and third world countries, this resolution declares that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination" which the UN and its members are obliged to eliminate by all possible means. As far as PLO Chairman Arafat is concerned this resolution remains operative. In an interview with two Time magazine reporters earlier this month, the PLO Chairman declared: "We are opposed to a Zionist state; Zionism is a racist movement, according to a UN resolution. . . We don't want a racist state in this area." (Time, November 7, 1988, p. 48.) In other words, the implicit recognition of Israel contained in Security Council Resolution 242 is negated when coupled with such other "relevant" resolutions as Zionism is racism.

Another American condition for opening discussions with the PLO is a forthright renunciation of terrorism and violence. The PNC's Algiers declaration says that the PLO opposes terrorism, but leaves open a large exception for attacks on Israelis by affirming "the right of peoples to resist foreign occupation and colonialism and racial discrimination and their right to struggle for independence." The PNC reaffirmed the Cairo Declaration of November 1985 in which Mr. Arafat said that the PLO condemned all terrorist acts "against unarmed innocent civilians in any place." Mr. Arafat then pledged that "the PLO as of today will take punitive measures against violators." This declaration was issued in the aftermath of the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro, in which Leon Klinghoffer, a 69-year old New Yorker in a wheelchair, was killed by a PLO terrorist squad. In this regard, U.S. officials expressed their annoyance and dismay at the continued presence on the PLO Executive Committee of Mohammed Abbas, the mastermind of the Achille Lauro terrorist attack. Not only has he not been punished, but during the Algiers conference Abbas gave interviews to the press, in which he termed the Klinghoffer killing an "accident" and speculated that the victim may have died while trying to go for a swim.

The PLO's "Strategy of Stages"

While working hard to convince American audiences that the PLO is now prepared for peace and coexistence with Israel, in their statements to Arab audiences the PLO has been singing a different tune. PLO leaders have sought to reassure the Arab world that the independent Palestinian state declared by the Palestine National Council in Algiers is not meant to signal recognition of Israel or willingness to live in a state alongside Israel. In official statements printed in the Arab press in recent months, Palestinian leaders have made it amply clear that the independence declaration is being made in pursuit of the PLO's longstanding "strategy of stages," wherein a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza is a prelude to the ultimate dismemberment of Israel. These statements have been made by both the "rejectionist" leaders and the so-called "moderates" of Fatah, the dominant PLO faction

headed by Chairman Arafat.

For example, Ahmed Abdel-Rahman, a Fatah spokesman and editor of the PLO's central organ, *Falastin al-Thawrah* (Palestine Revolution) emphasized in the magazine's September, 1988 issue that the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza "does not contradict striving for the strategic and historic objective, which is the liberation of Palestine and the restoration of its Arab character in full." Sheik Abdel-Hamid el-Sayah, chairman of the PNC, was even blunter in an interview he gave in August to the periodical *al-Shara* (The Road): "We will take what we can, and afterwards we will demand the rest of the territory. We are not opposed to getting a state which would encompass a quarter or half of our territory, and afterwards we will demand the rest." (August 22, 1988.) Abu Iyad, Arafat's lieutenant, put it this way: "The establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip does not contradict our strategic goal -- the establishment of a democratic state throughout all of Palestine -- and is a step toward this end." (Lebanese newspaper *Al-Safir*, January 25, 1988.)

PNC Fails to Recognize Israel's Legitimacy

Despite the pragmatic shift in tactics demonstrated by the PNC in Algiers, the PLO has not given up its strategic objective: the elimination of Israel (known in PLO parlance as "the Zionist entity") from the Middle East. It is because of this record of ambiguity and duplicity with regard to Israel that one of the three conditions set by the United States Government for recognizing the PLO or negotiating with the PLO is that it must first "recognize Israel's right to exist." As the above examples illustrate, the PLO has still not accepted the legitimacy of the Jewish State.

In the words of President Chaim Herzog, who was Israel's Ambassador to the UN in 1975, the State of Israel is founded on the principle that "Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people." If the Palestinian Liberation Organization truly wishes to convince the United States and Israel that it is a suitable partner for peace with Israel it must take clear and unambiguous action. One such clear signal would be to change its constitution, the Palestine National Charter, which until this very day continues to deny the legitimacy of Jewish nationalism (article 20) and asserts that "the partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the State of Israel are entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time, ..." (Article 19).

Another step, which should be far easier to accomplish, would be for Mr. Arafat to demonstrate his new self-styled "moderation, flexibility and realism" when he comes to address the UN General Assembly later this month. If the PLO's moderation is not simply empty rhetoric, let Mr. Arafat declare that, in accordance with its new "peace program," the PLO now calls on the Assembly formally to rescind Resolution 3379, which seeks to delegitimize the State of Israel by equating Zionism with racism. This would be a dramatic gesture in support of co-existence with Israel.

PNC Resolutions
11/18/88: IRD/7
#88-580

**TEXT OF JOINT STATEMENT
ON LAW OF RETURN AND RABBINICAL COURTS BILL
ISSUED BY 27 AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

(This statement was sent to President Haim Herzog, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in Jerusalem and to Ambassador Moshe Arad in Washington on November 11, 1988.)

We reaffirm our devotion to the State and the people of Israel. We are one people, with a single destiny. We reject any effort to divide our people by legislative action of the Knesset. All Jews, including those of us who are not citizens of Israel, are affected by the possibility of a change in the definition of who is a Jew under Israeli law, either through amending the Law of Return or adoption of the Rabbinical Courts bill.

Both Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres, as heads of their respective political parties, have repeatedly made clear that the issue of "Who is Jew" should be removed from the political arena. Mr. Peres has called for a moratorium on any political action on this question for at least ten years, and Mr. Shamir has stated publicly on numerous occasions in the United States that the question of "Who is a Jew" should be decided by the Jewish people, and not by a political body such as the Knesset.

In this spirit, we appeal to the political leaders of Israel to heed the overwhelming voice of Diaspora Jewry. Changing the definition of "Who is a Jew," through amending the Law of Return or other legislative means, would inflict enormous damage, actual and symbolic, on the Jews of the Diaspora. The unique partnership between the Jewish people and the State of Israel must be preserved.

AMERICANS FOR PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

ASSOCIATION OF REFORM ZIONISTS OF AMERICA

B'NAI B'RITH

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

FEDERATION OF RECONSTRUCTIONIST CONGREGATIONS & HAVUROT

HADASSAH

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

(OVER)

JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

LABOR ZIONIST ALLIANCE

MERCAZ

NA'AMAT, USA

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR LABOR ISRAEL

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS

RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL ASSOCIATION

RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL COLLEGE

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES

WORLD UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Israel & Middle East Affairs Division
International Relations Department

Summary of AJC Positions Relating to Religious Pluralism

Ever since the founding of the state in 1948, the American Jewish Committee has supported the principle of religious tolerance and pluralism in Israel. We believe that Israel is and must remain a democratic state that fulfills the pledge contained in its Declaration of Independence: "The State of Israel . . . will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the holy places of all religions; . . ."

We believe that Israel has faithfully carried out these commitments with regard to the non-Jewish citizens of the State. Recent debate has focussed on the relationship between the Orthodox Jewish establishment and non-Orthodox elements within Israel and the Diaspora.

As we said in January, 1985, the AJC supports "the right of individuals and groups throughout the world -- including Israel -- to make their own religious choices; and we are unalterably opposed to religious monopoly. . ." The AJC rejects any attempt to coerce religious observance upon individuals in their private life, although it accepts the concept that public institutions be closed on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays and that institutions serving both observant and secular elements of the society, such as the Israel Defense Forces, provide Kosher food. The AJC, together with ten other national Jewish organizations, declared in August, 1984: "The Knesset, a democratic national body, should not attempt to legislate religious homogeneity. Religious differences are to be resolved neither by majority vote nor by coalition politics."

An issue we view with particular concern is the ongoing drive to amend the clause in the Law of Return which deals with the question of "Who is a Jew." Certain elements in Israel have repeatedly attempted to restrict the Law's definition of an immigrant Jewish convert to someone who has undergone conversion according to Halacha (Jewish religious law), or whose conversion is certified by the Orthodox rabbinate. The AJC has said that this effort "represents a concerted attempt by a religious and political minority within Israeli society to impose its will on the majority. The wider aim. . . is to delegitimize the Conservative, Reform and other movements not only in Israel but within the Diaspora as well." (AJC statement of April, 1986.)

The AJC believes that if successful, the campaign to alter the Law of Return could lead to a schism among different segments of world Jewry. "We are naturally concerned over any issue causing fundamental division or dissension within the Jewish community and especially anything that would weaken the bond of solidarity between Israel and the Jewish communities in the Diaspora. We believe that recent efforts to reopen the issue of 'Who is a Jew' would have introduced such division and dissension at a time when maximum unity is imperative among the Jewish people." (Joint statement with ADL and the American Jewish Congress, July, 1981). This statement also focussed attention on the connection between the Law of Return and religious pluralism: "We strongly urge the citizens of Israel and its leaders in the government and Knesset to continue to recognize the reality and importance of religious

diversity and pluralism among our People, and therefore to reject all demands for revision of the Law of Return."

In its statement on American Jewish-Israeli relations, adopted at the Annual Meeting in May 1988, the AJC championed the "dual principles of peoplehood and pluralism" With specific reference to the Law of Return, the statement declared that it "should not be changed to exclude Jews converted to Judaism by the non-Orthodox rabbinate." The Committee noted:

The Law was written in the aftermath of the Holocaust to express the organic nature of Jewish peoplehood. Its interpretation should remain inclusive rather than exclusive. Passage of proposed changes would reflect insensitivity to American Jews and constitute a serious step away from democracy and pluralism toward theocracy and intolerance. Such basic principles cannot be sacrificed to religious fundamentalism or political expediency.

Commenting on the November 1988 Israeli Knesset elections, AJC Executive Vice President Ira Silverman "expressed concern that the increased strength of right-wing nationalist and ultra-religious parties not lead to concessions by the Likud that would weaken the commitment to pluralism, such as a narrowing of the definition of a Jew under the Law of Return." The AJC also joined in a statement together with 26 other major American Jewish organizations that was conveyed to the Israeli leaders on November 11 and subsequently issued to the press. (Copy of the text is attached.)

The AJC firmly believes in the importance of "Klal Yisrael," i.e. the basic unity of the Jewish people. This principle, derived from Jewish law and tradition, forbids any distinction between converts and Jews by birth. Thus, following a 1986 Israeli High Court decision in support of this principle, AJC President Theodore Ellenoff declared that the AJC "opposes any attempts to cast aspersions or make invidious distinctions among Jews, and is pleased that the court has upheld the principle of the unity of the Jewish people despite the diversity of the backgrounds of individual Jews."

