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THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN
INSTITUTE FOR
THE ADVANCEMENT
OF HUMAN RIGHTS of THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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November 19, 1985

To: Administrative Council of the Jacob Blaustein Institute
for the Advancement of Human Rights

From: Richard Maass, Chair

Administrative Council Meeting
Monday, January 13, 1986
11:30 A.M. - 3:30 P.M.

The next meeting of the Jacob Blaustein Institute will be held on Monday, January 13, 1986 from 11:30 A.M. through lunch, concluding at approximately 3:30 P.M. Several very interesting proposals are now being developed for your consideration. You will receive these and other background material as our meeting approaches. Please put the date in your calendar and let us know on the enclosed form whether we can expect you.

It has been a busy summer and fall for the Institute. We have just concluded a significant colloquium on religious intolerance which was cosponsored with Temple University. (See attached news release.) Leading authorities from various parts of the world delivered papers on current political and ideological aspects of the problem which together provide an important body of scholarship. They are to be published along with the conclusions and recommendations of the colloquium. A colloquium participant, a highly regarded Islamist, Professor Khalid Duran of Morocco, spoke at AJC's NEC meeting on Middle East coexistence from an Islamic perspective. A full report on the colloquium and our plans for implementation of its recommendations will be presented at our January meeting.

Other developments of interest are described below or in the material attached:

1. A Dismal Anniversary: A Decade of the UN's "Zionism Equals Racism" Resolution 1975-1985 by Sidney Liskofsky. The paper was issued by the JBI on the tenth anniversary of the UN General Assembly's adoption of the resolution equating Zionism with racism to provide the historical and political context of the resolution. It was intended for both Israel's supporters and her antagonists and was widely distributed to U.S. and foreign government officials, NGOs and other interested groups and individuals in the Jewish and non-Jewish community.
2. We have just received the manuscript of the Lowell Livezey study on selected human rights NGOs which JBI staff is now reviewing.

cont.--

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

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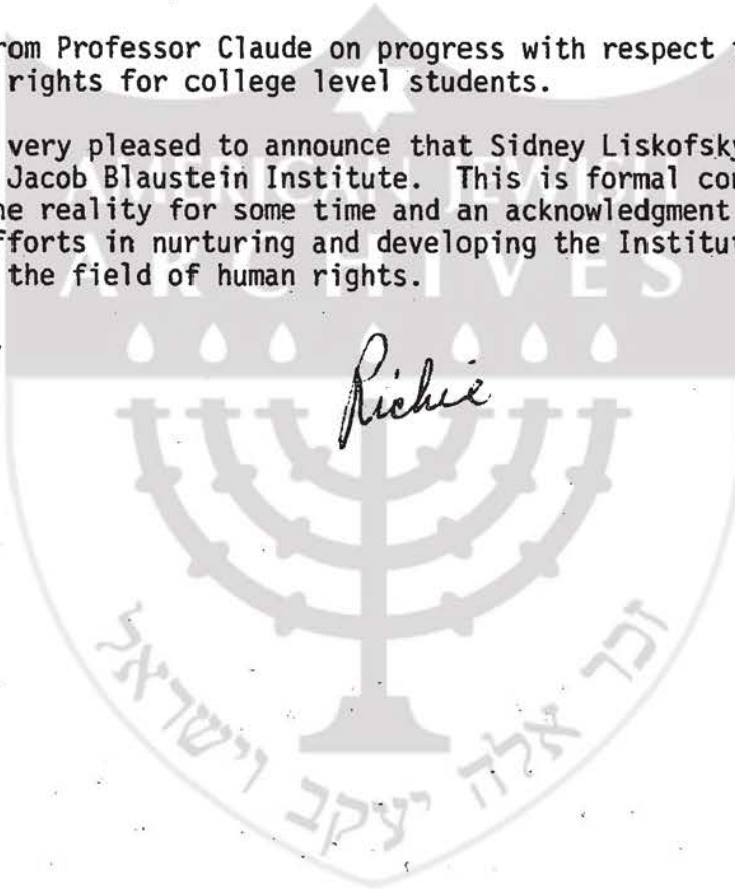
3. Report from Hurst Hannum of PAIL on his virtually completed study on the Right to Leave and Return which was subvented by the JBI. You will note the recommendation to the Special Rapporteur from the UN Commission on Human Rights for a draft of a international declaration on the right. This was a primary objective of the JBI's efforts.
4. A report of the David Hawk project documenting the genocide in Cambodia.
5. The acknowledgment to the Jacob Blaustein Institute in the new edition of Joshua Rubenstein's volume.
6. Report from Professor Claude on progress with respect to the reader on human rights for college level students.

Finally, we are very pleased to announce that Sidney Liskofsky has been named Director of the Jacob Blaustein Institute. This is formal confirmation of what has been the reality for some time and an acknowledgment of Sidney's distinguished efforts in nurturing and developing the Institute to its present high stature in the field of human rights.

All good wishes.

RM:mb
enclosures

85-900-48



The American Jewish Committee

Administrative Council
of the
Jacob Blaustein Institute for the
Advancement of Human Rights

Meeting
Monday, January 13, 1986
11:30 A.M. - 3:30 P.M.

_____ I plan to attend.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

_____ I am unable to attend.

Name

Please return to

Phyllis Sherman
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN INSTITUTE
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS



A Dismal Anniversary:

A Decade of the UN's
"Zionism Equals Racism" Resolution
1975-1985

By Sidney Liskofsky



The Jacob Blaustein Institute For The Advancement of Human Rights

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

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

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

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

A Dismal Anniversary:

A Decade of the UN's "Zionism Equals Racism" Resolution
1975-85

By Sidney Liskofsky*

Peoples with long histories have many anniversaries, some marking happy events, others sad ones. For Jews, the month of November is crowded with anniversaries, most concerned with the State of Israel: promise, creation, threat. On November 10, 1917, Great Britain, in the historic Balfour Declaration, announced its support for a Jewish national home in Palestine. On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly recommended the partition of Palestine, a British mandated territory, into separate Jewish and Arab states. In 1975, twenty-eight years and three wars after the partition vote, the Assembly adopted the infamous resolution 3379 declaring Zionism -- the founding ideology of the Jewish state -- to be a form of racism. Not coincidentally, in 1978 the Assembly proclaimed November 29, the anniversary of the partition recommendation, as International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. This people's representative, the Assembly had decreed, was the PLO, whose fundamental Covenant, in 1985 still unamended, would eliminate the Jewish state.

Why did resolution 3379 cause such outrage in the United States and elsewhere? After all, said some UN "realists," Assembly resolutions are merely non-binding recommendations, essentially rhetorical exercises. Others argued that African and many other delegates who voted for the resolution, knowing nothing about Zionism, really meant to protest against Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Another response to the resolution was that there was indeed anti-Arab discrimination in Israel, and it didn't matter what it was called -- "racism" or "X."¹ Moreover, as we mark the resolution's tenth anniversary, the U.S., with the help of other Western governments, and even of some in the non-aligned camp, has succeeded twice in blocking moves again to condemn Zionism, in Geneva in August 1983 at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and in July 1975 at The Nairobi World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women. Why does Zionism equals racism matter?

The reasons for initial outrage at Zionism equals racism are still potent today. UN Ambassador (now Senator) D. Patrick Moynihan, in at-

*Sidney Liskofsky directs The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights of the American Jewish Committee.

tributing the Zionism-equals-racism resolution to "the world's most powerful propaganda apparatus, that of the Soviet Union and the dozens of governments which echo it," has summed up its real significance thus: "it is not just a slogan, it is 'conscious politics' and not the ordinary kind of bigotry sooner or later to pass; it is a program, underway since 1967, to delegitimize and destroy the State of Israel." If states based on apartheid and racism are criminal states, he has explained, it follows that states based on ideologies designated as equivalent to them -- as is Israel on Zionism -- are criminal, and may be morally, legally and forcibly resisted by any national liberation movement. The PLO, of course, is recognized as a national liberation movement by the UN, based on prior recognition by the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity.

But the Zionism-equals-racism resolution stirred even more deeply-rooted anxieties among Jews and others aware of the role played by the myth of "international Zionism" in the rise and growth of modern anti-Semitism. The knew of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion,² the hate-spreading virus forged by the Czarist secret service early in this century, which had nourished Hitler's murderous hatred of Jews. To this day the Protocols are disseminated in many countries, their paranoid fantasies quoted or adapted by anti-Semitic propagandists in the Muslim as well as the Western world. The denigrating and scapegoating of Zionism in images and terms echoing the Protocols has been a practice of anti-Semites both of the right -- not very long ago by South Africa's right-wing exclusionists and more recently by the black Muslim bigot Farrakhan -- and the left. The depiction of Zionists as a capitalist-imperialist-reactionary cabal that rules and exploits the world was and is a staple of Soviet domestic and foreign propaganda.

To equate Zionism with racism, as Jews saw it, was a cynical anti-Semitic ploy. For the very notion of races as comprised of biologically immutable superior and inferior species, was actually an invention of 19th century bigots, conceived as a rationale for despising and discriminating against Jews, gypsies, blacks and other allegedly inferior racial groups. To label as racist the multi-colored, multi-ethnic and multi-religious society of Israel, with its many Muslim and Christian Arabs -- not to mention the diverse racial and ethnic groups within its Jewish community -- is palpably false.

Every Arab born in Israel, whether Muslim, Christian or Druse, is automatically a citizen of Israel by birth. Any foreigner, whatever his race, can apply to immigrate and become a nationalized citizen of Israel after meeting requirements similar to those in other democratic countries. As for the "Law of Return" which gives preferential treatment to Jews, it was enacted for the same reason the state itself was established - to solve, as stated in Israel's 1948 Declaration of Independence, the problem of the Jewish people's homelessness which was a cause of "the catastrophe which recently befell the Jewish people - the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe..." This Declaration proclaimed it to be the "right of the Jewish people to be masters of their own fate, like all other nations, in their own sovereign state," a right re-

cognized in the 1917 Balfour Declaration and reaffirmed in the League of Nations mandate which "gave international sanction to the historic connection between the Jewish people and Eretz-Israel..."

The 1948 Declaration also affirmed Israeli's commitment to "foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants," to "ensure complete equality of social and political equality" to all of them "irrespective of religion, race or sex," and to "guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture." And in fact, Israel's Arab citizens enjoy full religious, civil and political rights, except in limited respects involving national security considerations issuing from the ongoing Arab-Israel conflict, such as the restrictions on employment in defense-related industries.

As for the Arab inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, who do not enjoy the same rights as Israeli Jews and Arabs, their situation is a consequence of Israel's occupation of these territories in its successful 1967 war of self-defense, and the refusal of the Arab states as yet to negotiate a peace settlement. The restrictions on the inhabitants' rights, imposed for reasons of national security in the prevailing conditions of active hostility, are based on the international law rules applicable to belligerent occupations. Moreover, many if not most Arabs in these territories do not desire Israeli citizenship with its associated political rights, but seek self-determination in a state of their own.

The ancient Judaic belief in and hope of return to Zion, of restored Jewish nationhood in Palestine, which reappeared in the second half of the 19th century, came in the form of a reaction to the rise in anti-Semitism that accompanied the emancipation of Jews in Central and Western Europe. This anti-Semitism, highlighted by the Dreyfus Affair, convinced many Jews, even in advanced countries, of their vulnerability and the need for a Jewish state where they could determine their own destiny. Thus political Zionism can very correctly be said to be a national liberation movement, one of the earliest in the modern period, and it was in fact recognized as such for a brief interval by the Soviet Union when, in the Security Council in May 1948, its Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, so characterized it in criticizing the Arab States for sending their armies to crush the newly-created State of Israel.

The UN's resolution on Zionism did not surprise Jews, but it disturbed them nonetheless. Among the UN's most committed supporters in its early years, Jews had long since recognized (in Thomas Franck's characterization) that the UN's political organs "are not assemblages of judges or philosophers but of politicians" who are "not guided by ethical imperatives but by political considerations"; that the General Assembly is a "highly politicized conference of states" and "not the conscience of the world." Still, Jews and others were concerned that its pronouncements were accepted by well-intentioned UN "believers" and were disseminated worldwide by its far-reaching information services as well as by self-serving governments and political groups. They were worried that, as advertisers and political propagandists know, sloganized messages

repeated often enough affect how people view matters and can become part of their thoughts and feelings, even their "consciences."

The Non-aligned movement and Zionism-is-racism

In the General Assembly and in other UN bodies, specialized agencies, and special conferences, operating on the basis of the one-nation, one-vote rule, outcomes are mostly determined by the movement of non-aligned states (NAM) whose 101 members constitute nearly two-thirds the total UN membership of 159. In turn, the NAM includes several powerful, overlapping sub-blocs committed to the PLO's political cause: The 50 members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU); the 45 members of the Conference of Islamic States; the 22 members of the Arab League and, as nongovernmental members, the PLO and SWAPO, both recognized as national liberation movements and given a significant voice in matters pertaining to their specific concerns. Further stacking the deck against Israel in the NAM, and thence in the UN, are the Soviet surrogates, notably Cuba, whose influence in the NAM produced the sardonic comment that the movement was non-aligned on the side of Soviet positions. Though the NAM does not always side with the Soviet bloc --it protested the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, for instance -- it has consistently taken strong positions against Israel.

As for the Cuba, in November 1975, it was not only among the three non-Arab sponsors of resolution 3379 but it also functioned as strategist and lobbyist for it. In 1977, Fidel Castro, ending a state visit to Libya, joined Muamar Khaddafi in expressing "full support" for the resolution and in condemning Israel for acting with South Africa against "the liberation struggle of the African and Arab peoples." And two years later, the Final Declaration of the Summit Conference of the NAM -- which Castro chaired during 1978-80 -- linked Zionism with apartheid as crimes against humanity, demanded its elimination from sport (!), and called on all UN members to join in establishing a standing committee to expose its crimes and conspiracies (!) against humanity and national liberation movements.

Thereafter, it became routine at NAM conferences to link Zionism with apartheid, racism, colonialism and other internationally condemned evils -- condemned that is, by predictable political determinations and not on the basis of any impartial, judicial-type consideration. At the NAM Summit meeting in New Delhi in March 1983, the leaders of the participating states termed the "struggle against...Zionism," along with that against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid as the very "quintessence of the policy of non-alignment..." So that, with NAM sponsorship and advocacy, UN endorsement and reaffirmation of Zionism-equals-racism was all but assured.

The PLO's UN Strategy

The PLO transferred its anti-Israel activities away from the military (except for the terrorism weapon) and toward the UN-centered battleground following Israel's successful defensive war in 1967, and especially after the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Even earlier, hostile references to Zionism were a staple of Arab as well as Soviet rhetoric in the UN, sometimes interspersed with undisguised anti-Semitic allusions. In 1965, for example, an Arab-Soviet bloc coalition successfully blocked a U.S.-Brazil amendment to add to the condemnation of apartheid in the Draft Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, a condemnation of anti-Semitism. The cynical tactic used by them to defeat the amendment was to pretend to agree if the sponsors, in exchange, would accept a sub-amendment to add a condemnation of Zionism, thus compelling withdrawal of the amendment. On another occasion, in December 1973, nearly two years before the Assembly's adoption of the Zionism-racism resolution, Arab and Soviet Bloc states persuaded it to condemn Zionism's "unholy alliance with Portuguese colonialism, South African racism and Israeli imperialism."

The Zionism-equals-racism strategy of the PLO and its Arab and Soviet allies was shrewd indeed - to link the anti-Zionism campaign to the UN's three most popular human rights causes with the largest constituencies worldwide: the struggles against apartheid, racism and sex discrimination. All three causes were already being promoted through manifold UN-sponsored educational and promotional programs with the participation of all parts of the UN system, including specialized agencies, as well as regional inter-governmental organizations, governments, and churches, professional associations, labor unions, schools, and other nongovernmental institutions.

In its campaign against Israel, the PLO counted on the Third World's ignorance about anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, and its confusion of Zionism with the occupied territories question. The PLO was equally aware of the reluctance of most European and Latin American governments to antagonize the oil-rich Arab states, and their tendency to straddle by abstaining in voting on controversial provisions affecting Israel rather than forthrightly rejecting the biased double-standard applied against it by voting a definite "no."

The anti-Zionism strategy scored its first major success in July 1975 at the widely-attended and publicized International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City, which launched a Decade of efforts to improve the situation of women worldwide. The Declaration adopted at Mexico City pronounced that "international peace and cooperation require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, zionism (sic.), apartheid and racial discrimination in all its forms." (The Declaration was adopted by a vote of 89 in favor, 2 opposed -- U.S. and Israel -- and 18 abstentions.)

Resolution 3379

Even before proclaiming in 1975 the Women's Decade, the General Assembly had launched in December 1973 a UN Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and called on UN bodies and agencies, all governments, and nongovernmental groups and institutions throughout the world, to participate. Two sessions later, on October 16, 1975, the Assembly's Social and Humanitarian Committee adopted a resolution containing the infamous words, "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." It did so after Western opposition had forced withdrawal of proposed wording which tied this pronouncement specifically to the Decade against racism. (The vote in the Committee was 78 in favor, 29 against and 27 abstentions.) The Assembly's plenary, despite the vigorous and eloquent dissent of U.S. Ambassador Moynihan, and the opposition of all West European as well as some Latin American and African delegates, approved the Committee's resolution. Thereupon, the Somali spokesman for the sponsors -- unabashedly contradicting what had preceded -- stated that they had indeed intended linkage to the Decade.

The victory in the Assembly's plenary, in fact, was much less supportive of the Zionism-racism proponents than in the Committee: 72 in favor, 35 against, 32 abstentions and 3 absentees. The narrow, winning majority of the then total UN membership of 142 -- barely over half -- comprised 18 Arab states plus Muslim Iran and Turkey, 10 Asian states (substantially Muslim), 11 communist states, 22 black African states (many with Muslim majorities or influential minorities), 3 Latin American states (including Brazil and Mexico), and six others (see appendixes I and II). The U.S., Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the West European states -- all democracies -- voted no, as did 10 Latin American and 5 African states; and there were 12 black African, 11 Latin American and 8 Asian abstentions (plus 3 absentees, probably diplomatic).³

Israel's UN Ambassador (now its President) Chaim Herzog symbolically tore up the resolution on the Assembly's rostrum, rejecting it as an anti-Semitic assault against the Jewish people and religion. Ambassador Moynihan attacked it as a "political lie" constituting "a massive attack on the moral realities of the world." Other opponents stated that it confused racism with nationalism, that apartheid and Zionism had different histories and perspectives (Ethiopia), that the term "Black Zionism" had been used with a positive connotation in West Africa "to denote the movement to return to Africa the displaced Africans uprooted from their homelands and sold into slavery in the Western world" (Sierra Leone), that the UN should try to harmonize and not exacerbate differences, and that it is unfair to single out one country from among many where one form or degree of discrimination exists (Fiji).

The U.S. and other West European governments responded to the Assembly's action by ceasing participation in the UN Decade against racism and withholding their contributions to the financing of the world conference projected for 1983 as one of its main features.

Anti-Zionism Advances

The assault on Zionism was given a further impetus at the July 1980 mid-Decade Women's Conference in Copenhagen. At Mexico City, the hostile reference to Zionism had been limited to the Declaration adopted there, the PLO and its allies having failed to secure its inclusion in the Action Program adopted to implement it. This they achieved in Copenhagen where they succeeded in inserting in the Introduction to the Action Program a statement affirming that the Declaration's principles and aims are still relevant and constitute a basis of action for the Women's Decade, and another statement expressly mentioning Zionism in calling for inter-state cooperation in "the struggle to eliminate imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism [sic], racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, hegemonism, and foreign occupation, domination and oppression..." (The Action Program as a whole, with the mention of Zionism in it, was adopted by 94 in favor, 4 against and 22 abstentions.)

The Action Program also included a PLO-inspired call to assist Palestinian and African women, the linkage being intended to highlight the purported similarity and symmetry of their situations, thereby co-opting to the PLO cause numerous African and other foes of apartheid. By this request, and by the incorporation of anti-Zionism in the Action Program, Copenhagen gave further encouragement to the UN Secretariat units sympathetic to the PLO to include opposition to Zionism in their informational and promotional activity.

Resolution 3379 and the Copenhagen conference gave a green light to ritual echoing of the Zionism-racism-apartheid linkage theme at subsequent inter-governmental conferences, where Zionism was depicted in ominous terms along with demands for punitive and remedial action. Thus, the OAU, in Nairobi in June 1981, condemned the "collusion between the Zionist regime and the racist regime of South Africa," and Israel's "expansionist and racist policy" which threatened the Mideast and "the world as a whole," and affirmed that "armed struggle against the racists in South Africa and Palestine is the most effective way of putting an end to the policy of expansion and domination over the Arab and African people." The African regional Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted by the OAU the same month in Banjul, Gambia, declared it the "duty" of the people of Africa to join in the struggle to liberate Africa (!) from Zionism (preamble, para.8). This provision, reported to have been imposed by PLO supporters on threat of blocking approval of the entire Charter, went all but unnoticed by nongovernmental proponents of regional human rights agreements, who consider this Charter a historic achievement and hope that enough states will ratify it so as to bring it into force and build on it African regional implementing mechanisms.

A UN-sponsored regional seminar on "The Palestine Question," in Dakar, Senegal, in August 1982, recommended that nongovernmental organizations be enlisted in a global campaign to publicize, "especially in Africa, the Caribbean, and the African-American communities in the United

States," the ties, similarities, and "even identity" between Zionism and apartheid. At this seminar, invited "experts" from the U.S., reporting the purported views of Black Americans, described Palestine and Namibia as Arab and African countries "linked as hostages to Zionism, racism and imperialism," and described to receptive listeners the purported grasping role of Jews in American society who were "prospering at the expense of black people."

A year later, in August 1983 in Geneva, a UN-sponsored international conference on "The Palestine Question" approved an Action Program calling on all states to consider ways to meet "the threat that Israel poses to regional security in Africa" because it collaborates with the apartheid regime. At this conference, the Secretary-General of the Conference of Islamic States repeated the Zionism-equals-racism refrain, and predicted ominously that Israel will pursue its goal of a "great empire stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates."

Thereafter, the linking of Zionism with racism and apartheid and with the standard litany of other international evils was ritually reaffirmed in resolutions of the NAM, the OAU, the Islamic Conference, and the Arab League. Arab and Muslim states, and radical African and Soviet bloc states, regularly linked Zionism to racism in their UN speeches, and the Zionist-racism slogan was echoed by elites and ordinary people in the Middle East, Africa and Asia, especially in the Arab and other predominantly Muslim countries, in Eastern Europe, and even in some circles in the democratic West including elements of the U.S. black community.

Combating Resolution 3379

The outcome of the Copenhagen conference elated the PLO and its supporters, but the ugly anti-Israel and anti-U.S. political atmosphere there in both the official conference and the NGO Forum evoked a strongly adverse reaction from governmental and nongovernmental circles in the U.S. as well as other Western countries. Even many committed UN defenders, not least among them the UN Secretary-General, were troubled by the damaging impact of Copenhagen on the UN's reputation. Perhaps most persuasive were threats from the U.S. President and Congress that henceforth the U.S. would walk out of overly politicized conferences, including those which malign Zionism, and would withhold from its assessed membership dues owed the UN an amount equal to 25% of the cost of the particular "tainted" conferences (or other programs), which corresponds to the proportion paid by the U.S. of the combined dues of all the members combined.

After Copenhagen, Jewish communal groups in the U.S. and other countries increased their counter-action efforts, including educational programs to explain the history and real meaning of Zionism. Changes in the Arab world -- splits within the PLO and between the moderate and radical Arab states, the weakening of petropower, and beginnings of African disenchantment with the Arab alliance -- encouraged hopes for a slowing if not reversal of the anti-Zionism tide in the UN.

A portent of change in governmental attitudes was the huge number of delegations that abstained or absented themselves from voting on the inclusion of an invidious reference to Zionism in documents of the Second UNESCO Conference on World Cultural Policy in Mexico City, in the summer of 1982. (Only 45 voted in favor with 29 against while 75 (!) abstained or were diplomatically absent.) The following year, in August 1983 in Geneva, at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held to mark the end of the Decade against racism, the PLO and its allies suffered a clear defeat in their effort to secure reaffirmation on the Zionism-equals-racism formula. But the most significant defeat to date occurred at the end-of-Decade Women's Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, in July 1985.

During the preparatory stages leading up to the official conference at Nairobi -- which was preceded by an unofficial NGO Forum attended by thousands of women from all parts of the world -- the U.S. delegation made very clear, as warned by the President and mandated by the Congress, that if the Zionism-racism theme was repeated in the concluding document of the conference, it would walk out, not approve the document, and not participate in UN activities based on it. This time, Israel and the U.S. were joined in the walk-out threat by Australia and Canada. The West European governments, as well as -- behind the scenes in NAM caucuses and at the conference itself -- most Latin American and some African states also opposed the insidious reference to Zionism. The Kenyan host state and the UN Secretary-General, anxious for a successful conference, were particularly helpful.

The Zionism-racism issue was focused in paragraph 95 of the conference's draft 370-paragraph final document on "Forward-Looking Strategies" for advancing the situation of women, which set forth goals and activities to be carried on to the year 2000. The controversial wording cited Zionism together with the usual litany of apartheid, racism, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, etc., as an obstacle to the advancement of women. This paragraph was one of many others advocated by the Soviet bloc and the "Group of 77" (whose membership, now numbering many more, is virtually congruent with the NAM) that had been placed in brackets to indicate disagreement among the member governments.

A key procedural disagreement concerned the question of consensus as basis for decision-making as advocated by the U.S. and other Western members. These and other governments could not persuade the Soviet bloc and Third World delegations to adopt such a general rule for the conference overall, among other reasons because it could set a precedent for future conferences. However these delegations were compelled by the many-sided opposition to the pejorative reference to Zionism to yield on this specific issue, by accepting Kenya's suggestion to substitute for the reference to Zionism in a laundry list of international evils including apartheid and racism, which are obstacles to the advancement of women, the phrase "and all other forms of racism," without mentioning Zionism at all. In exchange, the U.S., the Western European and some

other delegations, after winning a number of other changes in the draft final document, agreed, on July 29, 1985, to adopt the whole document by consensus.

The PLO representative did not accept this defeat, stating for the record that: "Our understanding of the [Kenyan] amendment is based on the UN resolution that Zionism is a form of racism and it is on this understanding that we accept the amendment."

The final document also included a controversial paragraph (no. 307) on Palestinian women and children (adopted by a roll-call vote of 97 in favor, 3 against -- Australia, Israel, US -- with 29 abstentions). This strongly-worded paragraph included references to the situation in southern Lebanon and the Golan Heights as well as the West Bank and Gaza, and it called for implementation of all "relevant" UN resolutions as well as the Program of Action for Achievement of Palestinian Rights, adopted at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held in Geneva, August 29-September 2, 1983. This program had laid out an elaborate global educational and diplomatic plan for promoting the Palestinian cause under PLO leadership.

Despite the two important defeats of the effort to secure reaffirmations of the Zionism-racism accusation, it is premature to conclude that the PLO and its radical allies, Arab and other, have given up this goal, whether in respect to the UN or to governments and nongovernmental groups outside it.

Future Prospects and Remedies

Several suggestions have been made as to what can be done to to the Zionism-racism resolution. UN Under Secretary-General James Jonah, a Ghanian, addressing this question at a public meeting in December 1984, assured representatives of American Jewish organizations that the General Assembly is not automatically anti-Israel. When Third World countries condemn Israel, he said, they do so from what they feel is principled opposition to all foreign occupations, as shown by their positions on Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the Falklands (Malvinas) and Grenada. In the first two instances, Mr. Jonah noted, the occupiers are the Soviet Union and Vietnam; in the other two, they were the United Kingdom and the U.S. Most Third World nations, he explained, do not understand what Zionism signifies historically and also have little knowledge of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust. To them, Zionism means Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and the unhappy situation of the Palestinians. Moreover, he added, it is a fact that many Africans voted against or abstained in 1975 on the Zionism-racism resolution, which would not have been adopted had abstentions been counted.

Mr. Jonah recommended that to reverse the UN's anti-Zionism stand, Israel, with the help of Jewish communal groups and others concerned,

need to bring to Third World governments and people understanding of the truth about Zionism and the facts about Israel today.

Clearly, these governments and people, their elites, media and wider publics must be educated, to the extent possible, about these subjects. At the same time, Israel's human rights practices, and the image they project abroad, are important. Its official response to Sabra-Shatila -- holding its highest military officials indirectly responsible -- clearly enhance that image. So does the condemnation of Rabbi Meir Kahane by Israel's President as well as the Israeli Knesset's banning, in effect, of his political movement. Correspondingly, reports of support for Kahane in Israel, especially among the young, harms the campaign against the Zionism-racism libel.

Though a Mideast political settlement satisfactory to Israel and the Palestinians could render moot the whole issue of Zionism-racism, unhappily, the Protocols demonstrates how long-lived and resistant to reality irrational myths and hatreds can be.

Finally, some suggest that the U.S. and other democratic governments, while continuing to support the UN Charter ideals, should begin (as they have to a degree) to resist more vigorously some of unwholesome patterns in the present functioning of the organization -- vote-trading and bloc voting, the double-standard, politicization, confrontation rather than harmonization, abuse of rules of procedure, secretariat partisanship. If such conditions should not improve, they should curtail correspondingly their financing of and their participation in the questionable UN bodies and programs, while exploring alternative forms of inter-governmental collaboration.

* * *

President Ronald Reagan, in his memorable speech in the General Assembly on October 24, 1985, on the occasion of the UN's 40th anniversary, took note of "the total inversion of morality in the infamous Zionism-is-racism resolution." Secretary of State George Shultz, also in an address in observance of the 40th anniversary, cautioned governments against treating the UN bodies as arenas for "name-calling, for ideological and political confrontation" and -- citing the Zionism-racism resolution -- "as a platform for voices of hatred and bigotry." Other leaders of the free nations, and citizen groups everywhere should be encouraged to speak out in the same vein.

85-570-16
A033 (IRD-4)
11/4/85:cpa

- 1 An Arab woman participant in last July's UN world conference on women's rights in Nairobi, Kenya, in commenting on the controversy surrounding the Zionism-racism issue, responded in this vein before she was apparently reproved by her colleagues that Zionism was not a simple matter of racial discrimination and that it was important to continue to describe it as racism.
- 2 The exposure of the Protocols as forgeries, Henry Ford's widely advertised 1920 apology for publishing them in his Detroit newspaper, and the overthrow of Czarism and of Hitler, did not stop their dissemination. They continue to this day to surface in many countries, especially in the Arab and Islamic world. In 1968, the Protocols was published in hundreds of thousands of copies in French and English by an Islamic Institute in Beirut. In 1972, Khaddafi recommended it in a speech to Western journalists. In 1974, a delegation of Muslim religious scholars from Saudi Arabia distributed copies during an invited visit to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France.

V.S. Naipul, in his fascinating 1982 book, Among the Believers: An Islamic Journey, recounts being lectured by a religious teacher in an Islamic commune in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia about Jews, inventors of evolution, "degraded in the eyes of the world," the "enemies of God," and told of a bookshop where he could obtain "the book by Henry Ford, the motorman." More recently, an exhibitor at a government-sponsored Islamic exhibit in Stockholm, Sweden, in August 1985, abusing the trust of the local Historical Museum, offered for sale copies of the Protocols.

- 3 On a proposal to defer action on the resolution, even fewer -- 67 -- voted against deferral, that is, supported proceeding with the vote on the proposed Zionism-equals-racism determination. 55 voted for deferral -- with the implied intention that the Assembly not return to the subject -- 15 abstained and 5 were absent, a total of 75 out of the 142 UN members.

APPENDIX I

UN MEMBER STATES VOTING IN FAVOR OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3379
EQUATING ZIONISM WITH RACISM
NOVEMBER 10, 1975

*Countries espousing non-alignment as of December 1981.

Arab and/or Muslim (20)	Asian (10)	African (22)	Latin American (3)	Communist (11)	Other (6)
* Algeria	* Afghanistan	Burundi	Brazil	Albania	Cyprus
* Bahrain	* Bangladesh	Cape Verde	* Cuba	Bulgaria	* Grenada
* Democratic Yemen	Cambodia	Chad	Mexico	Byelorussia	* Guyana
* Egypt	China	Congo		Cyprus	Maldives
* Iran (non-Arab)	* India	* Equatorial Guinea		Czechoslovakia	Malta
* Iraq	* Indonesia	* Gambia		Democratic German Republic	Portugal
* Jordan	* Laos	* Guinea		Hungary	
* Kuwait	* Malaysia	* Guinea-Bissau		Mongolia	
* Lebanon	* Pakistan	* Madagascar		Poland	
* Libya	* Sri Lanka	* Mali		Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	
* Morocco		* Mauritania		USSR	
* Oman		* Mozambique		* Yugoslavia	
* Qatar		* Niger			
* Saudi Arabia		* Nigeria			
* Sudan		* Rwanda			
* Syria		SaoTome and Principe			
* Tunisia		* Senegal			
Turkey (non-Arab)		* Somalia			
* United Arab Emirates		* Uganda			
* Yemen		* Cameroon			
		* Tanzania			

Prepared by Division of International Organizations,
American Jewish Committee

APPENDIX II

The Table shows: total population; Muslims as a % of total population; major divisions in the Muslim population; Monarchy (M) or Republic (R); membership in the Arab League (AL), the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Member	Total population (000s)	Muslims as % of population	Major divisions in the Muslim population ¹	M or R	AL	OAU	OPEC
I ARAB							
Algeria	18,250	98	Sunni ²	R	X	X	X
Bahrain	260	97	Sunni 50%; Shi'i 50%	M	X		
Egypt ³	38,070	93	Sunni	R	X ⁴	X	
Iraq	12,171	95	Sunni 40%; Shi'i 60%	R	X		X
Jibouti	220	99	Sunni	R	X	X	
Jordan	2,780	95	Sunni 94%; Shi'i 6%	M	X		
Kuwait	1,030	100	Sunni 77%; Shi'i 23%	M	X		X
Lebanon	2,960	57	Sunni 45%; Shi'i 55%	R	X		
Libya ⁵	2,900	100	Sunni	R	X	X	X
Mauritania	1,420	100	Sunni	R	X	X	
Morocco	17,830	99	Sunni	M	X		
Oman	1,500	100	Sunni 25%; Ibadi ⁶ 73%	M	X		
PLO					X ⁷		
Qatar	140	100	Sunni (Wahhabi sect ⁸)	M	X		X
Saudi Arabia	9,240	100	Sunni 96% (Wahhabi 50%); Shi'i 4%	M	X		X
Somalia	3,260	100	Sunni	R	X	X	
Sudan	16,130	85	Sunni	R	X	X	
Syria	7,600	88	Sunni 79.5%; Shi'i 20.5% (Alawi ⁹ 70%)	R	X		
Tunisia	6,070	95	Sunni	R	X	X	
United Arab Emirates	656	100	Sunni 92%; Shi'i 3%; Ibadi 5%	M	X		X
Yemen (Arab Republic)	6,870	95	Sunni 60%; Shi'i 40%	R	X		
Yemen (People's Democratic Republic)	1,750	99	Sunni 92%; Shi'i 8%	R	X		
II NON-ARAB AFRICAN							
Cameroon	7,600	20	Sunni	R		X	
Chad	4,120	45	Sunni	R		X	
Comoros	310	95	Sunni	R		X	
Gabon	534	10-30 ¹⁰	Sunni	R		X	X
Gambia	540	90	Sunni	R		X	
Guinea	5,390	95	Sunni	R		X	
Guinea Bissau	777	35	Sunni	R		X	
Mali	6,300	65	Sunni	R		X	
Niger	5,352	85	Sunni	R ¹¹		X	
Senegal	5,135	80	Sunni	R		X	
Uganda	11,940	10-30 ¹²	Sunni	R		X	
Upper Volta	6,170	15-40 ¹³	Sunni	R		X	
III NON-ARAB ASIAN							
Afghanistan ¹⁴	19,280	99	Sunni 80%; Shi'i 20%	R			
Bangladesh	76,815	85	Sunni	R			
Indonesia	136,044	95	Sunni	R			X
Iran	33,900	98	Sunni 4.5%; Shi'i 95.5%	R			X
Malaysia	11,900	52	Sunni	M			
Maldives	119	100	Sunni	R			
Pakistan	70,260	97	Sunni	R			
Turkey	40,160	99	Sunni 85%; Shi'i 15%	R			

1 Sunni is the main and orthodox stream of Islam. Shi'i is the minority. The Sunni-Shi'i schism developed from the political conflict which followed the election of Ali (Muhammad's cousin, adopted son, and son-in-law) to the Caliphate in 656. Ali was killed in 661 and the Caliphate was transferred to the Umayyad family. The Shia (*Shiat Ali* - the party of Ali), failing to restore leadership to the house of Ali, developed an intricate theology with many dogmas repugnant to orthodox Islam.

