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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

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Series A: Writings and Addresses. 1947-1991

Box 7, Folder 7, News articles by Marc H. Tanenbaum, 1990-1991, Undated.



Monument to anguish

Jerusalem, Feb 11/2/90

Marc Tanenbaum

THE RECENT announcement from Warsaw by several Jewish individuals declaring their intention "to conserve and preserve the decaying buildings and exhibits at Auschwitz" would seem to be an honourable objective.

The association of the name of former U.S. ambassador to Austria Ronald Lauder with that project would lend credibility to its noble purpose. From my own visits and experiences in Europe, I know firsthand that through his foundation, Lauder has made notable contributions in helping rebuild synagogues and provide cultural centres for East European Jews, among other acts of generosity.

But the announcement of the Auschwitz preservation project has triggered a behind-the-scenes discussion among Jewish leadership which is yet to surface. The issues have to do with process and timing.

Auschwitz is not a synagogue or a cultural centre. It is the anguished moral inheritance of all Jews of the 20th century, and of the generations that will follow.

A wide range of Jewish leaders have told me that no one involved in launching this historic project has consulted them. None of the major Jewish survivor groups, which include numerous Auschwitz survivors, were invited to share their views in advance. It would be tragic, indeed, if this sensitive project were to deteriorate into a public conflict among Jews over such real issues as:

What should be the nature of the conservation project? Is it at all wise to remodel the gas chambers and bunkers, or allow them to stand as raw testimonies to the original Nazi brutalities? Is there a danger that Auschwitz will be made into a shrine – the very objection that Jews held against the Catholic convent there? Will it become a tourist site with manicured gardens and picnic grounds, much as Dachau has become?

Representative Jewish leaders, especially from the Holocaust survivor groups, have not only a right but a duty to make their views known on how they wish to see Auschwitz preserved for the future.

It is not too late to begin that process of responsible discussion and decision-making that will affect the soul of world Jewry for generations.

The author is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee, and is immediate past president of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

Opinion

The 1990s -- Challenges And Opportunities

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

In speculating on what the upcoming 1990s might hold for the Jewish people, Dorothy Baker's well-known bon mot comes to mind: "Jews are like everybody else, only more so!"

No serious reflection on Jewish interests in the 1990s can take place without locating them within the geopolitical forces of East-West and North-South relations.

The massive revolutions for democracy and in opposition to the ancient regimes of Communist tyranny will have fateful, and ambiguous, consequences not only for European Jewry, but for Jews everywhere, and especially for Israel.

Glasnost and perestroika will continue to result in massive emigration for Soviet Jewry, probably the dominant human issue for world Jewry in the 1990s. The challenges to financial and human resources for resettlement will be monumental and will call for unparalleled commitment and patience. The provision of Jewish religious, cultural and educational support for the million-plus Jews who opt to remain in the Soviet Union will be a parallel commanding Jewish concern.

Glasnost has made possible unprecedented freedom of speech in the Soviet Union and in the East European countries, and certainly that human right is to be welcomed by Jews. But now, right-wing, nationalist and bitterly anti-

Semitic groups, foremost among them the Pamyat, are beginning to have a field day in spewing out their anti-Jewish bile. Echoes of that historic anti-Jewish bias now circulates in the cultural bloodstreams of Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Rumania and the other formerly Communist tyrannies.

Knowledgeable and skillful Jewish leadership will have their hands full counteracting both the anti-Semitic and anti-Israel biases which have surfaced on both sides of the collapsed Iron Curtain.

The Vatican, which has quietly emerged as a major architect in mobilizing the anti-Communist forces in Eastern Europe, could play a constructive role in countering the religion-based anti-Semitism — that is, if Jews do not manage to alienate the Vatican completely by strident, reckless attacks on the Pope and the Catholic Church when a moderate, diplomatic strategy would prove to be far more effective in the Jewish interest.

World Jewry will also have to be vigilant over the potential negative impact of a reunification of East Germany with the Federal Republic of West Germany. Four decades of the GDR's hostility toward Israel and its pro-PLO, pro-terrorist activity could become a serious negative influence on West Germany's positive attitudes toward Jews and Israel. Watch that closely in the 1990s.



The North-South coordinate's impact on Jews and Israel is nowhere more dramatically shown than in the current surrealistic drama in Panama. While the Panamanian struggle was, in general, a conflict between U.S. and pro-democratic forces and Noriega's drug-sustained tyranny, when the looting started, Panamanian Jewish shopkeepers and business-people got the worst of it. Undoubtedly, Latin American Jewry will look increasingly to their North American co-religionist for appropriate aid, both political and economic.

As my mother of blessed memory used to say to describe a special Jewish pleasure: "A Jewish pleasure is a cool Yom Kippur." I worry with my fellow Jews, whether the 1990s with all its upheavals might not be a "cool Yom Kippur."

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Jewish Observer Synagogue 11/1/90
Prospects for New Year

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Sees Tutu Exhibiting Anti-Jewish Attitude

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(Copyright 1990, JTA, Inc.)

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Suzman — as did we all — bristled with anger. She was the first member of the South African parliament to campaign against the evils of apartheid more than a quarter century before Tutu was on the scene. She also organized the first liberal party in South Africa to combat apartheid.

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Early Form of Apartheid

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Now, on his latest visit to Israel, he flamboyantly calls for the creation of a Palestinian state, and calls on the Jews to forgive the Nazis. Support unconditionally for a PLO-dominated state is another irresponsible monkey wrench tossed gratuitously into the delicate peace process that is painstakingly being put together.