The AJC has also emphasized that debates and disagreements on religious issues in Israel must be conducted by peaceful means. "Jewish ethics and democratic ideals do not sanction the resort to extra-legal violence as instruments for enforcing public piety. . . Teaching, preaching and personal examples of pious practice are the only legitimate and ultimately the only effective means of persuasion." (AJC Statement Opposing Resort to Violence, June, 1986). This statement was signed by 20 leading religious representatives of the Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist Movements as well as by AJC leaders at a press conference at AJC headquarters in NY on June 27, 1986. AJC has also has an ongoing program to foster dialogue in a spirit of civility and mutual respect among the lay leadership of the various Jewish denominations in communities throughout the United States.

G.E. Gruen
88-580

Positions.GG3
IRD/smm
11/14/88



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Bertram H. Gold

John Slawson

November 22, 1988

Dear IRC Member,

Enclosed is a copy of the third and most up-to-date report by Hanoach Smith on the 1988 Knesset Elections in Israel. We believe it to be another invaluable resource for our December 12th commission meeting.

Please plan to be with us promptly at 10 A.M., we want to be able to spend as much time as possible discussing with Dr. Barry Rubin, who was at the PNC meeting in Algiers, his impressions of that meeting, as well as his prognosis for the future, his assessment of the implications of the meetings.

You have received along with your first meeting notice, a copy of George Gruen's paper "Rhetoric and Reality," as well as material on the religious pluralism issue. These papers should give you some background on the subjects we plan to cover at our meeting.

Again, I look forward to seeing you on December 12, 10. A.M., Room 800B, at AJC headquarters.

Cordially,


Richard J. Rice
Chairman

RJR:RPR

Enclosure

88-550

THE 1988 KNESSET ELECTIONS

III. A Victory for the Right and Religious Parties

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Hanoch Smith



This series of studies has been commissioned by the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee and is made possible by a grant from the Ruth E. Samuel Fund for International Relations of the AJC.



Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations Department

THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS

III. A Victory for the Right and the Religious Parties

by Hanoach Smith

Introduction

Hanoach Smith, the American-born veteran Israeli election analyst, heads the Smith Research Center, a leading public opinion polling institution in Jerusalem. The present report is the last of a series of three special analyses of the 1988 Israeli parliamentary elections. The first report provided a historical overview of the Israeli electoral system and an examination of recent issues. The second report dealt with the parties, their platforms and leading personalities. The present report analyzes the results of the November elections, the coalition-building process now underway and the implications for Israel's domestic and foreign policies.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, leader of the Likud bloc, was asked by President Chaim Herzog, on November 14, to attempt to put together a new coalition government. Mr. Shamir's chances of success were greatly improved when he won the endorsement of the ultra-Orthodox Agudat Israel and Shas parties. Together with the support of three right-wing nationalist parties and the National Religious Party, this will give Mr. Shamir a total of 63 seats, sufficient for a working majority in the 120-member Knesset. However, the price for Agudah and Shas support was a commitment by Likud to accept various religious demands, reportedly including a change in the definition of Who is a Jew under Israeli law to exclude conversions performed by non-Orthodox rabbis.

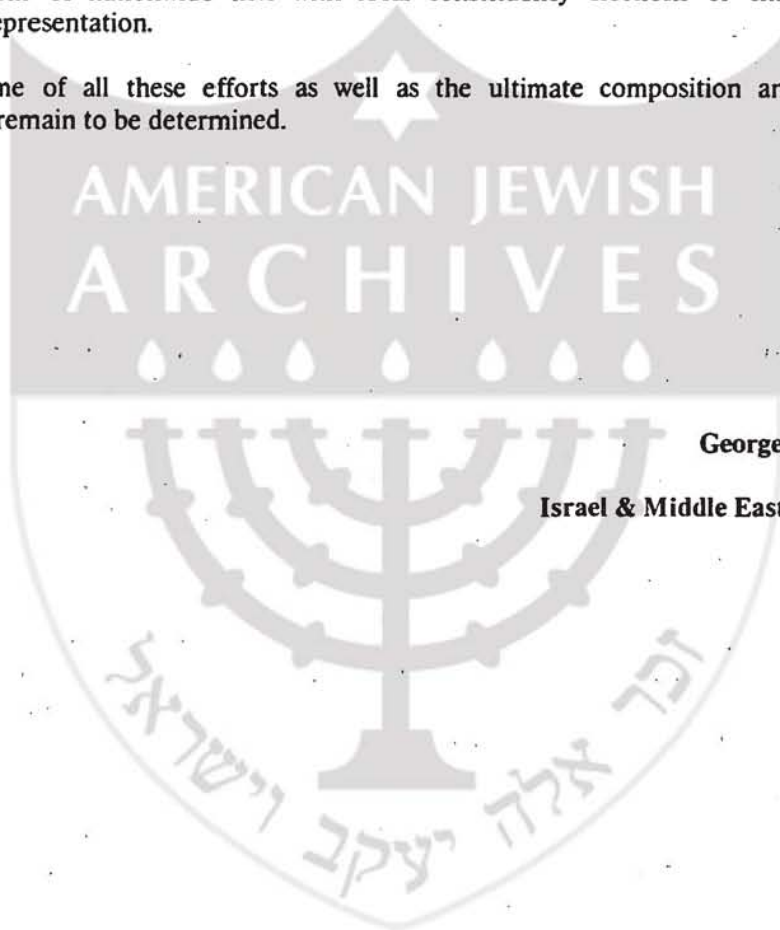
Yet Mr. Shamir is facing an unprecedented groundswell of popular opposition from among the overwhelming majority of Israel's population who did not vote for any of the religious parties and who oppose yielding to excessive demands by the Orthodox. Jews in the Diaspora have also been voicing their concern. The American Jewish Committee joined with 26 other major American Jewish organizations in a message to President Herzog, Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres to express their opposition to "any effort to divide our people by legislative action of the Knesset." Nessim Gaon, president of the World Sephardi Federation, issued a statement in Geneva calling on Israel to reject "a fanatic and extremist point of view" and to work for "peace within the Jewish people and peace with our Arab neighbors."

In an attempt to allay these Diaspora concerns, Prime Minister Shamir on November 14 sent telegrams to the Jewish leaders who had written him, assuring them that he intends to "continue the consultations and dialogue in order to achieve understanding" on this important and sensitive issue and denied that there was any attempt "to exclude or delegitimize any section of the Jewish people." He reaffirmed a statement he had made to the Council of Jewish Federations in Miami last November that "Every Jew with absolutely no exception is welcome in Israel and can become an Israeli citizen under the Law of Return. Nobody has ever questioned the legitimacy and absolute equality of any Jew - Orthodox, Conservative or Reform."

Within Israel fear of the impact of the ultra-Orthodox parties on Israel's society has made a new national unity government now appear to many as the less undesirable alternative. Mr. Shamir, for his part, has appealed to the Labor party to join a Likud-led government, but this time as a junior partner under his premiership.

There have also been renewed calls in recent days, endorsed by President Herzog, for the two major parties -- Likud and Labor -- to work together to agree on reforming the electoral system. Among recent proposals to lessen the power of fringe groups have been suggestions to raise the threshold for election from the present 1 percent of valid votes to 5, 8 or 10 percent, which is the practice in many European parliaments. Other proposals would replace the current system of nationwide lists with local constituency elections or change the system of proportional representation.

The outcome of all these efforts as well as the ultimate composition and policy of the new government remain to be determined.



George E. Gruen, Ph.D.
Director
Israel & Middle East Affairs Division

Summary of Results

Although the greatest shock of the 1988 Knesset elections was the surprising showing of the ultra-Orthodox parties, the results also show a definite swing away from Labor and its allies. For this group of parties, these were the worst elections in history.

The following is the distribution of members in the new 12th Knesset by political bloc, with the membership in the last Knesset appearing in parentheses:

<u>LABOR BLOC</u>		<u>LIKUD AND RIGHT</u>	
Labor	39 (44)	Likud	40 (41)
Mapam	3 (-)	Tehiya	3 (5)
CRM - (Citizens Rights Movement)	5 (3)	Tsomet	2 (-)
Center-Shinui	2 (3)	Moledet	2 (-)
Yahad (Labor)	- (3)	Kach (disqualified)	(1)
Ometz (Likud)	<u>- (1)</u>	TOTAL	<u>47 (47)</u>
TOTAL	49 (54)		
 <u>ARAB BLOC</u>		 <u>RELIGIOUS BLOC</u>	
Rakah (Communist)	4 (4)	Shas	6 (4)
Progressive Arab Democratic	1 (2)	NRP - (National Religious Party)	5 (4)
	<u>1 (-)</u>	Agudat Israel/Pagi	5 (2)
TOTAL	6 (6)	Degel Hatorah	2 (-)
		Morasha	- (2)
		Tami	<u>- (1)</u>
		TOTAL	18 (13)

As the table shows, the Labor bloc lost 5 seats, including that of Ometz, which went over to Likud this time. In 1984, the Labor bloc and the Arab parties together had 60 seats, as against 59 seats for the Likud and Religious blocs. Since no one then would have taken Meir Kahane's Kach party into a coalition, a National Unity Government was the only viable alternative.

Now, after the 1988 elections, the combined membership of Labor and the Arabs adds up to only 55 seats, far too few to block the Likud from forming a government based on the right-of-center nationalist bloc plus the religious parties, should it choose to do so.

The Likud bloc of parties held its own, but its composition changed significantly. The Likud itself lost one seat and Tehiya lost two seats. Two extreme parties gained two seats each -- the Tsomet (crossroads) party of former chief of staff Raphael Eitan, and the Moledet (homeland) party of retired general Rehavam (Ghandi) Zeevi, who ran on a "transfer the Arabs" platform. The Tsomet and Moledet parties are generally viewed as extremist so far as their views on Palestinians is concerned.

But the religious parties get most of the headlines. They captured 18 seats, a gain of 5. The National Religious Party (NRP) gained one seat and Shas gained two. But the "haredi" (literally "God-Fearing" but usually translated as rigorously or ultra-Orthodox) parties of Agudat Israel and Degel Hatorah (The Flag of the Torah) went from 2 to 7 seats. [Although the Sephardi religious tradition has historically been regarded as somewhat more tolerant and flexible than the Ashkenazi, many would classify Shas as also within the Haredi camp.-Ed.]

Reasons for the Religious Parties' Strength

What factors brought about this startling change? The splits among the religious parties produced an unusual amount of competition among them. In all, a record seven religious parties competed against each other. Ultra-Orthodox rabbis, who had previously opposed voting in "Zionist elections," organized their followers to vote this time. Then a powerful new force, Habad, which had never in the past gotten involved in Israel elections, entered into the fray, directed by their leader, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, the Lubavitcher Rebbe. Habad threw its massive machinery and enthusiasm into the contest.

Another key figure, less known to the non-Orthodox, also had an impact: Rabbi Eliezer Schach. He split Shas into separate Sephardi and Ashkenazi factions, the latter running as Degel Hatorah. Together they won 8 seats compared to the 4 that Shas garnered in 1984. These two rabbis, the Lubavitcher and Schach, plus the leading Shas rabbi, former Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yoseph, were the real architects of the Orthodox victory. Rabbi Schach had incensed the followers of the Lubavitch by accusing their rabbi of "ignorance and foolishness" and of harboring "messianic ambitions." In response to this clash among their leaders, more ultra-Orthodox Jews than ever before participated in Knesset elections.