2 Where only 'Sunni' appears, all other Muslims are a small minority about whom no precise information was available.

3 Membership in the OIC suspended in May 1979 following the signing of the Camp David accords and the peace treaty with Israel.

4 Membership in the Arab League suspended in March 1979. 5 Libya calls itself *jamahiriya* from the Arabic *jamahir* (the plural of *jumhur*) which means 'masses'.

6 The Ibadiya is a moderate form of the extremist Kharijite sect which developed from the Arab party that revolted against Ali before his death.

7 'Palestine' is considered an independent state by the Arab League and the PLO is recognized as its representative.

8 The Wahhabis follow the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab who, in the eighteenth century, advocated a puritanical exegesis of the faith according to the Hanbali school.

9 Alawis (or Nusairis) are an offshoot of the Shia whose syncretist beliefs include the main tenets of the Ismailis (the 'Seveners', who regard Ismail as the rightful seventh and last Imam) and a liturgy which contains many Christian borrowings.

10 Published estimates range from 1-40%.

11 Constitution suspended in April 1974.

12 Published estimates range from 5-36%.

13 Published estimates range from 9-56%.

14 Membership in the OIC suspended in January 1980 following the Soviet invasion.

Sources: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition* (Leiden and London, 1960-1980); *The Europa Yearbook 1979. A World Survey. Vols I & II* (London 1979); *The Middle East Yearbook 1979* (London 1979); *Annuaire de l'Afrique et du moyen-orient* (Paris 1979); *The Middle East and North Africa 1979-80* (London 1979); G.A. Shpazhnikov, *Religiya stran zapadnoy Azii* (Religions of the countries of Western Asia) (Moscow 1976); Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *The Middle East: A History* (2nd ed.: London 1971); Manazir Ahsan, *Islam: Faith and Practice* (Leicester 1977).

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Proposals for UN human rights reforms

U. 21. 85

S.L.

By Jerome J. Shestack

CSM (29)

THE lip service that heads of state are giving to freedom and liberty during this 40th anniversary of the United Nations cannot hide the fact that the UN's record in securing observance of human rights is pitiful.

More than 50 governments still practice torture. There is severe repression in the Soviet Union, South Africa, Chile, Paraguay, the Philippines, and many other places. The UN has been apathetic in addressing these abuses and certainly ineffectual in curing them. Yet, there are simple reforms in this area which the UN can adopt to advance human rights.

The failure of the UN to advance human rights lies not in a lack of substantive standards of international law. Ever since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, pioneered by Eleanor Roosevelt in 1948, and the subsequent adoption of numerous human rights covenants, there has existed a solid base of international human rights standards. Indeed, that is the UN's most significant achievement in this area.

But rights without remedies are hollow, and the UN's unwillingness to focus on means to secure international human rights is a critical failing of that body. No one expects the UN to be able to establish an enforcement system the way an individual nation can. But what the UN can do is to concentrate on fact-finding and public exposure of human rights abuses. Even the most offending nations dislike seeing the public spotlight focused on their abuses. In the absence of any judicial system of enforcement, public exposure has proved to be the best means available to persuade governments to stop, or at least reduce, their human rights violations.

To that end, here are some noncomplicated reforms that are possible to achieve:

● The UN should establish a High Commissioner on Human Rights. At present, the UN secretariat in the human rights area is weak, timorous, and underfinanced. Too often it bows to pressure from repressive blocs. A high commissioner (patterned after the UN High Commissioner for Refugees) should be empowered to coordi-

nate all UN human rights activities, convene needed emergency sessions of the Commission on Human Rights, send out fact-finding missions, present key human rights issues to the UN bodies, and issue forthright reports on human rights violations. Proposals to establish an independent and vigorous high commissioner have been on the UN agenda for many years. A concerted effort by pro-human rights nations could bring it to pass.

● The UN Commission on Human Rights now receives many complaints of human rights abuses by particular nations. These complaints are kept secret and considered in confidential hearings. Under UN practice, the world never learns the details of the most egregious human rights violations being considered by the commission. The UN must open those hearings to the public. Such public exposure is critical to marshal pressure on abusing governments.

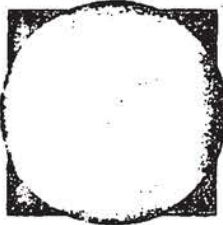
● Many nations that grossly violate human rights do not allow the UN investigatory bodies to enter their territory to investigate the condition of human rights. This is intolerable. The General Assembly should require every nation to allow access to UN investigatory missions. Such missions can be extremely useful. The widely publicized report by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights on disappearances in Argentina during the junta dictatorship was a powerful influence in stopping such disappearances.

● The UN should establish a corps of objective trial observers with the right to attend and report on political trials in any nation. Where such observers have been present, experience shows they have had a beneficial effect on the fairness of the proceedings.

These are modest steps. While far from a panacea, they would begin to make the UN an effective force of world opinion against human rights abuses. By enacting these reforms, the members of the UN could help make this 40th anniversary one that human rights advocates, too, can celebrate.

Jerome J. Shestack, a Philadelphia lawyer, is president of the International League for Human Rights and a former US representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights.

The United Nations'
unwillingness to focus
on means to secure
international human
rights is a critical
failing of that body.



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5 September 1985

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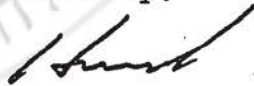
RICHARD YOUNG, ESQ.
Van Hornesville, New York

Dear Sidney and Steve:

Enclosed for your information please find some documents relating to the right to leave and return study, from the recently completed session of the Sub-Commission. PAIL also made a brief oral intervention on the subject, although time at the end of the session for NGO statements was extremely limited.

While this session will certainly not be remembered as one of the Sub-Commission's most productive, I think that "progress" on the right to leave/return study was perhaps better than might have been expected. In any event, I will be talking with you in greater detail over the next couple of weeks.

Sincerely,



Hurst Hannum

Encl.: E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/9
E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/NGO/8
E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/L.64

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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Sub-Commission on Prevention of
Discrimination and Protection
of Minorities
Thirty-eighth session
Agenda item 6

QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS,
INCLUDING POLICIES OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION AND OF
APARTHEID, IN ALL COUNTRIES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COLONIAL
AND OTHER DEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE
SUB-COMMISSION UNDER COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
RESOLUTION 8 (XXIII)

Draft resolution submitted by Mr. Alfonso-Martinez, Mr. Carey,
Mr. Cepeda Ulloa, Mr. Deschênes, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Takemoto and
Mr. Yimer

The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities,
Recalling its resolutions 1982/23, 1983/5 and 1984/21,

Recalling also Commission resolutions 1984/37 and 1985/22, the latter of which
requested the Sub-Commission to consider the progress report of the Special
Rapporteur as a matter of priority, with a view to submitting to the Commission as
soon as possible a draft declaration on the right of everyone to leave any country,
including his own, and to return to his country,

Recalling also Economic and Social Council resolutions 1788(LIV) of
18 May 1973 and 1984/29 of 24 May 1984,

Having considered the progress report of the Special Rapporteur
(E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/9) at its thirty-eighth session,

1. Expresses its appreciation to the Special Rapporteur for his progress report
and his excellent introductory statement and responses to the comments of members of
the Sub-Commission;

2. Requests the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Mubanga-Chipoya, to continue his important work in order to present to the Sub-Commission at its thirty-ninth session:
 - (a) A final report on (i) the right to leave any country, including one's own; (ii) the extent and effect of restrictions under article 12 (3) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; and (iii) the possibility to enter another country;
 - (b) A preliminary draft of a draft declaration on the right of everyone to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country;
3. Further requests the Special Rapporteur to continue his important work in order to present to the Sub-Commission at its fortieth session:
 - (a) A final report on (i) the right to employment; (ii) the right to return to one's own country; and (iii) the phenomenon of the "brain drain" or the outflow of trained personnel from developing countries;
 - ✓ (b) A proposed final draft of the draft declaration on the right of everyone to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.
4. Calls upon governments, international organizations, non-governmental organizations that have not yet responded to the Special Rapporteur's questionnaire to do so expeditiously; in this regard; requests the Secretary-General to send reminders accordingly.
5. Requests the Secretary-General to provide adequate assistance to the Special Rapporteur in the execution of his mandate.

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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Sub-Commission on Prevention of
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of Minorities
Thirty-eighth session
Agenda item 6

QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND
FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING POLICIES OF RACIAL
DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION AND OF APARTHEID, IN
ALL COUNTRIES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COLONIAL
AND OTHER DEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES:
REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMISSION UNDER COMMISSION ON
HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION 8 (XXIII).

Written statement submitted by the Procedural Aspects
of International Law Institute, a non-governmental
organization on the Roster

The Secretary-General has received the following communication which is
circulated in accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1296 (XLIV)

[6 August 1985]

Jurisprudence of the right to leave and return

The Procedural Aspects of International Law Institute welcomes the
Progress Report of Mr. C.L.C. Mubanga-Chipoya, Special Rapporteur on current trends
and developments regarding the right to leave any country including one's own and to
return to one's own country (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/9). As noted by the Institute in an
earlier submission (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/NGO/5), the right to leave and return is a
fundamental right of personal self-determination, and it is an appropriate time for
the Sub-Commission to continue its work in this area.

Significant jurisprudential advances have occurred in the two decades since the
study on this subject by Judge Jose Ingles submitted to the Sub-Commission at its
fifteenth session in 1963. Eighty countries are now formally bound by article 12
of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In 1975, 35 States
signed the Helsinki Final Act on Security and Co-operation in Europe, committing
themselves politically to, inter alia, increased "human contacts" and respect for
human rights. The right to leave and return also is formally guaranteed under
article 22 of the American Convention on Human Rights, which entered into force in
1978. As the Human Rights Committee and Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
have begun to define the right to leave and return, it is becoming clear that there

is a right to those travel documents, including a passport, which are necessary to the effective exercise of the right. (See reports of the Human Rights Committee, Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, A/37/40, p.157 and Thirty-eighth Session, A/38/40, pp.166, 186 and 225).

In addition, the presumption must be that every individual has the right to leave any country and return to or enter his or her own country, even where this right is subject to certain permissible limitations. International treaties, the jurisprudence of human rights bodies, and the work of United Nations and non-governmental organizations all emphasize the narrow interpretation which should be given to clauses which permit limits on fundamental human rights. (See E. Daes, The Individual's Duties to the Community and the Limitations on Human Rights and Freedoms under article 29 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; N. Questiaux, Implications for Human Rights of Situations known as States of Siege or Emergency (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/15); L. Henkin, The International Bill of Human Rights (1981)). It is not sufficient for a State merely to offer vague justifications as grounds for abridging any right, including the right to leave and return.

The interdependence of economic, social, cultural, civil, and political rights has been repeatedly underscored by the United Nations and non-governmental organizations. (See General Assembly resolution 32/130; R. Ferrero, Study on the New International Economic Order and the Promotion of Human Rights, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1983/24; International Commission of Jurists, Development, Human Rights and the Rule of Law (1982)). While it may be within a State's prerogative to encourage or discourage emigration through non-coercive means, any blanket denial of the right of individuals to leave on grounds of general economic conditions is unlikely to meet the tests of necessity and proportionality under article 12(3) of the Covenant. (Cf. Questiaux study, supra; Despouy, Explanatory Paper, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/19). General assertions of economic development needs cannot justify permanent violations of the right to leave and return any more than vague claims of national security can justify arbitrary detention.

In practice, the right to leave and return is violated in many parts of the world; unfortunately, so are most, if not all, internationally recognized human rights. However, this should not obscure the fact that a majority of countries do respect the right in a meaningful way. The right to leave is essentially unhindered (with a few exceptions) in Western Europe, all of the ~~Western~~ Western hemisphere, and in the most developed and many of the very smallest States of Asia and the Pacific. The right to return has been violated as a matter of policy primarily in Latin American countries under military rule, although scattered examples of deprivation of citizenship and expulsion can be found in Eastern Europe and Africa. Despite concerns over the "brain drain" and the flight of capital, most third world countries have not, in fact, sought to eliminate emigration or travel in response to these perceived problems.

Draft Declaration

The Sub-Commission has been formally invited by the Commission on Human Rights in its resolution 1985/22 to consider the Special Rapporteur's report "as a matter of priority, with a view to submitting to the Commission as soon as possible a draft declaration on the right of everyone to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." The Institute welcomes the

indication by the Special Rapporteur that he will consider such a declaration as part of his final report due in 1986 (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/9, para. 20(a)). This draft declaration may represent the most important opportunity in decades to focus international attention on the issue and adopt more concrete international standards with respect to the right to leave and return.

Any elaboration of the right to leave and return must reassert the primacy of the right itself. While the legitimate interests of the State are recognized in article 12(3) of the Covenant, they cannot be interpreted in a manner which renders the right meaningless or reduces it to the status of a privilege to be granted or denied by the Government.

Exercise of the right to leave and return is inextricably linked to possession of travel documents, and any international declaration should make this link explicit.

Another fundamental premise in interpreting the right to leave and return is that this right to freedom of movement cannot be restricted based on activity that is itself protected by other provisions of the Covenant. Thus, exercise of one's freedom of expression, conscience, or religion cannot be utilized by the State to limit the independent right to leave and return.

While a State has the initial role in determining whether the right to leave and return is to be limited in particular circumstances, limitations may be presumed to be valid only if they are determined fairly. The declaration to be forwarded to the Commission therefore should include specific provisions to ensure the procedural, as well as substantive, fairness of any limitation sought to be imposed on the right to leave and return.

Among the minimum guarantees that should be available to all those who apply for necessary travel documents are:

(a) Application procedures, including information as to criteria, fees, and necessary forms, should be set forth in statutes or administrative regulations which are publicly available for consultation, copies of which are available upon request to any person.

(b) A time limit should be set by law or regulation within which an initial decision must be reached on every application; this period should not normally exceed three months.

(c) Written notification of denials or limitations, including the specific reasons therefor, should be sent to the applicant, if an application is denied or limited in a manner not applicable to all travellers.

(d) An appeal to a higher administrative or judicial body should be provided for in all instances in which the right to leave or return is denied; the procedures and formalities required to file any such appeal should be set forth in writing and made available upon request. The appellant should have a full opportunity to present the grounds for the appeal, normally in the course of an oral hearing, and to question any facts upon which a denial or restriction has been founded. The results of any appeal should also be communicated in writing to the applicant, specifying the reasons for the decision.

(e) Final recourse to a judicial or other independent tribunal should be available.

(f) Limitations on leaving or entering which are based on economic or financial considerations, such as control over foreign exchange, should be based on laws or regulations of general application and of a temporary nature. Such limitations should not have the effect of prohibiting travel or emigration for an extended period of time.

(g) No one should be deprived of citizenship without the opportunity for a full and fair hearing before an independent tribunal, nor should denationalization be based solely on the fact of applying to leave or actually leaving the country.

(h) Any application which is rejected should be renewable at reasonable intervals, without prejudice.

These procedural principles are not exhaustive, nor can they ensure in and of themselves that the substantive decisions taken are legitimate and justifiable under the relevant provisions of the Covenant. They should, however, meet many of the objections voiced by the Human Rights Committee and other bodies to the unfettered and unreviewable discretion vested in administrative agencies in most countries.

Without prejudging whether any additional international instruments or mechanisms might be necessary to ensure respect for the right to leave and return, adoption of a formal declaration by the Commission on Human Rights and, eventually, the General Assembly would ensure that this fundamental right is not dismissed or allowed to slide unnoticed into the realm of mere privilege - as feared by the Special Rapporteur. (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/9, paras. 14 and 21). A declaration which will guide States in implementing the right to leave and return with greater consistency and specificity is long overdue, and the Procedural Aspects of International Law Institute looks forward to presentation of the Special Rapporteur's Final Report in 1986.

David Hawk
251 West 87th Street
New York, N.Y. 10024
3 Sept. 1985

To: Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights

Re: Work undertaken by Cambodia Documentation project with the support of the Blaustein Institute.

The goals of the Cambodia documentation project are:

- 1) to document the destruction in Cambodia under Khmer Rouge rule;
- 2) to analyse those events according to the norms and standards of international human rights;
- 3) to seek the review and redress available under existing international human rights law and procedure;
- 4) to make recommendations to better enable the international community to prevent, retard and oppose future outbreaks of mass murder by government.

Late last spring, at the same time I received a grant of \$2,500 from the Blaustein Institute I also received a partial advance (\$2,500) on a book contract from Dodd Mead and one grant earmarked for travel and another grant earmarked for documentation production. As the Blaustein grant and the book advance were my only means of support for May, June, July and August, I used the Blaustein grant to organise and carry out (one could say one half) the activities outlined below.

I. Documentation

a. I prepared and assembled fifteen albums of photographic documentation. These collections of examples of the photographic documentation are to be given to states party to the Genocide Convention being asked to consider undertaking an Article IX dispute to the World Court. (The photographic reproduction cost for this was partially covered by a grant from the Institute for the Study of Genocide.)

b. For the same purpose, I annotated and assembled fifteen bound collections of twenty-one Khmer Rouge archival documents (in Khmer original and English translation) relating to political imprisonment, systematic torture and extra-judicial execution from the former central extermination facility in Phnom Penh where "national level" enemies of the revolution were liquidated.

(Because Rabbi Tanenbaum previously asked to see some of the Cambodia documentation I am enclosing a photographic and archival notebook. Please pass these along to Rabbi Tanenbaum. I would like these returned sometime this fall. In as much as these were prepared with the support of the Blaustein Institute, if you would like a photocopied unbound set for your permanent records, please let me know. I am also enclosing FYI a research paper prepared for the Cambodia Documentation project by Cambodia scholar Ben Kiernan, Monash University, Victoria, Australia on the Eastern Zone Massacres of 1978, the largest, and previously undocumented, massacre of Khmer Rouge rule.)

c. Along with two Cambodian colleagues, Kassie Neou and Rithipol Yem, I attended a training seminar on oral history techniques run by the Social Science Research Council. This is in preparation for a forthcoming oral history project.

among Cambodian refugees now in the USA. Yem, Neou, myself and Stephen Heder prepared a 50 page survey questionnaire according to clusters of rights articulated in the Universal Declaration.

II. Legal Analysis

a. Over the summer I prepared a proposal to obtain the funding necessary to appoint an experienced attorney in international human rights law to enlarge the "Outline of Legal Issues" prepared last fall by Professor Roger Clark into a full scale legal brief or "Memorial" on the Cambodian genocide. I obtained a grant from the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation and I have appointed Hurst Hannum, Executive Director of the Procedural Aspects of International Institute and Editor, Guide to International Human Rights Practice to undertake this work beginning in September.

b. I also made arrangements with the Boston College Law School Holocaust/ Human Rights Research Project to provide legal research assistance to Mr. Hannum, as the legal analysis moves into higher gear. (This is in addition to an ongoing working relationship with the Lowenstein Human Rights Law Project at Yale Law School.)

III. Seeking Review and Redress.

a. Utilising funds available from a previous grant in June I travelled to London, Utrecht, the Hague, Amsterdam and Paris to consult with European (English, Dutch and Norwegian) human rights advocates and legal scholars in order to plan approaches to Western European democracies about an Article IX strategy (and also how to make the Cambodian documentation "accessible" to the Huridocs system at the Netherlands Institute for Human Rights).

b. I obtained encouraging support and we have worked out plans for approaching European governments:

1. Form and International Advisory Group with prominent European Advisors to indicate strong non-American support.
2. Make quiet, informal, oral approaches to European governmental officials.
3. Line up well connected Europeans to formally approach their respective Foreign Ministries and to generate domestic support for such an initiative.
4. Utilise the Human Rights Committee fo the EEC to initiate consideration by European parliamentarians whose political support will be necessary.
5. At the propitious time, hold a press conference to publically announce the search for states party complaintants.

Items 1, 2 and 3 above are already underway, although these actions will require much work over the next year. Additionally, over the summer I arranged for contacts to be made with several eligible Latin American states-party to the Genocide Convention. Groundwork was also partially prepared (see item IVb below) for an alternative Article VIII strategy--approaching the UN Human Rights Commission.

c. In late August I went to Helsinki, Finland for the European opening of my Cambodia Witness photo exhibit which was sponsored by the Finnish section of Amnesty International in conjunction with the biennial International Council Meeting. Having traveled to 20 cities in the USA over the last two and a half years, the exhibit is now available for European bookings. Coincidental with III b (above) I am trying to arrange showings in other European capitols.

IV. Preventative Recommendations

a. Pursuant to securing U.S. ratification of the Genocide Conventions I traveled to Washington D.C. for an appointment with Senator Pell, an appointment with a recalcitrant staff member of Sen. Dodd, and a strategy meeting with Neal Kritz (ABA), Howard Kohr (AJC), Brad Penny (Minority Counsel SFRC) and Larry Patton (Sen. Proxmire's office). The stalemate between the Republican proponents of ratification with reservations and the Democratic opponents of the reservations is not broken. This requires more thought among the main organisational supporters of ratification because unless this stalemate is resolved, the Convention will not be scheduled and brought to the Senate floor for a vote.

b. Utilising an earmarked contribution from Simon Wiesenthal through the Center for the Study of Genocide I traveled to Geneva to observe the UN Subcommittee discussion of the Whitaker "Revised Study of the Genocide Convention" and to make an NGO intervention in support of the Whitaker Report's recommendations.

The Whitaker report makes a generous note to the paper I submitted to the UN Human Rights Center prior to the preparation of the "Revised Study", and contains several references to the Khmer Rouge genocide based on my present research and documentation. In my opinion, the Whitaker Report's recommendations are exactly what is needed to redress the structural and procedural flaws in the Genocide Convention and thus improve the Conventions potential effectiveness as an instrument for the protection of human rights. These recommendations face enormous hurdles within the UN system, and perhaps more thought should be given by concerned NGOs as to enabling constructive consideration of the issues raised in the "revised Study."

Conclusion

I hope this report provides, as you requested, a brief glimpse of the progress made over the summer on the Cambodia Documentation project. I would be glad to answer any further questions or provide further details on any aspect of this work. As mentioned at the outset, I have completed the expenditure of the Blaustein Institute grant in carrying out the activities outlined above, and I hope you can regard this as a final report on the Blaustein grant.

I might mention that in addition to the considerable legal analysis, the oral history project, and organising/advocacy work mentioned above, over the coming academic year, the project hopes to complete a study of the acts of genocide against the Buddhist monkhood, a study of acts of genocide against the Cham, a racial/ethnic minority group and computerised statistical survey on the incidence and causes of mortality. Additionally I am also preparing an annotated bibliography on the Khmer Rouge genocide for a Critical Bibliography of Genocide edited by Israel Charny, a photographic essay for a book on Cambodia to be published by U.C. Press Berkeley, and an in-depth report on the Khmer Rouge prison-execution system.

I thank you very much for your support. As some of the aspects of the work of the Cambodia documentation project are relevant to the Blaustein Institute's ongoing concerns, I hope that continued cooperation and support will be possible in the future.

Thank you again.

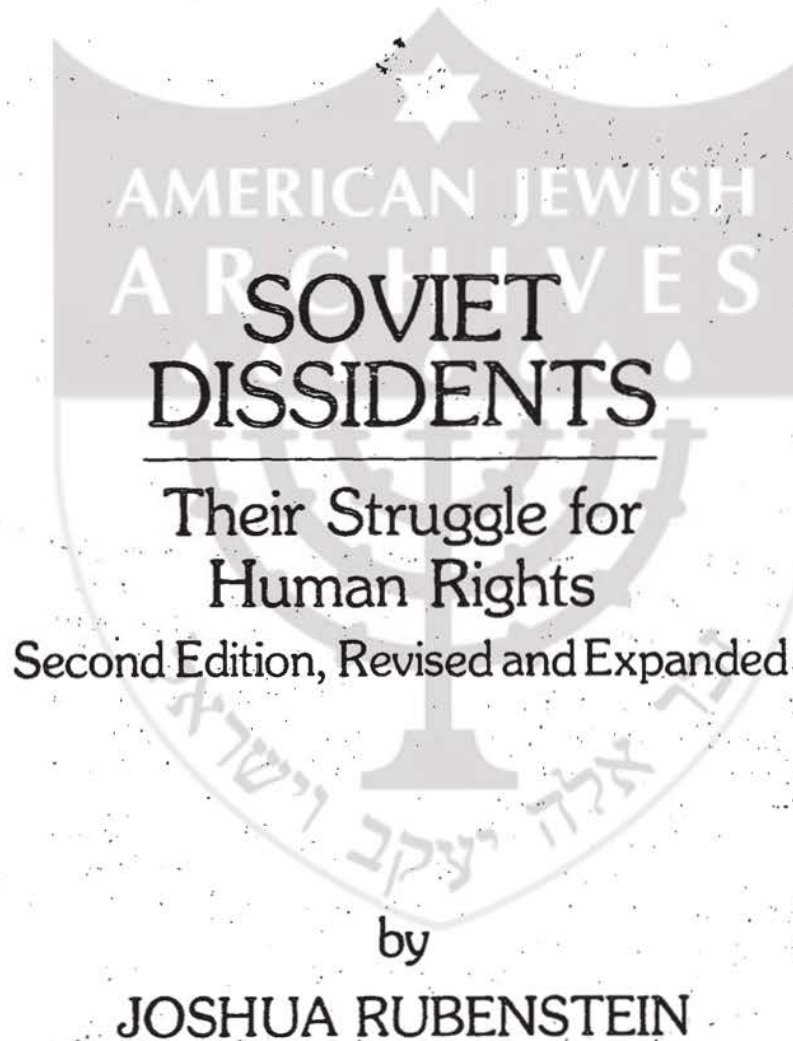
JOSHUA RUBENSTEIN

12 PARKER STREET
CAMBRIDGE, MA 02138
617-492-8781

October 3, 1985

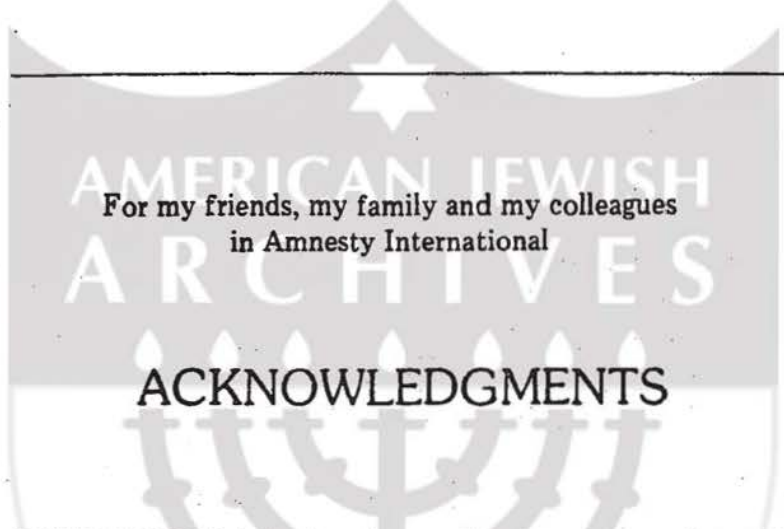
Dear Sidney:

I am happy to be sending you a copy of the new edition of my book on Soviet dissent. I very much appreciate the support I received from the Jacob Blaustein Institute. I was able to add a substantial amount of new information to the book, particularly all of Chapter 8 and much of Chapter 9.



BEACON PRESS
BOSTON

Over --



For my friends, my family and my colleagues
in Amnesty International

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

MANY PEOPLE helped and encouraged me to complete this book. In particular, I would like to thank Lyuda Alexeeva, Ed Kline, Mark Kuchment, and Shomer Zwelling for reading the manuscript and offering invaluable suggestions; Tom Walter and Wendy Strothman, my editors at Beacon Press, for their confidence in the project; and Susan Jo Gardos, the librarian of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, for her patient assistance.

I would also like to thank the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights of the American Jewish Committee for the support which helped me to prepare this new edition.

Finally, I could not have conceived or completed this book without the love and encouragement of my friends and of my wife, Diana. Their contribution has been the most telling of all.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

COLLEGE PARK 20742

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
301-454-2248

4 September 1985

Mr. Sidney Liskofsky, Program Director
Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Sidney:

Here is the manuscript which Burns Weston and I are now working on. The status of the work is positive and I feel good at this time that serious progress is now being made.

I have developed the "Editors' Introduction" to each of the six parts which you see divide the book. Your comments on these editorial sections would be helpful. I've shipped this draft off to Burns Weston, and he is working on the project at this time with two research assistants. Their task is to improve on my selections where possible, critique my draft introductions, and develop document excerpts and bibliography. The plan is that Burns will ship all of that to me in October when I will be at the Bellagio Center. I will do the final editing, and submit a fully edited manuscript to Johns Hopkins University Press by late November.

As you know from my recent letter, Johns Hopkins University Press conducted a "market survey" on the project this last July. The results of that survey convinced them that the project of developing a paperback anthology for undergraduate college courses is fully justified, but that a mere anthology of Human Rights Quarterly would not meet this need. Chastened by these results, they have encouraged me to press forward with an edited book drawing from multiple sources, limited to less than 400 print pages (including documents), and aimed at a political science and international relations college market. Because I have previously published two books with Johns Hopkins Press, I am confident that they are dealing in good faith and will proceed. However, they are not ready to sign a contract until December when everything is in hand.

Look over the manuscript. Please make suggestions for substitutions, or comment on the architecture of the project as presently set up. There will be some changes, no doubt. For example Richard Dean (Courdert Bros.) has agreed to update his essay on Soviet dissidents, with special emphasis on the Helsinki Accords and the plight of Watch Groups set up on Orlov's model. Finally, we will surely include something on the ILO, but just couldn't locate something suitable yet.

Over --

Please be assured that our project is now on track. I am on sabbatical leave and am spending full time on the project. I will be developing an essay introduction to the book while at Bellagio, and will be working with George Thompson, acquisitions and paperback editor at Hopkins, when I return in November.

I should also add that my University has a research and grant fund for book subventions available after a contract has been signed with a university press (it's not available for commercial presses). I have received two such grants, and expect that I can negotiate a \$3500 grant from the University of Maryland for the project. Burns Weston is exploring similar possibilities at the University of Iowa.

My address at Bellagio from October to early November is:

Prof. Richard Claude
c/o Mr. Roberto Celli
Centro Culturale della Fondazione Rockefeller
Villa Serbelloni
22021 Bellagio (Como) Italy

Or Susan Garfield, Program Director, can advise you on getting any message to me promptly in October. She can be reached at 869-8500, Rockefeller Foundation (Bellagio Study and Conference Center) 1133 Avenue of the Americas.

Take heart,



Richard P. Claude
Professor

For consideration by
JBI Admin. Council
January 13, 1986
Item II A

Possible Future Program

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY: IMPLEMENTATION OF JBI-TEMPLE UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE

Attached is a report on the highly successful JBI-Temple University Conference on Religious Liberty and Human Rights held November 3-8, 1985, in Haverford, Pennsylvania. The final statement of that Conference includes general and specific recommendations for further activity in this area by the UN, national governments, and non-governmental organizations.

One of the Conference recommendations is for the establishment of an international documentation and information center on religious liberty. Coincidentally, a few weeks after the Conference, we received a questionnaire from the Institute on Religion and Democracy regarding our interest in the establishment by them of an analogous center or clearinghouse.

We also received a letter (attached) from Professor Leonard Swidler on a possible follow-up effort to create a Christian-Jewish-Muslim religious dialogue involving top scholars from each religion.

The Administrative Council is asked for an expression of interest in having the JBI pursue proposals on either or both of these ideas.

No funds requested at this time.

The Institute on Religion and Democracy

729 15th STREET N.W., SUITE 900
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

II A
JBI: 1/13/86

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RECEIVED DEC 6 1985
Memo

To: Participants of International Conference on Religious Liberty,
April 15 - 16, 1985

From: Maria H. Thomas

Of the many suggestions made at the Conference on Religious Liberty in April of this year, the one most consistently heard was for more cooperation among the various excellent organizations working on the issue of religious freedom around the world. One idea was some sort of clearinghouse for information in the area. It was felt by many that the effectiveness of all could be increased with a greater degree of cooperation and networking among these groups.

We would welcome your comments and suggestions about setting up such a clearinghouse. Would you please fill out the enclosed questionnaire and mail it back to us as soon as possible?

The complete proceedings of the Conference have been published in the Spring 1985 issue of World Affairs magazine. Copies may be obtained by writing to World Affairs, 4000 Albemarle Street, NW, Washington, DC 20016.

Thank you.

(202) 393-3200

*The members of this board serve as individuals active in their own denominations, not as representatives of the institutions with which they are identified.

Questionnaire

- 1) What is your evaluation of the Religious Liberty Conference?

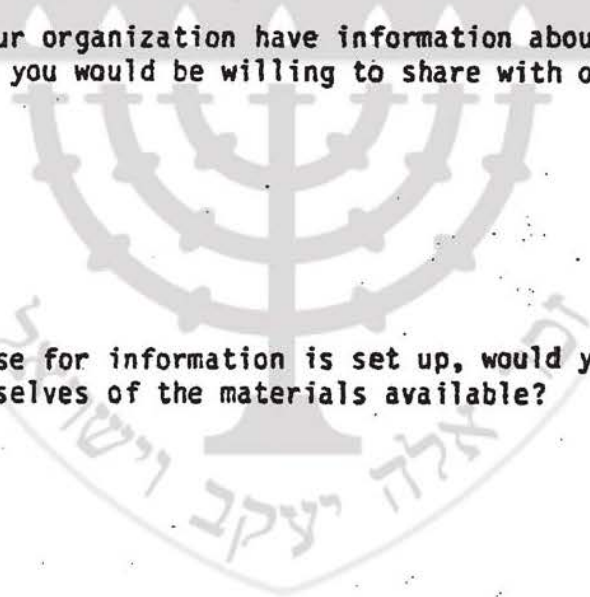
- 2) Would you and/or your organization be interested in being a member of a coalition of groups and individuals working in the religious liberty area?

- 3) Do you and/or your organization have information about abuses of religious liberty which you would be willing to share with others?

- 4) If a clearinghouse for information is set up, would you and/or your organization avail yourselves of the materials available?

- 5) Would you and/or your organization be willing to assist in organizing a local conference on religious liberty?

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES





JOURNAL OF ECUMENICAL STUDIES

215-787-7714

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY (022-38)
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19122

Leonard Swidler, Editor

Paul Moses, Co-Editor

Nancy Krody, Managing Editor

November 21, 1985

Rabbi David Gordis, Executive Director
American Jewish Committee

Dear David,

Everyone involved in the conference on religious liberty that was cosponsored by the Jacob Blaustein Institute seems to feel that it was extremely successful (concluding document enclosed). I also gather from speaking with Shula Bahat that the presentation of Dr. Khalid Duran at your Miami meeting was also successful. Both of these successes prompt me to follow up on my earlier suggestion to you about AJC helping to sponsor a long-range, religious scholarly dialogue between Judaism, Christianity and Islam. This idea was discussed intensely during our religious liberty conference, especially by the four Muslim scholars--four of the best, critical-thinking Muslim scholars I know of (I believe Sidney Liskofsky will confirm this). You may want to run a two-track program by pursuing the more specifically contemporary political issues with the help of Khalid Duran and like-minded Muslim scholars with expertise in this area--he has indicated a willingness to do this to me. But underneath and beyond that there is the long-range religious three-way dialogue that needs to be pursued by the most creative scholars from the three traditions. We should not try here to be representative in the sense of also having representatives of the fundamentalists of each tradition participating--that move comes later, after creative breakthroughs have been attained, published, argued, etc. by the most open, creative, critical thinkers of each tradition going through an extended encounter. It is precisely this kind of approach in the 1950s in Germany between the best Catholic and Protestant theologians that led to the stunning breakthroughs at Vatican II led by the German Augustin Bea.

Let me be concrete in describing the kind of scholars I think need to be brought together--with names of possible candidates: Christians: Hans Küng, Gerard Sloyan, Paul van Buren, Monika Hellwig, John Cobb, Wilfred Cantwell Smith; Muslims: Khalid Duran, Mohamed Talbi, Riffat Hassan, Abdullahi El Naeim, Fazlur Rahman, Hasan Askari; Jews: Pinchas Lapide, Michael Wyschogrod, Michael Cook, Rivka Horwitz, Geza Vermes, Shermayahu Talmon. You will notice that I have included one woman scholar in each list; I think this is the minimum we can do in this regard (and each of these women are equally as creative, experienced and prestigious as the men).