Historically, from 1949 through 1977, the Orthodox parties got from 16 to 18 seats in the Knesset, so some argue that these parties are only returning to their regular strength. Actually, nothing could be more misleading. In those earlier days, 11 or 12 of the religious Knesset members belonged to the National Religious Party, which was outspokenly Zionist and almost always an ally of the Labor party in its coalition governments, while the non-Zionist Agudat Israel and Pagi (Workers of Agudat Israel) factions had only 5 or 6 seats.

Now the situation is reversed: the ultra-Orthodox will have 13 seats and the NRP only 5. The NRP has moved to a strongly anti-Labor position on the subject of the settlements in the territories and dealing with the Arabs. Labor has no sympathizers in the religious camps. Meimad (Dimension), an attempt to create a new religious party appealing to those Orthodox elements prepared for territorial compromise and dissatisfied over the NRP's capture by right-wing nationalists, failed to capture the minimum 1% needed for Knesset representation.

Is this new-found religious strength an idiosyncrasy of this election, or does it signal a long-term trend? The answer is undoubtedly the latter. This new voting strength is a reflection of shifts in society. There is now a sophisticated religious infrastructure going far beyond religious and educational needs: financial aid, social services and moral support are lavishly provided to Yeshiva students and their families. There is enthusiasm and momentum within the Orthodox community. The election results prove the effectiveness of this strategy.

The Growing Significance of Voters of Middle East Origin

Ethnicity is another key to this election. The "Oriental" Jews who have come from the

Arab and Islamic countries of the Middle East and North Africa, continue to vote for parties outside the Labor bloc. If in the 1984 elections slightly over 70 percent of these Jews voted for a non-Labor bloc party, early reading of the 1988 results suggest that this may have gone up to nearly 75 percent, while 60 percent of Ashkenazi (European-origin) Jews continue to support Labor.

The Oriental share of the population is steadily increasing and already nears half of the Jewish voting-age population. Thus a clear majority of Jews, approximately 56 percent, vote for a non-Labor bloc party, up 2-3 percent from the 1984 election. Labor can never return to power without regaining Sephardi support. (The terms Oriental and Sephardi are used interchangeably in Israel, although technically the orientals are from Arabic-speaking countries and the Sephardim are descended from Spanish-speaking refugees from the Iberian peninsula.)

The third major Israeli ethnic group, the minorities -- mostly Arabs -- continue to vote in their own distinct pattern. Their share in the total vote rose and was over 10 percent of the total in these elections. Their vote would have reached 12 percent had they voted in the same proportion as Jews. (Some 74 percent of Arab voters went to the polls as against more than 80 percent of Jewish voters.) In these elections, their vote shifted toward Arab parties -- just 40 percent voted for a Zionist party, as opposed to half in the previous elections. The non-Zionist Rakah (the Communist-led Democratic Front for Peace and Equality) got over 40 percent of the Arab vote, the Progressive List for Peace about 15 percent and the Arab Democratic Party, a split-off from Labor led by Knesset member Abdel Wahab Darawshe -- got about 12 percent. Because of the Arab Democrats, Labor's share of the Arab vote declined from more than 23 percent in 1984 to about 16 percent. Parties of the Labor bloc, mostly Mapam and the Citizens Rights Movement (CRM) got nearly as many votes and the Likud bloc of parties, including the religious, received about 10 percent of this vote. The shifts were actually milder than many people anticipated. Likud won considerable support from the Arabic-speaking Druze, who serve in the armed forces.

Before the elections many Israelis were fearful that the uprising in the territories would radicalize the Israeli Arabs. Yet, while feeling natural sympathy for their fellow Palestinians in the territories, most Israeli Arabs continued to act as participants in the Israeli political system and this was reflected in their votes.

Security and Arab Issues Dominate the Campaign

Both Labor and Likud fought the elections on issues relating to the Arabs and the territories. The primary issue in this regard was the intifadah (the Palestinian uprising) and its continuation. At the start of the campaign, Labor led the Likud 36 percent to 26 percent in Smith polls. But as time passed, this lead melted away. The intifadah swung the vote to the right. Throughout this campaign, polls showed the public clamoring for greater force in putting the insurrection down. Up to election day a clear majority favored greater use of force, only 15 percent favored continuation of current policy, and less than one-fourth wanted unilateral Israeli disengagement -- the remaining 10 percent being undecided. And Israeli public believed, by 43 percent to 29 percent in the last pre-election survey, that the Likud would be better at putting down the insurrection than Labor.

To be sure, the uprising also softened certain Israeli attitudes. As the insurrection continued, and the election approached, the public displayed an openness to conciliatory moves based on a general feeling that the status quo was not viable. Nearly two-thirds thought the time had come to talk to the Palestinians, and a majority felt that if the PLO recognized

Israel and forswore terrorism, Israel should sit down and negotiate even with it. Majorities favored territorial concessions for peace and the freezing of settlement in Judea and Samaria in order to encourage such negotiations. But the polarization in political life remained: Labor bloc supporters overwhelmingly supported conciliatory positions, while only small percentages of the Likud bloc and some religious party supporters adopted such positions.

In post-election interviews with the New York Times, leaders of the three ultra-Orthodox parties -- Shas, Agudat Israel and Degel Hatorah -- said that they naturally preferred Israel to continue to control Judea and Samaria (the West Bank). However, if Jewish lives could be saved by means of territorial compromise, they would not insist on retaining all of the territories, since sanctity of life was a higher *halachic* value than territory. But these moderate views never influenced the voting because the security issue raised by the intifadah dominated the scene, and Labor's peace initiative appeared to have died out.

The Issue of Leadership

A second theme, the leadership issue, was pushed, especially by Labor. It is hard to understand why Labor thought that Shimon Peres was a great vote-getter; after all he led the party in its electoral defeats of 1977, 1981 and 1984. At any rate, the key campaign event was the Peres-Shamir debate a week before election day. Much was made of who won this debate. But the final Smith poll showed that 23 percent did not see the debate, another 45 percent were not affected by it at all, 22 percent claimed it only strengthened their previous positions, 2 percent that it weakened their previous position but did not change it, and 2 percent had no opinion. That leaves 2.5 percent who said it helped then make up their minds and 0.4 percent (!) who said it made them change their minds.

The invalidation of Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach party by the Election Commission on the grounds that his party platform violated a law against "racism" had a profound input in the election. At the time of his invalidation, Kahane was gaining grass-roots support among the poor and uneducated (nearly 4 percent in the last poll in which this could be measured). The banning of Kach, which the Likud supported, aroused great anger not only among Kahane supporters, but also among sympathizers who supported Likud and Tehiya. During the last week of the campaign, these voters turned their backs on the traditional right, swept Mechedet into the Knesset (two weeks before election day, this party had no support in our polls), strengthened support for Tsomet and turned to religious parties like Shas and NRP. The removal of Kach from the contest thus provided the final big push to the electoral success of the religious and extreme right parties.

Finally, what happened to domestic issues -- economy and social-welfare, values and religion? On the economy, Labor chose to flee from battle. They left the problems in the health services and the financial troubles of the Histadrut industrial enterprises unexplained and unaddressed. As a result -- in contrast to previous elections -- the public felt the Likud was as competent as Labor in dealing with the economy. On social-welfare issues, Likud was favored as being better able to deal with the ethnic gap and helping poor neighborhoods and development towns. Most of the residents of these poorer areas are Oriental and Sephardi Jews, anyway. Labor made no progress with these voters.

Asked how they would characterize the elections, more than half the public selected words like "wasteful," "low level," and "boring," while less than 25 percent chose words like "crucial," "important" or even "interesting".

Prospects

The relatively large religious vote was a function of years of grass-roots work and a mass mobilization of strength in a sector of the population which was previously indifferent to "Zionist" elections. Only slightly over 15 percent of the electorate define themselves as ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) or Orthodox (Dati). This hardly adds up to an impending takeover. It is the ultra-Orthodox that must give pause. Their new-felt political strength, and the exhilaration that increased power gives, make it extremely unlikely that they will lapse back into indifference.

Yet the ultra-Orthodox are not monolithic. There are serious, sometimes ferocious, differences among orthodox groups. The "Mitnagdim" and the "Hassidim" have been in conflict for two centuries; the Sephardi Orthodox who voted for Shas come from different traditions and life-styles than the Ashkenazim of Agudat Israel. It should not be surprising if some of these differences complicate the coalition negotiations.

The Likud does not emerge from these elections strengthened. On the contrary, like Labor, they have lost eight seats in two Knesset elections since 1981. The seven seats to the right of Likud -- three Tehiya, two Tsomet and two Moledet -- belong to parties extreme in their views on how to handle the Palestinians. In a new government, they would make it difficult for the Likud to adopt flexible, pragmatic policies.

Labor's position is critical. Labor went all-out on a peace-negotiation platform and lost. This does not mean that the Israelis voted against peace -- they voted against Labor for a variety of reasons, some of them outlined above. Unlike the situation in the Likud camp, the forces in the Labor camp could unite easily. Both the CRM and Mapam are off-shoots of the Maarach (Labor Alignment) itself. Together, they have 48 Knesset seats. But this potential does not change the underlying situation.

Three courses are open to Labor: (1) to go into opposition and try to rebuild themselves; (2) to try to enter a Likud-led national unity government as a junior partner; (3) or to score a post-electoral coup by luring the Orthodox parties to set up a coalition government with them.

The first course is a natural one, since the Likud, if it sets up a government with its traditional allies on the right and in the religious camp, automatically puts Labor into opposition whether it wishes to be there or not.

Joining a Likud-run government is feasible but highly unlikely, and would involve sharp infighting within Labor. The crucial issue facing Labor immediately after the election is the leadership question, an issue not easily resolved in a short period and avoidable only if a government is set up quickly with Labor inside. There are already calls for the replacement of Peres as party leader.

This brings up a possible Labor coup with the Haredim or a large segment of them, along with the passive backing of the Arab parties. At this writing this seems a very remote possibility: Shas leaders might be willing, but Shas voters are overwhelmingly anti-Labor and would be hard to convince.

On center stage stands Yitzhak Shamir around whom the next government will undoubtedly be formed. It will not be easy for him to form a government, given the hard demands of the parties to his right and the ultra-Orthodox parties. As has been the case in

setting up all coalition governments in Israel, there will be all kinds of maneuvering. For example, to lower the demands of the right and the Haredim, the Likud could simultaneously negotiate with Labor, and even seem to be coming close to an agreement with them; religious parties could simultaneously negotiate with both major parties to test who will give more.

These are normal procedures in the intricate art of forming a coalition government. As noted above, it now appears that Mr. Shamir will quickly form a government with most of the religious parties and the ultra-nationalist right-wing parties. Whether Labor will agree to join as a junior partner in the coalition remains to be seen.

Edited by George E. Gruen

Elections.GG6
IRD/smm
11/16/88



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- * **The PLO's Council Faces Critical Choices: Reconciliation with Israel, Further Radicalization or Continued Contradictory Rhetoric**
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022-2746

November 1988

Single copy \$1.00
Quantity prices on request



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Committee

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November 21, 1988

Dear IRC Member,

It gives me much pleasure to invite you to attend the next commission meeting on Monday, December 12, in Room 800B.

Addressing the meeting will be Dr. Barry Rubin, a Fellow at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and Senior Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Dr. Rubin is the author of numerous books on international affairs and the Middle East, including Modern Dictators, Secrets of State, The Arab States and the Palestine Conflict, and Paved With Good Intentions: The American Experience in Iran.

Among the questions we will discuss will be King Hussein's severance of administrative and legal ties with West Bank Palestinians; the suggestions for the creation of a Palestinian government in exile; implications of Israel's deportation policies and the U.S. reaction; implications of the recent Israeli and U.S. elections.

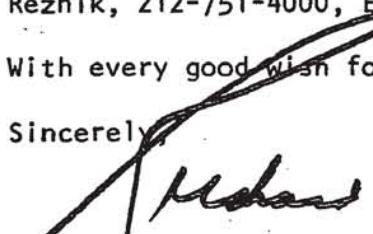
As time allows, we will also review our concerns in the USSR, in Germany and Austria, in South America, and South Africa.

Enclosed please find some of our latest publications on the PNC meeting in Algiers. These will serve as backgrounders for the discussion at our December 12th meeting.

Please let us know that you will attend by calling Rita Reznik, 212-751-4000, Ext. 314.

With every good wish for a Happy Thanksgiving Holiday!

Sincerely,


Richard J. Rice
Chairman

RJR:RPR
Enclosures

88-550

RHETORIC AND REALITY
Resolutions of the Palestine National Council

by **George E. Gruen, Ph.D.**
Director, Middle East Affairs
The American Jewish Committee

Support for the Palestinian Uprising

The Palestine National Council concluded its emergency session in Algiers, on November 15, with a proclamation establishing "the state of Palestine on our Palestinian soil, with its capital in Jerusalem." This symbolic action has attracted world-wide attention and has been greeted with a mixture of enthusiasm and skepticism by Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as abroad.

The declaration is clearly intended to provide hope and encouragement to the Palestinians who have been engaged for nearly a year in an uprising (the *intifada*) against Israeli occupation. The declaration is long on eloquent rhetoric but short on some crucial practical details. The documents issued by the PNC do not clearly define the territorial limits of the proposed state, nor do they say who its provisional leadership will be other than to affirm that the Palestine Liberation Organization remains the "sole, legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people. There is also no indication of what role the residents of the territories will have in picking the proposed state's leadership.

The Palestine National Council (PNC) decided to "provide all means for intensifying the *intifada* in every aspect and in every way," by such means as reinforcing local institutions and organizations, "including attack groups and the popular army." The PNC also called upon the Palestinians "outside the homeland" to intensify and increase their financial support to needy families in the territories and on "the Arab nation" to increase "political, financial, and media support for the *intifada*." The PNC also called on the United Nations to "place occupied Palestinian territory under international supervision to protect our masses and end the Israeli occupation."

The proposed Palestinian state has thus far been recognized by 27 states. With the exception of Marxist Cuba, Nicaragua, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, they are all either Arab states or countries with significant Muslim populations. U.S. State Department spokesman Charles E. Redman reiterated U.S. opposition to the PLO declaration of independence. "The status of the West Bank and Gaza cannot be determined by unilateral acts of either side, but only through a process of negotiations," he said. In Britain, the Foreign Office called the declaration of independence "premature." The official Norwegian reaction was that while the PNC declaration might be a step forward in the Middle East peace process, under international law a state could not be recognized until it had a government able to demonstrate that it was in effective control of a specific territory. The reaction of other Western European countries was similar. French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas told the National Assembly on November 16 that while "the recognition of a Palestinian state by France raises no difficulty of principle," French law made it impossible to recognize "a state that does not dispose of a defined territory."

Efforts to Change U.S. Policy

A major declared objective of the Palestine Liberation Organization is to bring about a change in the United States policy of support for Israel and to convince the new administration of President-elect George Bush to begin a dialogue with the PLO. In further-



ance of this objective, the Palestine National Council adopted resolutions intended to give the impression that the organization is now prepared to enter into internationally-sponsored negotiations for peace with Israel on the basis of a two-state solution. Speaking in English to underscore that his message was intended for an American audience, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat said that "the ball is now in the American court." Referring to the just concluded PNC conclave, Arafat declared, "this could be the session of peace if the U.S. Administration and Israel wish it."

Any genuine movement toward peace should, of course, be welcomed and encouraged. A close reading of the PNC texts and statements by PLO officials, however, leads to the conclusion that the PLO is still very far from meeting the long-standing American requirements for an explicit, unambiguous recognition of the legitimacy of the State of Israel and a total renunciation of violence against Israel.

For example, many media reports from Algeria have claimed that there was a historic breakthrough in that the PNC for the first time explicitly endorsed United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. This action was regarded as implicit recognition of Israel since the resolution, unanimously adopted in November 1967, links "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied" in the June 1967 war to termination [by the Arabs] of "all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force." Resolution 338, adopted after the October 1973 (Yom Kippur) War, called on the parties to enter into negotiations to implement resolution 242.

Explicit reference to these two resolutions was approved by a vote of 253 to 46, with 10 abstentions. Arafat's supporters thus easily defeated the objections of the hardline rejectionists. But was this really a clear cut victory, as Arafat claimed, for the "moderation, flexibility and realism, which the West has been urging us to show"?

PLO Conditions for International Conference

In fact, the Palestine National Council did not give unqualified endorsement to resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for any international peace conference, as has long been demanded by the United States. These resolutions served as the basis of the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty. To implement the Palestinian declaration of independence, the PNC affirmed "the necessity of holding an effective international conference" -- this is the same formulation as in recent Soviet statements -- under UN auspices "with the participation of the permanent member states of the United Nations Security Council and all the parties to the dispute in the region, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing, . . ." The international conference is to be held "on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the assurance of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and, first and foremost, their right to self-determination in application of the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter concerning the rights of all peoples to self-determination and the inadmissibility of seizing the lands of others by force and by military invasion, and in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations regarding the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Arab Jerusalem."

This elaborate formulation as well as the reference elsewhere in the PNC document to

UN General Assembly Resolution 181 of November 1947 (the UN Partition Plan) as the basis of the Palestinian state's "international legitimacy," means that the PLO does not necessarily limit the proposed state to the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, but may claim such pre-1967 Israeli territory as the Western Galilee, Beersheba and parts of the coastal area that Israel captured in the 1948 War of Independence. Israel had to fight for its survival after the Palestinian Arabs and the neighboring Arab states, which had vehemently denounced the partition proposal at the UN, went to war against Israel in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the creation of the Jewish state.

Arafat Opposes a "Zionist State"

Among the UN resolutions PLO officials regard as "relevant to the Palestine question" is General Assembly Resolution 3379. Adopted on November 10, 1975 by a coalition of Arab, Muslim, Soviet bloc and third world countries, this resolution declares that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination" which the UN and its members are obliged to eliminate by all possible means. As far as PLO Chairman Arafat is concerned this resolution remains operative. In an interview with two Time magazine reporters earlier this month, the PLO Chairman declared: "We are opposed to a Zionist state; Zionism is a racist movement, according to a UN resolution. . . We don't want a racist state in this area." (Time, November 7, 1988, p. 48.) In other words, the implicit recognition of Israel contained in Security Council Resolution 242 is negated when coupled with such other "relevant" resolutions as Zionism is racism.

Another American condition for opening discussions with the PLO is a forthright renunciation of terrorism and violence. The PNC's Algiers declaration says that the PLO opposes terrorism, but leaves open a large exception for attacks on Israelis by affirming "the right of peoples to resist foreign occupation and colonialism and racial discrimination and their right to struggle for independence." The PNC reaffirmed the Cairo Declaration of November 1985 in which Mr. Arafat said that the PLO condemned all terrorist acts "against unarmed innocent civilians in any place." Mr. Arafat then pledged that "the PLO as of today will take punitive measures against violators." This declaration was issued in the aftermath of the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro, in which Leon Klinghoffer, a 69-year old New Yorker in a wheelchair, was killed by a PLO terrorist squad. In this regard, U.S. officials expressed their annoyance and dismay at the continued presence on the PLO Executive Committee of Mohammed Abbas, the mastermind of the Achille Lauro terrorist attack. Not only has he not been punished, but during the Algiers conference Abbas gave interviews to the press, in which he termed the Klinghoffer killing an "accident" and speculated that the victim may have died while trying to go for a swim.

The PLO's "Strategy of Stages"

While working hard to convince American audiences that the PLO is now prepared for peace and coexistence with Israel, in their statements to Arab audiences the PLO has been singing a different tune. PLO leaders have sought to reassure the Arab world that the independent Palestinian state declared by the Palestine National Council in Algiers is not meant to signal recognition of Israel or willingness to live in a state alongside Israel. In official statements printed in the Arab press in recent months, Palestinian leaders have made it amply clear that the independence declaration is being made in pursuit of the PLO's longstanding "strategy of stages," wherein a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza is a prelude to the ultimate dismemberment of Israel. These statements have been made by both the "rejectionist" leaders and the so-called "moderates" of Fatah, the dominant PLO faction

headed by Chairman Arafat.

For example, Ahmed Abdel-Rahman, a Fatah spokesman and editor of the PLO's central organ, *Falastin al-Thawrah* (Palestine Revolution) emphasized in the magazine's September, 1988 issue that the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza "does not contradict striving for the strategic and historic objective, which is the liberation of Palestine and the restoration of its Arab character in full." Sheik Abdel-Hamid el-Sayah, chairman of the PNC, was even blunter in an interview he gave in August to the periodical *al-Shara* (The Road): "We will take what we can, and afterwards we will demand the rest of the territory. We are not opposed to getting a state which would encompass a quarter or half of our territory, and afterwards we will demand the rest." (August 22, 1988.) Abu Iyad, Arafat's lieutenant, put it this way: "The establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip does not contradict our strategic goal -- the establishment of a democratic state throughout all of Palestine -- and is a step toward this end." (Lebanese newspaper *Al-Safir*, January 25, 1988.)

PNC Fails to Recognize Israel's Legitimacy

Despite the pragmatic shift in tactics demonstrated by the PNC in Algiers, the PLO has not given up its strategic objective: the elimination of Israel (known in PLO parlance as "the Zionist entity") from the Middle East. It is because of this record of ambiguity and duplicity with regard to Israel that one of the three conditions set by the United States Government for recognizing the PLO or negotiating with the PLO is that it must first "recognize Israel's right to exist." As the above examples illustrate, the PLO has still not accepted the legitimacy of the Jewish State.