David, I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Marc Tanenbaum, James Rudin, Sidney Liskofsky, Richard Maas and Shula Bahat because I have discussed this idea with them at greater or lesser length and I would like them to know that I have passed it on to you--you may wish to consult them about it sometime.

Yours in hutzpah,

Leonard
Leonard Swidler

**Report on Jacob Blaustein Institute Conference
on Religious Liberty and Human Rights
November 3-8, 1985**

Religious intolerance has always been a primary concern of the American Jewish Committee and a key program focus of the Jacob Blaustein Institute. The recent Conference on Religious Liberty and Human Rights, co-sponsored with Temple University's Religion Department, is the latest in a series of projects in this area planned and implemented by JBI Director Sidney Liskofsky. In 1974, JBI co-sponsored a Conference on Judaism and Human Rights with McGill University, Montreal and the Strasbourg-based International Institute of Human Rights (Cassin Foundation), which produced the book Essays on Human Rights, edited by David Sidorsky. In 1981, in association with Columbia University, JBI sponsored a colloquium on Religious Concepts and Human Rights, with the participation of leading foreign and American scholars. A book stemming from that colloquium is in preparation.

A major purpose of the recent conference was to contribute to the current study under the auspices of the UN Subcommittee of Discrimination and Minorities of the dimensions and causes of religious intolerance worldwide. The study is mandated to propose remedial measures especially in the field of education. The choice of collaborating institutions for our conference (Temple University and the Journal of Ecumenical Studies) was made after extensive consideration.

The Conference's agenda encompassed five world religions and addressed the issue of intolerance from inter-state, intra-state, and intra-religion perspectives. In addition, it addressed situations in several countries at various stages of development. Participants came from 14 countries and spent six days in in-depth discussion about means to promote the principles enshrined in the 1981 UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief. The meeting benefitted, moreover, from the active participation of the UN's Special Rapporteur on religious intolerance, Ms. Elizabeth Odio-Benito, who called the seminar "invaluable" for her study, due for submission in 1986. Finally, it allowed for the establishing of links between participants, with suggestions for follow-up activities.

The Conference final statement (attached) includes principles for promoting religious pluralism, and specific recommendations directed toward international organizations, national governments, and non-governmental groups. These recommendations have been forwarded to interested parties, including UN officials, officials of national governments, leaders of various religious bodies and over 300 U.S.

religion editors. The statement was released on November 25, at an event marking both the UN's fortieth anniversary and the fourth anniversary of the passage of the 1981 Religious Intolerance Declaration, organized by the UN's Committee of Religious NGOs (a group of some forty-five national and international NGOs, which define their work as religious in nature). The commemorative meeting endorsed the specific Conference recommendation of urging the UN to declare November 25 "Religious Liberty Day," and subsequent meetings were held with UN diplomats to encourage submission of a resolution to this effect. The Religious NGOs also agreed to begin studying the JBI Conference proposal for a UN Convention on Religious Freedom.

The full proceedings of the Conference will be brought out in book form under the auspices of Temple University's Journal of Ecumenical Studies, probably in the spring of 1986. In addition to making an important research contribution to our understanding of religious intolerance internationally, the Conference encouraged international promotional and educational activity on religious liberty.

Some Highlights of the Conference Papers and Discussion

The Conference examined a broad range of country situations in which religious intolerance occurs. The papers dealt with the doctrines of each of five major world religions -- Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and Judaism.

UN Context

In her keynote address, UN Special Rapporteur Elizabeth Odio-Benito noted that, although her report to the UN Sub-Commission on Discrimination and Minorities is due in the summer of 1986, she had thus far received too few responses from national governments to her questionnaire on manifestations of religious intolerance, and inadequate assistance from the UN Centre for Human Rights.

Participants agreed that it was important to encourage governments to respond to Ms. Odio-Benito's questionnaire and to pressure the UN Centre to provide her with more assistance. JBI is working on both fronts. As of this writing a meeting has been held with a high official of the UN Human Rights Centre. The extensive attention paid to Ms. Odio-Benito's study in a public address to NGO's by UN Human Rights Centre Director, Dr. Kurt Herndl, suggests that the message was received.

Ms. Odio-Benito and other attendees stressed the vital role of non-governmental groups in providing objective information on religious intolerance, usually unavailable from governments, the human rights violators. Aware of the opportunity for JBI's input, we provided Ms. Odio-Benito with data on issues of religious intolerance relevant to Jews (e.g., Oberammergau material); subvented a study by law students working under the supervision of Prof. Roger Clark of global manifesta-

tions of religious intolerance; and supplied Ms. Odio-Benito with a research assistant, in the person of a retired UN Human Rights Centre staff person.

U.S.S.R.

The excellent paper on the U.S.S.R. presented by Otto Luchterhand, the participant from West Germany (University of Cologne), summarized the condition and legal status of religious groups in the Soviet Union. It argued that there was little hope for amelioration of the Soviet regime's policy toward religious believers because it sees religion as fundamental threat to its official Marxist-Leninist ideology. The point was also made that the Soviet regime denies its people knowledge of many of the laws governing religion. This underscores the importance of efforts to guarantee the right of Soviet citizens to know their human rights, the topic of JBI's study of the subject and of initiatives to be undertaken, in consultation with us, by the International League for Human Rights at the 1986 Human Rights Commission session.

Coincidentally, Mr. Luchterhand is one of the organizers of a conference planned for March 19-21, 1986 on minority rights under Soviet and international law to be co-sponsored by AJC with the University of Cologne. The JBI Conference provided an opportunity for serious discussion with him about the German side's conception for the planned March meeting, which JBI staff is designing and will be participating in. Also, JBI grantee Hurst Hannum will participate in a projected conference session on the Right to Leave.

Muslim Fundamentalism

Four Islamic scholars participated in the Conference: Riffat Hassan (Pakistan), Mohammed Talbi (Tunisia), Khalid Duran (Morocco) and Abdulhial El Naiem (Sudan). They provided a fascinating portrait of developments in the Islamic world and expressed a wish for continued contact with AJC.

The Muslim participants analogized Islamic fundamentalism to a "raft" floating on the broad "river" of Islamic revival. Fundamentalism was just one element of the general tendency in Islamic countries to anchor Islamic law and tradition in daily life. The fundamentalists are articulate and sophisticated; both the quantity and quality of their propaganda bests that of ideological rivals, such as communist propagandists. Unfortunately, fundamentalist goals portend a drastic reduction of the rights of women and religious minorities in Islamic countries.

The Muslim participants claimed that there was a constituency of Muslims opposed, passively if not actively, to fundamentalism. They themselves outlined a vision of Islam which can have profound consequences for the Islamic world and its relations with its own religious minorities, with the West and with Israel.

One participant, who advocated a radical paradigm shift in Islamic thinking, distinguished between two phases in Mohammed's life. During the first, Mecca phase, Mohammed's writings and actions reflected a tolerant attitude toward Jews and non-Muslims. The second stage occurred during Mohammed's residence in Medina, when the rules of Islamic jurisprudence and indeed the structure of Islamic law were established. During this period Jihad came to mean holy war rather than simply "effort"; in addition, thinkers elaborated the specific precept of dar al Islam that negates acceptance of a Jewish sovereignty in the Middle East. According to this Medina-based doctrine, dar al-Islam must be redeemed by Islam, no matter the cost or effort involved.

If a paradigm shift could be achieved, the doctrine of Jihad and the subsidiary precept of dar al Islam would be obsolete, which would enable Muslims to accept Israel's fundamental right to exist. Unfortunately, according to some experts on Islam, the Muslim reformers currently have little or no political influence.

The Muslim participants differed on how to advance their liberalizing goals within the Muslim world. This was brought into sharp relief when a clear statement in favor of the freedom to change one's religion was proposed for inclusion in the Conference's final statement. A lively discussion ensued between two of the Muslim participants. One felt that it was desirable to take a firm, public stance in favour of this freedom. Another, who subscribed to the same objective, held that it was unrealistic, indeed counter-productive, to confront the Muslim public today on this issue, but that a low-key, long-term, oblique approach was the better strategy.

This disagreement was hardly academic. As reform-minded persons who live or have lived in Muslim states, some of the participants had the been subject of threats against themselves and their families; one actually been prosecuted and imprisoned.

One participant claimed that Israeli actions such as the raid on the PLO base in Tunis, in which numbers of Tunisians were killed, benefitted the Muslim fundamentalists enormously; so would a rise in the popularity of Kahane or Israeli "fundamentalists."

One Islamic country discussed at the Conference was the Sudan, where fundamentalists have a great deal of influence and want to use the country as a springboard for exporting "purified" Islam to other parts of Africa. The Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood is antagonistic toward Black non-Muslims in the south of the country, and some fundamentalists actually advocate northern secession in order to establish a strictly Islamic country. Exporting Islamic fundamentalism to Africa would cause severe internal upheaval in several African countries.

Other Country Situations

The South Korean presenter (U.S. educated) gave a quietly impassioned lecture. A leader of a Christian group in predominantly Confucian country, he claimed that the Christian minority (comprising about 25% of the population) is harassed regularly and its leaders occasionally imprisoned by the government, which sees Christian bodies as a political threat because of their advocacy of human rights. Although Christian leaders were even more anti-communist than the government because of a Korean communist massacre of 400 Christians in the 1950s, in his remarks the president attacked U.S. capitalism, U.S. corporations and the "military-industrial complex." The number of Korean Christians is growing and current government harassment is not abating.

The Hindu presenter, in discussion subsequent to his paper, depicted an India where the caste system -- no longer legally sanctioned -- is barely beginning to unravel in fact. He stressed the enormous impact that Western technology -- particularly television -- is having on ridding India of age-old traditions and social structures. He conceded that this rapid change could lead to an Ayatollah-like counter-reaction rather than greater democracy, given the fact that the new materialism brings no new moral and religious perspectives for coping with modern life.

The U.S. presenter spoke about anti-cult and anti-sect efforts that he felt threatened American religious liberty. Proposed Nebraska legislation would require religious groups to "register", a practice he analogized to Nazi "registration" of religious groups. "Shyster" lawyers, he said, are bringing suits against religious groups for allegedly not fulfilling promises made to adherents. And psychiatrists are pressing for laws that would give them the right to "license" persons offering religious counsel. These anti-cult efforts, he held, constitute a serious danger to religious liberty in America today.

Note on Distribution of the Conference Final Statement

Some 700 copies of the text of the Final Statement were conveyed to AJC constituency, government officials, religious and other NGOs, and the media. The following is a breakdown of the distribution:

American Jewish Committee leadership and chapters (150)

American religion editors and writers (330)

National and international religious leaders (40)

United Nations officials (10)

United Nations ambassadors of countries active in promoting

Declaration on religious freedom (10)

U.S. officials concerned with international human rights fields (5)

Attendees at UN Religious NGO meeting (150)

Submitted by Allan L. Kagedan





TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

News Bureau, 301 University Services Bldg., Philadelphia, PA 19122

NEWS RELEASE

George Ingram, Director (215) 787-7476

Kathy Coaliner, Director of Communications (215) 787-6507

EDITORS PLEASE NOTE: Leonard Swidler is available at 215-787-7251, and Sidney Liskofsky is available at 212-751-4000.

A group of scholars representing the world's major religions has asked the United Nations General Assembly to declare November 25 as "Religious Liberty Day" to help draw attention to global human rights problems and religious intolerance.

November 25 was chosen as the day of observance because on that date four years ago the UN passed a Declaration on Religious Intolerance.

The unusual request is one of 10 recommendations approved by Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Jews from 14 separate countries who gathered in suburban Philadelphia to discuss "Religious Liberty and Human Rights Between Nations, Within Nations and Within Religions" earlier this month.

The conference was sponsored by Temple University's religion department, its Journal of Ecumenical Studies and the Jacob Blaustein Institute for Advancement of Human Rights.

"When such days, months, years or even decades are designated by the UN, all kinds of organizations across the world--from tiny churches to large religious groups--can use the occasion to schedule educational and promotional events on the topic," says Sidney Liskofsky, executive director of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights.

Those attending heard a plea for more international attention to this problem from Elisabeth Odio-Benito, former Costa Rican Justice Minister who is conducting a global study of religious intolerance for the UN.

"The presumption that we have something to learn from the other religions and beliefs, and not just something to teach them, is the essence of dialogue," says Dr. Leonard Swidler, professor of religion at Temple and conference organizer.

(more)

add one/RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

"We are convinced that it is only with this dialogue attitude that we can ever hope to resolve the conflicts inside of religious and belief communities, between religions and beliefs and between nations."

A statement issued after the conference emphasized the need to move from religious tolerance to full religious liberty, "wherein freedom in religion and belief, including the decision to change or leave a religion, is recognized as a fundamental human right."

Conference scholars also insisted that "freedom from coercion within the religious community is as essential as is freedom from outside coercion."

Other major recommendations include:

1. Religious bodies at every level--local, national and international--should foster the spirit of tolerance, respect and dialogue within their own ranks and between their members and others of other faiths. Activities could include commemorating Nov. 25 through sermons, writings, public events and interreligious meetings.

2. Educational institutions and the mass media should assume an active role in educating society not only to tolerate others, but also to treat them with respect as equal human beings.

3. Non-governmental organizations should explore the establishment of an independent center to document and make available to the public information on current violations of religious liberty as defined by the 1981 UN Declaration.

4. Non-governmental organizations and independent experts should draft guidelines for a UN convention on the elimination of all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief.

For a complete copy of the statement of principles and recommendations, call Dr. Swidler at Temple at 215-787-7714 or write: Journal of Ecumenical Studies, 5th Floor, Anderson Hall, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122.

ljr-876

November 19, 1985



JOURNAL OF ECUMENICAL STUDIES

215-787-7714

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY (022-38)
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19122

Leonard Swidler, Editor

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

"Religious Liberty and Human Rights Between Nations, Within Nations, and Within Religions" was the subject of study and dialogue at a six-day conference at Haverford, Pennsylvania, November 3-8, 1985. Scholars of religion and kindred disciplines from five world religions, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism, gathered from fourteen countries on five continents. The conference was cosponsored by the Journal of Ecumenical Studies, the Religion Department of Temple University, and the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights.

The meeting, which coincided with the fourth anniversary of the United Nations General Assembly's passing in 1981 of a Declaration on Religious Intolerance, heard a plea for more international attention to this problem from Elizabeth Odio-Benito, the former Costa Rican Justice Minister, who is conducting a global study of religious intolerance for the United Nations.

An agreed statement issued by the conference pointed to the need to move from grudging religious tolerance to "full religious liberty," wherein freedom in religion and belief, including the decision to change or leave a religion or belief, is recognized as a fundamental human right.

The conference scholars also insisted that, "freedom from coercion within the religious or belief community is as essential as is freedom from outside coercion." Conference organizer, Leonard Swidler, editor of the Journal of Ecumenical Studies, and Professor in Temple University's Religion Department, reported, "According full religious liberty and human rights both inside and between religions is in fact in keeping with the central tenets of each of our religions-- on this we all agreed."

Where inconsistencies with full religious liberty for all still exist in teachings and practices, scholars from each religion or belief "should undertake the necessary research and reflection to resolve them," according to the statement.

"The fundamental mode of approaching members of our own and other religions and beliefs must be that of dialogue, that is, each speaking with the other pri-

marily to learn from the other," the statement read. "The presumption that we have something to learn from the other religions and beliefs, and not just something to teach them, is the essence of dialogue," said Swidler.

"We are convinced that it is only with this dialogue attitude that we can ever hope to resolve the conflicts inside of religious and belief communities, between religions and beliefs, and between nations," Swidler added.

The conference also issued a number of recommendations, including the urgent suggestion that "ways of establishing a continuing process of consultation" on religious liberty and "an independent center to document and to make available to the public information on current violations of religious liberty" be pursued.

Dissemination of documents on human rights, including religious liberty, and education on their meaning and implications were urged upon the United Nations, national governments, religious bodies, and other organizations. "Such ongoing educational activity by governments, religions, and other groups is absolutely vital if the U.N. declarations on human rights and religious liberty are not to remain dead letters," said Sidney Liskofsky, Executive Director of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, based in New York City.

Also recommended was the drafting of a legally binding international Convention on religious liberty to fully implement the 1981 U. N. Declaration on the "Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief," and the promotion of full religious liberty.

The conference also urged that the United Nations declare November 25th "Religious Liberty Day" in commemoration of the passage of that 1981 U. N. declaration on religious liberty.

The full text issued by the conference is attached.



JOURNAL OF ECUMENICAL STUDIES

215-787-7714

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY (022-38)
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19122

Leonard Swidler, *Editor*

Paul Mojzes, *Co-Editor*

Nancy Krody, *Managing Editor*

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Principles

From November 3 to 8, 1985, we scholars of religion and kindred disciplines from five world religions--Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism--coming from fourteen countries on five continents, met in Haverford, Pennsylvania, to discuss "Religious Liberty and Human Rights Between Nations, Within Nations, and Within Religions," cosponsored by the Journal of Ecumenical Studies, the Religion Department of Temple University, and the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, New York. We came to the following agreed understandings:

We are convinced that human society must move beyond mere religious toleration, by which other religious beliefs and practices are grudgingly allowed, to full religious liberty: Wherein both the free choice and practice of religion or belief and the decision to change or leave a religion or belief are held to be fundamental human rights, and members of all religions and beliefs treat each other with full respect as equal fellow human beings. Full religious liberty includes freedom not only from outside coercion or suppression on account of religion or belief, but also from the suppression or restriction of human rights inside each particular religious or belief community. This freedom from coercion within the religious or belief community is as essential as is freedom from outside coercion.

We are convinced that the way each religion and belief teaches its own members to treat fellow members who think differently than they do will tend to carry over in the treatment of members of other religions and beliefs. Hence, it is imperative that all religions and beliefs school their members to accord all others, both within and outside of their ranks, the full human integrity, dignity, and religious liberty they claim for themselves. Moreover, the fundamental integrity of all religions and beliefs demands consistency and reciprocity by extending the same level of religious liberty to adherents of other religions and beliefs that they expect for their own members.

We are convinced that, because religious liberty as a human right is a modern phenomenon which has its origin in the political developments that led to a distinction--not a separation--between religion and the political order, each religion must provide a theological response to this challenge reflecting its own traditions and values. Because we are convinced that in affirming full religious liberty Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Muslims, and Jews, among others, act in accordance with the central tenets of their respective faiths, where some traditional teachings and practices of religion or belief are inconsistent with the affirmation of full religious liberty for all, scholars of each religion or belief should undertake the necessary research and reflection to resolve them.

Finally, we are convinced that the fundamental mode of approaching members of one's own and other religions and beliefs must be that of dialogue, that is, each speaking with the other primarily to learn from the other. It is only with such a dialogue attitude that we can come to really understand members of our own and other religions and beliefs and live with them as true neighbors, each in full religious freedom.

Recommendations

To promote these principles, we endorse generally the conclusions and recommendations of the U. N. Seminar on the Encouragement of Understanding, Tolerance, and Respect in Matters Relating to Freedom of Religion or Belief (Geneva, Switzerland, December 3-14, 1984). Specifically, we recommend that:

1. The participants in the present Colloquium seek ways to establish a continuing process of consultation and study in regard to questions of religious liberty, such as (a) the role that regional human rights institutions can play in the effort to eliminate intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief and to promote full religious liberty, and (b) the relationship between religious intolerance, racial or ethnic or sexual discrimination, and political conflict.
2. (a) Non-governmental organizations should explore the possibility of establishing, individually or cooperatively, an independent center to document and make available to the public information on current violations of religious liberty and manifestations of intolerance in matters of religion or belief, at a minimum as defined in the 1981 U. N. Declaration on this subject. (Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly, November 25, 1981, in resolution 36/55.)
3. Non-governmental organizations and independent experts should draft guidelines

for a U. N. convention on the elimination of all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief and the promotion of full religious liberty, including in the draft, at a minimum, the principles and rules of the 1981 U. N. Declaration.

4. The U. N. General Assembly should declare November 25th "Religious Liberty Day" to mark the day it adopted the 1981 Declaration and to serve as focus and stimulus for educational and promotional activity in support of its principles.

5. The U. N. should urge all governments to disseminate widely in their countries and in their national languages, especially governments whose languages are official languages of the United Nations, the text of the 1981 Declaration, as well as the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and other international instruments that relate to religious liberty, intolerance, and discrimination. They should draw them to the attention, in particular, of civil servants, including judges, magistrates, and lawyers, and any other officials whose duties might involve the protection of religious freedom.

6. States should review their constitutions and laws to ensure that freedom of religion or belief as provided in the aforementioned international documents is adequately safeguarded. In addition, they should examine the possibility of establishing national institutions, or designating existing ones, with the responsibility of promoting religious liberty, and of creating training programs for appropriate officials on ways to combat religious discrimination and to promote religious liberty.

7. Educational institutions and the mass media should assume an active role in educating society not only to tolerate others, but also to treat them with full respect as equal fellow human beings in a spirit of dialogue, in regard both to inter-religious relationships and intergroup relationships generally.

8. Religious bodies at every level--local, national, and international--should foster the spirit of tolerance, respect, and dialogue within their own ranks and between their members and those of other faiths. Activities to this end should include, among others, dissemination of the text of the 1981 Declaration in local languages; participation by clergy and lay leaders in commemorating November 25th as "Religious Liberty Day" through sermons, writings, or public events, and holding interreligious dialogues on the significance of the 1981 Declaration and ways to promote it.

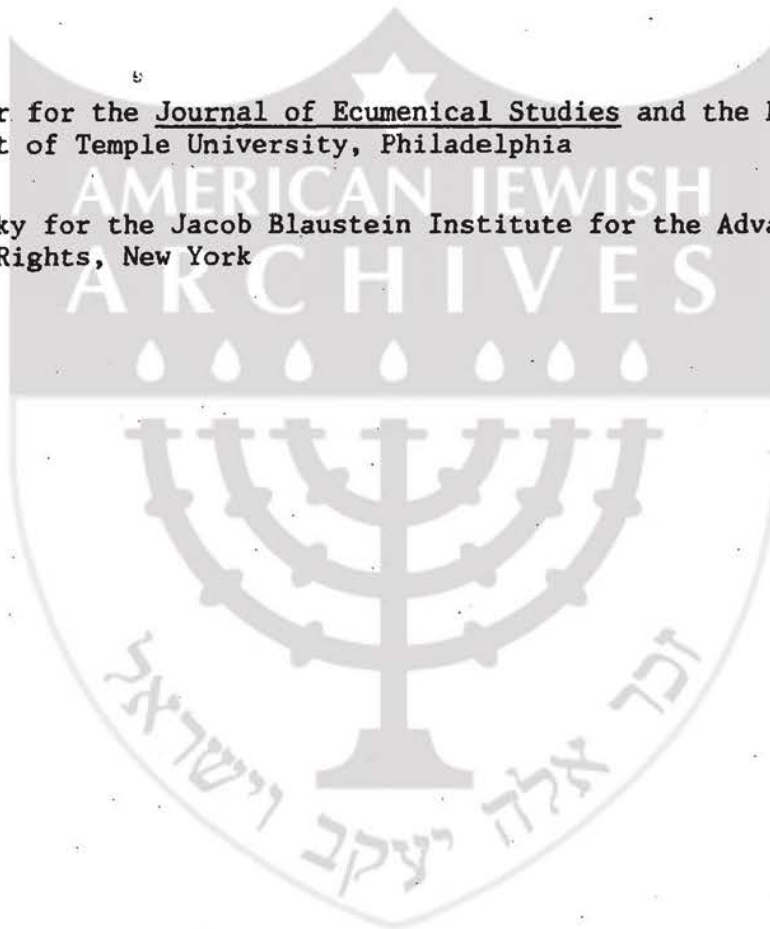
9. The U. N. Centre for Human Rights should continue and should upgrade its Advisory Services in techniques of legislation, education, or information to enable states and other relevant bodies that request them to enhance their efforts to promote religious freedom.

10. The study on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination

Based on Religion or Belief mandated by the U. N. Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities is an important vehicle for achieving progress at the international level toward the goal of religious freedom. Governments and non-governmental organizations should cooperate fully with the Special Rapporteur designated by the Subcommittee to conduct this study by responding in a timely and comprehensive manner to requests to furnish information and ideas in order to assist in its preparation.

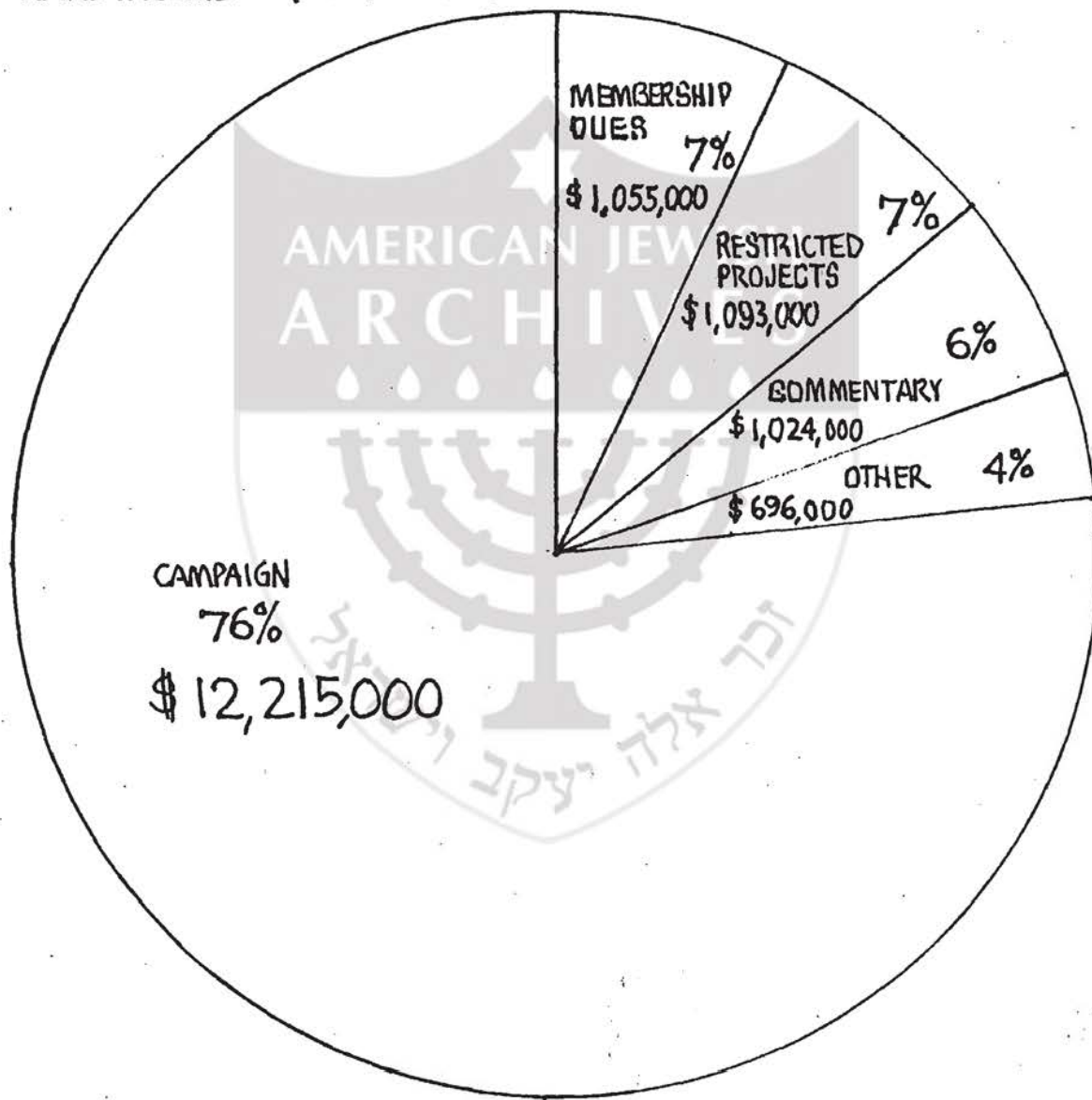
Leonard Swidler for the Journal of Ecumenical Studies and the Religion Department of Temple University, Philadelphia

Sidney Liskofsky for the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, New York



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ANALYSIS OF INCOME - 1984

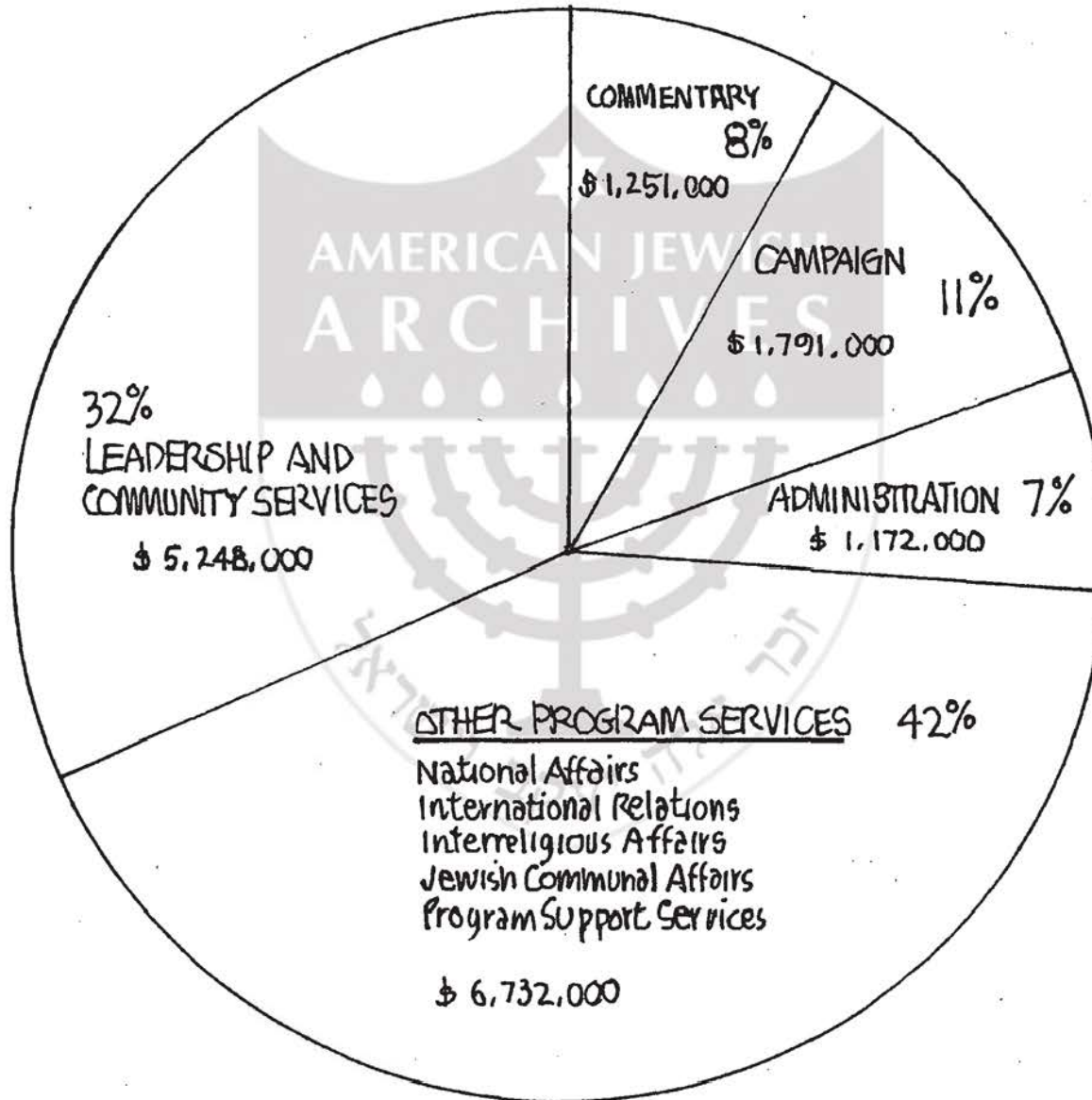
TOTAL INCOME - \$ 16,083,000



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

ANALYSIS OF EXPENSES — 1984

TOTAL EXPENSES — \$ 16,194,000





EDITORS PLEASE NOTE: Visiting scholars from Europe, Latin America, South Korea, Sudan and Morocco will be available upon request during the meeting.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SCHOLARS WORK TO ELIMINATE RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE AT TEMPLE CONFERENCE

Religious intolerance keeps nations and peoples apart. But next month, the subject of intolerance will unite some of the world's top scholars at a conference sponsored by Temple University's religion department, its Journal of Ecumenical Studies and the Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights in New York City.

The meeting, from Nov. 3 to 8 at the St. Raphaela Mary Retreat House in Haverford, Pa., is expected to generate recommendations to promote religious freedom.

"The resurgence of religious fanaticism today makes religious intolerance not only an unfortunate fact of life in many authoritarian and aggressively atheistic states, but also a concern of the democracies," states Richard Maass, chairman of the Blaustein Institute.

"History is full of the stories of human destruction resulting from religious intolerance," adds Dr. Leonard Swidler, editor of the Journal at Temple, who provides these convincing examples:

Between nations: the 'Crusades,' where Latin Christians fought against Jews, Orthodox Christians and Muslims from the 11th to 15th Centuries.

Within nations: the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab, Northern Ireland, Lebanon. This intolerance usually takes the form of a dominant religion using government and other instruments to oppress minority religions.

Within religions: takes place on a massive scale within many religions and is deeply destructive. Herein lies the bedrock of the two former categories, according to Dr. Swidler: if human rights are suppressed, or restricted within religions and ideologies, how can religions or ideologies be expected to foster human rights for others?

(more)

add one/TEMPLE'S RELIGIOUS MEETING

"The idea of the conference is based on a United Nations Declaration of Religious Liberty in 1981," says Dr. Swidler.

Research projects on religious liberty and human rights that began soon after the Declaration will be presented at the Philadelphia meeting, and the proceedings will be published in book form.

Elisabeth Odio-Benito of Costa Rica, who was designated by the UN to prepare a study on the topic in 1983, will be the keynote speaker for the meeting. Her talk is scheduled for the first day of the conference at 2 p.m.

"We are aiming to bring scholars together with each other and get their research and information into the hands of the United Nations," claims Dr. Swidler, who is expecting 15 speakers--eight from overseas--to participate.

The conference agenda is broken down into three parts. Major papers on religious liberty in six different countries--Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Sudan, Egypt, the United States and South Korea--will be presented during the first phase.

The 'Between Nations' portion will use Pakistan-India as a model. There will be two lectures on the Hindu-Muslim dialogue, one from a Hindu perspective and the other from the Muslim perspective.

Religious liberty within religions will be examined in each of the major world religions--Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam.

All papers will be followed by response and discussion periods.

Conference activity begins at 9 a.m. each day, except for opening day, when introductions begin at 1 p.m. A summary report will be issued Friday at 9 a.m.

The Retreat House is at 616 Coopertown rd., Haverford, Pa. For more information, call Dr. Swidler at Temple at 215-787-7714.

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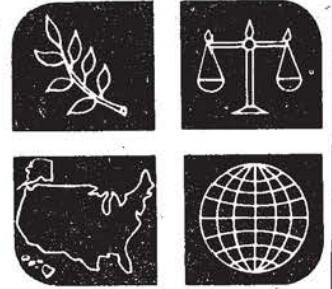
ljr-763

October 24, 1985



UPDATE CRIMINAL JUSTICE

National Interreligious Task Force on Criminal Justice
475 Riverside Drive—Room 450, New York, NY 10115



VOLUME 8 NUMBER 1

Winter 1986

National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution

June 3-8, 1986

Regency Hotel, Denver, CO

The first National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution at the University of Georgia at Athens in March, 1983 and the second at the University of Missouri at St. Louis, September 1984, were exciting and eclectic events.

They brought together representatives of the complete gamut of peacemaking and conflict resolution models -- from teaching creative conflict resolution to children, to third party intervention and negotiations in international conflicts. They debated the hard questions -- should the field of mediation be controlled by courts or by community-based projects; how power disparities between conflicting parties influence agreements; whether panelists should be certified and, if so, by whom? And they offered skills building, resource materials, and opportunities to find kindred souls and professional colleagues.

The third NCPCR in June 1986 promises to be equally significant. Its theme is "Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution as a Social Movement: Power, Justice, and Institution Building. June 3 and 4 will be devoted to Training Workshops, offering from three to twelve hours of skills building in a given area. From June 5 to 8

the conference will feature plenary sessions, workshops and caucuses for interest groups.

We urge wide participation by persons in the religious community and ask that you copy and distribute this advance information to your colleagues.