In the words of President Chaim Herzog, who was Israel's Ambassador to the UN in 1975, the State of Israel is founded on the principle that "Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people." If the Palestinian Liberation Organization truly wishes to convince the United States and Israel that it is a suitable partner for peace with Israel it must take clear and unambiguous action. One such clear signal would be to change its constitution, the Palestine National Charter, which until this very day continues to deny the legitimacy of Jewish nationalism (article 20) and asserts that "the partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the State of Israel are entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time,..." (Article 19).

Another step, which should be far easier to accomplish, would be for Mr. Arafat to demonstrate his new self-styled "moderation, flexibility and realism" when he comes to address the UN General Assembly later this month. If the PLO's moderation is not simply empty rhetoric, let Mr. Arafat declare that, in accordance with its new "peace program," the PLO now calls on the Assembly formally to rescind Resolution 3379, which seeks to delegitimize the State of Israel by equating Zionism with racism. This would be a dramatic gesture in support of co-existence with Israel.

PNC Resolutions
11/18/88: IRD/7
#88-580

**TEXT OF JOINT STATEMENT
ON LAW OF RETURN AND RABBINICAL COURTS BILL
ISSUED BY 27 AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

(This statement was sent to President Haim Herzog, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in Jerusalem and to Ambassador Moshe Arad in Washington on November 11, 1988.)

We reaffirm our devotion to the State and the people of Israel. We are one people, with a single destiny. We reject any effort to divide our people by legislative action of the Knesset. All Jews, including those of us who are not citizens of Israel, are affected by the possibility of a change in the definition of who is a Jew under Israeli law, either through amending the Law of Return or adoption of the Rabbinical Courts bill.

Both Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres, as heads of their respective political parties, have repeatedly made clear that the issue of "Who is Jew" should be removed from the political arena. Mr. Peres has called for a moratorium on any political action on this question for at least ten years, and Mr. Shamir has stated publicly on numerous occasions in the United States that the question of "Who is a Jew" should be decided by the Jewish people, and not by a political body such as the Knesset.

In this spirit, we appeal to the political leaders of Israel to heed the overwhelming voice of Diaspora Jewry. Changing the definition of "Who is a Jew," through amending the Law of Return or other legislative means, would inflict enormous damage, actual and symbolic, on the Jews of the Diaspora. The unique partnership between the Jewish people and the State of Israel must be preserved.

AMERICANS FOR PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

ASSOCIATION OF REFORM ZIONISTS OF AMERICA

B'NAI B'RITH

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

FEDERATION OF RECONSTRUCTIONIST CONGREGATIONS & HAVUROT

HADASSAH

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

(OVER)

JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

LABOR ZIONIST ALLIANCE

MERCAZ

NA'AMAT, USA

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR LABOR ISRAEL

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS

RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL ASSOCIATION

RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL COLLEGE

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES

WORLD UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Israel & Middle East Affairs Division
International Relations Department

Summary of AJC Positions Relating to Religious Pluralism

Ever since the founding of the state in 1948, the American Jewish Committee has supported the principle of religious tolerance and pluralism in Israel. We believe that Israel is and must remain a democratic state that fulfills the pledge contained in its Declaration of Independence: "The State of Israel. . . will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the holy places of all religions; . . ."

We believe that Israel has faithfully carried out these commitments with regard to the non-Jewish citizens of the State. Recent debate has focussed on the relationship between the Orthodox Jewish establishment and non-Orthodox elements within Israel and the Diaspora.

As we said in January, 1985, the AJC supports "the right of individuals and groups throughout the world -- including Israel -- to make their own religious choices; and we are unalterably opposed to religious monopoly. . ." The AJC rejects any attempt to coerce religious observance upon individuals in their private life, although it accepts the concept that public institutions be closed on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays and that institutions serving both observant and secular elements of the society, such as the Israel Defense Forces, provide Kosher food. The AJC, together with ten other national Jewish organizations, declared in August, 1984: "The Knesset, a democratic national body, should not attempt to legislate religious homogeneity. Religious differences are to be resolved neither by majority vote nor by coalition politics."

An issue we view with particular concern is the ongoing drive to amend the clause in the Law of Return which deals with the question of "Who is a Jew." Certain elements in Israel have repeatedly attempted to restrict the Law's definition of an immigrant Jewish convert to someone who has undergone conversion according to Halacha (Jewish religious law), or whose conversion is certified by the Orthodox rabbinate. The AJC has said that this effort "represents a concerted attempt by a religious and political minority within Israeli society to impose its will on the majority. The wider aim. . . is to delegitimize the Conservative, Reform and other movements not only in Israel but within the Diaspora as well." (AJC statement of April, 1986.)

The AJC believes that if successful, the campaign to alter the Law of Return could lead to a schism among different segments of world Jewry. "We are naturally concerned over any issue causing fundamental division or dissension within the Jewish community and especially anything that would weaken the bond of solidarity between Israel and the Jewish communities in the Diaspora. We believe that recent efforts to reopen the issue of 'Who is a Jew' would have introduced such division and dissension at a time when maximum unity is imperative among the Jewish people." (Joint statement with ADL and the American Jewish Congress, July, 1981). This statement also focussed attention on the connection between the Law of Return and religious pluralism: "We strongly urge the citizens of Israel and its leaders in the government and Knesset to continue to recognize the reality and importance of religious

diversity and pluralism among our People, and therefore to reject all demands for revision of the Law of Return."

In its statement on American Jewish-Israeli relations, adopted at the Annual Meeting in May 1988, the AJC championed the "dual principles of peoplehood and pluralism" With specific reference to the Law of Return, the statement declared that it "should not be changed to exclude Jews converted to Judaism by the non-Orthodox rabbinate." The Committee noted:

The Law was written in the aftermath of the Holocaust to express the organic nature of Jewish peoplehood. Its interpretation should remain inclusive rather than exclusive. Passage of proposed changes would reflect insensitivity to American Jews and constitute a serious step away from democracy and pluralism toward theocracy and intolerance. Such basic principles cannot be sacrificed to religious fundamentalism or political expediency.

Commenting on the November 1988 Israeli Knesset elections, AJC Executive Vice President Ira Silverman "expressed concern that the increased strength of right-wing nationalist and ultra-religious parties not lead to concessions by the Likud that would weaken the commitment to pluralism, such as a narrowing of the definition of a Jew under the Law of Return." The AJC also joined in a statement together with 26 other major American Jewish organizations that was conveyed to the Israeli leaders on November 11 and subsequently issued to the press. (Copy of the text is attached.)

The AJC firmly believes in the importance of "Klal Yisrael," i.e. the basic unity of the Jewish people. This principle, derived from Jewish law and tradition, forbids any distinction between converts and Jews by birth. Thus, following a 1986 Israeli High Court decision in support of this principle, AJC President Theodore Ellenoff declared that the AJC "opposes any attempts to cast aspersions or make invidious distinctions among Jews, and is pleased that the court has upheld the principle of the unity of the Jewish people despite the diversity of the backgrounds of individual Jews."

The AJC has also emphasized that debates and disagreements on religious issues in Israel must be conducted by peaceful means. "Jewish ethics and democratic ideals do not sanction the resort to extra-legal violence as instruments for enforcing public piety. . . Teaching, preaching and personal examples of pious practice are the only legitimate and ultimately the only effective means of persuasion." (AJC Statement Opposing Resort to Violence, June, 1986). This statement was signed by 20 leading religious representatives of the Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist Movements as well as by AJC leaders at a press conference at AJC headquarters in NY on June 27, 1986. AJC has also has an ongoing program to foster dialogue in a spirit of civility and mutual respect among the lay leadership of the various Jewish denominations in communities throughout the United States.

G.E. Gruen
88-580

Positions.GG3
IRD/smm
11/14/88



**The American Jewish
Committee**

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105 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022-2746
212 751-4000 FAX: 212 319-0975

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November 29, 1988

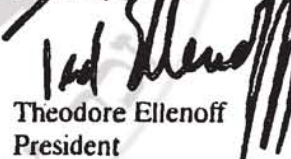
The Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
Department of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I thought you would be interested in seeing a copy of my op-ed article, "Barring Arafat helps Mideast peace effort," which appeared in today's issue of USA Today.

While your decision may not be popular at the moment, I believe that history will vindicate your principled action as a contribution to the struggle to eliminate the scourge of international terrorism and to promote a just and lasting peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors based on respect for the United National Charter obligation to settle all disputes by peaceful means and Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

Sincerely yours,


Theodore Ellenoff
President

TE/ar
Enc.

Robb Marc Tanenbaum
12/12



The American Jewish
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John Slawson

December 1, 1988

Dear Governors:

Next Board of Governors Meeting
Monday, December 12, 1988
1:00 P.M. - 4:30 P.M.
Institute Building

Events are evolving so rapidly, both here and in Israel, that it has been difficult to determine the agenda for our upcoming meeting. The action of Secretary of State George Shultz in refusing a visa to Arafat, has caused a storm of protest resulting in much activity on our part. We have conveyed our support to Secretary Shultz and urged the chapters to do the same. Ted Ellenoff was interviewed in the press, T.V. and radio, to explain our position and he will open up a discussion on this situation at the Board meeting.

The implications of the American and Israeli elections on our policies and program will also be on the agenda. Ted Ellenoff will report on his recent meetings with Vice President-elect Senator Dan Quayle and White House Chief of Staff-designate Governor John Sununu. We will assess the new Administration currently in formation.

Ira Silverman and Dr. Ron Kronish, our Israel Office Director, will report on AJC's activities regarding the situation in Israel and will lead our discussions on the outcome of the Israeli elections and its impact on American Jews.

This will be our last meeting before the Board of Governors Institute and we would like to have the benefit of your opinions on issues that we should raise in Israel and the positions that we should expound. Stanley Snider has been working diligently to prepare a stimulating program and we will have an opportunity to review it.

Marc Tanenbaum will have returned from the conference in Vienna on Austrian anti-Semitism and will report on the significance of that event and on his meetings with Vatican representatives.

(over)

We will also consider recommendations for AJC's activities to reinforce Black-Jewish relations and if time permits, we will discuss new developments in U.S. immigration policy.

Many of these items may require action, and we therefore urge you to make every effort to attend this most important meeting.

Sincerely,

Leo

LN:es
enclosures

Leo Nevas, Chair
Board of Governors

P.S. Enclosed you will find:

1. Copy of the OP-ED article by Ted Ellenoff that appeared in U.S.A. Today, together with Elliott Richardson's.
2. A copy of the Bylaws as amended by the NEC at its fall meeting.
3. Ted Ellenoff's letters to Itzhak Shamir and Shimon Peres
4. Additional background material for our upcoming Institute, including travel information.
5. An update on Catholic-Jewish Relations.

Important - Please Read

In case you mislaid the Board Institute Cost Schedule previously sent to you, here it is again.