We have much to learn about developments in this rapidly growing field. We have much to contribute. We bring a conviction that peacemaking and conflict resolution should continue to be seen as a social movement and not be relegated solely to the professional realm. We are committed to the empowerment of persons and groups to own and to be involved in the resolution of their own conflicts. And we bring models of individuals and groups from the religious community intervening in difficult situations for the sake of peacemaking, with justice.

Under planning by the Religious Community Section, we will have an opportunity to share the experience of some of those persons and groups. Terry Waite, Secretary for Anglican Communion Affairs and a Special Envoy of the Archbishop of Canterbury who is negotiating for the release of hostages in the Middle East, has been invited to be keynote speaker in the opening plenary of the conference. His topic will be "Peacemakers and Peacemaking: When Conventional Ways and Wisdom Fail."

Mr. Waite is also scheduled to participate in a workshop format. In "ROLES OF THE

Interfaith Conciliation Center News



RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY IN INTERNATIONAL CRISES: ENVOYS SHUTTling ON THE SECULAR/SACRED EXPRESS," participants will have an opportunity to dialogue with Mr. Waite. In addition to his current efforts on behalf of Americans held in Lebanon, Mr. Waite negotiated the release of four Britons detained in Libya in summer 1985 and three Anglican missionaries held in Iran in 1981.

A second workshop entitled, "ROLES IN CURRENT CRISES: WHEN, WHY AND HOW THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY INTERVENES," will be moderated by James Shannon, Director of the General Mills Foundation. Topics and panelists are:

The Move Confrontation in Philadelphia - the Rev. Paul M. Washington, Rector of the Church of the Advocate.

Human Responses to Farmers in Economic Crises - the Rev. Charlotte Reif, pastor of rural United Methodist congregations and member of the Iowa Interchurch Agency for Peace and Justice.

The Tri-State Conference on Steel: Reindustrialization - Richard Zelik, O.F.M., Social Action Minister for the Office of Peace and Justice, of the Province of St. Augustine, Pittsburgh.

Conciliation and Confrontation: Crucial Questions for Just Peacemaking - Lois Kirkwood, Co-chaplain at Hofstra University; Ph.D. Candidate, Union Seminary NYC; and member of Steering Committee, Interfaith Conciliation Center.

A third workshop, "ROLES OF THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY IN CRISIS: THEOLOGICAL IMPERATIVES AND INSTITUTIONAL BASES," moderated by Stan Kano, chair of the Interfaith Conciliation Center, will include:

Putting Faith to Work in a Neighborhood Victim Assistance and Restitution Project - Erma Gaines, volunteer in this Detroit project and member of National People of Color Task Force on Criminal Justice.

Challenging Governmental Infiltration of the Sanctuary Movement - the Rev. James Oines, Alzona Lutheran Church in Phoenix.

Working from an Avowed Faith Perspective - Dr. E. Ronald Bard, Director of Christian Conciliation Service of Denver, Inc.

The Congregation as Enabler in Conflict Resolution - Dr. Ron Mock, Assistant Director Center for Peace Learning at George Fox College in Newberg, Oregon.

In a Pre-conference Training Session, "Peacing it Together: Organizing Locally and Coalition Building for Peace With Justice," Dr. Carl Schneider, of the Divorce Mediation Institute in Chicago, and Ginny Mackey, of the Interfaith Conciliation Center, will share a video tape of a congregation organizing a sanctuary project and address the theory and practice of organizing and networking.

The National Association for Community Justice will hold a membership meeting in conjunction with NCPJR 1986 and sponsor a caucus for persons working from religious bases. Its co-sponsors will include the Christian Conciliation Service, Mennonite Conciliation Service, and the Interfaith Conciliation Center.

In addition to your attendance, we would like to share your concerns, your papers, and brochures about your religiously-based projects with conferees. Please contact Ginny Mackey, 188 Eastgate Dr., Rochester, NY 14617. Phone: 716-467-9710 or 325-7727.

The range of other conference topics is certain to cover your own interest. Under "Areas of Practice," workshops include: Community Models; Family; Justice System; International; Environment; Institutionalized Mechanisms for Resolving Disputes; Policy; and Conflict in Workplaces.

Workshops on "Education" will present models for all educational levels and address "Theory, Research, Evaluation, and Issues" Panels on "Issues Essential to the Field" will cover: Race and Ethnicity; Ethics and Values; Cultural Dynamics and Crossculture Approaches; Gender; and Peacemaking and Non-violence.

For information on registration: Karen Covi, 323 Academic Building U. of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602. Phone: 404-542-2887



Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution as a Social Movement: Power, Justice, and Institution Building

GETTING TO THE NCPCR CONFERENCE

NCPCR planners have tried to keep hotel and local transportation costs moderate. The Regency Hotel offers singles @ \$55; doubles at \$50; and up to two additional persons @ \$5.00 each. There is free limousine service from the airport to the hotel and from the hotel to downtown Denver.

* * *

OTHER CONCILIATION EVENTS

The 1986 training schedule for the Schools Initiatives Program of the Community Board Center for Policy and Training includes four-day institutes in Washington, DC May 13-16 and in San Francisco, October 7-10. Participants will learn to work cooperatively with schools in developing Conflict Manager's programs for elementary and secondary schools; train students to be Conflict Managers; and train the trainers of student Conflict Managers. A training institute for educators will be offered in San Francisco June 24-27.

The fee is \$585 and includes only the cost of training. Housing accommodations must be made separately. For further information: 149 Ninth Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. Phone: 415-552-1250.

Two Regional Conferences on Nonviolence are scheduled: The first is May 16-18 at Rosary-Hammond, Louisiana. Contact person: Mary Ann Abel, 546 Bienville St., Baton Rouge, LA 70806. A second is June 13-16 at Monte Toyon in Aptos, CA. For information: West Coast Nonviolence Network, 2124 Kit-tredge St., #66, Berkeley, CA 94704.

The National Coalition Building Institute, Inc., announces "Prejudice Reduction Workshops" in which participants learn to help individuals and groups examine deep issues of identity, unfreeze prejudicial attitudes, act on the basis of shared values and know what to do when values are in conflict. Dates: April 4-6 and Aug. 11-13 in Boston.

Also, a "Leadership Training Institute" in which participants learn to identify and resolve intergroup conflicts, locate the key issue in any complex situation, define self-interest in a way that builds bridges and develop multi-cultural programs and

coalitions for their own organizations and interest groups. Dates: Aug. 6-10 in Boston. For information: Miriam Jefferson, 59 Forest Street, Providence, RI 02906. Phone: 401-421-1685.

* * *

MORE CONCILIATION NEWS

The Pastor as Peacemaker was the title of a conference in November, sponsored by the Maine Conference, United Church of Christ and American Baptist Churches of Maine. The event offered resources for ministries of justice and reconciliation, examined controversial ministries such as a congregation's becoming a sanctuary for refugees and included workshops on topics such as integrating one's role as a minister with one's voice as an individual, conflict resolution and healing. For information: the Rev. Otto E. Sommer, P.O. Box 730, Yarmouth, ME 04096.

Christians for Justice Action (a network of United Church of Christ members committed to the biblical vision of justice and peace) presented a "Burning Bush" award to Perry Blanchard for his role in the current farm crisis. Blanchard is a lay minister serving a three-yoke parish that includes the Albion Congregational Church UCC, and the Spalding and Akron Presbyterian Churches in Nebraska. CJA News says that he "is articulate in discussing the situation facing family farmers and has organized teach-ins. He has also played a mediating role in some dangerous confrontations between angry farmers facing foreclosures and deputy sheriffs sent out to enact foreclosure orders." Address: Albion Congregational Church, UCC, Albion, Nebraska 68620.

The Judicial Process Commission of Genesee Ecumenical Ministries in Rochester, NY is offering three-session workshops on "Conflict and Mediation" to congregations. The first session is on types and dynamics of conflict; the second on effective listening and communication skills; and the last on mediating a particular type of conflict in which the group is most interested. For more information: Fritz Longabaugh, JPC, 121 North Fitzhugh Street, Rochester, NY, 14614. Phone: 716-325-7727.

A Community Based Victim Restitution Project in Detroit is a response of neighborhood organizations within the North Central Seven Community Organization to their experience of crime. Concerned about the need for emotional and financial support to victims and encouraged by results of Victim Offender Reconciliation Projects, the project aids the community by:

- providing a monitored system as a means for convicted offender(s) and victim(s) to mutually agree on a restitution contract.
- involving more community residents in resolving conflicts within their neighborhoods.
- strengthening community ties to victims and offenders.
- providing access and input into the justice system.
- training residents to provide psychological/practical assistance to crime victims.

For information: Maureen Taylor, Director
1305 E. State Fair, Detroit MI 48203
Phone: 313-366-0876.

Working from a philosophy that "Justice begins with Victim Assistance," the Genesee County Sheriff's Department in New York State has a continuum of programs designed to implement their credo: a Juvenile Community Service Program, a Victim/Offender Reconciliation (Intervention) Program, an Intensified Work Release Program and Jail and Prison Diversion. Operative since 1983 and taking cases as difficult as armed robbery and criminally negligent homicide, the program has built a record of substantial benefits to the persons involved and to the community. For information: Dennis Wittman, Sheriff's Dept., Main St., Batavia, NY 14020. Phone: 716-344-2550.

Under a grant from the State Office for the Aging, the Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution in New York City trained thirty-five persons over the age of fifty-five. Training was designed to meet the needs of older workers being shut out of the job market and to mobilize their natural abilities and experience so they can continue to contribute to their community. For information: Laura Blackburne, IMCR, 49 East 68th St, NY, NY 10021
Phone: 212-570-9400.

In National Institute of Justice Reports (SNI 193, Sept. 1985), Albie Davis and Kit

Porter report on a schools mediation project in Hawaii. Training is offered to students, teachers, administrators, counselors, and parents. Successful evaluations prove the worth in this multicultural urban environment, as well as in New York City and San Francisco.

* * *

ARBITRATION BEST APPROACH TO TERRORISM?

Sydney J. Harris, syndicated columnist, entitled a recent piece, "Terrorism won't go away until disputes can be arbitrated." Making the point that "it is not depravity" but desperation and a perceived injustice which it is felt cannot be removed or relieved by any legitimate means that generates terrorism, Harris argues that "it seems clear that swift and certain punishment of the culprits is no solution."

Food for thought

"Of course there will always be injustice in the world," says Harris, just as there will always be illness and infection. But while we have learned to take preventive measures against disease, we have done practically nothing to forestall the fury of partisans who lack an adequate Court of Appeal, with the power to enforce its decisions."

Therefore, the "only possible way out of this fatal impasse lies not in an international pact to prosecute terrorism as much as an international effort to adjudicate and arbitrate these social ills and inequities before they suppurate and burst."

Harris' column made an interesting companion piece in the January 29 issue of a Gannett newspaper (Democrat & Chronicle, Rochester, NY) to an article entitled, "Europeans think 'cowboy' Reagan overreacting on Libya." Its author, Admiral Sir James Eberle, director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, contends that "people in Europe see the actions of these terrorist groups as being a challenge to society rather than to national security. They must be dealt with firmly, but within the due processes of the civil law. To resort to the use of naked military force is seen not only as going well beyond the processes of the

civil law, but also as an action that is likely only to lead to further and escalating acts of reprisal by the terrorists."

In a third article of the same date, editor James Wall writes in Christian Century about media's role in shaping responses to terrorism. "Qaddafi as Villain Fulfills Media Needs," says Wall, but "the American public is not well served by reports that cast the news in hero-villain terms." He notes that this tendency to cast events in win-lose terms is derived from an ancient theological heresy, Manichaeism (the belief that the world is divided into contending realms of good and evil).

The price we pay for over-simplification, says Wall, is that "the root causes of terrorism and the danger of worldwide conflict are bumped to the back pages." As Harris suggests, arbitration may not make the stuff of daily headlines, but it is designed to address root causes.

* * *

CCNCILIATION RESOURCES

From Cornerstone, a center for justice and peace, two pieces:

- Conflict Management: A Curriculum for Peace, designed for classroom and church school teachers, grades K-12. \$9.50 postpaid.
- How to Avoid World War III at Home: Conflict Management for the Family. Suggests practical ways to deal with tattling, fighting, refereeing, teenage years, families in search of shalom. \$10.50 postpaid.

From: 920 Emerson, Denver CO 80218
Phone: 303-831-7692

"Retributive Justice, Restorative Justice" by Howard Zehr. One of a series of occasional papers issued by the Mennonite Office of Criminal Justice. Single copy free and rates for quantities. Also, The Forgotten Neighbor, a 10-minute slide/tape presentation focusing on the experience of crime victims. Rental \$5; purchase \$40. It is designed as a companion piece to the booklet Who is My Neighbor? Learning to Care for Victims of Crime. Single copy free; rates for quantities.

From: 220 West High Street, Elkhart, IN 46516. Phone: 219-293-3090.

Albie Davis, director of the Mediation Project in the District Court in Salem, MA is the contact person for two resources:

- Mediation: An Alternative that Works, defines both court and school-based projects and highlights successful models.
- Guidelines for a Drop-out Prevention Program of the Massachusetts Department of Education, which suggests mediation as one of its recommended approaches.

Address: Holyoke Building, Holyoke Square Salem, MA 01970. Phone: 617-745-9010.

Peaceful Persuasion: A Guide to Creating Mediation Dispute Resolution Programs for College Campuses. \$15.95 postpaid. From: University of Massachusetts Mediation Project, 425 Amity Street, Amherst, MA 01002.

VORP PLANS A GATHERING IN 1986

A third Annual VORP Gathering will be held on the campus of Valparaiso University July 13-16. The agenda will be a mix of practice and idea, workshops and roundtable discussions, and participants from both the private and public sectors. Contact the National VORP Resource Center, 106 North Franklin, Valparaiso, IN 46383 for more information. Phone: 219-464-1400.

* * *

CANADIAN NETWORK FOR COMMUNITY JUSTICE

In late 1985 The Network for Community Justice and Conflict Resolution became a reality in Canada. Its formation was spearheaded by Community Justice Initiatives in Kitchener, Ontario. Funding for the project includes a commitment of \$34,000 each from the Canadian Justice Department and the Solicitor General, as well as \$5,000 from the Mennonite Central Committee.

The Network will foster community response to crime and conflict that attempt, wherever possible, to bring restoration and reconciliation to individuals and groups affected by conflict. Dean Peachey serves as coordinator; Cathy Skeen as Resource center Manager. Address: 298 Frederick Street, Kitchener, Ontario N2H 2N5 Canada Phone: 519-744-6549



THE NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS TASK FORCE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE

NITFCJ and the National People of Color Task Force on Criminal Justice met jointly in January. NPCTFCJ named Erma Gaines, Ricardo Sanchez, and Matthew Stephens to the Steering Committee. Margaret Woods has been named as coordinator for NPCTFCJ. Her address is: 592 North 6th Street, # 6B, Newark, NJ 07107.

The Task Force meets three times a year and serves as a clearinghouse for the exchange of ideas and resources. Its five "Key Issue" Groups reported the following plans:

1) POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY - Convenor: Mary Powers, Citizens Alert, 407 S. Dearborn Chicago, IL 60605. Phone: 312-663-5392

Goals:

- establish a national network for accountability in law enforcement
- stimulate public education and awareness of excessive and deadly force
- advocate training programs which de-escalate the potential for violence
- examine models of police chaplaincy
- serve as a collection and distribution point for information
- examine the role of media in communities troubled by excessive violence
- collect information on the problem of suicides in holding facilities
- invite the families of victims of police abuse to share information
- publish material on deadly force for bulletin inserts in churches.

2) PRIVATIZATION OF PRISONS - Convenor: Stan Kano, Creative Options, 7600 Wayzata Blvd., Golden Valley, MN 05760

Goal:

- to help the religious community assess and influence the debate about privatization and "prisons for profit."

Kano emphasized that NITFCJ's major concern is about "prisons for profit." It's possible that some contracts in the non-profit sector could have a creative influence on improving conditions and in structuring release programs in which prisoners obtain needed skills and services. The following list of questions was developed by Al Wengerd for use in assessment:

Political Issues - Will prisons become controlled by special interest groups (persons with financial investments) rather than public interest?

- Will public employees be willing to give up their civil service positions and benefits?
- Will the private sector only accept the most "profitable" inmate--who needs the least medical treatment, therapy, education, etc.?
- Will it remove prisons another step away from public control and public accountability?

Legal Issues - If states delegate both authority and responsibility to the private sector, ultimate liability will still rest with elected officials. How will they maintain responsibility without control?

- How can the issue of security and public safety be delegated?
- If the civil rights of an individual are violated, can the private vendor be liable for monetary damages?

Financial Issues - Will privately owned and operated prisons in the end be less expensive? What is the experience of private hospitals, for example?

- What are the hidden costs to government for contracting with a corporation? (Unemployment, bankruptcy, etc.)
- Is private financing more desirable than public in building prisons?
- Will private financing be used to sidestep public objection to building new prisons and acquiring greater public debt?

Moral Issues - Should there be profit from other's intentionally inflicted pain?

- Is there an inherent conflict between profit and mercy?
- Is it ethical to gain profit from less job security, less retirement benefits and less financial security for employees?
- Does inmate labor in a private corporation constitute slavery? (Forced labor for the profit of another)
- Doesn't this miss the central objection that for the most part prisons are useless and ineffective for social control or personal reform?
- Is there a difference between contracting for specific services within a public institution and contracting for an entire institution including custody, medical

care, etc.? What about use of force?

- What implications would such a change have for religious presence in an institution, particularly on chaplaincy?

- Would there be any incentive to being "effective" in rehabilitating an offender since it would reduce the number of future "clients?"

Miscellaneous Issues - What can we learn from the recent trends in the medical industry--government and insurance companies limiting profits?

- What is the track record of large, privately owned corporations in relationship to human rights--here and in third world countries?

- What issues are resolved if the corporations is non-profit?

- What incentive could be written into the contract to guarantee early release of prisoners?

3) DEATH PENALTY - Convenor: Bob Gross, P.O. Box 600, Liberty Mills, IN 46946

Goal:

- to serve both NITFCJ and the National Coalition Against the Death Penalty in providing resources and educational material, developing curricula, gathering theological resources, and linking groups working from religious bases in local communities.

4) CONCILIATION - Convenor: Jim Stephens, 8371 Suzanne, Detroit, MI 48234

Goals:

- to extend the work of the Interfaith Conciliation Center and to assist it in raising questions on the ethics of mediation of family disputes, power inequities between disputing parties, and "pacification" of the poor and people of color.

- to promote attendance by persons from the religious community at the Denver NCPCR and to disseminate papers of particular interest to religious groups.

- develop conciliation training for clergy and chaplains.

5) COMMUNICATIONS AND MEDIA - Convenor: Ricardo Sanchez, 1819 Blanco, San Antonio, TX 78212

Goal:

- to highlight the work of the Task Force through preparation of a press kit, promotion of Key Issue Group work,

preparation of articles for Grapevine and other religious publications, inviting local persons to a portion of each Task Force meeting, and publishing Criminal Justice Update three times a year.

* * *

WORKSHOP ON SYSTEMIC ANALYSIS

In preparation for the Task Force's Workshop on Systemic Analysis, scheduled for May 12 and 13, Lois Kirkwood presented an introduction to required readings and to the primary resource: Henriot and Holland's Social Analysis: Linking Faith and Justice. The perspective of these authors is that Western societies are facing crises because:

(1) their secularization cuts them off from their religious roots of creativity. Western ideologies especially marginalize the religions and culture of indigenous peoples.

(2) the religious stance they do adopt fails/fears to understand the prophetic stance; it is pietistic, private, or oppressive.

People of faith, then, are challenged to be open to the divine roots of creative energy and to the possibility of transformation of social life and structures. In asking itself how it, its Key Issue Group members, and the religious community across the country can best approach transforming the way we think about and act on crime and criminal justice, the Task Force--in its May meeting--will analyze:

(1) the explicit/implicit values of the criminal justice system,

(2) who is benefitted by its structures,

(3) who is disvalued by its structures.

* * *

1986 CONVOCATION ON JAIL & PRISON MINISTRY

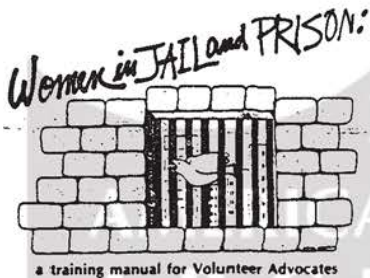
Preliminary publicity lists the 1986 convocation for jail and prison ministers for Detroit, April 21-25. Dr. Ben Chavis, who was recently named as head of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, will be keynote speaker. For information: Team for Justice, 1035 St. Antoine, Detroit MI 48226.



RESOURCES

BULK COPIES AT BARGAIN PRICE!! The following issues of Grapevine: "From Conflict to Conciliation" (Vol. 14 No. 9, Apr. 83); "Violence and Vengeance" (Vol. 15 No. 9, Apr. 84); "Sanctuary--Issue for the 80's?" (Vol. 16 No. 6, Jan. 85); and "Violence Against Asians" (Vol. 16 No. 9, Apr. 85) are available @ \$1.75 per 50 copies, postpaid. Payment must accompany order. From: Clara Merritt at JSAC's address below.

Written by Connie Baugh of Citizen Advocates for Justice and produced by the Justice for Women Program of the National Council of Churches, this attractive manual includes:



current data on women in prison; resources on how to organize local programs, train volunteers and leaders, and biblical materials to sustain the involvement of religious persons. \$7.50, postpaid, from: Elizabeth Scott, Room 572, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115.

Contact the ACLU, P.O. Box 437, Atlanta GA 30301, for the report of a March 6-8, 1986 conference on community strategies for fighting crime in the 1980's. Persons from a wide spectrum of private and public groups met to "Redefine the Crime Debate" and to work together to reduce crime.

In September of 1971 New York's Attica prison was the scene of a riot in which 39 persons were killed. In The Turkey Shoot former N.Y. State Prosecutor Malcolm Bell tells the full story of Attica and the massive coverup which followed. William Sloane Coffin says, "Caring Americans should read what this eminently caring American, Malcolm Bell, has written." \$21.50 postpaid, from: Grove Press, Dept. TBR, 196 W. Houston St., New York, NY 10014.



Arlene Carmen and Howard Moody write about their ministry with prostitutes in Working Women. Harvey Cox recommends it: "The writers describe the women with whom they lived and worked with humor, and without either romanticising or degrading 'the life.' This is not a book for specialists or reformers, but for anyone ready to test his or her prejudices." Toll-free order number at Harper & Row: 800-638-3030.

Dealing with Incest: A Portfolio for Those Working With Victims, Offenders & Families \$20.00 Canadian. From: Community Justice Resource Center, 298 Frederick St. Kitchener, Ontario N2H 2N5, Canada.

The November issue of Media and Values focuses on violence and sexual violence in the mass media. It includes a summary of the National Council of Churches' study. \$3.00. From: 1962 S. Shenandoah, Los Angeles, CA 90034.

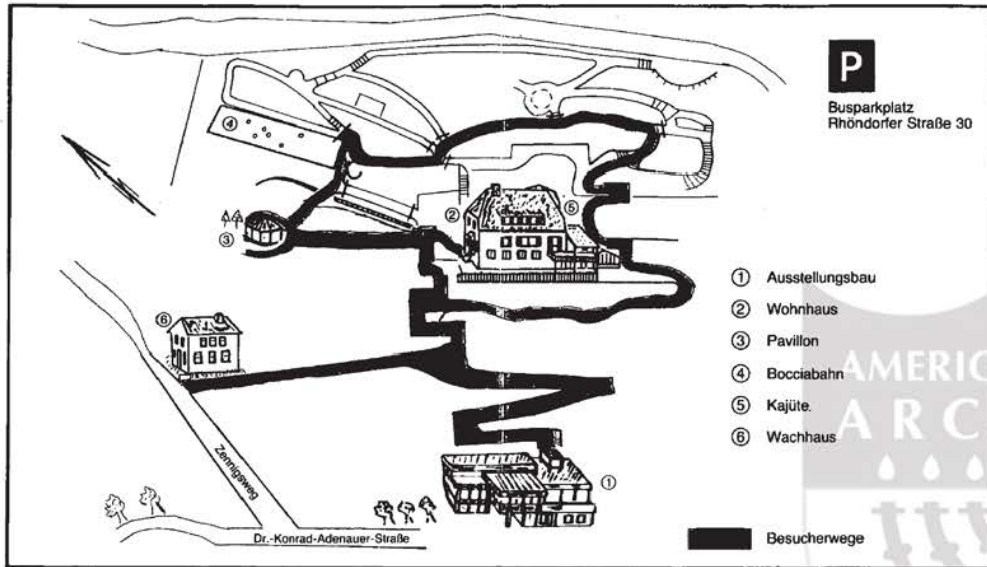
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UPDATE Criminal Justice is published three times a year by the National Interreligious Task Force on Criminal Justice. NITFCJ is the criminal justice program unit of the Joint Strategy and Action Committee, Inc. (JSAC) and the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA (NCCC). Editor: Virginia Mackey, Phone: 716-232-6446



ursprünglich eine Terrasse, die später überdacht und in das Haus einbezogen wurde. In diesem Raum, in dem Adenauer zu frühstücken pflegte, hängen ein von Winston S. Churchill gemaltes Bild einer antiken Tempelruine und ein Landschaftsgemälde Dwight D. Eisenhowers, das er dem Bundeskanzler bei seinem Abschied als Oberkommandierender der NATO-Streitkräfte in Europa schenkte. — Im ersten Stock des Hauses, über dem Eßzimmer gelegen und für Besucher nur von außen einzusehen, sind das Arbeitszimmer des Kanzlers und daneben das Schlafzimmer, in dem er am 19. April 1967 starb. — Den Pavillon, dessen Bau er während seines letzten Urlaubs als Bundeskanzler geplant hatte, bezog Adenauer im Frühjahr 1964. Hier schrieb er, umgeben von geschichtlichen und politischen Büchern, seine „Erinnerungen“, ungestört von der Außenwelt, mit der er nur durch ein Haustelefon verbunden war. Persönlich gewidmete Fotos von Staatsmännern, Winston Churchill und John Foster Dulles unter ihnen, hatte sich der Kanzler hier aufgestellt, eine von Nikita Chruschtschow geschenkte zierliche Lack-

schatulle und zahlreiche Kunstbildbände, in denen er während der Memoirenarbeit häufig blätterte. Drei Bände der „Erinnerungen“ und die Fragmente des vierten und letzten Bandes sind hier entstanden.

Das Grab des Kanzlers befindet sich auf dem Rhöndorfer Waldfriedhof, etwa 15 Gehminuten von der Gedenkstätte entfernt. Es wurde 1948 nach dem Tod seiner zweiten Frau Gussie als Familiengrabstätte angelegt und nach den eigenen Wünschen Konrad Adenauers gestaltet.

Der Erwerb dieses Prospekts berechtigt zum Besuch der Gedenkstätte. Die Besucher anerkennen damit die Bestimmungen der Besucherordnung.

Gedenkstätte

»Stiftung Bundeskanzler-Adenauer-Haus«

Am 19. Dezember 1967 schlossen die sieben Kinder Bundeskanzler Adenauers mit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland einen Vertrag zur Errichtung der Gedenkstätte „Stiftung Bundeskanzler-Adenauer-Haus“. Dieser Stiftung, deren Kuratoriumsmitglieder vom Bundespräsidenten berufen werden, vermachten die Erben Dr. Adenauers das Rhöndorfer Grundstück mit dem Wohnhaus und den beweglichen Nachlaß des Bundeskanzlers. Zweck der Stiftung ist, das Anden-



ken an den deutschen Staatsmann und verdienten Europäer Dr. Konrad Adenauer zu bewahren, eine Gedenkstätte einzurichten und die Hinterlassenschaft des Kanzlers zu verwalten und soweit möglich der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen. So dienen Haus und Garten Adenauers und der unterhalb errichtete Ausstellungsbau der Aufgabe, Leben und Wirken Konrad Adenauers vor dem zeitgeschichtlichen Hintergrund seines Lebens zu verdeutlichen und damit zugleich vier Epochen deutscher Geschichte dem Besucher näherzubringen. Die ausgestellten Manuskripte, Originalschriftstücke, Urkunden, Orden u. ä. gehören zu dem Nachlaß Konrad Adenauers.

Die Stiftung ist mit Wirkung vom 1. Dezember 1978 eine bundesunmittelbare Stiftung des öffentlichen Rechts.

Stiftung Bundeskanzler- Adenauer-Haus



Dem Andenken an den deutschen Staatsmann und verdienten Europäer Dr. Konrad Adenauer

Öffnung der Gedenkstätte:
dienstags bis sonntags: 10–16.30 Uhr
an **allen** Montagen geschlossen

Rhöndorf, Dr.-Konrad-Adenauer-Straße 8 c, 5340 Bad Honnef 1
☎ (0 22 24) 67 31 / 63 40

Konrad Adenauer

Konrad Adenauer wurde am 5. Januar 1876 als Sohn eines Gerichtssekretärs in Köln geboren. Er besuchte das dortige Apostelgymnasium und studierte in Freiburg, München und Bonn Rechtswissenschaft. Als Beigeordneter der Stadt Köln begann er 1906 seine kommunalpolitische Tätigkeit; drei Jahre später wurde er Erster Beigeordneter und 1917 Oberbürgermeister seiner Heimatstadt. Bis zum Frühjahr 1933 übte Adenauer dieses Amt aus, seit 1921 gleichzeitig als Präsident des Preußischen Staatsrates. Dann entfernten die Nationalsozialisten den prominenten Zentrumspolitiker aus seinem Amt. Adenauer hielt sich ein Jahr in der Benediktinerabtei Maria Laach verborgen. 1934 zog er mit seiner Familie nach Berlin. Dort wurde er im Zusammenhang mit dem „Röhm-Putsch“ vorübergehend verhaftet; er übersiedelte mit Frau und Kindern 1935 nach Rhöndorf. Er war in erster Ehe mit Emma Weyer, nach deren Tod im Jahre 1916 mit Auguste Zinsser verheiratet, die 1948 starb. Aus beiden Ehen hatte Adenauer sieben Kinder, drei Töchter und vier Söhne. In Rhöndorf verlebte er die Zeit der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft, zwischendurch aus seiner neuen Heimat und dem Regierungsbezirk Köln ausgewiesen und 1944 für drei Monate in Gestapohaft. Die Amerikaner setzten nach ihrem Einmarsch in Köln im März 1945 Adenauer als Oberbürgermeister der zerstörten Stadt ein, die Engländer entließen ihn im Oktober des gleichen Jahres „wegen Unfähigkeit“ und verboten ihm jede politische Tätigkeit. Adenauer konnte die Aufhebung dieses Verbotes erreichen und wurde 1946 zum Vorsitzenden der CDU der britischen Zone gewählt. Weitere Stationen seines politischen Wirkens waren die Mitgliedschaft im Zonenbeirat der britischen Besatzungszone und im Landtag von Nordrhein-Westfalen. Der Parlamentarische Rat, der am 1. September 1948 zur Beratung eines Grundgesetzes für die drei westlichen Besatzungszonen zusammentrat, entschied sich für Adenauer als seinen Präsidenten, ein Jahr darauf wurde er als Kandidat einer Koalition aus CDU/CSU, FDP und DP zum Bundeskanzler der Bundesrepublik gewählt. Noch drei weitere Male wurde Adenauer in diesem Amt bestätigt, bis er am 15. Oktober 1963 zurücktrat. Von 1950 bis 1966 war er Parteivorsitzender der CDU; bei den Wahlen im Herbst 1965 wurde er zum 5. Male in den Bundestag gewählt. Mitten aus seiner Tätigkeit als Abgeordneter und über der Arbeit an den „Erinnerungen“ starb Konrad Adenauer am 19. April 1967 nach einer kurzen Erkrankung in seinem Rhöndorfer Haus.

Die Politik Adenauers

Als Konrad Adenauer am 15. September 1949 zum Bundeskanzler gewählt wurde, war Deutschland noch ein unter Besatzungsverwaltung stehendes Land, und die sowjetische Besatzungsmacht verfolgte den Plan, ganz Deutschland in ihren Einflußbereich und in ihr gesellschaftspolitisches System einzubeziehen. Wenn das nicht gelänge, wollte sie wenigstens ihre eigene Besatzungszone auch um den Preis einer immerwährenden Teilung des Landes fest in der Hand behalten.

In dieser Situation setzte Adenauer sich das Ziel, dem Volk in Westdeutschland die eben wiedergewonnene Freiheit zu erhalten, ihm die staatliche Selbständigkeit wiederzugewinnen und es zum festen Bestandteil einer Gemeinschaft der freien europäischen Nationen zu machen. Der erste Schritt auf diesem Wege mußte sein, das Vertrauen der Welt wiederzugewinnen. Das strebte Adenauer mit Erfolg an, indem er einerseits freimütig anerkannte, daß das nationalsozialistische Regime im deutschen Namen verbrecherische Politik betrieben habe, andererseits aber betonte, daß kein Sieger das Recht besitze, ein besiegtes Volk kollektiv zu bestrafen oder gar ihm das Recht auf Selbstbestimmung auf Dauer zu verweigern. Kernpunkt für die Schaffung einer politischen Gemeinschaft der europäischen Nationen war die Aussöhnung zwischen den „Erbfeinden“ Deutschland und Frankreich.

Dafür bildete die 1951 errichtete „Europäische Gemeinschaft für Kohle und Stahl“ das Fundament. Die erste Etappe der Adenauerschen Politik war erreicht mit der „Deklaration“ der Souveränität der Bundesrepublik am 5. Mai 1955, mit Deutschlands Beitritt zur NATO und zur Westeuropäischen Union sowie mit der Errichtung der supranational konzipierten Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft im Jahre 1957.

Da eine Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands in politischer

Freiheit nicht möglich war, wollte Adenauer wenigstens die völkerrechtliche Sanktionierung der Teilung des Landes verhindern. Außerdem versuchte er immer wieder zu erreichen, daß den Deutschen in der DDR mehr politische Freiheit gewährt würde. Diese Politik begann er mit seiner Reise nach Moskau im Herbst 1955, mit der er die Freilassung von Tausenden deutscher Kriegsgefangener erlangte, und der Aufnahme der diplomatischen Beziehungen zur Sowjetunion. Später hat er sich zwischen 1958 und 1963 in zähen diplomatischen Verhandlungen mit Chruschtschow bemüht, für die Deutschen in der DDR menschliche und politische Erleichterungen zu erreichen, auch um den Preis, daß eine befriedigende Regelung der gesamtdeutschen Frage zurückgestellt würde.



Gegenüber den Völkern Osteuropas hat Adenauer der Wille zur Aussöhnung ebenso wenig gefehlt wie gegenüber unseren Nachbarn im Westen und gegenüber Israel, mit dem er 1952 einen umfassenden Wiedergutmachungsvertrag abschloß. Eine Politik der Verständigung war jedoch in Osteuropa solange nicht möglich, als unter Sta-

lins Politik und deren Nachwirkungen die Staaten des Ostblocks fest an die Sowjetunion gebunden waren, die einen Frieden in Europa ausschließlich zu ihren Bedingungen haben wollte.

Die Innenpolitik der Kanzlerzeit Adenauers war durch den politischen und wirtschaftlichen Wiederaufbau gekennzeichnet, der die Voraussetzung für die Entwicklung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zum freiheitlichen, demokratischen Rechtsstaat bildete. Lastenausgleichs- und Wiedergutmachungsgesetze, sozialer Wohnungsbau und dynamische Altersrente können nur stellvertretend für zahlreiche andere Leistungen erwähnt werden, die von einer Politik der praktischen Vernunft, christlicher Humanität und nüchternem selbstbewußten Bürgersinn hervorgebracht wurden.

Das Adenauer-Haus

Vorbei am ehemaligen Wachhaus der für den Schutz des Bundeskanzlers zuständigen Beamten führt der historische Weg 58 Stufen hoch durch den am steilen Hang angelegten Garten zum Wohnhaus Konrad Adenauers. 1937 ließ der seines Amtes enthobene Kölner Oberbürgermeister Adenauer das Haus bauen und schleppte selbst die Steine für die Terrassen des Gartens. Er pflanzte Kirsch-, Apfelbäume und Quitten, die mit den später hinzugekommenen Sträuchern und Bäumen dem Garten sein heutiges Aussehen geben: Wacholderbäume, Rhododendren, Kameliensträucher und Azaleen, eine japanische Sumpfzypresse, dazu viele Steinpflanzen, Tulpen und vor allem Rosen, Adenauers liebste Blumen. Bis zuletzt gestaltete und ergänzte der Kanzler seinen Garten, dessen Blüten, Blätter, Brunnen und Skulpturen ihn ebenso freuten wie die 1959 angelegte Bocciabahn, auf der der Kanzler regelmäßig spielte.