There has been some confusion about whom to contact for your travel arrangements. The AJC office is NOT MAKING ANY RESERVATIONS for you. For all hotel and other land arrangements, as well as flight tickets (unless you purchase them on your own), you will have to contact AWILDA DIAZ at UNITOURS. Their phone numbers are (800) 223-1780 or (203) 629-3900.

BOARD INSTITUTE COST SCHEDULE

- NOTES** - 1. **UNITOURS, INC.** is our official travel agent for this Institute. To ensure the best possible service to you, please make all your arrangements directly with them. Contact **AWILDA DIAZ**, (800) 223-1780 or (203) 629-3900.
2. Package prices are based on **APEX FARE** of \$799 + \$23 tax. We are not quoting the Super Apex fare since it excludes "stop-overs" and "add-ons" and imposes heavy cancellation penalties.
3. Program costs and group meals will be billed after the Institute.
4. All prices are **PER PERSON** (prices subject to change).

BOARD INSTITUTE - Prices include: Airfare New York/Tel Aviv/New York
Hotel room & breakfast
Group transfers to and from Ben Gurion Airport
Land arrangements

1. **Pre-Institute Trip - 5 Night Package (Land only)**
\$480 - double occupancy
178 - single supplement
2. **Board Institute - 7 Night Package**
\$1,422 - double occupancy - regular room
335 - double occupancy - deluxe room supplement
250 - single supplement - regular room
646 - single supplement - deluxe room
3. **Board Institute plus Optional Weekend - 9 Night Package**
\$1,562 - double occupancy - regular room
431 - double occupancy - deluxe room supplement
321 - single supplement - regular room
831 - single supplement - deluxe room

DELEGATIONS - Prices include: 4 nights in hotel & breakfast
1 day sightseeing
group transfers

1. **Turkey**
\$360 - double occupancy (no extra cost for airfare)
82 - single supplement
2. **Egypt**
\$587 - double occupancy (includes additional airfare to Egypt)
162 - single supplement
3. **Morocco**
\$898 - double occupancy (includes additional airfare to Morocco as well as a higher transatlantic fare)
89 - single supplement



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Bertram H. Gold

John Slawson

November 23, 1988

His Excellency Deputy Prime Minister
and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Jerusalem
Israel

Dear Shimon:

I am pleased to enclose for your information a copy of the letter I have today written to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. I do not think I need to tell you of the deep distress within the American Jewish community over the current pressures to use the coalition bargaining process to exact promises for legislation that would in effect delegitimize the Conservative and Reform movements in the United States and other Diaspora communities.

I hope and trust that you and the Labor Party will remain firm in your long-standing commitment to oppose any effort in the Knesset to narrow the definition of Who is a Jew whether by amending the Law of Return, the Rabbinical Courts jurisdiction bill or any other relevant legislation.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore Ellenoff
President

TE/ar
Enc.



The American Jewish
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John Slawson

November 23, 1988

His Excellency Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir
Office of the Prime Minister
Hakiryia, Jerusalem
Israel

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have received a copy of your response of November 14, 1988 to American Jewish leaders who had urged you not to support legislation that would amend the Law of Return or the Rabbinical Courts bill to narrow the definition of Who is a Jew.

The American Jewish Committee appreciates your reaffirmation of your intention "to continue consultations and dialogue to achieve understanding" on this important and sensitive issue. We also welcome your reiteration of your statement in Miami last November that "Every Jew with absolutely no exception is welcome in Israel and can become an Israeli citizen under the Law of Return. Nobody has ever questioned the legitimacy and absolute equality of any Jew -- Orthodox, Conservative or Reform."

I would respectfully point out, however, that this position will be undermined if you carry out the commitment you reportedly have made in the coalition talks with the Orthodox parties to impose party discipline upon all Likud Knesset members to support an amendment that would in effect disqualify future conversions performed by non-Orthodox rabbis in the Diaspora.

Mr. Prime Minister, the American Jewish Committee has recently concluded a year long task force study dedicated to strengthening American Jewish-Israeli relations on the basis of the dual principles of peoplehood and pluralism. The task force recommended many practical steps to increase constructive American Jewish involvement in Israel, including investment, study, tourism and aliya. We believe that nothing should be done that would alienate any segment of American Jewry from Israel.

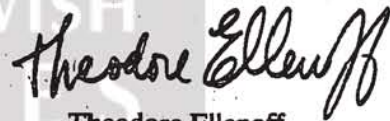
With specific reference to the Law of Return, the statement on American Jewish-Israeli relations we adopted at our Annual Meeting in May, 1988 declared that it should not be changed "to exclude Jews converted to Judaism by the non-Orthodox rabbinate." We pointed out that:

(over)

"The Law was written in the aftermath of the Holocaust to express the organic nature of Jewish peoplehood. Its interpretation should remain inclusive rather than exclusive. Passage of proposed changes would reflect insensitivity to American Jews and constitute a serious step away from democracy and pluralism toward theocracy and intolerance. Such basic principles cannot be sacrificed to religious fundamentalism or political expediency."

For the sacred memory of all those who were killed simply because one of their grandparents was a "Jew" and for the sake of the unity of the scattered remnants of the Jewish people who have survived, we urge you to reconsider and to oppose any legislative action that would alienate and delegitimize any movement within Jewish life today.

Sincerely yours,



Theodore Ellenoff
President



TE/ar

THEODORE ELLENOFF

An opposing view

**Barring Arafat helps
Mideast peace effort**

NEW YORK — Secretary of State George P. Shultz has shown admirable courage in refusing a visa to Yasser Arafat, thereby preventing him from addressing the U.N. General Assembly in New York.

The State Department's official statement accurately describes the Palestine Liberation Organization as an organization that "has employed terrorism against Americans" and notes that Arafat, its chairman, is an accessory to these crimes, since he "knows of, condones and lends support to such acts."

Happily, Shultz has seen through the smoke screen of double talk that emanated from the recent meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algiers. Its so-called renunciation of terrorism was nothing of the kind, and not only because it pointedly exempted anti-Israel violence from the category of "terrorism."

We well remember the fate of Leon Klinghoffer, a 69-year-old U.S. tourist in a wheelchair, who was brutally murdered by the PLO after the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro was hijacked. Today, his murderer, Mohammed Abul Abbas, remains an influential member of the PLO.

A prominent participant at the Algiers meeting was Khaled Abdel Nasser, son of the late Egyptian president, who is wanted in Cairo on charges of killing two Israelis, wounding three U.S. diplomats and plotting to overthrow the Egyptian government.

And Shultz can hardly forget his own narrow escape from a car-bomb attempt on his life carried out last March in Jerusalem by Arafat's own al Fatah faction while the secretary was

Theodore Ellenoff is president of the American Jewish Committee.

trying to revive the Middle East peace process.

The refusal of a visa to Arafat is more than just an expression of U.S. outrage at terrorism; it also reflects the most basic values of the U.N. itself. The PLO's attacks on Israeli civilians make a mockery of the U.N. Charter as well as of Security Council Resolution 242, which states the right of every state in the Middle East "to live in peace with secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."

Arafat's attempt to address the U.N. — like the statements of the Palestine National Council that preceded it — is political theater intended to put world pressure on Israel, not a true search for peace. Despite all the public-relations efforts to blur the fact, the PLO charter and its current leadership still seek the dismantling of Israel, if not all at once, then in gradual stages.

While some argue that barring Arafat from the USA will retard the peace process by strengthening Palestinian hard-liners, the opposite is actually the case. Refusing this visa sends a message to the Palestinian leadership that it must unequivocally renounce violence and stop trying to destroy Israel if it wishes to participate in peace talks.

As the Palestinians themselves have discovered since the Algiers meeting, unilaterally declaring a state does not create a state. Face-to-face negotiations in an atmosphere free of the threat of force will gain more for the Palestinians than vain posturing.

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON

Guest columnist

**Shutting Arafat out
increases his audience**

WASHINGTON — — The U.S. decision to deny Yasser Arafat a visa to speak at the United Nations was a mistake both for tactical and legal reasons. Yet at the same time, Arafat must shoulder much of the blame for creating the conditions that have made him unwelcome on U.S. soil.

If Arafat and the Palestinian National Council had renounced terrorism and clearly recognized Israel's right to exist, his visit might have been a step toward a promising new chapter in the troubled history of the Middle East. But by playing both sides of the fence — by seeming to accept U.N. resolutions 242 and 338 while refusing to embrace their key elements expressly — Arafat and his colleagues have simply raised further doubts about their intentions.

It is possible that the Reagan administration is engaging in a calculated attempt to promote an unambiguous response from the PLO. If so, something good might yet come from this imbroglio once the dust settles.

But initial returns suggest that such a play may backfire and that Arafat may be made to appear as a martyr rather than as an apologist for terrorists. Once again the USA has painted itself into a corner at the U.N., with even its staunchest allies puzzled by its harsh tactics. And the result of U.S. action: will not be to prevent

Elliot L. Richardson, who held four Cabinet posts in the Nixon and Ford administrations, is chairman of the U.N. Association of the USA.

Arafat from being heard but, rather, to increase the size of his audience.

Legally, the U.S. has the sovereign right to deny a visa to individuals who present a clear and immediate threat to our national security. But it is doubtful that Arafat's visit — whatever his history — poses

“
To act, or even
to appear to be acting,
as a censor
would be a dangerous
precedent.”

such a threat. This rule should only be applied in extreme cases, since the USA as host country has a responsibility to ensure the transit of world leaders of all stripes to the U.N.

To act, or even to appear to be acting, as a censor would be a dangerous precedent. The premise of the U.N., after all, is that talk is better than war even when we don't like what we hear or who is saying it.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

ARCHIVES

BYLAWS*

***As Amended in 1988**

BYLAWS*

MEMBERS, CHAPTERS AND UNITS

Section 1. **Eligibility** - Jews, their spouses and children, who are citizens or resident aliens of the United States and who desire to aid in furthering the purpose and program of the American Jewish Committee shall be eligible for membership in the Committee.

Section 2. **Chapter and Unit Organization** - Chapters and units shall be organized in such localities as the Board of Governors shall determine. Each chapter shall elect its own officers. The officers of a unit shall be appointed by the President of the American Jewish Committee for a period of two years. Each chapter or unit shall adopt such rules of procedure as it may determine, subject to approval of the Secretary of the American Jewish Committee after they have been found to be consistent with these Bylaws and with any standards established by the Board of Governors.

Section 3. **Charters** - Upon approval of its proposed rules, each chapter shall receive from the Board of Governors a charter setting forth the chapter's privileges and responsibilities. Each unit shall receive a certificate setting forth its rights and obligations. No chapter or unit shall be recognized as such until it has received its charter or certificate. The charter or certificate may be revoked for cause by the Board of Governors upon consideration of the report of a special committee appointed by it to examine charges against a chapter or unit.