Das Wohnhaus Dr. Konrad Adenauers hat nie der politischen Repräsentation gedient. Es war nicht für solche Ansprüche gebaut und, noch wichtiger, der Kanzler wollte die große Politik von seinem Haus fernhalten. Hier widmete er sich seiner Familie, hier suchte er Erholung und Entspannung nach den aufreibenden Tagen im Bonner Palais Schaumburg und im Parlament. — Durch eine schmale Diele, in der ein Holzschnitt der Stadt Köln von 1646 und eine große Standuhr auffallen — der Kanzler pflegte sie jeden Tag selbst aufzuziehen —, betritt man das Musikzimmer. An den Wänden alte Gemälde aus dem Familienbesitz von Adenauers erster Frau, auf einer Kommode ein großer, ungeschliffener Amethyst mit einem Kreuz, ein Geschenk Papst Pauls VI., und eine mächtige, jahrtausendealte Bodenvase, die Erzbischof Makarios dem Kanzler geschenkt hat. — Ein herrlicher Blick auf die Rheinlandschaft bietet sich beim Betreten des Wohnzimmers, wo im August 1949 die für die künftige Koalitionsbildung entscheidende Besprechung führender CDU- und CSU-Politiker stattfand; sie blieb die einzige politische Konferenz in diesem Hause, wengleich Adenauer manchen bedeutenden politischen Besucher hier privat empfangen hat. Auch da sind Gemälde, dazu eine 1950 gegossene Bronzestatuette des Kanzlers und die Nachbildung des Schwertes Karls V., die dem Kanzler bei seiner letzten großen Reise im Februar 1967 in Spanien überreicht worden war. — An das Wohnzimmer schließen an der Südseite des Hauses das EBzimmer und die von Adenauer so benannte Kajüte an,

THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN
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Marc Tannenbaum

1/13/86

December 31, 1985

To: Administrative Council of the Jacob Blaustein Institute
for the Advancement of Human Rights

From: Richard Maass, Chair

Administrative Council Meeting
Monday, January 13, 1986
11:30 A.M. - 3:30 P.M.

Attached are the agenda and background materials for our meeting. We will be discussing a variety of interesting and significant proposals, as well as developments with respect to ongoing JBI projects.

We intend to pay particular attention to the JBI planning process for the longer range and, therefore, after the financial report we will turn immediately to consideration of possible future projects. The Administrative Council will be asked for its expression of interest in having JBI staff develop the proposal ideas. No specific funds for these projects are requested at this time. (See agenda Section II.) This category of proposals offers the Administrative Council an opportunity to participate creatively in strategic planning for future JBI work. This will aid staff in transmitting guidelines to potential grantees as to how we would like their work to be shaped.

Next on the agenda (Section III) will be consideration of proposals on which specific funding requests are being made now. These deal with a range of areas of concern to JBI, including human rights education, combatting anti-Semitism, humanitarian matters and the promotion of knowledge about human rights concepts and institutions.

The meeting will conclude with reports on recent JBI activities and follow-up plans for any new business.

I do hope you will be able to attend this Council session to let us have the benefit of your thinking about current issues facing the JBI as well as its future programs. If you have not already sent back your reply form, please call Phyllis Sherman (751-4000, Ext. 222) to let us know whether you plan to join us.

Best wishes for a happy and healthy New Year.

Richard

RM:mb
85-900-54

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THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Administrative Council Meeting
Monday, January 13, 1986
11:30 A.M.-3:30 P.M.

AGENDA

- I. FINANCIAL REPORT
- II. DECISIONS ON POSSIBLE FUTURE PROGRAMS (No funds requested at this time)
- A. Religious Liberty: Implementation of JBI-Temple U. Conference
 - 1. Establishment of Documentation and Information Center on Religious Liberty (Institute on Religion and Democracy)
 - 2. Creation of a Christian-Jewish-Muslim religious dialogue (Prof. Swidler)
 - B. Latin America: Colloquium on the Jewish Dimension of Repression in Argentina under Military Rule, 1976-83 (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Dr. Edy Kaufman)
 - C. Middle East Human Rights Course Guide (Mala Tabory)
 - D. Human Rights and Specific Groups in Society: Women, Aged, Children and Youth
 - E. Meeting of Experts Preparatory to 1986 Review Conference on Compliance with the Helsinki Accords (Aspen Institute and Helsinki Watch)
 - F. Use of the Drug Trade by Governments and Guerilla Organizations as an Instrument of Domestic and International Policy (Dr. Rachel Ehrenfeld)
- III. DECISIONS ON PROPOSALS
- A. NYU Law School-JBI Cooperative Research Relationship: Blaustein Fellows in Human Rights
Request for \$10,000 per annum for 3 years
 - B. Human Rights and Famine in Ethiopia (Cultural Survival, Inc.)
Request for \$35,390
 - C. Interpretation and Dissemination Worldwide of Report on Current Anti-Semitism (Minority Rights Group)
Request for \$5,000

Over --

- D. History of Human Rights Institutions (International Academy of Human Rights -- Karel Vasak)

Request for \$20,000

- E. Blaustein Fellows to the 1986 Summer Session at the International Institute of Human Rights in Strasbourg

Request for \$2,500 (5 fellows at \$500 each)

- F. New Outlook: "State of the Nation" Annual Report (Israel)

Request for \$30,000

IV. REPORTS ON ONGOING PROJECTS

V. NEW BUSINESS



THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Summary of Income and Expenses
1985 and 1986

	<u>Actual</u> <u>1/1-10/31/85</u>	<u>Projected</u> <u>11/1-12/31/85</u>	<u>Projected</u> <u>1986</u>
Funds Carried Over	118,004	96,428	54,938
Investment Income	92,822	12,178	105,000
Total Funds Available	<u>210,826</u>	<u>108,606</u>	<u>159,938</u>
Less Expenses	<u>114,398</u>	<u>53,668</u>	<u>108,788</u>
Balance	<u>96,428</u>	<u>54,938</u>	<u>51,150</u>

December 1985
85-900-50

THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Item I
Chart B

Budget and Expenses 1985 and 1986

	Balance 12/31/84	Apprvd. Budget 1985	Alloca- tion 1986*	Actual Expenses 1/1-10/31/85	Projected Expenses 11/1-12/31/85	Projected Expenses 1986*
American Bar Assn. Natl. Inst. H.R.	-	1,000	-	1,000	-	-
Assoc. for Civil Rights in Israel	-	15,000	-	15,000	-	-
Charta 77 Foundation (Proj. 1)	4,876	-	-	2,436	812	1,628
Charta 77 Foundation (Proj. 2)	1,400	-	-	550	850	-
Contr. Cmpgn. Delegit Israel (Tabory)	6,438	-	-	4,900	1,538	-
Cntr. Rpts. (Int. League for H.R.)	7,500	-	-	7,500	-	-
Genocide Study (Pechota)	-	5,000	-	1,250	1,875	1,875
Genocide Study - Cambodia (Hawk)	-	2,500	-	2,500	-	-
Guide to Sov. Crim. Law ...	500	-	-	-	500	-
Hum. Rgts. Ed. Proj. Coord.	2,000	-	-	-	-	2,000
H.R. Ed. Europe (Int. Inst. H.R.)	2,500	-	-	2,500	-	-
H.R. Lat. Am. (Inter-Amer. Inst.)	-	20,000	-	5,000	15,000	-
Index on Censorship	-	5,000	-	5,000	-	-
JBI Consultations (Meetings)	-	1,500	1,500	-	500	2,500
JBI Pamphlet Series (Publications)	1,405	15,000	8,000	7,994	4,411	12,000
Legal Briefs	4,953	-	-	-	-	4,953
NGO Policy Study	3,000	-	-	-	3,000	-
Pract. Manual on H.R. Law	1,950	-	-	-	-	1,950
Religion & H.R. (Columbia)	5,302	-	-	1,500	1,000	2,802
Religious Intol. Fellows (Rutgers)	-	600	-	600	-	-
Religious Intol. (Odio-Benito)	-	14,000	-	14,000	-	-
Religious Intol. (Boston Col.)	12,000	-	-	-	-	12,000
Religious Intol. (Swidler)	20,000	-	-	6,500	13,500	-
Right to Leave (PAIL)	10,000	-	-	5,000	5,000	-
Sakharov Fellow (Clark '85)	10,000	-	10,000	-	-	20,000
Science & Tech. & H.R.	10,000	-	-	-	-	10,000
Soviet Dissidents, Volume on	600	-	-	600	-	-
Strasbourg Fellowships	-	2,500	2,500	2,500	-	2,500
Travel Expenses, JBI Staff	930	700	700	750	-	1,580
UN Tech. Asst. for H.R. (Alston)	-	6,000	-	3,000	-	3,000
Administration	-	10,000	10,000	7,652	2,348	10,000
Staff	-	20,000	20,000	16,666	3,334	20,000
	105,354	118,800	52,700	114,398	53,668	108,788

* Projects or Administrative Allocations that are fixed or likely to be continued in 1986.

For consideration by
JBI Admin. Council
January 13, 1986
Item II A

Possible Future Program

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY: IMPLEMENTATION OF JBI-TEMPLE UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE

Attached is a report on the highly successful JBI-Temple University Conference on Religious Liberty and Human Rights held November 3-8, 1985, in Haverford, Pennsylvania. The final statement of that Conference includes general and specific recommendations for further activity in this area by the UN, national governments, and non-governmental organizations.

One of the Conference recommendations is for the establishment of an international documentation and information center on religious liberty. Coincidentally, a few weeks after the Conference, we received a questionnaire from the Institute on Religion and Democracy regarding our interest in the establishment by them of an analogous center or clearinghouse.

We also received a letter (attached) from Professor Leonard Swidler on a possible follow-up effort to create a Christian-Jewish-Muslim religious dialogue involving top scholars from each religion.

The Administrative Council is asked for an expression of interest in having the JBI pursue proposals on either or both of these ideas.

No funds requested at this time.

The Institute on Religion and Democracy

729 15th STREET N.W., SUITE 900
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

II A
JBI: 1/13/86

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RECEIVED DEC 6 1985
Memo

To: Participants of International Conference on Religious Liberty,
April 15 - 16, 1985

From: Maria H. Thomas

Of the many suggestions made at the Conference on Religious Liberty in April of this year, the one most consistently heard was for more cooperation among the various excellent organizations working on the issue of religious freedom around the world. One idea was some sort of clearinghouse for information in the area. It was felt by many that the effectiveness of all could be increased with a greater degree of cooperation and networking among these groups.

We would welcome your comments and suggestions about setting up such a clearinghouse. Would you please fill out the enclosed questionnaire and mail it back to us as soon as possible?

The complete proceedings of the Conference have been published in the Spring 1985 issue of World Affairs magazine. Copies may be obtained by writing to World Affairs, 4000 Albemarle Street, NW, Washington, DC 20016.

Thank you.

(202) 393-3200

*The members of this board serve as individuals active in their own denominations, not as representatives of the institutions with which they are identified.

Questionnaire

1) What is your evaluation of the Religious Liberty Conference?

2) Would you and/or your organization be interested in being a member of a coalition of groups and individuals working in the religious liberty area?

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



3) Do you and/or your organization have information about abuses of religious liberty which you would be willing to share with others?

4) If a clearinghouse for information is set up, would you and/or your organization avail yourselves of the materials available?

5) Would you and/or your organization be willing to assist in organizing a local conference on religious liberty?



JOURNAL OF ECUMENICAL STUDIES

215-787-7714

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY (022-38)
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19122

Leonard Swidler, Editor

Paul Mojzes, Co-Editor

Nancy Krody, Managing Editor

November 21, 1985

Rabbi David Gordis, Executive Director
American Jewish Committee

Dear David,

Everyone involved in the conference on religious liberty that was cosponsored by the Jacob Blaustein Institute seems to feel that it was extremely successful (concluding document enclosed). I also gather from speaking with Shula Bahat that the presentation of Dr. Khalid Duran at your Miami meeting was also successful. Both of these successes prompt me to follow up on my earlier suggestion to you about AJC helping to sponsor a long-range, religious scholarly dialogue between Judaism, Christianity and Islam. This idea was discussed intensely during our religious liberty conference, especially by the four Muslim scholars--four of the best, critical-thinking Muslim scholars I know of (I believe Sidney Liskofsky will confirm this). You may want to run a two-track program by pursuing the more specifically contemporary political issues with the help of Khalid Duran and like-minded Muslim scholars with expertise in this area--he has indicated a willingness to do this to me. But underneath and beyond that there is the long-range religious three-way dialogue that needs to be pursued by the most creative scholars from the three traditions. We should not try here to be representative in the sense of also having representatives of the fundamentalists of each tradition participating--that move comes later, after creative breakthroughs have been attained, published, argued, etc. by the most open, creative, critical thinkers of each tradition going through an extended encounter. It is precisely this kind of approach in the 1950s in Germany between the best Catholic and Protestant theologians that led to the stunning breakthroughs at Vatican II led by the German Augustin Bea.

Let me be concrete in describing the kind of scholars I think need to be brought together--with names of possible candidates: Christians: Hans Kling, Gerard Sloyan, Paul van Buren, Monika Hellwig, John Cobb, Wilfred Cantwell Smith; Muslims: Khalid Duran, Mohamed Talbi, Riffat Hassan, Abdullahi El Naiem, Fazlur Rahman, Hasan Askari; Jews: Pinchas Lapide, Michael Wyschogrod, Michael Cook, Rivka Horwitz, Geza Vermes, Shermayahu Talmon. You will notice that I have included one woman scholar in each list; I think this is the minimum we can do in this regard (and each of these women are equally as creative, experienced and prestigious as the men).

David, I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Marc Tanenbaum, James Rudin, Sidney Liskofsky, Richard Maas and Shula Bahat because I have discussed this idea with them at greater or lesser length and I would like them to know that I have passed it on to you--you may wish to consult them about it sometime.

Yours in hutzpah,

Leonard
Leonard Swidler

**Report on Jacob Blaustein Institute Conference
on Religious Liberty and Human Rights
November 3-8, 1985**

Religious intolerance has always been a primary concern of the American Jewish Committee and a key program focus of the Jacob Blaustein Institute. The recent Conference on Religious Liberty and Human Rights, co-sponsored with Temple University's Religion Department, is the latest in a series of projects in this area planned and implemented by JBI Director Sidney Liskofsky. In 1974, JBI co-sponsored a Conference on Judaism and Human Rights with McGill University, Montreal and the Strasbourg-based International Institute of Human Rights (Cassin Foundation), which produced the book Essays on Human Rights, edited by David Sidorsky. In 1981, in association with Columbia University, JBI sponsored a colloquium on Religious Concepts and Human Rights, with the participation of leading foreign and American scholars. A book stemming from that colloquium is in preparation.

A major purpose of the recent conference was to contribute to the current study under the auspices of the UN Subcommission of Discrimination and Minorities of the dimensions and causes of religious intolerance worldwide. The study is mandated to propose remedial measures especially in the field of education. The choice of collaborating institutions for our conference (Temple University and the Journal of Ecumenical Studies) was made after extensive consideration.

The Conference's agenda encompassed five world religions and addressed the issue of intolerance from inter-state, intra-state, and intra-religion perspectives. In addition, it addressed situations in several countries at various stages of development. Participants came from 14 countries and spent six days in in-depth discussion about means to promote the principles enshrined in the 1981 UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief. The meeting benefitted, moreover, from the active participation of the UN's Special Rapporteur on religious intolerance, Ms. Elizabeth Odio-Benito, who called the seminar "invaluable" for her study, due for submission in 1986. Finally, it allowed for the establishing of links between participants, with suggestions for follow-up activities.

The Conference final statement (attached) includes principles for promoting religious pluralism, and specific recommendations directed toward international organizations, national governments, and non-governmental groups. These recommendations have been forwarded to interested parties, including UN officials, officials of national governments, leaders of various religious bodies and over 300 U.S.

religion editors. The statement was released on November 25, at an event marking both the UN's fortieth anniversary and the fourth anniversary of the passage of the 1981 Religious Intolerance Declaration, organized by the UN's Committee of Religious NGOs (a group of some forty-five national and international NGOs, which define their work as religious in nature). The commemorative meeting endorsed the specific Conference recommendation of urging the UN to declare November 25 "Religious Liberty Day," and subsequent meetings were held with UN diplomats to encourage submission of a resolution to this effect. The Religious NGOs also agreed to begin studying the JBI Conference proposal for a UN Convention on Religious Freedom.

The full proceedings of the Conference will be brought out in book form under the auspices of Temple University's Journal of Ecumenical Studies, probably in the spring of 1986. In addition to making an important research contribution to our understanding of religious intolerance internationally, the Conference encouraged international promotional and educational activity on religious liberty.

Some Highlights of the Conference Papers and Discussion

The Conference examined a broad range of country situations in which religious intolerance occurs. The papers dealt with the doctrines of each of five major world religions -- Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and Judaism.

UN Context

In her keynote address, UN Special Rapporteur Elizabeth Odio-Benito noted that, although her report to the UN Sub-Commission on Discrimination and Minorities is due in the summer of 1986, she had thus far received too few responses from national governments to her questionnaire on manifestations of religious intolerance, and inadequate assistance from the UN Centre for Human Rights.

Participants agreed that it was important to encourage governments to respond to Ms. Odio-Benito's questionnaire and to pressure the UN Centre to provide her with more assistance. JBI is working on both fronts. As of this writing a meeting has been held with a high official of the UN Human Rights Centre. The extensive attention paid to Ms. Odio-Benito's study in a public address to NGO's by UN Human Rights Centre Director, Dr. Kurt Herndl, suggests that the message was received.

Ms. Odio-Benito and other attendees stressed the vital role of non-governmental groups in providing objective information on religious intolerance, usually unavailable from governments, the human rights violators. Aware of the opportunity for JBI's input, we provided Ms. Odio-Benito with data on issues of religious intolerance relevant to Jews (e.g., Oberammergau material); subvented a study by law students working under the supervision of Prof. Roger Clark of global manifesta-

tions of religious intolerance; and supplied Ms. Odio-Benito with a research assistant, in the person of a retired UN Human Rights Centre staff person.

U.S.S.R.

The excellent paper on the U.S.S.R. presented by Otto Luchterhand, the participant from West Germany (University of Cologne), summarized the condition and legal status of religious groups in the Soviet Union. It argued that there was little hope for amelioration of the Soviet regime's policy toward religious believers because it sees religion as fundamental threat to its official Marxist-Leninist ideology. The point was also made that the Soviet regime denies its people knowledge of many of the laws governing religion. This underscores the importance of efforts to guarantee the right of Soviet citizens to know their human rights, the topic of JBI's study of the subject and of initiatives to be undertaken, in consultation with us, by the International League for Human Rights at the 1986 Human Rights Commission session.

Coincidentally, Mr. Luchterhand is one of the organizers of a conference planned for March 19-21, 1986 on minority rights under Soviet and international law to be co-sponsored by AJC with the University of Cologne. The JBI Conference provided an opportunity for serious discussion with him about the German side's conception for the planned March meeting, which JBI staff is designing and will be participating in. Also, JBI grantee Hurst Hannum will participate in a projected conference session on the Right to Leave.

Muslim Fundamentalism

Four Islamic scholars participated in the Conference: Riffat Hassan (Pakistan), Mohammed Talbi (Tunisia), Khalid Duran (Morocco) and Abdulhial El Naiem (Sudan). They provided a fascinating portrait of developments in the Islamic world and expressed a wish for continued contact with AJC.

The Muslim participants analogized Islamic fundamentalism to a "raft" floating on the broad "river" of Islamic revival. Fundamentalism was just one element of the general tendency in Islamic countries to anchor Islamic law and tradition in daily life. The fundamentalists are articulate and sophisticated; both the quantity and quality of their propaganda bests that of ideological rivals, such as communist propagandists. Unfortunately, fundamentalist goals portend a drastic reduction of the rights of women and religious minorities in Islamic countries.

The Muslim participants claimed that there was a constituency of Muslims opposed, passively if not actively, to fundamentalism. They themselves outlined a vision of Islam which can have profound consequences for the Islamic world and its relations with its own religious minorities, with the West and with Israel.

One participant, who advocated a radical paradigm shift in Islamic thinking, distinguished between two phases in Mohammed's life. During the first, Mecca phase, Mohammed's writings and actions reflected a tolerant attitude toward Jews and non-Muslims. The second stage occurred during Mohammed's residence in Medina, when the rules of Islamic jurisprudence and indeed the structure of Islamic law were established. During this period Jihad came to mean holy war rather than simply "effort"; in addition, thinkers elaborated the specific precept of dar al Islam that negates acceptance of a Jewish sovereignty in the Middle East. According to this Medina-based doctrine, dar al-Islam must be redeemed by Islam, no matter the cost or effort involved.

If a paradigm shift could be achieved, the doctrine of Jihad and the subsidiary precept of dar al Islam would be obsolete, which would enable Muslims to accept Israel's fundamental right to exist. Unfortunately, according to some experts on Islam, the Muslim reformers currently have little or no political influence.

The Muslim participants differed on how to advance their liberalizing goals within the Muslim world. This was brought into sharp relief when a clear statement in favor of the freedom to change one's religion was proposed for inclusion in the Conference's final statement. A lively discussion ensued between two of the Muslim participants. One felt that it was desirable to take a firm, public stance in favour of this freedom. Another, who subscribed to the same objective, held that it was unrealistic, indeed counter-productive, to confront the Muslim public today on this issue, but that a low-key, long-term, oblique approach was the better strategy.

This disagreement was hardly academic. As reform-minded persons who live or have lived in Muslim states, some of the participants had the been subject of threats against themselves and their families; one actually been prosecuted and imprisoned.

One participant claimed that Israeli actions such as the raid on the PLO base in Tunis, in which numbers of Tunisians were killed, benefitted the Muslim fundamentalists enormously; so would a rise in the popularity of Kahane or Israeli "fundamentalists."

One Islamic country discussed at the Conference was the Sudan, where fundamentalists have a great deal of influence and want to use the country as a springboard for exporting "purified" Islam to other parts of Africa. The Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood is antagonistic toward Black non-Muslims in the south of the country, and some fundamentalists actually advocate northern secession in order to establish a strictly Islamic country. Exporting Islamic fundamentalism to Africa would cause severe internal upheaval in several African countries.

Other Country Situations

The South Korean presenter (U.S. educated) gave a quietly impassioned lecture. A leader of a Christian group in predominantly Confucian country, he claimed that the Christian minority (comprising about 25% of the population) is harassed regularly and its leaders occasionally imprisoned by the government, which sees Christian bodies as a political threat because of their advocacy of human rights. Although Christian leaders were even more anti-communist than the government because of a Korean communist massacre of 400 Christians in the 1950s, in his remarks the president attacked U.S. capitalism, U.S. corporations and the "military-industrial complex." The number of Korean Christians is growing and current government harassment is not abating.

The Hindu presenter, in discussion subsequent to his paper, depicted an India where the caste system -- no longer legally sanctioned -- is barely beginning to unravel in fact. He stressed the enormous impact that Western technology -- particularly television -- is having on ridding India of age-old traditions and social structures. He conceded that this rapid change could lead to an Ayatollah-like counter-reaction rather than greater democracy, given the fact that the new materialism brings no new moral and religious perspectives for coping with modern life.

The U.S. presenter spoke about anti-cult and anti-sect efforts that he felt threatened American religious liberty. Proposed Nebraska legislation would require religious groups to "register", a practice he analogized to Nazi "registration" of religious groups. "Shyster" lawyers, he said, are bringing suits against religious groups for allegedly not fulfilling promises made to adherents. And psychiatrists are pressing for laws that would give them the right to "license" persons offering religious counsel. These anti-cult efforts, he held, constitute a serious danger to religious liberty in America today.

Note on Distribution of the Conference Final Statement

Some 700 copies of the text of the Final Statement were conveyed to AJC constituency, government officials, religious and other NGOs, and the media. The following is a breakdown of the distribution:

- American Jewish Committee leadership and chapters (150)
- American religion editors and writers (330)
- National and international religious leaders (40)
- United Nations officials (10)
- United Nations ambassadors of countries active in promoting

Declaration on religious freedom (10)

U.S. officials concerned with international human rights fields (5)

Attendees at UN Religious NGO meeting (150)

Submitted by Allan L. Kagedan





TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

News Bureau, 301 University Services Bldg., Philadelphia, PA 19122

NEWS RELEASE

George Ingram, Director (215) 787-7476
Kathy Couliner, Director of Communications (215) 787-6507

EDITORS PLEASE NOTE: Leonard Swidler is available at 215-787-7251, and Sidney Liskofsky is available at 212-751-4000.

A group of scholars representing the world's major religions has asked the United Nations General Assembly to declare November 25 as "Religious Liberty Day" to help draw attention to global human rights problems and religious intolerance.

November 25 was chosen as the day of observance because on that date four years ago the UN passed a Declaration on Religious Intolerance.

The unusual request is one of 10 recommendations approved by Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Jews from 14 separate countries who gathered in suburban Philadelphia to discuss "Religious Liberty and Human Rights Between Nations, Within Nations and Within Religions" earlier this month.

The conference was sponsored by Temple University's religion department, its Journal of Ecumenical Studies and the Jacob Blaustein Institute for Advancement of Human Rights.

"When such days, months, years or even decades are designated by the UN, all kinds of organizations across the world--from tiny churches to large religious groups--can use the occasion to schedule educational and promotional events on the topic," says Sidney Liskofsky, executive director of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights.

Those attending heard a plea for more international attention to this problem from Elizabeth Odio-Benito, former Costa Rican Justice Minister who is conducting a global study of religious intolerance for the UN.

"The presumption that we have something to learn from the other religions and beliefs, and not just something to teach them, is the essence of dialogue," says Dr. Leonard Swidler, professor of religion at Temple and conference organizer.

(more)

add one/RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

"We are convinced that it is only with this dialogue attitude that we can ever hope to resolve the conflicts inside of religious and belief communities, between religions and beliefs and between nations."

A statement issued after the conference emphasized the need to move from religious tolerance to full religious liberty, "wherein freedom in religion and belief, including the decision to change or leave a religion, is recognized as a fundamental human right."

Conference scholars also insisted that "freedom from coercion within the religious community is as essential as is freedom from outside coercion."

Other major recommendations include:

1. Religious bodies at every level--local, national and international--should foster the spirit of tolerance, respect and dialogue within their own ranks and between their members and others of other faiths. Activities could include commemorating Nov. 25 through sermons, writings, public events and interreligious meetings.

2. Educational institutions and the mass media should assume an active role in educating society not only to tolerate others, but also to treat them with respect as equal human beings.

3. Non-governmental organizations should explore the establishment of an independent center to document and make available to the public information on current violations of religious liberty as defined by the 1981 UN Declaration.

4. Non-governmental organizations and independent experts should draft guidelines for a UN convention on the elimination of all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief.

For a complete copy of the statement of principles and recommendations, call Dr. Swidler at Temple at 215-787-7714 or write: Journal of Ecumenical Studies, 5th Floor, Anderson Hall, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122.

ljr-876

November 19, 1985



JOURNAL OF ECUMENICAL STUDIES

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

"Religious Liberty and Human Rights Between Nations, Within Nations, and Within Religions" was the subject of study and dialogue at a six-day conference at Haverford, Pennsylvania, November 3-8, 1985. Scholars of religion and kindred disciplines from five world religions, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism, gathered from fourteen countries on five continents. The conference was cosponsored by the Journal of Ecumenical Studies, the Religion Department of Temple University, and the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights.

The meeting, which coincided with the fourth anniversary of the United Nations General Assembly's passing in 1981 of a Declaration on Religious Intolerance, heard a plea for more international attention to this problem from Elizabeth Odio-Benito, the former Costa Rican Justice Minister, who is conducting a global study of religious intolerance for the United Nations.

An agreed statement issued by the conference pointed to the need to move from grudging religious tolerance to "full religious liberty," wherein freedom in religion and belief, including the decision to change or leave a religion or belief, is recognized as a fundamental human right.

The conference scholars also insisted that, "freedom from coercion within the religious or belief community is as essential as is freedom from outside coercion." Conference organizer, Leonard Swidler, editor of the Journal of Ecumenical Studies, and Professor in Temple University's Religion Department, reported, "According full religious liberty and human rights both inside and between religions is in fact in keeping with the central tenets of each of our religions-- on this we all agreed."

Where inconsistencies with full religious liberty for all still exist in teachings and practices, scholars from each religion or belief "should undertake the necessary research and reflection to resolve them," according to the statement.

"The fundamental mode of approaching members of our own and other religions and beliefs must be that of dialogue, that is, each speaking with the other pri-

marily to learn from the other," the statement read. "The presumption that we have something to learn from the other religions and beliefs, and not just something to teach them, is the essence of dialogue," said Swidler.

"We are convinced that it is only with this dialogue attitude that we can ever hope to resolve the conflicts inside of religious and belief communities, between religions and beliefs, and between nations," Swidler added.

The conference also issued a number of recommendations, including the urgent suggestion that "ways of establishing a continuing process of consultation" on religious liberty and "an independent center to document and to make available to the public information on current violations of religious liberty" be pursued.

Dissemination of documents on human rights, including religious liberty, and education on their meaning and implications were urged upon the United Nations, national governments, religious bodies, and other organizations. "Such ongoing educational activity by governments, religions, and other groups is absolutely vital if the U.N. declarations on human rights and religious liberty are not to remain dead letters," said Sidney Liskofsky, Executive Director of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, based in New York City.

Also recommended was the drafting of a legally binding international Convention on religious liberty to fully implement the 1981 U. N. Declaration on the "Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief," and the promotion of full religious liberty.

The conference also urged that the United Nations declare November 25th "Religious Liberty Day" in commemoration of the passage of that 1981 U. N. declaration on religious liberty.

The full text issued by the conference is attached.



JOURNAL OF ECUMENICAL STUDIES

215-787-7714

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY (022-38)
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19122

Leonard Swidler, *Editor*

Paul Mojzes, *Co-Editor*

Nancy Krody, *Managing Editor*

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Principles

From November 3 to 8, 1985, we scholars of religion and kindred disciplines from five world religions--Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism--coming from fourteen countries on five continents, met in Haverford, Pennsylvania, to discuss "Religious Liberty and Human Rights Between Nations, Within Nations, and Within Religions," cosponsored by the Journal of Ecumenical Studies, the Religion Department of Temple University, and the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, New York. We came to the following agreed understandings:

We are convinced that human society must move beyond mere religious toleration, by which other religious beliefs and practices are grudgingly allowed, to full religious liberty: Wherein both the free choice and practice of religion or belief and the decision to change or leave a religion or belief are held to be fundamental human rights, and members of all religions and beliefs treat each other with full respect as equal fellow human beings. Full religious liberty includes freedom not only from outside coercion or suppression on account of religion or belief, but also from the suppression or restriction of human rights inside each particular religious or belief community. This freedom from coercion within the religious or belief community is as essential as is freedom from outside coercion.

We are convinced that the way each religion and belief teaches its own members to treat fellow members who think differently than they do will tend to carry over in the treatment of members of other religions and beliefs. Hence, it is imperative that all religions and beliefs school their members to accord all others, both within and outside of their ranks, the full human integrity, dignity, and religious liberty they claim for themselves. Moreover, the fundamental integrity of all religions and beliefs demands consistency and reciprocity by extending the same level of religious liberty to adherents of other religions and beliefs that they expect for their own members.

We are convinced that, because religious liberty as a human right is a modern phenomenon which has its origin in the political developments that led to a distinction--not a separation--between religion and the political order, each religion must provide a theological response to this challenge reflecting its own traditions and values. Because we are convinced that in affirming full religious liberty Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Muslims, and Jews, among others, act in accordance with the central tenets of their respective faiths, where some traditional teachings and practices of religion or belief are inconsistent with the affirmation of full religious liberty for all, scholars of each religion or belief should undertake the necessary research and reflection to resolve them.

Finally, we are convinced that the fundamental mode of approaching members of one's own and other religions and beliefs must be that of dialogue, that is, each speaking with the other primarily to learn from the other. It is only with such a dialogue attitude that we can come to really understand members of our own and other religions and beliefs and live with them as true neighbors, each in full religious freedom.

Recommendations

To promote these principles, we endorse generally the conclusions and recommendations of the U. N. Seminar on the Encouragement of Understanding, Tolerance, and Respect in Matters Relating to Freedom of Religion or Belief (Geneva, Switzerland, December 3-14, 1984). Specifically, we recommend that:

1. The participants in the present Colloquium seek ways to establish a continuing process of consultation and study in regard to questions of religious liberty, such as (a) the role that regional human rights institutions can play in the effort to eliminate intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief and to promote full religious liberty, and (b) the relationship between religious intolerance, racial or ethnic or sexual discrimination, and political conflict.
2. (a) Non-governmental organizations should explore the possibility of establishing, individually or cooperatively, an independent center to document and make available to the public information on current violations of religious liberty and manifestations of intolerance in matters of religion or belief, at a minimum as defined in the 1981 U. N. Declaration on this subject. (Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly, November 25, 1981, in resolution 36/55.)
3. Non-governmental organizations and independent experts should draft guidelines

for a U. N. convention on the elimination of all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief and the promotion of full religious liberty, including in the draft, at a minimum, the principles and rules of the 1981 U. N. Declaration.

4. The U. N. General Assembly should declare November 25th "Religious Liberty Day" to mark the day it adopted the 1981 Declaration and to serve as focus and stimulus for educational and promotional activity in support of its principles.

5. The U. N. should urge all governments to disseminate widely in their countries and in their national languages, especially governments whose languages are official languages of the United Nations, the text of the 1981 Declaration, as well as the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and other international instruments that relate to religious liberty, intolerance, and discrimination. They should draw them to the attention, in particular, of civil servants, including judges, magistrates, and lawyers, and any other officials whose duties might involve the protection of religious freedom.

6. States should review their constitutions and laws to ensure that freedom of religion or belief as provided in the aforementioned international documents is adequately safeguarded. In addition, they should examine the possibility of establishing national institutions, or designating existing ones, with the responsibility of promoting religious liberty, and of creating training programs for appropriate officials on ways to combat religious discrimination and to promote religious liberty.

7. Educational institutions and the mass media should assume an active role in educating society not only to tolerate others, but also to treat them with full respect as equal fellow human beings in a spirit of dialogue, in regard both to inter-religious relationships and intergroup relationships generally.

8. Religious bodies at every level--local, national, and international--should foster the spirit of tolerance, respect, and dialogue within their own ranks and between their members and those of other faiths. Activities to this end should include, among others, dissemination of the text of the 1981 Declaration in local languages; participation by clergy and lay leaders in commemorating November 25th as "Religious Liberty Day" through sermons, writings, or public events, and holding interreligious dialogues on the significance of the 1981 Declaration and ways to promote it.

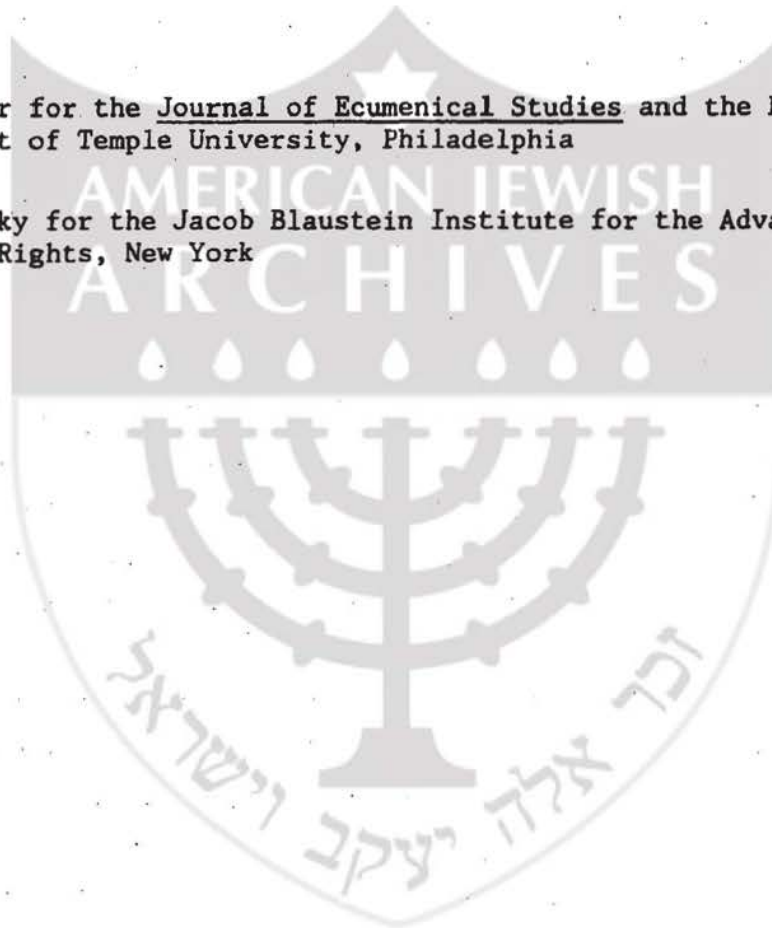
9. The U. N. Centre for Human Rights should continue and should upgrade its Advisory Services in techniques of legislation, education, or information to enable states and other relevant bodies that request them to enhance their efforts to promote religious freedom.

10. The study on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination

Based on Religion or Belief mandated by the U. N. Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities is an important vehicle for achieving progress at the international level toward the goal of religious freedom. Governments and non-governmental organizations should cooperate fully with the Special Rapporteur designated by the Subcommittee to conduct this study by responding in a timely and comprehensive manner to requests to furnish information and ideas in order to assist in its preparation.

Leonard Swidler for the Journal of Ecumenical Studies and the Religion Department of Temple University, Philadelphia

Sidney Liskofsky for the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, New York



For consideration of
JBI Admin. Council
January 13, 1986
Item II B

Possible Future Programs

LATIN AMERICA: COLLOQUIUM ON THE JEWISH DIMENSION OF REPRESSION IN ARGENTIAN UNDER MILITARY RULE, 1976-1983

At the JBI Colloquium on Latin American Jewry and Human Rights (May 1983) a number of suggestions were made regarding possible future activities. One was more systematic follow-up of developments (activities and decisions) in the OAS human rights system, e.g., the Inter-American Commission and Court of Human Rights and the OAS Assembly. This would be from the standpoint of the implications for Jews and/or as potential avenues for exposing situations that harm or threaten Jewish security. The Colloquium participants devoted considerable attention to a related issue, namely the posture to be taken by Jewish communal bodies, in Latin America and elsewhere, toward dictatorial military regimes in the region -- for example, Argentina.

The proposal (attached) from Professor Edy Kaufman requests financing for an expert conference -- the specific participants to be determined -- on the issue of anti-Semitism in Argentina during 1976-83, the period of the rule of the military junta. The conference would address the motivation of some of the activities of the junta, as well as the tactics and strategy of Jewish and non-Jewish groups and individuals in dealing with this problem.

Jacob Kovadloff, AJC Director of Latin American Affairs, believes that the topic is important and interesting but very delicate, because the events are so recent and the passions associated with them are still high. He advises keeping in touch with Professor Kaufman pending developments in the ongoing judicial investigation of wrongdoing under the military regime which, thus far, has not satisfactorily dealt with the individuals responsible for the anti-Jewish actions.

The Council is asked whether it wishes staff to pursue development of this specific proposal or whether it has recommendations for other possible projects relating to human rights in Latin America. In this connection, you may recall that in addition to the Colloquium on Latin American Jewry and Human Rights, referred to above, the JBI has undertaken significant endeavors with respect to human rights education in Latin America.

No funds requested at this time.

II B
JBI: 1/13/86

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM



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המכון למחקר ע"ש הרי"ס. טרומן
למען קידום השלום
הר הצופים, ירושלים 91905, ישראל
טל' 1-882300 (02)

October 1985

Mr. Jacobo Kobadloff
A.J.C
165 east 56th St.
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Kobadloff,

Please find enclosed a draft proposal, put forward to you still in a very preliminary stage for a colloquium **LEARNING FROM HISTORY: THE JEWISH DIMENSION OF REPRESSION IN ARGENTINA UNDER MILITARY RULE (1976-1983)**.

As you may know, I have prepared a paper on the issue which aims at portraying a picture as clear as possible of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the problem. We may now gather together all those organizations and scholars who have been concerned with the subject in order to evaluate our own performances. The purpose is clearly to understand from the Argentina case how to maximize Jewish solidarity in the future; from this perspective, I believe it is a most important enterprise.

You are kindly invited to join me in the formation of a preparatory committee. And, not less importantly, I would like to encourage you to react to the proposal with your constructive criticism, so that this incipient idea will eventually take shape and consolidate.

With Best Wishes,

Sincerely,


Dr. Edy Kaufman

October 1985

DRAFT PROPOSAL

**LEARNING FROM HISTORY: COLLOQUIUM ON THE JEWISH DIMENSION OF
REPRESSION IN ARGENTINA UNDER MILITARY RULE (1976-1983)**

SUMMARY: The following draft proposal intends to gather reactions from both individual scholars and representatives of Jewish organizations to the idea of holding a colloquium about the above topic. It briefly provides with the section describing the project, the program, participants, budget, financial resources and timetable.

DESCRIPTION: Jews featured prominently among the victims of repression in Argentina. Over an approximated total number of 15,000 killed and disappeared persons, the estimates of those of Jewish origin have been in the range of 500 to 1,500. Even if taking the minimal figure, it would in absolute numbers be higher than the death toll of Jews anywhere since Stalin's days. Opinions generally agree to the fact that antisemitism was highly visible in the treatment given to Jewish prisoners, although there is a wider disagreement as to the causes of arrest or kidnapping and numeric incidence of this ethnic group within the total figure. For a long time, the debate of this issue has been accompanied with heavily subjective and organizational reactions, often in order to preempt criticism of lack of sufficient zeal in the rescue operations and solidarity actions. On the other hand, after the collection of a substantial number of testimonies, and further

evidence that arises from the report of the National Commission on the Dissappeared Persons (CONADEP) and the trial of the (top) military peak officers, it seems that to a large degree an objective picture of the magnitude of repression and its impact on the Jewish victims can be drawn. From now onwards one may still get diminishing returns of information, but the overall pattens can already be broadly pictured. A preliminary paper prepared by Edy Kaufman and Beatriz Cymberknopf documents such process and will soon be published in its Spanish version. Perhaps such paper and other documents and articles could serve as a basis for a discussion which has much wider implications and should lead into a first dispassionated and systematic evaluation of the role played by local, international and Jewish Israeli institutions. "Learning from History" has the purpose of assessing the question of Jewish solidarity in Argentina's context but with the conviction that there is something to be gained in the larger picture by a post-facto exercise of this nature. The suggestion to hold a closed-door meeting in a University environment comes to serve the purpose of discussing such highly sensitive matters in an atmosphere conducive to a spirit of frank and constructive reassessment. A couple of questions related to the different levels of Jewish involvement could illustrated the type of issues to be tackled in such colloquium:

ARGENTINA: To what extent should Jewish institutions help to those of the same ethnic origin should be affected by the victims' attitudes towards Judaism the organized community and/or Israel?

In such difficult times, should dissenting views within the community in regard to the policy towards Jews under repression be considered, stimulated, tolerated or suppressed?

International Organizations: To what extent should international Jewish organizations act according to the views of the representative Jewish organization in the country where Jews featured highly among the victims of repression, or try themselves to promote acts of Jewish solidarity independently of such views? In such emergency cases should there be a clear process for consultation, decision making and implementation among local, international Jewish and Israeli institutions? To what extent local political considerations have affected attitudes of Jewish organizations in the United States and elsewhere?

ISRAEL: Should Israel actively help to become a refuge also for Jews who do not identify themselves with Zionism? To what extent arms sales should be used as a leverage for the improvement of the Jewish condition in a given country?

Or vice versa, should Israel refrain from arms sales to a country that may use such weapons against a considerable number of Jews?

These and other questions require a serious introspect. The analysis of the performance of the different organizations in the Argentine case can, no doubt, provide an important element of judgment for future behavior.

PROGRAM: A 3-day meeting, with 6 sessions, (2 a day, morning and afternoon). Opening remarks should be short, leaving enough room for a general discussion

Session 1: THE DIMENSION OF REPRESSION IN ARGENTINA (1976-1983)

- a) Background on Antisemitism in Argentina
- b) Human Rights Violations in Argentina under Military Rule
- c) The Jewish Dimension within the Generalized Repression

Session 2: ARGENTINE JEWRY AND REPRESSION UNDER MILITARY RULE

- a) The Organized Community and its constituent bodies
- b) Human Rights groups
- c) The role of individual Jews

**Session 3: WORLD JEWRY AND REPRESSION IN ARGENTINA UNDER MILITARY
RULE**

- a) The Role of International Jewish Organizations
- b) Grass-Root solidarity
- c) Jewish organizations and attempts to influence governments on behalf of Argentine Jewish victims

**Session 4: ISRAEL AND ZIONIST POLICIES TOWARDS ARGENTINE'S MILITARY
REGIME**

- a) The Official foreign policy and the role of Israel's embassy

Session 5: THE ARGENTINE CASE AND THE OVERALL PICTURE

- a) Human Rights and Judaism
- b) The interaction of national, international Jewish and Israeli institutions in the Argentina emergency situation.

- c) The relation between the universal and Jewish dimensions
of a repressive situation

Session 6: LEARNING FROM HISTORY: CONCLUSIONS AND EVALUATION

Round Table open to all participants

PARTICIPATION: Those to give the short presentations should be selected on their personal capacity and knowledge of the subject - even if affiliated to institutions. Participants should mostly be representatives of Jewish organizations and Israel. A tentative list includes:

- 1) 4-6 Academics and individuals directly involved in human rights issues or research on Argentine Jewry.
- 2) 3-4 representatives of official Jewish institutions in Argentina and ad-hoc human rights groups.
- 3) 4-6 representatives of international Jewish organizations.
- 4) 3-4 representatives of the Israel Foreign Ministry, Knesset and Voluntary groups.

Total 14-24 participants.

BUDGET:

1) Travel grants for category 1)	\$6,000
2) Accommodation 3 days x \$70 per person (24)	\$5,040
Organizational expenses (secretarial help, xerox)	<u>\$2,000</u>
Total	\$13,040

* Simultaneous translation to Spanish may be required. Recording for transcription purposes may be added, if an agreement will be reached about the restricted circulation of minutes.

FINANCIAL RESOURCES: To be explored. At present, no concrete commitment has been sought. Potential contributors could include:

- 1) Hosting Institution (University)
- 2) Major International Jewish Organizations
- 3) Foundations (Memorial Foundation, etc.)
- 4) Registration Fees

TIMETABLE: The timing of the colloquium is still wide open. After the CONADEP Commission has published its report and the trials in Argentina have reached their final stages, it seems that not too much time should be left without covering the specific ally Jewish dimension. Since we would not expect the panelist to prepare academic papers but rather systematic and comprehensive interventions, efforts should be made for the conference to take place within one year, possibly not better than between the Jewish Holidays and the Latin American Studies Association Conference in Boston (October 23-25, 1986).

For consideration by
JBI Admin. Council
Jan. 13, 1986
Item II C

Possible Future Program

MIDDLE EAST HUMAN RIGHTS TEACHING SYLLABUS

Dr. Mala Tabory, author of the JBI report "Perspectives on Palestinian Women" [in the West Bank and Gaza], inquires about JBI interest in a course-guide on human rights in the Middle East. The guide would have four components:

1. An introductory section discussing the historical and cultural background which human rights endeavors confront in the Middle East;
2. Introductions for each subject (15 in all), such as ideology, national and international human rights standards, the condition of minorities, the status of Arabs in Israel and the occupied territories, terrorism, and women's rights;
3. Lecture outlines; and
4. Special bibliographies (including page references) on all the topics.

While a fellow at Columbia University's Human Rights Center in 1983-84, Dr. Tabory worked on similar course guides relating to human rights in Eastern Europe, and on international human rights concepts and institutions. Dr. Tabory is currently Editor of the Israel Yearbook on Human Rights and a member of the Faculty of Law at Tel Aviv University.

No funds requested at this time.

II C:
JBI: 1/13/86

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

PROPOSAL FOR A SYLLABUS



Mala Tabory
Faculty of Law
Tel Aviv University
Tel Aviv 69978
Israel
Tel.: (03) 455746

November 1985

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST
A SYLLABUS

Background

The field of human rights is increasingly being recognized and developed as an area of research, teaching and practice. Considerable progress has been made in the preparation of aids and resources for teaching international human rights in a general framework. On the other hand, there is a scarcity of material focusing on human rights in particular areas, whether geographic or conceptual.

A case in point is the subject of human rights in the Middle East. In this strife-ridden area, there is a great need for mutual respect and understanding between the different national, religious and ethnic groups. In the various political and legal systems, human rights issues are perceived through unique prisms.

It is therefore proposed to develop a syllabus focusing on "Human Rights in the Middle East." This writer spent a year as a fellow at the Center for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University during 1983-84. At that time, a syllabus on "Human Rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe" was being completed, and this writer gained practical experience in contributing to that effort.

The Middle East presents a completely different set of rights-related problems, no less complex or interesting. This area has not previously been analyzed across a wide range of human rights issues. Such an effort must by nature be interdisciplinary, with existing legislation providing the framework. The course to be developed should be suitable for teaching in a variety of departments, including Law, Middle East Studies, international Relations and Political Science.

Course Description

The objective of this course is to examine the issues that have made the consideration of human rights in the Middle East a very visible yet particularly sensitive issue. The course provides a framework for university students, adult education programs in public institutions and civil servants in foreign ministries for the study of human-rights-related problems in the context of the Middle East. The syllabus as a whole may be used by a university professor to structure a course or seminar; an individual session topic may be used by a lecturer preparing a presentation on a given aspect of human rights in the Middle East, or the written introductions to the sessions together with the reading recommended in the bibliographies may serve as a self-study course.

The Middle East is a unique area for the study of human rights due to the deeply rooted and varied religious traditions of its habitants, of the region's historical background of conquests and colonialism, and of the present political structure of the different regimes and the various conflicts between them. The problems of human rights in the Middle East requires an understanding of all these factors, which will affect the application of human rights in the conventional sense. The Muslim, Jewish and Christian religious systems deeply influenced the development and evolution of every aspect of society, including law, ethics, culture and human rights. The colonial period and contact with the West have also had a dramatic impact on each country's conception of human rights. Various internal forces, such as Muslim fundamentalism, pan-Arabism and Jewish extremism and external forces, such as colonialism, have had a deleterious effect on the conception of human rights. These topics form the first part of the course.

Part II analyses the foundations of modern constitutional systems in some States in the area, and how those systems affect access to political rights.

Part III examines key points in the observance of specific human rights compared across several Middle Eastern countries. For this purpose, the lecturer may choose three or four representative systems, e.g. a democracy (Israel), a pluralistic model (Lebanon), a modernizing Arab State and an Arab fundamentalist State, and then compare them throughout. Alternatively, for each right considered, the discussion may be illustrated by examples of practices in different countries, according to individual interest and availability of information.

Part IV deals with unique human rights issues, and the problems arising from the particular conditions and circumstances in the Middle East. The Middle East is a mosaic patchwork of minorities. In this framework, the granting of human rights to individuals does not necessarily inhibit discrimination against the group. A case in point is the Arab minority in Israel, where full observance of the law may not be sufficient for obtaining equality and a measure of reverse discrimination, or affirmative action, may be necessary to guarantee effective participation in the life of the country. Discrimination patterns differ in various States, and the remedies to them will have to vary accordingly.

Important questions for analysis during the course include the status of dissent movements that incorporate a terroristic element and their treatment by the State apparatus, and to what degree terrorism justifies the abrogation of rights. A special problem is the protection of the entire gamut of human rights in the territories administered by Israel and the underlying legal basis for the implementation of rights. The Palestinian quest for human rights involves probably the most difficult legal and political problems, including the status of the Palestinians, the role of guerillas, terrorists and fighters for national liberation, and the right to autonomy and self-determination.

These questions are the focus of attention of a variety of international bodies. Their view of the problems involved and the solutions they offer provide an additional level for analyzing human rights in the Middle East.

The human rights questions analyzed against the background of Middle Eastern traditions considered in Part I must be viewed on two levels: first within the framework of commonly accepted political, social and economic human rights criteria currently accepted in modern States; and second, in the context of the "abnormal" political situation in the Middle East -- including the enmity between States, military occupation, refugees, terrorism, etc. The focal question regarding the latter will therefore be the legal basis and practical framework for the implementation of rights.

People who are better informed can have a deeper understanding of the limitations and potential for human rights in the Middle East and a greater ability to evaluate the needs and standards of the region. For ultimately, it may be the guarantee of human rights for all the inhabitants of the Middle East and their mutual respect for one another that will foster and ensure peace.

Syllabus Outline

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

I. THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL SETTING

1. The idea of rights and international standards; other visions of the good society (religious, traditional, ideological).
2. Political, social, economic and cultural setting in the Middle East:
religion, ideology, history.

The Role of Law in Society: the socially prescriptive nature of Islam and Judaism, and the implications for the development of human rights. Jewish tradition, Muslim tradition (traditional and modernizing Islamic society), Christian sects, Arab socialism. The Levantine setting and society, and its effects on developing human rights models; how and why these differ from Western models.

The colonial legacy in the formulation of human rights conceptions in the Middle East: The intrusion of other ethical systems in the comprehensive sense; the influence of political, social and economic norms superimposed to an incomplete degree upon established systems.

Common elements and differences between the Middle East and Western models and their relevance for rights.

3. Rights and international relations in the region; the Arab-Israel conflict.

The problem of balancing extraordinary security considerations and the demands of emergency situations with freedom of the individual. This affects censorship,

wiretapping and the assumption of emergency powers by the State apparatus, often at the expense of individual rights.

Derogations from human rights and their conformity with international human right instruments.

II. NATIONAL RIGHTS SYSTEMS AND INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS

4. Constitutional foundations for human rights observance: the constitutional framework for the guarantee of human rights in the different political systems.
 - a. Egypt
 - b. Saudi-Arabia; Iran
 - c. Jordan, Syria, Lebanon
 - d. Israel
5. Political participation - citizenship, the right to vote and to effective political participation, the right to run for political office, and the place of political parties; freedom of assembly.
6. The human rights of minorities, including the Palestinians; in various countries; in the occupied territories

Minorities in the Middle East: the treatment, status and rights of religious, ethnic and linguistic groups:

- Arabs, Druze and Christians in Israel
- Arabs in Israeli occupied territory
- Jews of the Maghreb
- Factions in Lebanon
- Druze of Lebanon and Syria
- Kurds of Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey
- Alawites of Syria
- Berbers of North Africa

The rights of the Arab minority in Israel: the conception of Israeli law regarding minorities in the State. Political rights (right to vote; right to political organization); freedom of expression; freedom of religion and worship. The disparity between de jure provisions and the de facto situation, and its underlying causes: security measures, conflict of loyalties. Freedom to maintain and foster national identity and the means thereto: right to language, education, culture, development of the media and indigenous art forms.

The rights and status of non-Arabs (Jewish, Christians, Bahai, etc.) in Arab countries: discriminatory legislation, practice, and their basis.

Human rights in the territories administered by Israel.

- Protection of life
- Protection of liberty
 - deportation and evacuation, administrative detentions and assignment of residence, regular judicial proceedings
- Protection of property (of various categories)
- Taxation and contributions
- Freedom of religion
- Special protection of women and children
- Collective punishments and reprisals
- Treatment of prisoners and detainees
- Freedom of education, speech, press, assembly, etc.
- Security and emergency precautions
- The right to resist
- Social welfare: refugee benefits

III. SPECIAL RIGHTS

7. Administration of justice

Criminal, civil and administrative provisions including:

- Freedom from arbitrary detention
- Pre-trial guarantees
- The right to a public and speedy hearing by a fair tribunal
- Rights barring prosecution
- The right to presence, presentation, representation and interpretation at proceedings
- The right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty
- The right to examine witnesses
- The right to a reasoned judgment
- The right to review of judgment (right to appeal)

8. Freedom of religion

Freedom of religion and conscience; freedom from religion. The problem of religion and State, and its effect on individual and group rights.

9. Freedom of the press

10. Economic-social and cultural rights

Freedom of education; academic freedom; freedom of speech and expression; cultural and linguistic rights.

Right to employment and to a decent standard of living; social welfare; the right to organize trade unions; the right to strike.

11. Women's rights

Right to marriage;
right to divorce; maternity benefits
and equal work opportunity; right to
family planning.

IV. HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE

UNIQUE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION

12. Terrorism, guerilla warfare and human rights. The 1977 Protocols, the borderline between international and internal armed conflict. The protection of guerillas under international law.

13. The right to self-determination or autonomy.

V. CONCLUSION

14. Human rights in the Middle East in international forums

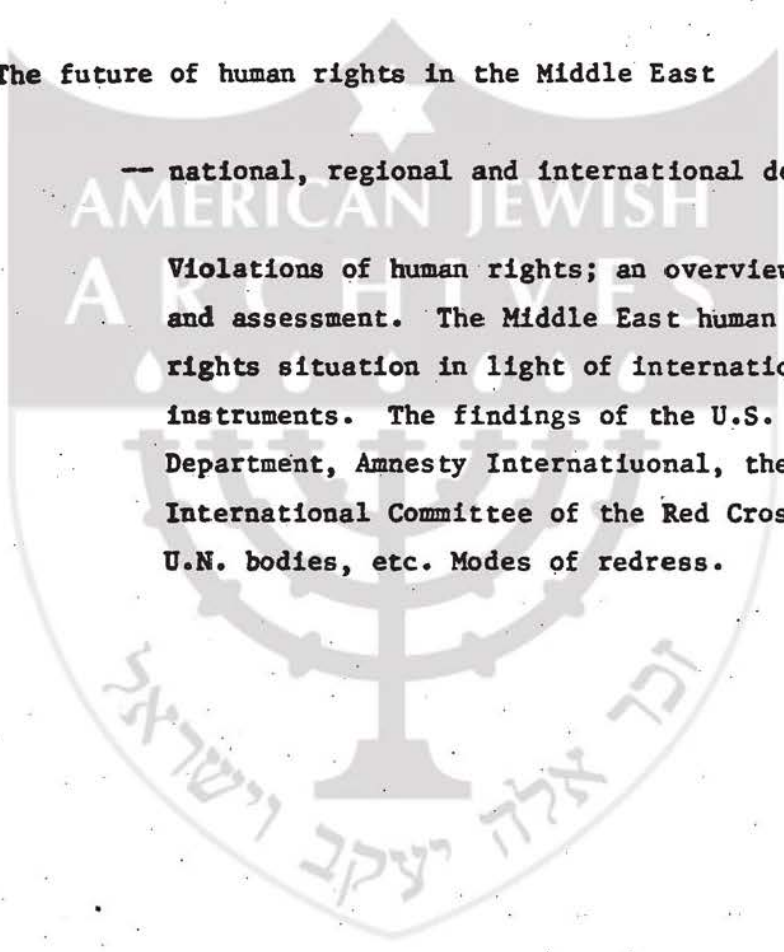
The international protection of minorities
and refugees.

The Zionism = Racism controversy.

15. The future of human rights in the Middle East

-- national, regional and international developments

Violations of human rights; an overview
and assessment. The Middle East human
rights situation in light of international
instruments. The findings of the U.S. State
Department, Amnesty International, the
International Committee of the Red Cross,
U.N. bodies, etc. Modes of redress.



For consideration of
JBI Admin. Council
Jan. 13, 1986
Item II D

Possible Future Program

HUMAN RIGHTS AND SPECIAL GROUPS IN SOCIETY

Past and present JBI work focuses on key human rights that are of universal significance, applying without differentiation to all individuals and groups of individuals -- the right to leave, religious liberty, prevention of genocide, the right to know, and the like.

The United Nations, national governments and non-governmental organizations are in the process of developing principles, guidelines and programs with regard to particular segments of society, including the aged, children, women and youth. Does JBI have a role to play in relation to international efforts involving these special groups?

As an example, with regard to women, should the JBI sponsor a project relating to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women with the aim of educating American public opinion and encouraging U.S. ratification of this convention?

No funds requested at this time.

For consideration of
JBI Admin. Council
Jan. 13, 1986
Item II E

Possible Future Program

PREPARATORY MEETING FOR 1986 VIENNA CONFERENCE ON HELSINKI ACCORDS
(ASPEN INSTITUTE AND HELSINKI WATCH)

The Administrative Council is asked for an expression of interest
in the attached proposal which is self-explanatory.

No funds requested at this time.



Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies

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212 769-1152

Cable—Aspeninst New York
Telex—757931

December 17, 1985

Robert B. McKay
Senior Fellow

Alice H. Henkin
Director
Justice and Society Program

II E
JBI: 1/13/86

Sidney Liskofsky
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Sidney:

As you will recall, in November 1978 the Aspen Institute, in cooperation with the Jacob Blaustein Institute, sponsored a two-day conference in New York City on "U.S. Human Rights Policy: From Belgrade En Route to Madrid." This meeting was followed, a year later, by a meeting of Americans and West Europeans at Aspen Institute Berlin on "Developing a Western Consensus on Human Rights: The Road to Madrid." (I have enclosed the reports of both meetings.)

The next scheduled plenary review of the Helsinki Final Act will take place in Vienna in November 1986. I think it would be useful to use this occasion for another look at U.S. human rights policy in relation to the Helsinki Final Act. There are a few who argue that it is in the United States' interest to abrogate this agreement, while others point to some small successes plus the very existence of an internationally recognized forum for accountability on human rights issues. Further, there is the interesting question of the extent to which the nations of Eastern Europe have become a central focus of Helsinki-related activity. (The most recent instance are the unofficial events whirling around the official Cultural Forum in Budapest this Fall. If you've not read it, I recommend Timothy Garton Ash's article on the unofficial forum in the New York Review of Books.)

In short, there are important questions to be raised at this juncture. In this regard, I think it would be useful to hold a third Aspen-sponsored meeting on the Helsinki process. I am proposing a two-day meeting of 20-25 persons from Congress, the State Department, the NGO community and the press, to be held at our facility at Wye Plantation (on the Eastern Shore of Maryland), in the late Spring. In view of the Blaustein Institute's prior support and current concerns, do you think they would provide a grant for this project?

I also am considering a second-stage meeting with West Europeans, once again in Berlin, in the early Fall, just before the Vienna review

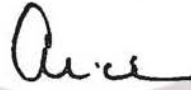


Sidney Liskofsky
December 17, 1985
page 2

conference. Separate funding would be sought for this meeting.

I have discussed this entire project with Helsinki Watch and they are enthusiastic and eager to assist in the planning.

Sincerely,



Alice H. Henkin

enclosures



For consideration by
JBI Admin. Council
Jan. 13, 1986
Item II F

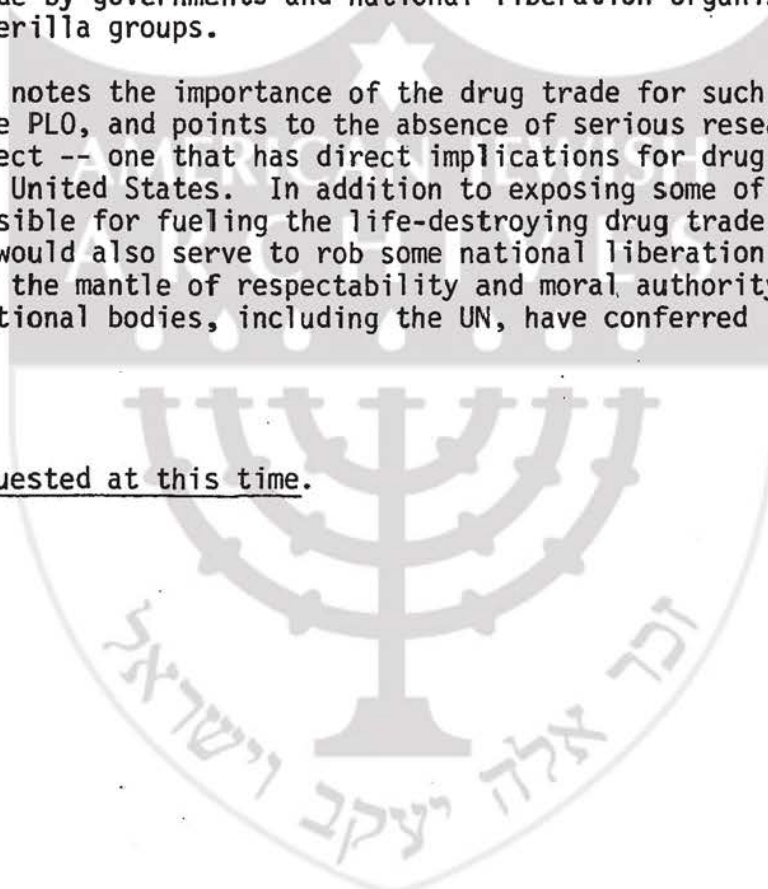
Possible Future Program

USE OF THE DRUG TRADE BY GOVERNMENTS AND GUERILLA ORGANIZATIONS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY (RESEARCH ABSTRACT)

The Administrative Council is being asked whether staff should pursue the refinement of the attached proposal on the use of the drug trade by governments and national liberation organizations, including guerilla groups.

The proposal notes the importance of the drug trade for such groups as the PLO, and points to the absence of serious research on this subject -- one that has direct implications for drug abuse in the United States. In addition to exposing some of those responsible for fueling the life-destroying drug trade, the project would also serve to rob some national liberation movements of the mantle of respectability and moral authority that international bodies, including the UN, have conferred on them.

No funds requested at this time.



USE OF THE DRUG TRADE BY GOVERNMENTS AND GUERILLA ORGANIZATIONS AS AN
INSTRUMENT OF DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY (RESEARCH ABSTRACT)

by

Rachel Ehrenfeld, PhD

Working Hypothesis

The Soviets and their surrogates use the international drug trade as one of many instruments in their overall strategy of active measures against the West, especially the United States. This alliance of the East Bloc, their surrogates and organized crime performs several functions for the overall Soviet-Cuban strategy toward the Western Hemisphere. At the local level, guerilla organizations probably obtain economic control over peasant populations, who earn considerably more for growing drugs than other export commodities; achieve the ability to penetrate local security forces by corruption; and obtain assured supplies of arms and finances for their domestic operations. For the Soviets, the regional network provides an intelligence apparatus parallel to and complementary to the local Communist parties and labor fronts. It may also be part and parcel of developing internal penetration of the American society through organized crime. It seems that the alliance between drug traffickers and guerilla movements is more than a marriage of convenience.

These forces are capable of taking advantage of the lucrative cocaine, heroin and marijuana trade in the hemisphere to fund their activities and provide a reliable source of consistent arms supplies. If recent agreements between guerilla movements in Colombia and the Colombian cocaine families is any indication, insurgent resources could total \$1.5 billion for the fiscal year 1985. This should be compared to the more usual guerilla activities of kidnapping and bank robberies. It is estimated, for example, that the Salvadoran guerillas accumulated only approximately \$75 million from the mid-1970s to 1981 from kidnappings and robberies.

Another advantage in this alliance for the Soviets and their proxies is the built-in ability to erode the security establishment in Latin America, often the only stable institution of government support in these countries. If such an alliance becomes permanent the United States will face a considerably more serious security, economic, and social threat in this hemisphere than it currently faces, and one of a magnitude dwarfing the United States' own resources to cope with the problem internally and hemispherically.

Purpose

1. To identify the major players (organized criminal elements, East Bloc countries and their proxies and guerilla organizations) involved in the Western Hemisphere.
2. To ascertain the degree to which narcotics trafficking is linked to an overall subversive strategy of destabilization, which includes economic warfare and the corruption of existing democratic institutions and the target country's security forces.
3. To establish the degree to which this new alliance of Marxist-Leninist guerilla movements and their criminal counterparts constitute a new alternative source of funding.

For consideration of
JBI Admin. Council
Jan. 13, 1986
Item III A

A JBI RESEARCH RESOURCE AT NYU LAW SCHOOL: BLAUSTEIN FELLOWS

NYU Law School offers JBI an opportunity to have at its disposal a valuable research resource in regard to both general and Jewish-related issues involving international human rights. With such a resource, the JBI could initiate projects that we feel are important but are unable to undertake with the present limited JBI staff.

Professor Theodor Meron proposes the establishment of a Jacob Blaustein fellowship in the NYU Law School for a three-year period beginning in 1986. Each year, the fellow selected -- either one senior fellow or two junior fellows -- would undertake projects in consultation with the JBI staff and law school faculty. The fellows would have the benefit of the law faculty's expert supervision. If appropriate, these studies could be considered for release as JBI publications.

The proposal offers JBI a way of meeting two objectives: advancing human rights education, and serving as a scholarly resource in the human rights work of JBI and AJC.

Funds requested: \$10,000 per year for three years.



New York University
A private university in the public service

School of Law
Faculty of Law

40 Washington Square South, Room 321
New York, N.Y. 10012
Telephone: (212) 598-2377

Professor Theodor Meron

III A
JBI: 1/13/86

December 16, 1985

Mr. Sidney Liskofsky
The Jacob Blaustein Institute
for the Advancement of Human Rights
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Liskofsky:

Human rights law is a relatively new and fluid branch of the law. And yet, no field of the law has a greater importance upon the lives and well-being of people all over the world. Because of its recent origins, continuing development, and practical impact, there is virtually unlimited scope for important studies focusing upon the crucial human rights issues of the hour.

The School of Law, in partnership with major human rights organizations, would address topics of contemporary concern through the establishment of a number of research fellows recruited from among the School's student body, who have demonstrated proficiency and motivation in this field. The Fellows would thus function as a "think tank" for such organizations by undertaking under appropriate academic supervision, focused research making concrete and immediate contributions to the protection of lives and the rights of human beings.

A \$10,000 annual grant for a period of three years would permit the selection each year of one senior fellow or two junior fellows. The Faculty plans to consult the Blaustein Institute regarding the selection of the most suitable subjects for research. The Fellows funded through the generosity of the Blaustein Institute would be designated "Blaustein Fellows in Human Rights." They will be selected on a competitive basis.

Over --

page 2
Mr. Liskofsky
December 16, 1985

On behalf of the School of Law, I submit this letter of proposal for a \$30,000 three-year grant to the Jacob Blaustein Institute in the hope that this most important partnership can be undertaken as soon as possible.

Sincerely,



Theodor Meron
Professor of Law

AMERICAN
ARCHIVES

cc: Dean Norman Redlich
Dean Maxine Redding
Dean Lucille Hillman



זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

For consideration of
JBI Admin. Council
Jan. 13, 1986
Item III B

ETHIOPIAN FAMINE (CULTURAL SURVIVAL, INC.)

Cultural Survival, Inc. proposes to systematically collect and evaluate information regarding the Ethiopian government's conduct in the distribution of humanitarian aid provided by American and international relief bodies. The resulting report would serve as a permanent record of what some observers have described as near-genocidal conduct by this government stemming from ideology and political factors. It would serve as the basis for developing guidelines to enable governmental and non-governmental bodies to cope more effectively with famine and other human tragedies and to avoid such perversions of the aid distribution process as occurred in Ethiopia.

Cultural Survival, a human rights organization founded in 1972 by Harvard social scientists, is comprised of over 1500 anthropologists and other social scientists who study ethnic and tribal groups throughout the world and present their findings and recommendations to the World Bank, the U.S. government, and other governmental and non-governmental bodies.

Funds requested: \$35,390



Cultural Survival Inc.

11 Divinity Ave Cambridge Mass 02138

617-495-2562

III B
JBI: 1/13/86

17 December 1985

Sidney Liskofsky
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Liskofsky,

Enclosed is a copy of Cultural Survival's proposal "Human Rights and Famine in Ethiopia" for your consideration. The proposal is divided into three parts, with the first being the most important. I would be happy to discuss the details of any or all of the three projects. If your organization is interested in funding more than one of the research projects the costs could be reduced because of the duplication of travel expenses and staff time.

I have also enclosed other materials for you or your staff. They might answer questions that you have concerning Cultural Survival, this type of research or my qualifications to undertake the research. Enclosed are:

- Cultural Survival Aims and Purposes
- My testimony given before Congress on 16 October 1985
- Newspaper clippings from The Wall Street Journal, The (London) Times, The (London) Sunday Times, The Boston Globe
- My c.v.
- A background article "Ethnicity: Powerful Factor in Refugee Flows"

If you have any questions or wish to see additional materials do not hesitate to contact me. If you are interested in funding any aspect of the research, we would like to get started on it immediately in the new year.

All the best for the holidays.

Sincerely,

W. Clay
Jason W. Clay
Director of Research



Cultural Survival Inc.