Section 4. **Function of Chapters and Units** - Within the framework of the established policy of the American Jewish Committee, it shall be the function of chapters and units to provide a means of bringing together all persons who share the general viewpoint of the American Jewish Committee and believe in its objectives and procedures; to mobilize community support for the viewpoints and actions of the Committee and for the financing of its work; to develop an informed membership and make recommendations relating to Committee policies and programs, and to participate in the formulation of such policies and programs; to assist in carrying out programs both nationally and locally; to handle community relations in the communities; and to report to the national office on local conditions and opinions relating to Committee work. Units may be formed where the AJC members residing in a community wish to join together to perform one or more of the functions above, but whose number is insufficient to permit them to function as a chapter.

Section 5. **Chapter and Unit Membership** - Membership in a chapter or unit shall constitute membership in the American Jewish Committee.

Section 6. **National Membership** - Individuals ineligible by reason of their residence to become members of chapters or units, but otherwise eligible for membership in the American Jewish Committee, shall be accepted as national members.

* Changes adopted in 1988 are indicated by underlining.

Section 7. **Dues Payment** - Each member shall pay annual dues in an amount determined by the Board of Governors. Such portion of such dues as shall be determined by the Board of Governors shall be remitted to the chapters and units, and such other branches as may be determined by the Board of Governors.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Section 8. **Constituency** - The National Executive Council of the American Jewish Committee shall constitute the corporate membership of the American Jewish Committee, possessing all the powers conferred upon the body corporate by the act of incorporation as from time to time amended. The National Executive Council shall be composed of membership drawn from the elements and components of the American Jewish Committee in the manner below provided.

Section 9. **National Executive Council Members Designated by Chapters and Units**- Designation of members of the National Executive Council by chapters and units shall be based on the number of paid-up American Jewish Committee membership units.

(a) Each chapter and each unit shall, from among its members, designate National Executive Council members equal in number to the following:

(i) Chapters or units with fewer than 500 paid-up membership units shall be entitled to designate six members.

(ii) Chapters or units with 500 or more paid-up membership units shall be entitled to designate ten members.

(b) Designations to the National Executive Council by chapters and units shall be made annually. The Secretary of each such chapter or unit shall notify the national Secretary of the American Jewish Committee of its designations at least 90 days prior to the Annual Meeting. In the absence of designations to the contrary, and to the extent such persons are not otherwise serving as members of the National Executive Council, each chapter or unit shall be deemed to have designated, in order, its then current President, its immediate past President, its Vice-Presidents (in order of their seniority in such position), its Secretary and its Treasurer.

(c) In the event that a National Executive Council member designated by a chapter or unit shall be unable to attend a meeting of the National Executive Council, such member's vote may be cast by an alternate selected by the President of the chapter or unit, provided that the alternate is a member of the same chapter or unit of the American Jewish Committee, and provided further that the national Secretary of the American Jewish Committee shall be notified of the name of the alternate prior to the meeting.

(d) Where a vacancy occurs during a member's tenure, the chapter or unit President may appoint another member to fill the unexpired portion of the term on the same conditions as provided in the case of a member unable to attend.

Section 10. **Members-at-Large of the National Executive Council** - The Board of Governors shall elect no fewer than 150 nor more than 175 members-at-large to the National Executive Council at least 60 days in advance of the Annual Meeting, in accordance with the following:

(a) Such election shall be limited to candidates comprising a slate submitted to the

Board of Governors by the Nominating Committee, together with the names of such candidates presented to the Board of Governors by petition of at least 20 of its members.

(b) In the event that a vacancy should occur during the tenure of a member-at-large, the Board of Governors may elect a member-at-large to fill the unexpired term.

Section 11. **Ex-Officio Members of the National Executive Council** - all members of the Board of Governors, including ex-officio, honorary and life members thereof, shall be members of the National Executive Council and shall serve with full rights and privileges.

Section 12. **Term** - The term of each National Executive Council member shall be two years and until his or her successor is elected or appointed. In advance of each Annual Meeting one-half of the members of the Council shall commence two year terms.

Section 13. **Voting** - Each properly accredited member, or properly accredited alternate shall have one vote.

Section 14. **Credentials Committee** - Prior to the opening of a meeting of the National Executive Council, the President, at his or her discretion, may appoint a Credentials Committee of not less than 3 nor more than 9 members in good standing of the American Jewish Committee. The Credentials Committee shall be empowered to determine and to grant or deny certification of the right to vote of any challenged National Executive Council member or alternate.

Section 15. **Meetings** - The National Executive Council shall meet at least twice annually, at times and places designated by the Board of Governors, the two required meetings being, respectively, the Annual Meeting and the Stated Meeting. Special meetings may be called by the Board of Governors or by the President, or upon the written request of at least 75 members of the National Executive Council.

Section 16. **Quorum** - Five per cent (5%) of the National Executive Council shall constitute a quorum at any of its meetings.

Section 17. **Notice of Meetings of the National Executive Council** - Written notice of each Annual and Stated Meeting of the National Executive Council shall be mailed by order of the Secretary to each member of the National Executive Council at least 10 days prior to the date of such meeting. In the case of special meetings, the notice shall contain a brief statement of the subject matter to be considered thereat.

Section 18. **Powers** - The National Executive Council shall have ultimate authority over and responsibility for the business and affairs of the American Jewish Committee.

THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Section 19. **Authority** - Subject to the powers conferred upon the National Executive Council by the act of incorporation and these Bylaws, the business and affairs of the American Jewish Committee shall be conducted by the Board of Governors. The Board of Governors shall also have the principal responsibility for determining policy of the American Jewish Committee.

Section 20. **Constituency** - The Board of Governors shall be composed of the following:

(a) Ninety (90) members of the American Jewish Committee, who shall be elected to

the Board of Governors by the National Executive Council.

- (b) To the number of elected members, above, shall be added all the national officers of the American Jewish Committee enumerated in Section 35 of these Bylaws, who shall serve ex-officio, with full voting rights.
- (c) Those commission and council chairpersons, chairpersons of all permanent standing committees reporting directly to the Board and regional presidents who are not regularly elected members of the Board shall also serve ex-officio, with full voting rights.
- (d) Honorary members and life members who have received such designation prior to the adoption of these Bylaws shall also be members of the Board of Governors by virtue of their designations. Elections to the category of life member are hereby discontinued, but nothing in this Subparagraph "(d)" shall be construed to affect the rights and privileges of those who have previously received such titles for the remainder of their respective terms of office. Honorary members shall henceforth be nominated by the Nominating Committee and elected by the National Executive Council for rendition of exceptional and outstanding service to the American Jewish Committee, based on criteria established by the Nominating Committee. Both life and honorary members shall serve on the Board of Governors with all rights and privileges.

Section 21. Term - The term of each elected member of the Board of Governors shall be for three years and until his successor is elected. No elected member shall serve more than two consecutive three-year terms. Such limitation shall not apply to members of the Board of Governors ex-officio or by virtue of honorary or life membership designations.

In the event that a vacancy should occur during the tenure of an elected member, the Board of Governors may elect a successor to fill the unexpired term.

Section 22. Meetings - Regular meetings of the Board of Governors shall be held at least five times a year, at such times and places as may be fixed by the Board of Governors. Special meetings of the Board of Governors shall be held when called by its Chairperson or at the request of the President, or at the written request of at least five members of the Board of Governors.

Section 23. Quorum - One-fifth (1/5) of the members of the Board of Governors shall constitute a quorum at any meeting.

Section 24. Notice of Meetings - Written notice of each meeting of the Board of Governors shall be mailed by order of its Chairperson at least ten days in advance of the date of such meeting, or telegraphed five days prior thereto.

Section 25. Executive Committee - There shall be an Executive Committee consisting of the following persons:

The Chairperson of the Executive Committee; The President; the Chairpersons of the National Executive Council, the Board of Governors and the Board of Trustees; the Treasurer; the Secretary; the Associate Treasurer; the Executive Vice-President; the National Vice-Presidents; the Honorary Presidents; the Executive Vice-Presidents Emeriti; the Chairpersons of all national commissions, of the Community Services Committee, the Budget Committee, the Management Committee and the Chairpersons

of all national program committees directly responsible to the Board of Governors. In addition, subject to the approval of the Board of Governors, the President, at his discretion, may appoint up to five members of the Board of Governors to serve as members-at-large of the Executive Committee for terms of one year.

The Executive Committee shall meet between meetings of the Board of Governors when convened by the President, its Chairperson, the Executive Vice-President or upon request of three or more of its members. Minutes of all meetings shall be circulated to the Board of Governors.

The Executive Committee shall act when necessary with the authority of and in place of the Board of Governors except that it shall take no action that can, without prejudice, await the next scheduled meeting of the Board of Governors.

The Executive Committee shall act by majority vote of those present at any meeting. Five members shall constitute a quorum.

Section 26. Reports - The Board of Governors shall report regularly to the National Executive Council, which shall have the power of review and ultimate determination thereon. Such reports shall be rendered at the Annual and Stated Meetings of the National Executive Council and at such other times as may be required by the President.

Section 27. National Commissions, Councils and Committees - Except as otherwise provided in these Bylaws, the Board of Governors shall determine what commissions, councils and committees shall be established to conduct the work and administer the affairs of the American Jewish Committee. Such bodies shall report to the Board of Governors. Each council and commission shall consist of at least 15 persons at large and one representative from each chapter which advises the President that it wishes to be so represented. Chapters shall be asked to make recommendations to the President, from among their members, for each council, commission and committee on which they wish to be represented. The following provisions and mandates shall be applicable to these bodies:

- (a) **Commissions** - The Board of Governors shall establish commissions of the American Jewish Committee for program development, operations and activities in the areas respectively allocated to them, as indicated by their respective titles and as those areas shall be more fully defined and allocated by the Board of Governors, including, without limitation, commissions responsible for the following program areas: domestic affairs, foreign affairs, interreligious affairs, and Jewish communal affairs. Each commission shall fix its own quorum.
- (b) **Management Committee** - The Board of Governors shall establish a Management Committee, which shall be responsible for management, personnel, retirement and related affairs of the American Jewish Committee, as those areas and affairs shall be more fully defined and allocated by the Board of Governors. The Management Committee shall fix its own quorum.
- (c) **Constituency of Commissions, Councils and Committees** - The President shall appoint a chairperson and the members of each commission, council and committee. The chairperson and the members shall serve thereon for terms of one year, but no chairperson of any commission, council or committee shall serve as such for more than three successive one-year terms.

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Section 28. **Authority** - The Board of Trustees shall be responsible for the development, investment and management of the funds of the American Jewish Committee, and shall be directly responsible to the Board of Governors.

Section 29. **Constituency** - The members of the Board of Trustees shall be appointed by the President. Its Chairperson shall be elected by the National Executive Council.

Section 30. **Term** - The term of each member of the Board of Trustees shall be one year and until his successor is appointed. In the event that a vacancy should occur during the tenure of a member of the Board of Trustees, the President may appoint a successor to fill the unexpired term.