11 Divinity Ave Cambridge Mass 02138

617-495-2562

Human Rights and Famine in Ethiopia

Summary

Cultural Survival has recently completed a report on the causes of famine in Ethiopia based on the most scientifically conducted research on the largest sample by any government or private agency. The report questions a number of assumptions on which most humanitarian assistance from the West has been based. If humanitarian assistance is to have its intended effect of alleviating human suffering rather than exacerbating it, three overlapping areas of research should be undertaken at this point:

1. does evidence from as yet untapped sources verify Cultural Survival's original findings;
2. has the Ethiopian government with the inadvertant assistance of humanitarian agencies maintained the conditions that led to famine in Ethiopia; and
3. can those displaced by famine and now living in Sudan be induced to return to their homes in their near future.

The data collected from these three research efforts should then be analyzed and their implications for humanitarian assistance made available to the private and governmental agencies providing famine assistance to Ethiopia.

Background

For six years, Cultural Survival has systematically interviewed refugees about the persecution and discrimination that has caused an estimated 10 percent of Ethiopia's population to flee the country. Our research was intended to document human rights violations that were occurring in areas of Ethiopia where outsiders were not allowed free access. Restrictions on the movements of diplomats, journalists and relief workers as well as the presence of government officials or official translators during interviews has made it difficult to assess independently what is happening in many areas of the country under this government.

Our research has led us to conclude that the present government is attempting to systematically destroy culturally distinct groups within the country in order to establish a strong central state upon which each of these groups is dependent. The government is pursuing this goal by confiscating land and valuable export crops such as coffee, moving dissident peoples from their own areas onto the land or even the villages of others and imposing, under the guise of socialism, local organizations which among other things destroy the ability of communities to remain self-sufficient in food production. Cultural Survival's research findings, to date, indicate that while the present government has succeeded in making the distinct ethnic communities dependent upon the state by reducing their productive capacity, the state cannot provide for the basic food needs of these newly dependent groups. Our research

indicates that food provided by the West is a key variable in the government's strategy to further consolidate its power in the country.

Since the nineteenth century, the Amhara ethnic group (about 15 percent of Ethiopia's present population) has dominated Ethiopia's governments. Representation in high government positions by non-Amharas was reduced further after the present government came to power 10 years ago. Last year, the newly created worker's party contained an even smaller proportion of people from other ethnic groups. Refugees whom we interviewed during the past five years indicate that while the current government says it is centralizing power for the good of all, it is in fact consolidating power and resources in the hands of a few Amhara to an unprecedented degree even by comparison to the rule of previous Amhara emperors. Refugees indicate that alliances with the US and the USSR historically have allowed these Amhara to further consolidate their power. The fear expressed by the refugees is that the present government is using humanitarian assistance, which the West so generously offered, to pursue policies that have little to do with the welfare of the population at large. Our preliminary investigations corroborate these assessments.

Our research, for example, shows that government attempts to create dependent communities in the north have exacerbated drought conditions and have resulted in the present famine. In the northern areas most severely affected by the present famine, the government has systematically bombed and attacked villages during the planting and harvesting season and burned grain. For example, of the famine victims who fled to the Sudan before the end of 1984, 95 percent reported that in their villages the Ethiopian army had burned crops in the fields, and grain stacked ready to be thrashed or stored in houses.

The government's proposed solution to the famine is to resettle voluntarily 1.5 million people from the "famine" affected areas of Tigray and Wollo to "fertile, uninhabited" areas of the southwest. Our interviews with 90 people who had been resettled indicated that none of them volunteered for the program. Furthermore, those from Tigray had had crops in 1984 that were sufficient for their needs, i.e. they were not famine victims. Those resettled from Wollo had been "volunteered" without their knowledge by their local organization so that the communities could receive western food. Thus, those from Wollo indicated that food, provided primarily by the West, was being used as bait in the government resettlement trap.

Conditions in the resettlement sites were dismal. Food during the journey south was deliberately withheld from those being resettled, according to the refugees who insisted this was done in order to keep them so weak that they could not escape. Once in their new homes, they were too weak to work the 11 hours a day, 6.5 days per week that was expected of them. Some 60 percent reported that they had been beaten. Those resettled were also not prepared for the heat or the new diseases they encountered in the resettlement sites. From the refugees' statements, we were able to calculate that as of May 1985, 10 to 20 percent (or some 50,000 to 100,000 people) of those who had been resettled in the south had already died.

The most overlooked region in the present concern about Ethiopia's famine is the southwestern part of the country. Even though rainfall and agricultural production were high in this area in 1984, as a result of the government's resettlement policies, famine spread to the area. Our interviews with people who had lived in the "uninhabited" areas and been forced to leave as a result

of resettlement, indicate that it was the local population that was forced to bear the burden of resettlement. Some 300,000 people had been moved by March, 1985, but the government had not budgeted a cent for the program. The local people had to pay three years' taxes in advance, and give up to half their tools, equipment and oxen to the newcomers. Many were forced to move out of their homes and leave their crops standing in the fields for the new settlers. As a result of these hardships, the old residents in the area had nothing to eat and were forced to flee to Sudan where they could obtain food. It is not known how many people displaced by the resettlement program are still inside the country living with relatives or attempting to farm marginal lands.

The Proposed Research

While the information collected by Cultural Survival is generally thought to be reliable for refugees living in Sudan, it is not clear how representative it is for populations still in Ethiopia. Independent sources, however, have increasingly corroborated our findings (see attached **Sunday Times** article). Clearly there is a need for reliable, systematically collected information from inside Ethiopia which is independent from the government.

The Cultural Survival follow-up research project on human rights/famine conditions in Ethiopia is divided into three phases which could be funded individually or jointly. The first phase will focus on the humanitarian organizations and governments which provide assistance to Ethiopia. Many representatives of the PVO community as well as diplomats in Ethiopia have, in the course of their work over the past year, observed conditions and events that have never been systematically brought together. Many of these individuals or organizations are unwilling to talk publically for fear of being expelled from the country. Others had no way of knowing how representative their experiences were in Ethiopia. The only research with these people in Ethiopia has been done by reporters who often cite people saying contradictory things. There has been no attempt to see where the truth lies. Thus, while unnamed sources have been cited frequently in the coverage of conditions in Ethiopia, to date, however, off-the-record interviews have yet to be conducted in the systematic fashion necessary to identify broader trends of human rights and famine conditions in Ethiopia.

Cultural Survival could begin such research in January. By guaranteeing anonymity to people who have worked or continue to work as volunteers, doctors, nurses and administrators in Ethiopia, we will be able to collect information from a number of sources, cross check them for accuracy and draw conclusions not only about conditions in Ethiopia during the past year or more but also about the appropriateness of the humanitarian assistance being provided by the West. Such conclusions would not only help these organizations and governments to evaluate their programs in Ethiopia, but it would force them to rethink their response to disasters and disaster assistance in the future.

Interviews would be conducted in Ethiopia as well as in Western Europe, Canada and the United States. Those interviewed would include humanitarian agency employees, missionaries, diplomats and reporters. Interviews would be used to identify others appropriate for the survey. In some instances, agency officials will pave the way for interviews; in others, the people will be contacted directly. Nothing from any of these interviews will be used which could be traced to an individual or an organization, and it is this assurance that will encourage people who might otherwise be hesitant to be interviewed.

Finally, the recent defections of the head of Ethiopia's Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC—the agency in charge of famine assistance) and six members of the Ethiopian Embassy in England, will provide other sources of corroboration on events and conditions in Ethiopia.

Cultural Survival has worked with many of these humanitarian agencies in the past on issues that required similar delicate treatment; their need for anonymity was always respected. Furthermore, Cultural Survival has been able to collect, organize and analyze data on issues that the humanitarian agencies do not have the time or personnel to undertake. The Cultural Survival work, to date, has been privately corroborated by the agencies who work in Ethiopia. As many officials from these agencies have told us, while they cannot be publically associated with our research, it is in their best interest to take part in research that might suggest more appropriate assistance than is presently being directed to Ethiopia.

The second phase of the research consists of randomly conducted interviews from among the 200,000 refugees expected to arrive in Sudan after this harvest. Interviews undertaken in February and March 1986 with these people would allow Cultural Survival to determine the continuing causes of famine in northern Ethiopia and compare them with those reported by refugees who fled in 1984-85. As in the past, interviewees would be selected on the basis of a mathematically calculated random sample with a sampling unit in each site of sufficient size to allow us to draw statistically significant conclusions on a site-by-site basis. Interviews would be conducted in private—e.g. away from Sudanese officials or representatives of the various liberation fronts. We would use our own translators.

Such interviews would allow an independent assessment of Ethiopian government activities in areas refugees recently abandoned as well as independent assessments of the appropriateness of government assistance programs in Ethiopia (e.g. feeding centers and resettlement programs). A basic question that must be answered is, why are people choosing to flee Ethiopia rather than to take advantage of the government's assistance programs?

The third phase of the research would be to assess, by interviewing refugees in Sudan (both those who came this year as well as those who arrived before), the conditions under which they would return to Ethiopia. Are the impediments to their return material inputs (seeds, oxen for ploughing, money for equipment, food until the first harvest) or are they political (warfare or ethnic persecution)? The answers to these questions have grave implications for the types of assistance that are most appropriate in the short- and long-term in Sudan, both for those already in the area as well as those who might continue to flee from Ethiopia.

The three phases of research could be funded individually or jointly. If all three phases of the research were to be funded jointly, the cost would be less than the sum of the three parts. We could discuss that possibility at a future date.

In the past, Cultural Survival has demonstrated the value of systematic interviews with refugee populations as an untapped wealth of information on human rights conditions in their homelands. Our previous research project on the Ethiopian famine indicates that refugees can also provide invaluable information on the causes of famine that must be taken into account if

humanitarian assistance is to have the desired effect. We believe that the systematic interviewing of individuals who have been intimately involved with famine assistance in Ethiopia can also provide invaluable insights into the larger picture of conditions in Ethiopia. Our original research cost \$14,000; it is the largest research project to date on the causes of famine in Ethiopia, yet \$1 billion has been directed toward famine assistance in the country. The budgets for the three phases of the research described above include analysis and write-up time for the principle researcher. In our last project, we did not include this budget category, and, consequently, it took months to complete the final report.

Our findings will be made available to the PVO community as well as to the public that contributes to them. It is our intention that this information will demonstrate to the PVO community operating in Ethiopia as well as in other crisis situations, the need to systematically collect and cross check information in order to expose either the causes of famine or the abuse of humanitarian assistance. By demonstrating beyond refute the political nature of the causes of famine, we will show PVOs the political nature of their gifts. Assistance from you at this time would allow us to continue this research at this timely and critical stage.

Project Budgets

Phase One

Travel (airfare and accomodation)	
1 trip to Europe to interview PVO personnel	\$2000.00
1 trip to Sudan (via Europe) to interview PVO personnel	\$3000.00
Travel in the US and Canada to interview PVO personnel	\$1500.00
Telephone interviews in the US and Canada and follow-up calls to Europe	\$1000.00
Staff time (2.5 months)	\$6000.00
Publication of final report	\$1000.00
Overhead to Cultural Survival (20 percent)	\$2890.00
Total	\$17,390.00

Phase Two

Travel (airfare and accomodation)	
1 trip to Sudan and refugee camps	\$4000.00
Staff time (2 months)	\$5000.00
Publication of final report	\$1000.00
Overhead to Cultural Survival (20 percent)	\$2000.00
Total	\$12,000.00

Phase Three

Travel (airfare and accomodation)	
1 trip to Sudan and refugee camps	\$3500.00
Staff time (1 month)	\$2500.00
Total	\$6000.00

Dr. Jason Clay, Director of Research at Cultural Survival will direct the research projects. Local assistants will be hired as necessary with monies included in the travel and staff budget categories. Dr. Clay directed the recent research in Sudan and similar projects on refugees in Uganda, Ruanda, Mexico, Djibouti and Sudan. As an analyst with the US government he evaluated the impact of US foreign assistance on nutrition (see his attached c.v.).

For consideration of
JBI Admin Council
Jan. 13, 1986
Item III C

MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP REPORT ON ANTI-SEMITISM

The Minority Rights Group (MRG), a London-based human rights organization, plans to issue, in the near future, a report on contemporary anti-Semitism around the world. It is based on an extensive study produced by a highly regarded Christian scholar, Professor Tudor Parfitt, Lecturer in Hebrew and Modern Jewish Studies at London University, who traveled widely in Eastern and Western Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and South America to research the current situation. Professor Parfitt was recommended to MRG by David Kessler, editor of the London Jewish Chronicle, who is a member of the MRG's board.

The Minority Rights Group is directed by Ben Whitaker, the British expert on the UN Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. It has entrée to Third World countries and circles to which Jewish organizations have very limited access. It requests funding in order to publicize and disseminate the report worldwide, including the United States.

Funds requested: \$5,000.



THE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP LTD
Registered Charity No. 282305
Consultative status with the United Nations (E.C.O.S.O.C.)
A Company limited by guarantee in the U.K., No. 1544957



29 CRAVEN STREET LONDON WC2N 5NT
Telephone: 01-930 6659

Executive Director:
Ben Whitaker
Deputy Director:
Kaye Stearman
Education Officer:
Lynne Gerlach
Office Secretary:
Marcia Roulston

25th September 1985

III C
JBI: 1/13/86

Mr Sidney Lisofsky,
Program Director,
The Jacob Blaustein Institute,
165 East 56th St,
New York City,
New York, 10025
USA

Dear Sidney,

At the suggestion of Sue Roff, the Director of the US MRG, I'm writing to ask if your Institute might be kind enough to give a grant to publicise and distribute the forthcoming MRG report on Anti-Semitism in the World Today.

The MRG has commissioned this major new international report, on the advice of David Kessler, from Dr Tudor Parfitt (the lecturer in Hebrew and Modern Jewish Studies at London University since 1974), who has been travelling widely in East and West Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia to research the current situation, and hopes also to visit South America before completing the report early next year.

Dr Parfitt is the co-author with David Kessler of the recent MRG report on The Falashas, a copy of which I enclose for you. He has also been commissioned by Weidenfield separately to write books on Anti-Semitism and on Falashas.

We are very anxious that our Report should reach as wide as an audience as possible: too often, I fear, in human rights work we are in danger of merely 'preaching to the converted'. MRG therefore would like to apply for \$5000 to publicise and distribute the Anti-Semitism report (together with the Falashas one too, if you wish) : \$2500 of which the US MRG in New York will spend on dissemination in Congress, the press and elsewhere in the US, and \$2,500 of which we will use for publicising and circulating the report elsewhere in the world.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Ben Whitaker'.

Ben Whitaker (Executive Director)

For consideration of
JBI Admin. Council
Jan. 13, 1986
Item III D

HISTORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTIONS (INTERNATIONAL
ACADEMY OF HUMAN RIGHTS - KAREL VASAK)

At the Administrative Council's meeting in July 1984, it considered Karel Vasak's request for a grant for a conference to be held in Madrid some months later to plan the publication (by 1989) of a four-volume "History of Liberty and Human Rights in the World," a very ambitious first project of an International Academy of Human Rights which he proposed to create. During the Council's discussion, questions were raised as to whether the Academy would actually come into existence, the form it would take, the personalities who would be associated with it, whether the proposed "history" would add significantly to knowledge in the field, and about the prospects of Dr. Vasak's project in light of his evolving career plans. At the same time, the Council recognized Dr. Vasak as an important figure in the human rights field and expressed great interest in continuing its excellent relationship with him. While not approving his request at this time, the members said they would gladly consider future proposals from him.

Since the last Council meeting, the Academy has in fact come into existence with a very prestigious board including leading French and international personalities. As director of the Academy, Karel Vasak has resubmitted his proposal to the JBI focused on his need for research assistance in preparing the book, a projected four-volume history which centers on human rights institutions. In encyclopedia format, this book, drawing on the expertise of human rights specialists for the various sub-topics, will be conceptualized and edited by Dr. Vasak.

The proposed history of human rights institutions (broadly defined and including both good and bad institutions) is a pioneering venture, and could become a standard reference work for scholars and activists. Dr. Vasak will bring to the project his prior experience in publishing an important human rights journal and other significant works. By helping to fund this project, JBI may place itself in a position to play a role in other activities planned for the Academy of Human Rights.

Funds requested: \$20,000.

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH OF KAREL VASAK LETTER TO SIDNEY LISKOFKY

September 30, 1985

Dear Sidney:

I would like to submit a grant request to the Blaustein Institute.

As you doubtless know, the International Academy of Human Rights, now firmly established, is planning two major projects for this year:

- (1) A Conference of Human Rights Cities in Paris, from December 9-11, 1985
- (2) The publication of the New Review of Human Rights.

The realization of other Academy projects is clearly a function of the financial means that I shall be able to secure, inasmuch as funding for the Conference on Human Rights Cities and the New Review is assured. In this regard, I have mentioned to you, on numerous occasions, the preparation of a History of Liberty and Human Rights in the World.

As you know, this History -- a unique venture -- will have three parts (and come in four volumes):

- (i) History of ideas relating to human rights.
- (ii) History of facts, that is to say, a history of human rights, country-by-country (2 volumes).
- (iii) History of Human Rights Institutions, in encyclopedia format.

Attached you will find a full explanation and description of this project.

I have decided to engage myself in the preparation of this encyclopedic catalogue of institutions and human rights. Thus, it is as an author, as much as Karel Vasak of the International Academy of Human Rights, that I am writing to the Blaustein Institute.

After some reflection, I have reached the following conclusion:

- the book can be completed within two years (1986-7);
- the book would be a collective work (the authors of the different subjects would be chosen from among the most qualified human rights experts but the responsibility for the work would be mine);
- the list of entries would be established taking into account existing human rights vocabularies and glossaries. (You will recall that at the

Over --

Strasbourg Institute I worked a lot on a list of human rights terms, and following this I also "elaborated" a definition of human rights, based on the most commonly used terms.)

I propose to spend much of my own time preparing this book during the next two years. But I will require assistance, and for this I am submitting an annexed budget of \$20,000 for 1986. I hope the Blaustein Institute will be able to respond favorably to my request.

I am, of course, at your disposition for all additional information, and, hoping to see you soon, I remain

Yours faithfully,

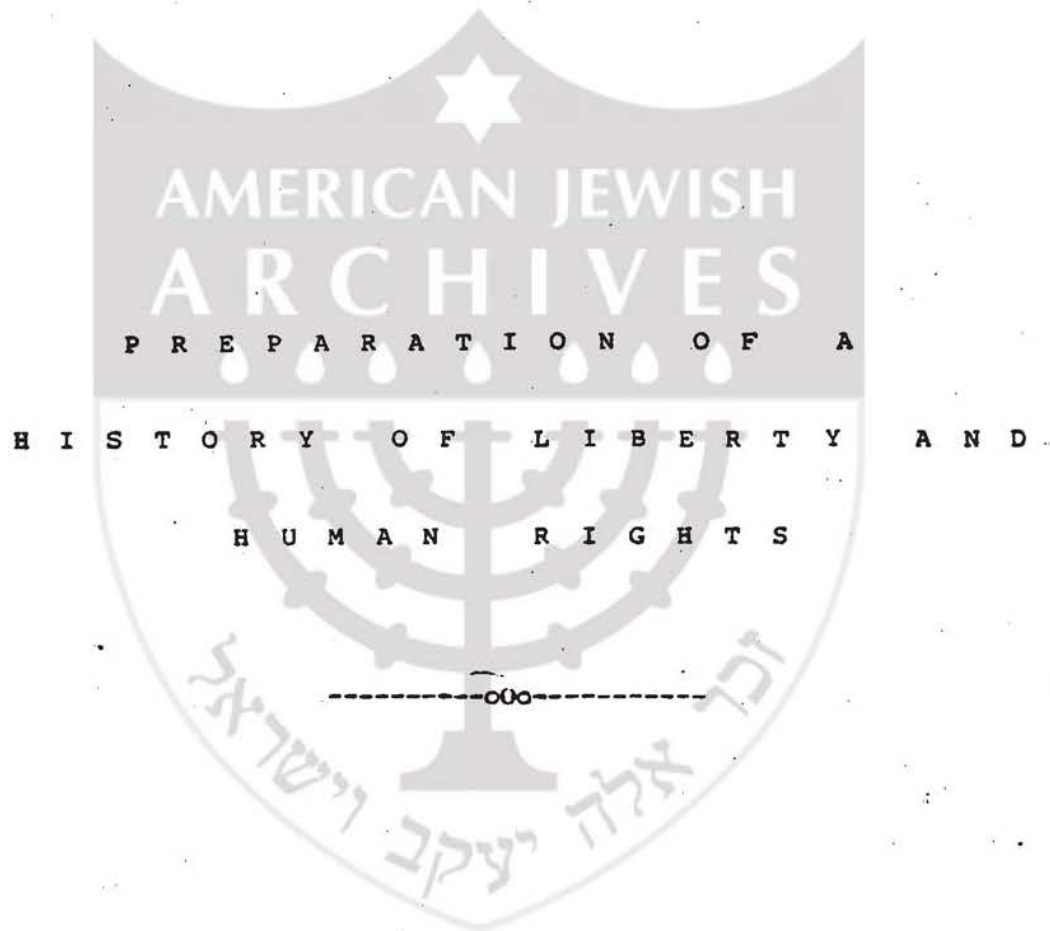
(Sgd.) Karel Vasak

AMERICAN JEWISH
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ASSOCIATION POUR L'ACADÉMIE INTERNATIONALE
DES DROITS DE L'HOMME

ASSOCIATION FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY
OF HUMAN RIGHTS



P R O P O S A L

I - APPLICANT

- 1) The Association for the International Academy of Human Rights, an organization made up of personalities from the world community, is now in the process of expanding to include specialists from the different regions of the world (see ANNEX I : provisional membership).
- 2) The aim of the Association is to create and then manage an INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY OF HUMAN RIGHTS (see ANNEXES II and III) composed of several specialized sections and which would bring together notable individuals from the international sphere who have been recognized in the area of promotion and protection of HUMAN RIGHTS and who would undertake or encourage all initiatives likely to further the study and implementation of HUMAN RIGHTS within an interdisciplinary and interprofessional perspective. The Academy would engage in the realization of various projects including the compilation of a HISTORY OF LIBERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WORLD and the creation of a HUMAN RIGHTS MUSEUM.

II - EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

- 3) HUMAN RIGHTS, a modern concept of an ancient reality, has never been thoroughly studied in its historical dimension. Works dealing with the history of HUMAN RIGHTS in a particular country are indeed rare and no single work exists which covers the entire scope of THE HISTORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WORLD

- 4) It has been generally accepted that the American and French Declarations of HUMAN RIGHTS, proclaimed at the end of the XVIII th century, provide the origin of a universal concept of HUMAN RIGHTS, that is to say, one which is applicable to every man and all men and which exceeds the limits of a single RIGHT or group of HUMAN RIGHTS. In any case, beginning with the American and French Declarations we have not stopped thinking in terms of a universal man, endowed with certain fundamental rights whose numbers keep increasing.
- 5) As the bicentennial of these HUMAN RIGHTS DECLARATIONS draws near, the dearth of historical works in this area becomes evident. It is imperative that work on the compilation of a HISTORY OF LIBERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WORLD begin immediately.

III - EXECUTION

- 6) This work will consist of three parts (in four volumes) :
- i) THE HISTORY OF IDEAS IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS
(one volume)

This is to be a survey of the historical evolution of the idea of HUMAN RIGHTS using a transnational approach. This section would be compiled by an international group of historians, sociologists, philologists, political scientists, jurists, linguists, scientists, theologians and moralists specialized in HUMAN RIGHTS.

.....

ii) THE HISTORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE VARIOUS MEMBER STATES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY (two volumes).

A regional group of specialists (two directors for each of the six regions of the world) would be responsible for compiling this series of historical monographs.

iii) THE HISTORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTIONS - BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE (one volume).

This volume would deal with study of institutions (such as, slavery, habeas corpus, torture, Omsbudsman, etc...) which have marked international development of HUMAN RIGHTS. This work would be in the form of an encyclopedic dictionary of HUMAN RIGHTS

IV - PRODUCTION CALENDER

- 7) The work should be completed in 1989, at the latest. In the first stage it will be published in English and French. The four volumes together will make up approximately 2.000 pages.

V. Funds Requested

The JBI is asked to provide funds for research and compilation of the volumes on the History of Human Rights and Human Rights Institutions.

Funds requested from the Blaustein Institute: \$20,000.

HISTOIRE DES INSTITUTIONS

DES DROITS DE L'HOMME

(Répertoire encyclopédique)

BUDGET POUR 1986

- Assistant scientifique (1/2 temps) (charges sociales comprises)	10 000 \$
- Secrétaire sténo-dactylo (1/2 temps)	6 000 \$
- Frais de secrétariat (Y compris la traduction)	4 000 \$
	<hr/>
	20 000 \$

CALENDRIER POUR 1986

- Janvier : Finaliser la liste des entrées après consultation de quelques spécialistes.
- Février-Mars : Choix des auteurs et envoi des lettres.
- Juillet-Décembre : Mise au point des premiers manuscrits reçus et traduction du français vers l'anglais et vice-versa.

ANNEXE III

15 03 1985

COMPOSITION DU PREMIER BUREAU

PROVISOIRE DE L'ACADEMIE

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M. Kéba M'BAYE (Sénégal)
Juge à la Cour Internationale de Justice

VICE-PRESIDENTS :

Mme Badria AL AWADI (Koweït)
Professeur de Droit
Ancien Doyen de la Faculté de Droit de Koweït

M. Adam LOPATKA (Pologne)
Directeur de l'Institut de l'Etat et du Droit de
l'Académie des Sciences de Pologne

M. Willibald PAHR (Autriche)
Ambassadeur à BONN
Ancien Ministre des Affaires Etrangères

M. Diego URIBE VARGAS (Colombie)
Ambassadeur à PARIS
Ancien Ministre des Affaires Etrangères

M. Jérôme SHESTACK (Etats-Unis)
Président de la Ligue Internationale des Droits de
l'Homme
Ancien Ambassadeur auprès de la Commission des Droits
de l'Homme des Nations Unies

M. Sompong SUCHARITKUL (Thaïlande)
Ambassadeur à ROME et à ATHENES

CHANCELIER :

M. Karel VASAK (France)
Directeur à l'Unesco

TRESORIER :

M. Raymond AXELROUD (France)
Conseiller Honoraire du Président de la Société
Générale

MEMBRES :

M. Gérald ANTOINE (France)
Ancien Recteur

M. Michel BAROIN (France)
Président de la Garantie Mutuelle des Fonctionnaires
Président de l'Association Française pour l'Académie
Internationale des Droits de l'Homme

M. René Jean DUPUY (France)
Professeur au Collège de France

M. Ole ESPERSEN (Danemark)
Membre du Parlement danois
Ancien Ministre de la Justice

M. Gérard ISRAEL (France)
Ancien Député au Parlement Européen

M. Lucien KALFON (France)
Sous-Préfet

M. Louis PETTITI (France)
Juge à la Cour Européenne des Droits de l'Homme
Ancien Bâtonnier de l'Ordre des Avocats à la Cour
d'Appel de PARIS

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Professeur à l'Université de MADRID

M. Waleed SADI (Jordanie)
Ambassadeur à ANKARA



For consideration of
JBI Admin. Council
Jan. 13, 1986
Item III E

BLAUSTEIN FELLOWS TO 1986 SUMMER SESSION AT THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE
OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN STRASBOURG

For a number of years, the Blaustein Institute has subvented fellowships to assist students in law, political science and related disciplines to attend the summer sessions of the International Institute of Human Rights in Strasbourg, France. Last year the JBI subvented five fellows at \$500 each for a total of \$2,500.

Funds requested: \$2,500 (5 fellows at \$500 each)



For consideration of
JBI Admin. Council
Jan. 13, 1986
Item III F

PUBLICATION OF "STATE OF THE NATION" ANNUAL REPORT (NEW OUTLOOK)

New Outlook proposes to publish an annual "State of the Nation" report containing essays by Israeli Jewish and Arab public leaders and academics with the view toward affecting Israeli government policy and creating understanding of events and issues from a variety of perspectives.

New Outlook is associated with Mapam, Shulamit Aloni's Citizens Rights Movement (RATZ), and other "progressive" entities in Israel.

Queries: Does the Administrative Council feel the project should be pursued? Should it be undertaken by JBI/ Should it be referred to AJC's Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations? Others?

Funds requested: \$30,000.



PROPOSAL: PUBLICATION OF "STATE OF THE NATION" ANNUAL REPORT

BACKGROUND

Constantly caught in the midst of changing international and domestic pressures, Israeli society and government policy tend to be the product of immediate response to current events and the most pragmatic approach rather than the result of long-range planning and analysis.

PROPOSAL AND PURPOSE OF PROJECT

New Outlook believes it is in the long-range interest of all participating parties in the Arab-Israeli conflict to pursue peaceful coexistence and Israeli-Palestinian rapprochement. In this spirit, we are currently seeking funds to publish an annual "State of the Nation" report. New Outlook hopes this report will serve as a catalyst which forces the development of comprehensive Israeli internal and foreign policy through an understanding of individual events and specific trends.

Each "State of the Nation" report would include two or three essays per topic by Israeli Jewish and Arab public leaders, and top academics from various research institutes. A broad spectrum of political perspectives will be represented, including Palestinian leaders whenever relevant. Because New Outlook is not affiliated with any one political party, it is uniquely able to maintain contacts across party lines. The report will survey the particular issues and realistic alternatives currently facing the State of Israel, its citizens and those living under its occupation.

As a concise yearbook, the "State of the Nation" report will be of immediate value for its comprehensive analysis and of long term value as an educational reference work. Because of its specific purpose, New Outlook proposes to distribute the report free of charge to its targeted audience, policy makers in Israel, MKs and ministry officials. Those copies sold would be at a minimal cost, to encourage and enhance the report's effectiveness.

METHODS OF WORK

1) A special "State of the Nation" editorial board will be established under the auspices of and in conjunction with New Outlook, including the following persons:

Chaim Shur Editor-in-Chief New Outlook
Liora Barash Editor New Outlook
Zvi Kesseh

Chaim Shur
Editor-in-Chief

2) Topic coordinators will be selected, one for each area to be developed within the report. The contents of each report will follow the outline below:

- I. External Affairs
 - A. State of the Peace Process
 - B. Foreign Affairs
 - 1. Relations with other countries
 - 2. Relations with World Jewry
- II. Internal Affairs
 - A. The Economy
 - B. Political Parties
 - C. The Military
 - D. Democracy and Civil Rights
 - E. Education
 - F. Social and Ethnic issues
 - G. Jewish-Arab relations
 - H. Women's roles in a changing society
 - I. Culture, Arts and the Media

3) Study teams will be established for each of the areas to be covered. Contributors will be selected with a wide range of political affiliations regardless of ethnic background, the sole criterion for each being recognized performance and credibility in his or her respective field. Each survey report will conclude with a forecast of future problems and proposals to ameliorate these conditions.

4) A written report will be prepared for each topic. Published annually, in Hebrew and English, each "State of the Nation" report will be approximately 150-200 pages long; an abbreviated edition, approximately 100 pages long, is also considered at a reduced cost.

5) Distributed widely in Israel and abroad, the "State of the Nation" report develops both Israelis' understanding of their own future and the ability of outside parties to understand the complexities and alternatives currently facing Israeli society.

BUDGET

Based upon a three month preparatory period:

1) Writers' stipends-approximately 20 (\$300/essay)	\$6000
2) Translation fees-approximately 20 (\$300/essay)	\$3000
3) Editor's salary-\$600/month 3 month period	\$1800
4) Typist/secretarial fees-\$400/month 3 month period	\$1200
5) Publicity and Marketing	\$3000
6) Printing costs-Hebrew edition 3000 copies 150-200 pages	\$7000
7) Printing costs-English edition 300 copies 150-200 pages	\$7000
8) Miscellaneous expenses	\$1000
TOTAL BUDGET	\$30,000

Chaim Shur
Editor-in-Chief

IMPORTANCE OF NEW OUTLOOK

Since 1957, New Outlook has taken the initiative in calling for rapprochement between the conflicting parties in the region and in serving as a forum for the open expression of ideas. New Outlook's work is relevant for the following reasons:

A) New Outlook is respected as a patriotic Israeli magazine, part of the Israeli mainstream: it is trusted by Israel's peace groups as well as by the present mainstream moderate Palestinians, who have expressed respect for the continuous struggle New Outlook has carried on for Israeli-Arab accomodation in its 28 years of existence.

B) While New Outlook presents a wide spectrum of views, it is devoted to the pursuance of all possibilities for bridging the gap between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples, and as such, is highly regarded all over the world.

C) At this time, New Outlook has the potential, perhaps more than any other Israeli organization, to bridge the gap between Israelis and Palestinians and between the American Jewish/Zionist establishment and the Israeli peace camp.

D) New Outlook is a meeting ground for all peoples of good will who are concerned with finding a solution to the Middle East conflict and a place for dialogue, where divergent views regarding the conflict are openly expressed.

E) New Outlook has significantly upgraded its appearance and content, moving from an academic journal to a journalistically oriented Mid-East monthly. A more global perspective has been incorporated into the magazine.

F) Most importantly, New Outlook is a magazine with a vision and with a sense of mission.

THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN

INSTITUTE FOR

THE ADVANCEMENT

OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

165 EAST 56 STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 • CABLE WISHCOM, NEW YORK • TEL. PLAZA 1-4000

Re: Sakharov Fellowship (Clark)

Item IV

December 11, 1985

Professor Roger Clark
University of Miami School of Law
PO Box 248087
Coral Gables, Florida 33124

Dear Roger:

Your outline, as one might expect, is very comprehensive and excellent. I have only these thoughts for the present:

Would you want to tackle the regional dimension, about which (in contrast to UN) little has been written, to my knowledge? There are the Council of Europe and Helsinki, of course, but also other regional bodies or contexts. For example, I have a strong hunch there is a rich lode to tap in the Islamic region, as indicated in reports of the Conference of Islamic States. I perused recently its 1984 report and found it interesting indeed. There have been 15 or 16 of these so far. There may also be interesting tidbits in the documents of the OAS, OAU and Arab League.

Second, would you be able to say some things about the freedom perspectives of various religion or belief systems, as per the papers of the Philadelphia colloquium? Incidentally, the enclosed letter of invitation to a forthcoming April conference of the Council on Religion and International Affairs (CRIA) mentions the January 1986 issue of the Annals, which will be devoted to this subject. If you are interested, I might be able to swing an invitation for you.

Third, your Chapter III, to spell out the meaning of terms and the real scope of protected manifestations and their permitted limitations, is critical and probably would be the heart of the study, together with Chapter IV regarding forms of current and possible future UN follow-up.

Fourth, your Chapter V interests me particularly because it is the only one that moves out of the legal area and connects with non-lawyer audiences. This suggests that we should find an opportunity before long to discuss the question of target audiences. It may be that past Blaustein projects have leaned a bit too much in the direction of lawyer readers, so your Chapter V, which centers on educational approaches, is especially welcome.

Finally, Chapters I and II are obligatory as background, but there already exists some writing on those subjects, by Odio-Benito and others, especially

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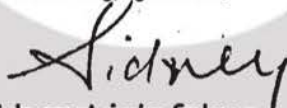
Roger Clark
December 11, 1985
Page 2

you--and even me--and perhaps therefore they could be merged or condensed.
But I leave this determination to you.

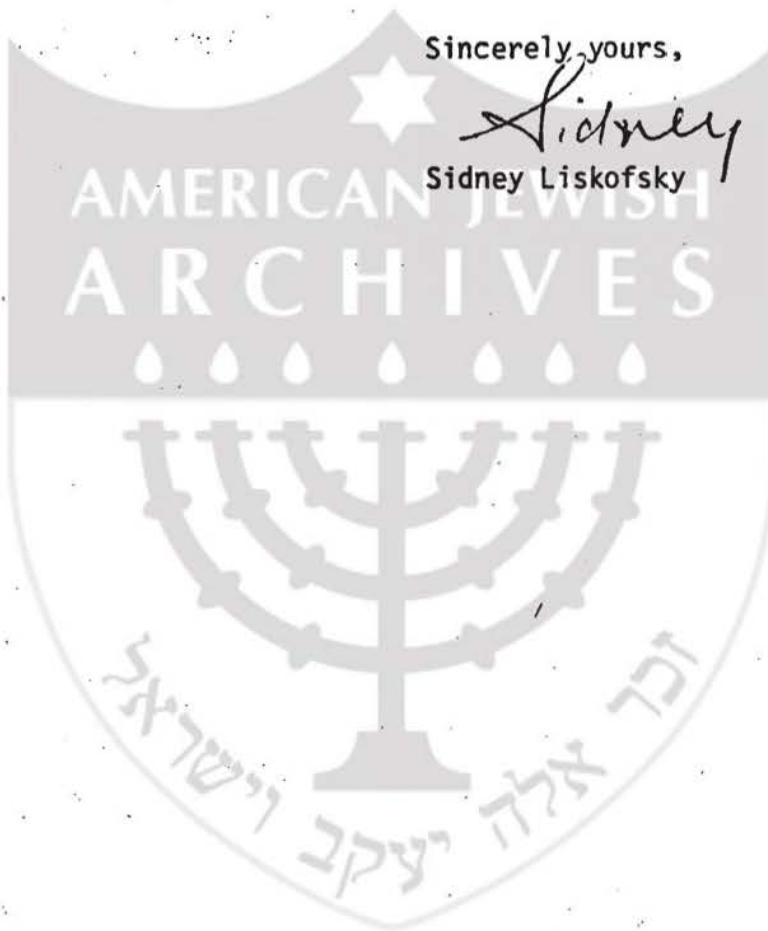
This will suffice for the present, but let's stay in touch. Meanwhile,
full speed ahead!