Section 31. **Meetings** - Regular meetings of the Board of Trustees shall be held at such times and places as may be fixed by the Board of Trustees. Special meetings shall be held when called by its Chairperson, or by the President, or at the written request of at least five members of the Board of Trustees.

Section 32. **Quorum** - The Board of Trustees shall fix its own quorum.

Section 33. **Committees** - The Board of Trustees shall supervise such committees and like bodies which function within the purview of the Board's responsibility and which have been delegated by the Board of Governors to report to the Board of Trustees.

Section 34. **Reporting** - The Board of Trustees shall periodically report to the Board of Governors as to all matters and activities within the purview of the Board of Trustees.

OFFICERS

Section 35. **Enumeration of Officers and Their Election** - The officers of the American Jewish Committee shall be: the President; the Chairpersons, respectively, of the National Executive Council, Board of Governors, Board of Trustees and Executive Committee; an Executive Vice-President; not more than 11 vice-presidents; Secretary; Treasurer; and Associate Treasurer; all of whom, with the exception of the Executive Vice-President, shall be elected at the Annual Meeting of the National Executive Council. There shall also be such honorary officers as have already been determined or shall be determined in the future by the National Executive Council.

The administrative officers of the American Jewish Committee shall be (i) all the officers enumerated in this Section 35, other than the vice-presidents and honorary officers, and (ii) such other persons as may be designated from time to time by the President.

Section 36. **Terms of Office - Terms of Officers:** The term of each of the officers, other than the Executive Vice-President, shall be one year from the date of annual election and until his or her successor is chosen, except that he or she shall not be elected to his or her office for more than three successive one-year terms. Honorary officers shall not be limited in the number of terms to which they may be re-elected. All officers elected prior to the adoption or amendment of these Bylaws shall be governed by those Bylaws in effect at the time of their initial election.

Executive Vice-President: The Executive Vice-President shall be elected by the Board of Governors for a term fixed by them in their absolute and final judgment and discretion, and which Board shall also have the power to remove the Executive Vice-President from office prior to the expiration of the term so fixed. After such election for such term, the Board of Governors shall certify the fact of such election to such term to the Secretary, who shall report the same to the National Executive Council at the Annual or Stated Meeting next succeeding such election. The President, in consultation with the administrative officers, shall have the power to recommend removal of the Executive Vice-President from office and to suspend his or her duties pending action by the Board of Governors with respect thereto. Removal from office in accordance with this Section 36 shall also constitute removal of the Executive Vice-President from the Board of Governors.

Section 37. The President - The President shall be the chief executive officer of the American Jewish Committee, shall have such powers and perform such duties as usually pertain to the office of president, shall appoint the chairpersons and members of all commissions, councils and committees except where otherwise expressly provided in these Bylaws, and shall be ex-officio a member of all commissions, councils and committees of the American Jewish Committee -- except the Nominating Committee -- and shall have the right to vote.

Section 38. Chairperson of the National Executive Council - The Chairperson of the National Executive Council shall preside at meetings thereof, and shall perform such other duties as shall be assigned by the National Executive Council consistent with these Bylaws. In the event of the death, resignation, absence or disability of the President, and until a successor to the President has been elected pursuant to Section 47 of these Bylaws, the Chairperson of the National Executive Council shall exercise the powers and perform the duties of the President.

Section 39. Chairperson of the Board of Governors - The Chairperson of the Board of Governors shall preside at meetings of that Board. He or she shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned by the Board of Governors.

Section 40. Chairperson of the Board of Trustees - The Chairperson of the Board of Trustees shall preside at meetings of the Board of Trustees. He or she shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned by the Board of Trustees.

Section 41. Chairperson of the Executive Committee - The Chairperson of the Executive Committee shall preside at meetings of the Executive Committee. He or she shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned by the President.

Section 42. Vice-Presidents - Each vice-president shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned by the National Executive Council.

Section 43. Executive Vice-President - Subject to the President, the National Executive Council, and the Board of Governors, the Executive Vice-President shall exercise general supervision over the organization, and shall serve as chief of staff. He or she shall be ex-officio a member of all commissions, councils and committees of the American Jewish Committee -- except the Nominating Committee -- and shall have the right to vote.

Section 44. Secretary - The Secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of the National Executive Council and the Board of Governors and shall perform such duties as usually pertain to the office of secretary.

Section 45. Treasurer - The Treasurer shall have custody of all funds of the American

Jewish Committee. He or she shall perform such duties as usually pertain to the office of treasurer, and shall render such reports as the Board of Trustees, the Board of Governors and the National Executive Council may request.

Section 46. Associate Treasurer - The Associate Treasurer shall assist the Treasurer in the performance of his or her duties.

Section 47. Vacancies - In the event of the death of resignation or permanent disability of the President, or of any of the chairpersons described in Section 35 hereof, a successor shall be elected by the Board of Governors for the balance of the term for which that officer had been elected. This election shall take place at the next succeeding meeting of the Board of Governors, or at a special meeting of that Board convened for that purpose, after receiving from the Nominating Committee the name or names of a candidate or candidates for each such vacant office. Such nomination shall be submitted to the Chairperson of the Board of Governors, if any, or to the President if a vacancy exists in the Chairpersonship of the Board of Governors, and said Chairperson or the President, as the case may be, shall, at least ten days before the Board of Governors meets to elect a candidate or candidates for each such vacant office, submit that nomination or those nominations to the members of the Board together with notice of the date fixed for the meeting of the Board to conduct such election. Additional nominations for each such vacant office may be submitted in writing by any group of twenty or more members of the Board of Governors, provided further that they are received by the Secretary of the American Jewish Committee at least two days before the meeting of the Board of Governors convened for the purpose of voting upon such nomination or nominations as has or have already been submitted. The officer or officers so elected shall have such powers and perform all the duties and functions usually pertaining to the vacant office or offices thus filled. Other vacancies in office shall be filled by the Board of Governors for the unexpired portions of their respective terms.

THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Section 48. Appointment - Each year the President shall submit for the approval of the National Executive Council a list of not less than ten nor more than fifteen members, none of whom shall be a national officer, to serve as a Nominating Committee until a new Nominating Committee has been appointed and approved. Honorary officers shall not be precluded from membership on the Nominating Committee. The list prepared by the President shall be circulated to the National Executive Council at least two weeks in advance of the meeting at which the Nominating Committee list is to be approved.

Section 49. Functions of the Nominating Committee - The Nominating Committee shall nominate a candidate for each office of the American Jewish Committee; for members-at-large of the National Executive Council; for the Board of Governors and for honorary members of the Board of Governors. Nominations other than those for members-at-large of the National Executive Council shall be mailed to the members of the National Executive Council at least three weeks prior to the Annual Meeting. Nominations for members-at-large shall be mailed to the members of the Board of Governors at least 60 days in advance of the Annual Meeting at which such members are to take office. Nothing herein shall be construed to disqualify a member of the Nominating Committee from nomination for election as a member of the National Executive Council, or the Board of Governors, or for any other office, but upon his or her election to the post for which he or she has been nominated, his or her place on the Nominating Committee shall thereupon become vacant and he or she shall no longer serve thereon. If any nominee shall die, withdraw his or her name or become incapable of acting, the Nominating Committee shall name another in his or her place prior to the Annual

Meeting, with due notification by mail to members of the electing body, if time allows, or from the floor of the meeting at which such election shall take place if time does not allow for notice by mail. Nominations in writing for election by the National Executive Council may also be made by any group of twenty or more members of the National Executive Council, provided that such nominations are accompanied by the written consent of the nominee or nominees and provided further that they are submitted to the Secretary of the American Jewish Committee at least one week before the Annual Meeting.

Section 50. **Criteria** - The Nominating Committee shall formulate and establish criteria and guidelines with a view to the succession of leadership of the American Jewish Committee, in terms of age, geography and commitment.

OFFICE

Section 51. The principal office of the American Jewish Committee shall be in the City of New York. Other offices may be established by the National Executive Council or the Board of Governors.

TERM

Section 52. Wherever in these Bylaws a term is specified for an office, membership on a committee, board or other body, the term shall continue until a successor has been appointed or elected and qualified as provided in these Bylaws.

AMENDMENT

Section 53. The National Executive Council shall have the power to amend the Bylaws provided that such amendment be carried by a plurality of at least 20 votes, and provided further that the following conditions be met: A proposed amendment to the Bylaws shall be submitted to the National Executive Council by the Board of Governors at least 30 days prior to the day of the meeting at which such proposed amendment is to be acted upon. Such amendment may be proposed by any chapter or unit or by the Board of Governors or by any fifteen members of the National Executive Council. Such proposed amendment, if not originating in the Board of Governors, shall be submitted to the Board of Governors at least forty-five days before the date of the Annual or Stated Meeting of the National Executive Council at which is to be considered. Furthermore, any group which intends to submit such proposed amendment to the Board of Governors shall notify the Board of the intention to submit such proposed amendment at least sixty days prior to the Annual or Stated Meeting of the National Executive Council at which such amendment is to be considered.

EFFECTIVE DATE

Section 54. These Bylaws shall become effective December 4, 1970, superseding all previous Bylaws.

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PROPOSED AGENDA

AJC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

Monday, December 12, 1988, at AJC Headquarters

Richard J. Rice, Chairman, Presiding

1. Presentation on Palestinian National Council Meeting in Algiers:
Prof. Barry Rubin, Senior Research Fellow, Washington Institute
for Near Policy
2. Discussion of AJC Policy and Program on Israel, PLO, Middle East peace prospects.
3. "Who Is a Jew" issue
4. Present Trends in Soviet Jewry.
5. Appointment of IRC Committee on Priorities in Foreign Relations Programs.
6. South Africa.
7. Ethiopian Jewry.
6. Vatican meetings, Nov. 22....Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
7. International Congress on "Jews and Christians in a Pluralistic World,"
Vienna, Austria, Nov. 27-Dec. 1.
8. Good and Welfare

American Relief

Paul Newman

A G E N D A

1. Approval of December 8 minutes.

✓ 2. U.S. fund raising report: 1988. (Al Kastner)

✓ 3. Executive Director's report; financial update. (Bob DeVecchi)

✓ 4. Proposed 1989 Budget. (Dick Hammer)

✓ 5. Report on Women's Commission meeting. (Vera Blinken) / Diana

✓ 6. Southern Sudan situation. (Roy Williams) - catastrophe (fighting, famine)
- IRC lead assessment in southern regions (Indians, ChS, menomte, [Dinkhas tribe
Michael Blumenthal-board, Exec Com.

✓ 7. Nominating Committee report. (Dusty Rhodes)

8. New business. Semi-Annual Meeting.

[Refugee Employment project
Duke Univ. Africa studies
youth program -
Asian artists' project.

Bob
Refugee Resettlement Policy - (act in S.E. Asian refugees)

- 6,000 Surrogate refugees paid by voluntary agencies
- Bush / (Julia Taft) / National Security Advisor / Henry Kissinger
- parole Rome refugees (diez homan)
- Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board

Scowcroft
Eagleburger
John Whitehead