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,



Sidney Liskofsky



SL/DG

Outline November 1985

The United Nations and the Law of Religious Freedom

By Roger S. Clark

Chapter I. Introduction. Overview with particular reference to drafting of normative statements: the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Genocide Convention, the Covenants and the 1981 Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief.

Chapter II. History of drafting efforts with particular reference to problems encountered in drafting 1981 Declaration. The slow search for consensus between 1962 and 1981. Influence of NGOs, of the Holy See's post-Vatican II commitment to religious freedom, and of influential members of the Commission on Human Rights and the Third Committee of the General Assembly.

Chapter III. The 1981 Declaration and what it says. What is meant by "religion or belief"? What are intolerance and discrimination? What action is a state required to take to combat them? What manifestations of belief are protected by the Declaration? What must a state do to carry out its obligations? What analogies can be drawn between the international community's response to discrimination based on race and sex and that based on religion? What "manifestations" of religion and belief may a state regulate or prohibit?

Chapter IV. Other UN Efforts. The Krishnaswami and Odio Benito reports. The 1984 United Nations Seminar on the Encouragement of Understanding, Tolerance and Respect in Matters of Religion or Belief. The role of such studies and seminars in the promotion of human rights. The proposal for a Convention to follow up the Declaration. The proposal for a Working Group on Religious Freedom based on the Working Groups on Disappeared Persons and on Indigenous Populations. The experience of the Human Rights Committee in examining reports of State Parties to the Covenant for their compliance with Article 18 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The extent to which the UN's work on the protection of minorities and indigenous populations reflects on the issue of religious freedom.

Chapter V. The role of dialogue and education. Not all of the problems in the area are going to be solved through use of criminal or administrative law models. Subtler methods of working on the hearts and minds of people have to be utilized. This chapter will discuss the developments of ecumenical and inter-faith contacts, the rigorous re-examination of existing educational material to ensure that it is part of the solution rather than the problem and the development of new material. The work of UNESCO is relevant here as is that of nongovernmental organizations.

THE PROCEDURAL ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW INSTITUTE
1346 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 1027
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
202-293-1008

Item IV

12 December 1985

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New York University School of Law
Bibliographer

Mr. C.L.C. Mubanga-Chipoya
P.O. Box 50059
Lusaka, Zambia

Dear Mr. Mubanga-Chipoya:

I hope that you have received by now the copy of the PAIL study on the right to leave and return, and that it will be helpful as you begin to draft portions of your final report for the Sub-Commission.

We have discussed the possibility of a small meeting or conference on some of the issues raised in your study, and Professor Lillich and I recently had the opportunity of discussing funding of such a meeting with Steve Marks of the Ford Foundation and others in New York. While Ford has not yet made a formal commitment to fund a meeting, it does appear that they would be willing to do so under appropriate circumstances. The conference might be held in Strasbourg, Geneva, or New York; if it is Europe, both Alexandre Kiss of the International Institute of Human Rights in Strasbourg and Jiri Toman of the Henry Dunant Institute in Geneva have indicated their willingness to participate in organizing a small meeting of perhaps 15-20 experts in the field. In order to be able to contribute to your work, we thought that the best time might be in April or early May, before you begin your final drafting in Geneva.

You would, of course, be invited to any such meeting; indeed, I wondered if you might be willing to give a keynote address or chair a working panel, given your expertise in the subject. Would you be interested in attending a meeting in April or May? If so, how could we organize it so that it would be most helpful to the UN study? For example, we might be able to invite experts with specialized knowledge in areas which have been difficult for you to research thus far. Given your extremely busy schedule, would you have any preference between a meeting in Geneva or New York?

You will appreciate that organization of a spring meeting (and the necessary formal application to Ford for funding) must begin as soon as possible, and I would appreciate your response to the above ideas and

any suggestions you might have at your earliest convenience.

In the meantime, I hope that your work in Zambia is going well, and I look forward to seeing either in Geneva or here in the near future.

Yours sincerely,



Hurst Hannum
Executive Director

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

cc: Stephen Marks, Ford Foundation

bcc: ✓ Sidney Liskofsky
Richard Lillich
Jiri Toman
Alex Kiss





THE PROCEDURAL ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW INSTITUTE
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11 December 1985

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Sidney Liskofsky, Esq.
Program Director
Jacob Blaustein Institute for the
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165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Stephen Marks, Esq.
Program Officer
Human Rights and Governance
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, NY 10017

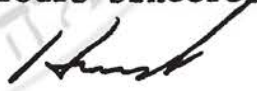
Re: PAIL study on the right to leave and return

Dear Sidney and Steve:

Enclosed please find a final financial accounting of expenditures related to the above-referenced project (Ford grant no. 845-0747). This completes our final report to you on the grants, and supplements the study itself and accompanying letter sent on 19 November 1985.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if I can provide you with any additional information.

Yours sincerely,


Hurst Hannum
Executive Director

cc: Richard B. Lillich
Harry A. Inman

THE RIGHT TO LEAVE AND TO RETURN:
UPPSALA REVISITED

Final Accounting

Funds received

Jacob Blaustein Institute	\$25,000 ¹	
Ford Foundation (No. 845-0747)	<u>25,000</u>	
	50,000	<u>50,000</u>

Expenditures

Research and writing (PAIL Executive Director)	26,400 ²	
Travel and related expenses (Primary researcher travel to Geneva; meetings of informal advisory panel in Geneva, New York, and Washington; misc. domestic travel)	6,858	
Research and secretarial assistance	1,745	
Other direct expenses (telephone, photocopying, postage, & misc.)	<u>1,370</u>	
	36,373	36,373
PAIL Overhead	13,627	<u>13,627</u>
		<u>50,000</u>

Notes:

1 This reflects the total grant of \$25,000, although the final payment of \$5,000 has not yet been actually received.

2 Based on an estimate of 40% of Executive Director's time during the 18-month period (June 1984 through November 1985) of the project.

Box 50041
S-104 05 Stockholm
Sweden

Mr. Sidney Liskofsky
Program Director
The Jacob Blaustein Institute
for the Advancement of Human Rights
165 East 56th Street
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Liskofsky,

I appologize very much for my very late answer on your letter from August 29 and Ms. Sherman Letter from September 24. There are several reasons for it - I had a guestprofessorship in Frankfurt whole spring and part of the summer, my secretary from the Foundation left and I was unable to find a replacement and when I finally came to Stockholm I was very much involved with the production of the book A Besieged Culture - Czechoslovakia Ten Years after Helsinki, which must had to be ready to the European Cultural Forum in Budapest. The Foundation had also produced two other books - but the costs were high: our correspondence and many other things were neglected. I am sending to you by air mail all three book - please have understanding for my situation - it was physically impossible to do anything else during this period.

Only now, in the middle of November, the things are slowly returning to normal. I would first like to thank for the check for US \$ 812 which arrived in the beginning of October. With respects to our projects. As I wrote you earlier, the book of Dr. Komarkova is ready, sett and will be printed in Czech in the very near future. As soon I will have a copy, I will send it to you and ask for a review in English some of the experienced philosophers - to decide whether we should make the translation of the book or at least part of it. (Please note the contribution of Dr. Komarkova in the book A Besieged Culture). Professor Hajek is working on his manuscript, I have now about 150 pages (40 lines each), the next part is under way. This project is somewhat delayed due to many objective circumstances - the problems, professor Hajek has with his son (you will get from me a documentation on this case in a few days), the almost permanent police harrasment of professor Hajek etc. Nevertheless I am sure that the manuscript will be ready quite soon and will be interesting.

I do hope that this short report will satisfy you - I will have soon a new secretary and then I will be able to write you more.

Sincerely

Frantisek Janouch

Stockholm, November 14, 1985
Copy: Phyllis Sherman

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CORTE INTERAMERICANA DE DERECHOS HUMANOS
COUR INTERAMERICAINE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME
CÔRTE INTERAMERICANA DE DIREITOS HUMANOS
INTER-AMERICAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

APARTADO 6908 - 1030 SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA

Item IV

PRESS RELEASE OF
THE INTER-AMERICAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

On September 4, 1985 Judge Thomas Buergenthal, Professor of International Law, Emory University Law School, Atlanta, Georgia was elected president (chief justice) of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. The Court, established in 1979 under the auspices of the Organization of American States, has its permanent seat in San José, Costa Rica.

Buergenthal, the only American judge on this seven-member Court, is a distinguished international lawyer, human rights expert, and legal educator. Until recently, he was the dean of the American University Law School in Washington, D.C.

Judge Rafael Nieto Navia, of Colombia, was elected Vice President of the Court. The other judges are nationals of Costa Rica, Honduras, Jamaica, Peru and Venezuela.

The main function of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights is to apply and interpret the American Convention on Human Rights. Nineteen OAS Member States are parties to this international agreement which seeks to guarantee basic civil and political rights and fundamental freedoms.

For immediate release.

Contact person Charles Moyer, Esq. (506) 25-22-22 / 25-33-33

To S.L.

FACETS

January 5, 1986

Jacob Blaustein Institute
American Jewish Committee
165 E 56
New York 10022

Dear Persons,

I am writing to inform you of the publication of the HUMAN RIGHTS FILM GUIDE, a comprehensive resource book to films and videotapes that deal with issues of human rights.

Facets Multimedia is a non-profit independent film center in Chicago and distributor of the Amnesty International USA film and human rights film library. Milos Stehlik, director of Facets and co-editor, and I have been involved in presenting human rights films and produced this book in response to the desire for more practical information among educators and activists who seek to use film in their work. The book was produced on a small foundation grant with my research and labor on a volunteer basis and we are distributing the book ourselves, with some help from Amnesty International and other organizations like HUMAN RIGHTS INTERNET (for which I have done some research work on this topic as well). We would greatly appreciate any assistance your institute could provide in letting people know that this resource is available.

In a separate but related request, I would like to know more about the institute's activities in support of projects or publications that "communicate about human rights", in addition to your support for HRI and Index on Censorship, for example. I am currently a masters degree student in Communication at the University of Illinois and I am preparing to do a thesis that extends my work on film and video and the presentation of human rights issues; I am aware that you have sent students in law to the Strasbourg summer session on international human rights and I am wondering, in general, if my area of interest coincides with the goals of the Blaustein Institute. If it is appropriate, I would wish to address a more formal letter to you in this regard and thus await your response.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



News

Facets Multimedia, Inc., 1517 West Fullerton Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60614

For further information contact: Milos Stehlik or James Madigan (312) 281-9075

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

July 15, 1985

HUMAN RIGHTS FILM GUIDE PUBLISHED BY FACETS MULTIMEDIA

The HUMAN RIGHTS FILM GUIDE, an extensive guide to films and videotapes dealing with subjects of human rights has been published by Facets Multimedia, Chicago's non-profit media and performing arts organization. The 120-page paperback book is edited by Anne Gelman and Milos Stehlik, and is the result of over two years of research into audio-visual materials dealing with human rights themes as defined by the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights. The GUIDE identifies, describes and provides rental or purchase sources for more than 400 films and videotapes. The films and videotapes are listed by broad subject areas, and cross-indexed by title, country and geographic region.

Other information provided for each film or videotape includes length, format, names of filmmakers or producers. As well, the GUIDE provides names and addresses of distributors, other programming resources and general information about organizing public screenings with the films or tapes listed in the book.

Subjects covered by films and tapes listed in the GUIDE include civil and political rights, imprisonment and torture, the rights of indigenous peoples, basic human needs, as well as broad human rights subjects such as freedom of expression, assembly and the right to organize.

Publication of The HUMAN RIGHTS FILM GUIDE was made possible, in part, by grants from the J. Roderick MacArthur and the Playboy Foundations.

Cost of the HUMAN RIGHTS FILM GUIDE is \$7.50 postpaid (\$6.95 cover price) from Facets Multimedia, 1517 West Fullerton Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

Jacob Laustein Institute for Human Rights
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th St.
New York, NY 10022

Jan. 8 1986

Dear Sirs,

I am presently a Visiting Scholar at Harvard University Law School and at the Harvard Center for International Affairs on leave from Bar Ilan University, the Department of Political Science. The reason I am writing you concerns my research project, The Trial and Pursuit of the Nazi War Criminals, 1945-1985. I have enclosed both a Curriculum Vitae and a project outline.

I am interested in two things - information and funding. Does the Jacob Laustein Institute have any information on my subject or can it help me find this information? Second, what are the funding possibilities, if any, for my project available at your institute? My project is a large-scale project in which I must gather information from experts on the subject in the U.S., Canada and abroad. I also want to review trials from different countries. I could use research assistants, a typist, translators, where necessary (I myself am fluent in Hebrew, French, Spanish and have a reading knowledge of German).

Thank you for your interest in my project. I think it is important since - contrary to popular opinion - no comprehensive academic work has been done on the entire period and little written attempting to gain an overview of this subject. Few people are as well equipped academically as I am to undertake this project, being an expert in both International Relations and International Law.

Sincerely,

E R Cohen

Dr. Esther Rosalind Cohen
134 Middlesex Rd., Apt. 1
Chestnut Hill, Newton, MA 02167

CURRICULUM VITAE

Dr. Esther Rosalind (Newman) Cohen
Efrata St. 24/12
Jerusalem, Israel 93384
Phone: (02) 721-887

currently in Boston:
134 Middlesex Rd., Apt.1
Chestnut Hill, Newton, MA 02167
Phone: (617) 731-3353

PUBLICATIONS:

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE ISRAELI OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, 1967-1982
(University of Manchester Press, Melland Schill Series on
International Law, 1985) (can be ordered from Manchester
University Press, 51 Washington St., Dover, New Hampshire
03820. Tel (603) 742-4684)

International Criticism of Israeli Security Measures (Peace
Paper, Leonard Davis Institute on International Relations, the
Hebrew University, 1984)

Justice for Occupied Territory? The Israel High Court of Justice
Paradigm (will appear in 24:3 Columbia Journal of Transnational
Law, March 1986)

The Israeli High Court of Justice as Protector of Human Rights
in the Occupied Territories (will appear in upcoming issue of
Middle East Review, 1985)

CURRENT RESEARCH:

THE TRIAL AND PURSUIT OF THE NAZI CRIMINALS, 1945-1985

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE TERRITORIES UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND:

Status: Married, two children, aged 11 and 8
1948 Born U.S.A.

1970 B.H.L. (Bachelor of Hebrew Letters) Jewish Theological
Seminary, New York. Majored in Jewish History

1970 B.A. Columbia University, New York. Majored in American
and European History

1973 M.A. Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Department of Inter-
national Relations. Specialized in International Law
and International Politics with a special interest in
the Middle East conflict

1971-73 Research and teaching assistant in the Department of
International Relations, the Hebrew University, in the
subjects "Development of International Relations" and
"International Law and Institutions"

1973-81 Doctoral student and assistant lecturer in the Depart-
ment of International Relations, the Hebrew University.
Thesis topic: THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION AND HUMAN
RIGHTS: THE CASE OF THE ISRAELI OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

1982 Date of receipt of doctorate

SPECIAL ACADEMIC HONORS:

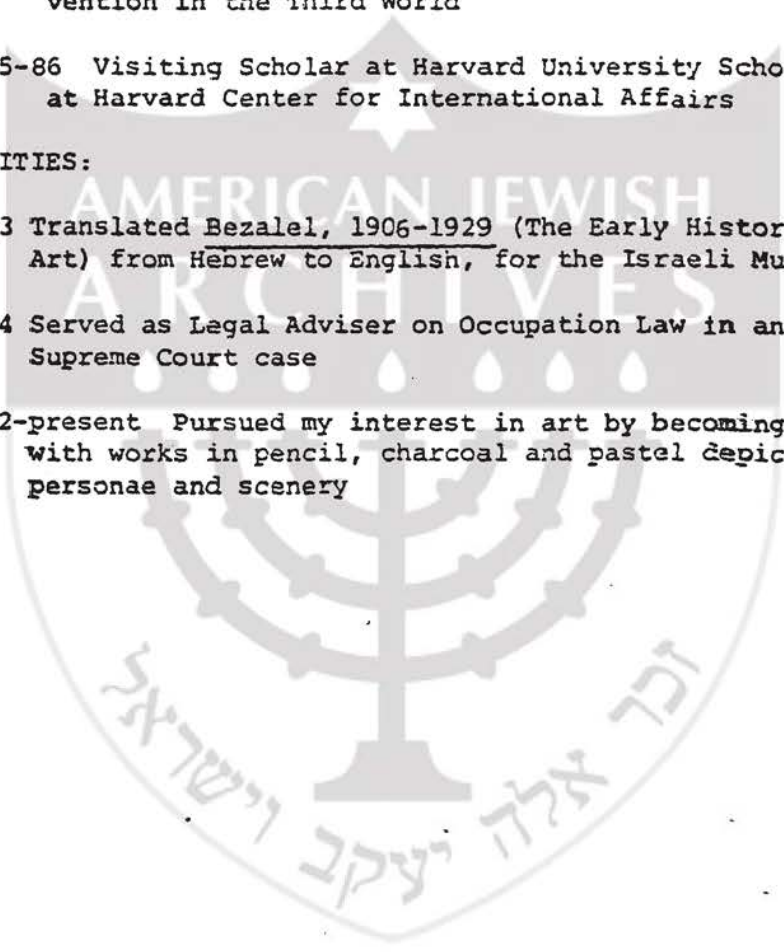
- 1978 Recipient of the Ya'acov Herzog Memorial Award for International Relations, the Hebrew University
- 1985 Recipient of the Association of American University Women Fellowship, Washington, D.C.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES:

- 1981 Lecturer at Tel Aviv University on International Law and Institutions
- 1983-85 Lecturer at the Political Science Department, Bar Ilan University on International Law and on Superpower Intervention in the Third World
- 1985-86 Visiting Scholar at Harvard University School of Law and at Harvard Center for International Affairs

OTHER ACTIVITIES:

- 1983 Translated Bezalel, 1906-1929 (The Early History of Israeli Art) from Hebrew to English, for the Israeli Museum
- 1984 Served as Legal Adviser on Occupation Law in an Israeli Supreme Court case
- 1982-present Pursued my interest in art by becoming an artist with works in pencil, charcoal and pastel depicting Israeli personae and scenery



THE TRIAL AND PURSUIT OF THE NAZI WAR CRIMINALS, 1945 - 1985
DR. ESTHER ROSALIND COHEN

1. An elementary question of justice concerning the greatest mass criminals of our time is the subject of this research project. The Allied nations after World War II had the responsibility for trying and pursuing the Nazi War Criminals and avenging the Holocaust wrought by them on the Jews, gypsies, victims of the Euthenasia program, etc. Even at Nuremberg, however, the uniqueness of these crimes of genocide were confused with war crimes, and the uniqueness of the Jews as particular targets for desecration was subsumed under the rubricum of the various nationalities of Axis occupation. The division of Germany into four occupied zones and the initiation of subsequent proceedings in each zone meant that many Nazis and Nazi collaborators could flee summary Soviet justice to the British and American zones - and benefit from the leniency of their denazification programs - a leniency bred by Cold War calculations and the necessity of rebuilding West Germany as a bulwark against Communism. The saga of the Nazi War Criminals continued - via Vatican aid (Austrian Bishop Aloise Hudal), the Spanish connection (die Spinne), the escapes to Argentina and Arab countries. Up until recently most people assumed that the majority of the War Criminals had escaped to these places. Now it is known that the majority went to Canada or the United States - where they lived as 'quiet neighbors' or served the CIA or NASA - or simply remained in West Germany, returning to their former positions of prominence. The tale I wish to tell will investigate the motivations of the Great Powers with regard to these criminals during Nuremberg, during denazification, after the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany, and will review the trial procedures undertaken in all these countries and the results of these procedures.

2. The project involves aspects of International Relations - i.e., concerning the relations between the Great Powers during the Cold War, British relations with the Jewish people owing to its Middle East connections and mandate over Palestine -

THE TRIAL AND PURSUIT OF THE NAZI WAR CRIMINALS, 1945-1985
DR. ESTHER ROSALIND COHEN

and aspects of International Criminal Law and internal American, Canadian, German law, etc. War crimes trials, questions of extradition and deportation of these criminals, and the possibility of extradition to Israel (e.g. the upcoming case of John (Ivan) Demjanjuk in the U.S.).

3. Basic assumptions:

The British presence in the Middle East and the Cold War affected the resolution of the Great Powers with regard to the trial and pursuit of the Nazi War Criminals.

Public opinion in Germany is largely against these trials and wishes to "conquer the past" by forgetting the Nazi past.

Only recently has public opinion in the U.S. and Canada become supportive of these trials, but the procedures are lengthy and cumbersome, chances for success small.

Most of the Nazi War Criminals are alive and well in West Germany, having been "denazified" in 1947-8, and have largely retained their positions of power.

The trials of such criminals need to continue in order to assure that people remember the past and not repeat it, in order to counter the "Big Lie" propaganda - the denials of the Holocaust - by neo-Nazi groups, as well as to bring these criminals to justice - a basic question of justice for any law-abiding society.

4. Research involves the reading of cases against Nazi War Criminals conducted in the Allied zones, in the Federal Republic, in Israel, the U.S., Canada, Holland, France, where material is readily available, and hopefully cases from Eastern Europe (or at least statistics concerning these cases). I will also make use of books and reports concerning the use of German scientists and spies by the U.S. and Soviet Union after World War II, Allied government documents concerning denazification procedures in the occupation zones, and statistics of the Federal Republic's Office for the Prosecution of Nazi War Criminals.

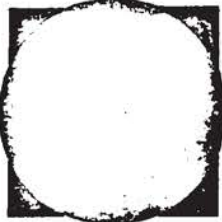
5. This project is intended to be a major authoritative work on the subject of

THE TRIAL AND PURSUIT OF THE NAZI WAR CRIMINALS, 1945-1985

DR. ESTHER ROSALIND COHEN

the Nazi War Criminals and their Axis collaborators. While certain areas of this work have been touched upon in other books, never has any one book attempted to review the entire post World War II period, giving such a vast overview of all the different countries to which the Nazis fled, an analysis of the amount brought to justice, and the extent and validity of that justice.





THE PROCEDURAL ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW INSTITUTE
1346 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 1027
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
202-293-1008

20 January 1986

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New York University School of Law
Bibliographer

Sidney Liskofsky, Esq.
Program Director
Jacob Blaustein Institute
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Sidney:

Enclosed please find a revised and enlarged proposal to fund international law fellowships for women and minorities. We submitted copies to you, as well as Ford and Exxon, last summer, and after a lengthy discussion at Ford two weeks ago we have revised the proposal along the lines of the enclosure. I hope that you will give it your serious consideration and that the three foundations, and perhaps other ones as well, can collaborate to fund it.

I was very pleased with the final report of the Right to Leave project, and whether or not Chip is interested I do hope that a modest international law conference can be convened to consider it and come out with a "Uppsala Revisited" resolution. In any event, I think some of our fears about the direction the Sub-commission might go two or three years ago have been ~~delayed~~, and should problems materialize at least this report, either as part of an eventual conference report or as an independent article published by Hurst, should provide plenty of ammunition for persons genuinely interested in this right. /defused,

The ILA States of Emergency project that I am administering is coming along reasonably well, and our Committee plans to meet in Geneva March 14-15 to discuss a draft Interim Report. The Commission winds up its business that week, I understand, so if there is any chance that you will be in Geneva then, please let me know and I shall see that you are invited to our Committee meeting, along with about another half-dozen



Sidney Liskofsky, Esq.
20 January 1986
Page 2

observers including Alex Kiss, Niall MacDermot,
Walter Tarnopolsky and Jiri Toman.

Best regards,

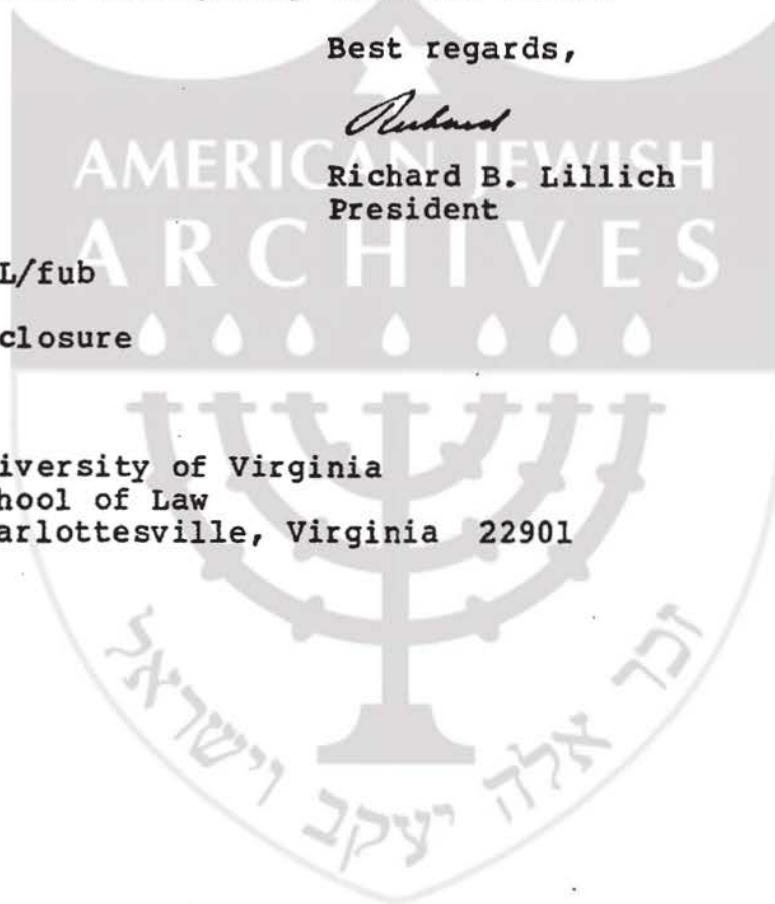
Richard

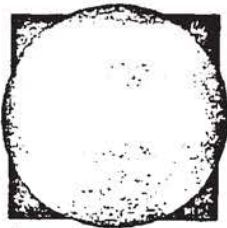
Richard B. Lillich
President

RBL/fub

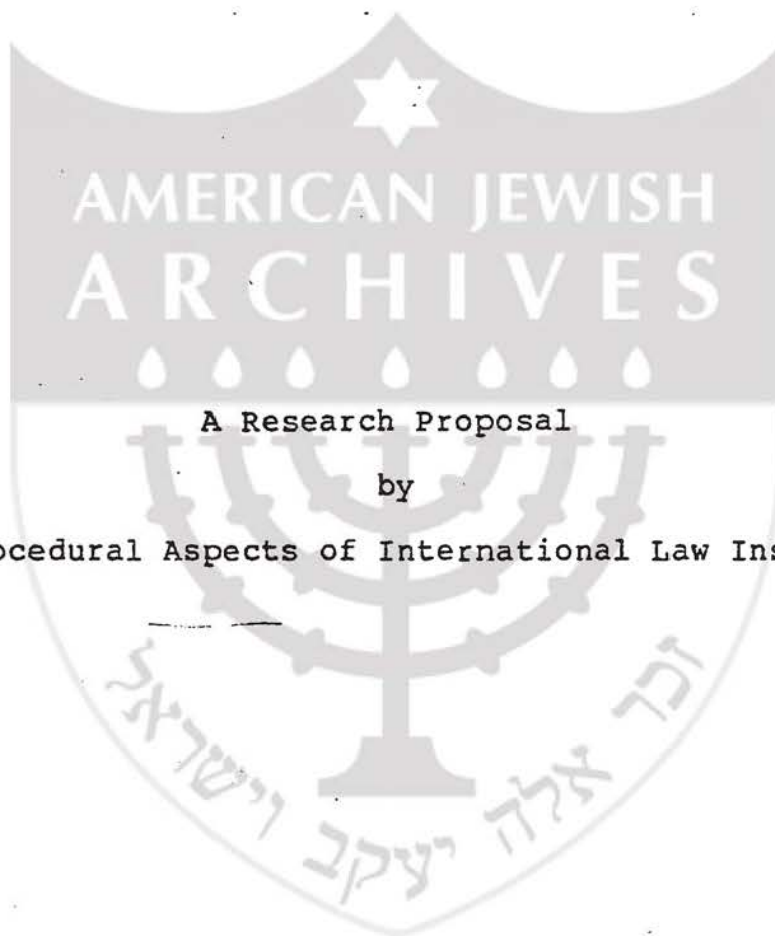
Enclosure

University of Virginia
School of Law
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901





ESTABLISHMENT OF PAIL RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS
IN INTERNATIONAL LAW FOR YOUNG WOMEN AND
MEMBERS OF MINORITY GROUPS



A Research Proposal

by

The Procedural Aspects of International Law Institute

Winter 1986

ESTABLISHMENT OF PAUL RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS
IN INTERNATIONAL LAW FOR YOUNG WOMEN AND
MEMBERS OF MINORITY GROUPS

According to the 1984-1985 Directory of Law Teachers, there are 188 professors in the United States who have been teaching international law for six years or more; five are women. Among professors who have taught for five years or less, the proportion is only slightly better, with 21 women out of a total of 205. Of over 500 individual members of the American Branch of the International Law Association, approximately 50 are women, while the Board of Editors of the American Journal of International Law includes only two women (one a U.K. subject) out of 39 regular and honorary members. No comparable figures are readily available concerning the proportion of minorities involved in international law, but it would be surprising if their numbers were much higher than the figures for women.

This dramatic imbalance may be attributable to at least two factors. First, of course, is the general underrepresentation of women and minorities in the professions due to discrimination or traditional cultural stereotyping. The second factor seems to relate more directly to international law itself; women (for some unexplained reason) are even less active in international law than they are in other branches of the profession such as anti-trust, corporate, tax, or even constitutional law. While there are several young women lawyers active in international human rights work, with rare exceptions neither they nor the increasing numbers of women and minorities in the law have had the time or opportunity to establish themselves through the traditional

avenues of research, publication, and other professional activities.

In order to increase the international law opportunities available to women and members of disadvantaged groups, the Institute proposes to develop and administer a number of PAIL Research Fellowships in International Law, whose recipients would be restricted to women or minority group members (U.S. and perhaps in some instances foreign) 35 years old or less. These fellowships would be designed to support part-time projects of three to twelve months' duration, although a grantee might choose to spend the summer months or take a short leave of absence from private practice in order to devote full-time to a particular project. The age limitation is designed to ensure that recent law school graduates and young lawyers are encouraged to develop expertise and acquire a reputation in international law and thus gradually redress the imbalance cited in the opening paragraphs of this proposal. Each fellowship project will develop expertise and experience in procedural and other aspects of international law and will be arranged to complement the grantee's otherwise full-time occupation in academia, private practice, or government service. Research normally will be undertaken at the grantee's own institution, although PAIL will facilitate access to specialized collections or other materials as appropriate.

Strict substantive guidelines will not be imposed on potential grantees, although the grants will naturally seek to encourage research in the areas of PAIL's expertise, *i.e.*, international procedures, remedies, and dispute settlement. Research in both public and private international law will be

supported and, in general, will reflect such established areas of interest to the Institute as human rights; international claims settlements; autonomy, self-determination, and ethnic conflict; international economic issues, including North-South differences in areas such as trade and telecommunications; and the potential for international regulation in areas as diverse as the sale of human organs for transplantation, migrant workers, and the export of hazardous substances.

The fellowship projects will be developed through applications from potential grantees and subsequent consultation with PAIL. On occasion a project may directly complement other Institute research, but in every instance the work should be sufficiently independent to merit publication in a law journal or some other appropriate forum. Maximum flexibility in coordinating the proposed research with a grantee's other professional obligations will be emphasized; it is expected that grants will average about \$10,000 and that four to six Research Fellows will be selected each year. Successful applicants will be selected by a five-person panel including the Institute's President, Professor Richard B. Lillich, and four other members selected from the Institute's Board of Trustees and Advisory Council.

Publicity for the Research Fellowships in International Law will be ensured through direct mailings to law schools, bar association newsletters, private firms, and professional associations in the U.S. and abroad. As research is completed and the results published, acknowledgement of the PAIL Research

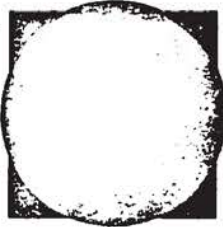
Fellowship program also will encourage additional applicants.

The 1982 Annual Report of the Ford Foundation stated that "concern for the welfare of women pervades the Foundation's activities;" its "long-standing commitment to action on problems confronting blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, poor women, and other disadvantaged groups" is reiterated in the 1982-1983 pamphlet on the Foundation's current interests. This proposed program of fellowships for young women and members of minorities will enable the Ford Foundation to promote in a highly cost-efficient manner the intellectual and professional advancement of these groups in the increasingly important area of private and public international law. The PAIL Institute's reputation and expertise and its successful completion of numerous projects funded by the Ford Foundation will help to achieve the goals of furthering needed research and assisting minority and women lawyers in making a significant contribution to the development of international law and the legal profession. An important pool of first-rate women and minority lawyers concerned with and versed in the procedural aspects of international law thus will be created.

Although administering such a fellowship program is a new venture for the Institute, over the past ten years it has developed considerable expertise on the educational as well as the research side of international law, including the holding of law teachers' conferences, the preparation of educational materials and the compilation of specialized bibliographies. Running a small, experimental fellowship program such as is proposed herein is a natural outgrowth of such activities. Financial support for the program is sought for an initial two-

year period, although it is hoped that successful implementation of the project would lead to continuing support. A detailed budget totalling \$^{41,250}~~150,000~~ for the two-year period 1986-1988 is attached.





PROPOSED TWO-YEAR BUDGET

Grants to Research Fellows over period of two years 1986-1988		\$100,000 ¹
Direct administrative expenses:		
Printing & distribution of announcements of grant availability (once each year)	(1,000)	
Secretarial assistance (200 hrs./year @ \$7.50/hr.)	(3,000)	
Telephone, postage, copying of proposals, supplies, etc.	(2,000)	
Stipend for PAIL Executive Director as project administrator (\$1,000/yr.)	(2,000)	
Honorarium for five persons on review panel (\$500/yr.)	(5,000)	13,000
PAIL overhead (25%)		28,250
		<hr/>
	TOTAL REQUESTED	\$141,250

¹ It is estimated that four to six Fellows will be chosen each year; they will receive stipends averaging \$10,000. The average grant period will run from three to twelve months, but maximum flexibility will be maintained in order to accommodate a wide range of research interests and the varying personal situations of grantees.

Impact of the Pollard Affair: Current Assessment

Although both the governments of Israel and the United States have been understandably and appropriately guarded in reporting on the findings of the U.S. investigative team headed by Abraham Sofaer, several positive factors were noted: the issue is no longer on the front pages; no new cases or revelations were reported; and relations between both countries have essentially returned to normal.

The joint U.S.-Israeli Political/Military Group working on strategic cooperation continued to meet right through the whole affair. Israel participated in the scheduled Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) meeting. The so-called "tank technology" case, in which the F.B.I. raided three east coast arms production facilities accused of illegally transferring technology to Israel was closed immediately when it was demonstrated that there was no impropriety on Israel's part. Perhaps most significantly, in the midst of the crisis, Vice President Bush, in carefully constructed remarks at a Yeshiva University convocation, referred to the Pollard affair in the context of warning that one such isolated occurrence must not be allowed to become the pretext for anti-Semitism or anti-Israel sentiments. Finally, the Strategy Committee noted that, with the exception of a few editorial cartoons--the editorial medium most prone to idiosyncratic rhetorical or graphic excess--the editorial sentiment of newspapers across the country closely paralleled the Administration's firm but not hostile reaction.

While the overall picture is, for the moment both quiet and essentially positive in these respects, the Strategy Committee took note that the issue will resurface when Pollard goes to trial. Where and when that will occur is not known at this time. We will, of course, reexamine the issue at such time as it is likely to resurface and update our recommendations.

CVB/gl

O,EX,CHAIR,ITF.NJ,I,PCO