And while affronting Jews for not forgiving the Nazis sounds very Christian, I have not yet heard Archbishop Tutu call on 23 million blacks in South Africa to forgive the racist Afrikaners.

Indeed, this self-styled disciple of Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi declared on Jan. 25, 1986, in New York, "I believe there are situations where one has to use force."

Examining the record of Archbishop Tutu's declarations over recent years, I have come to the conclusion that his mind-set is that of the medieval Christian tradition, which believed that Jews are morally exhausted and that Christianity has come to supersede Judaism as a "superior" form of religion. Thus, we see it is classic anti-Judaism which feeds his consistent pattern of anti-Jewish attitudes. Some Nobel Peace Prize laureate!

Biologist's Finding

REHOVOT — A hole in the ozone layer in the earth's atmosphere over Israel would wreak havoc with the small nation's ability to grow food crops. That's the finding of a Weizmann Institute molecular biologist who has studied the impact on plant life if the skies over Israel were to suddenly stop filtering out most of the ultraviolet-B rays of sunshine. With 20 minutes the mid-day Middle Eastern sun would begin disrupting, thanks to the UV-B rays, a green plant's ability to carry out photosynthesis, according to Weizmann Prof. Marvin Edelman. The trouble, he found, would be with the plant's capacity to synthesize an essential protein - 32KDa-D1.

Archbishop Tutu's comments demand reply

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Archbishop Tutu Holds Anti Jewish Mind-Set

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viewpoint

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11/11/90

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Friday, Jan. 12, 1990

AN JEWISH
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Tutu More Anti-Jewish Than He Acknowledges

MARC H. TANENBAUM

Special to *The Jewish News*

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1/19/90 Detroit Please always

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TUTU:

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Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

Archbishop TuTu is more anti-Jewish than he acknowledges

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

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Suzman — as did we all — bristled with anger. "Listen, Desmond," Suzman said. "Terrible and tragic as is apartheid, it is no way the equivalent of the Nazi Holocaust which tried to destroy physically the entire Jewish people. I wish you would stop exploiting that great Jewish tragedy for your purposes."

Tutu seemed to be embarrassed and remained silent for awhile.

He obviously has not remained silent since then. He has consistently exploited Judaism and the Jewish historic experience. Does he

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Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee.

Brooklyn Jewish Center 1/10/90

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Archbishop Tutu: more anti-Semitic than he admits

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Jewish Echo
1/22/90



Tutu More Anti-Jewish Than He Admits

90012a

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Israelis Believe PLO Talks Coming

TEL AVIV (JTA) — Israelis, by a 50-37 percent margin, believe their country eventually will have to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization, according to a poll published here.

The 1,000 respondents, representing a sampling of the urban Jewish population, were polled at the beginning of December 1989 by Dr. Avraham Diskin, of the Hebrew University's Political Science Department.

Asked if they believed that ultimately Israel will have to negotiate with the PLO, 15 percent said "definitely yes," 35 percent said "yes" and 12 percent said "perhaps."

Among those who thought otherwise, 22 percent said "no" and 15 percent "definitely no."

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Archbishop Tutu — anti-Jewish

by Marc H. Tanenbaum
(©1990 JTA Inc.)

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The New York
**JEWISH
 WEEK**

OTHER VOICES

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Rap music degeneracy is a public enemy

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

THAT PUBLIC ENEMY, the rap music group, has a new album with a vicious anti-Semitic beat should come as no surprise to anyone. It is the latest form of degeneracy that this anarchic culture inevitably must produce.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee, is immediate past president of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

What does come as a sickening surprise is that Jews should be involved in promoting and selling such a piece of anti-Semitic poison as "Welcome to the Terrordome." Tragically, there were also a few Jews in Weimar Germany who supported the early Nazi movement in order to protect their fortunes and material assets. How self-destructive can one be?

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At its height, Rome functioned as the civilized capital of the then-known world because of "ancient character and men" who were "honest, governed themselves firmly, knew how to obey and served the state."

This rap garbage feels like the decline that brought Rome to its knees. Jews have a stake in repulsing such moral sickness.



Syracuse, NY

700125

Tutu accused of 'exploiting' Holocaust

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(Continued on Page 20)



JEWISH OBSERVER

Rochester, NY

Rap and Anti-Semitism

906125a

BY MARCH H. TANENBAUM

© 1989, J.T.A., Inc.

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**Rap And Anti-Semitism —
 The Latest Degeneracy**

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Viewpoint

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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
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1/26/90
TORONTO

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Las Vegas Israelite

1/24/96

Page Twenty-Five

Panamanian Jewry Needs Urgent Help

By Marc H. Tanenbaum

Recent conversations with Jewish and Catholic friends in Panama persuade me that the American removal of General Manuel Noriega from power was without question a positive and necessary achievement. The tragedy is that so many lives, Panamanian and American, were lost in the struggle to unseat tyranny.

During my earlier visits to Panama and Central America, it was clear that Noriega was running a police state that dominated its citizens with fear

and terror. It is not to Jewish credit that one of Noriega's key henchmen was an Israeli, Mike Harari, a former leader of the Mossad. (While all of us oppose "collective" Jewish guilt, none of us committed to Israel can evade the reality that Harari's prominence in the media as a Noriega aide did neither Israel or Jewry any good.)

Some 5,000 Jewish citizens of Panama, mostly concentrated in Panama City, have special cause to be relieved by Noriega's defeat. In recent days, Noriega's followers in the so-called "Dignity Battalions" rampaged with arms through the business districts, looting and destroying almost everything in sight.

A very high percentage of the destroyed stores were owned by Jewish businessmen. Panamanian Jewry has played a leading role in FEDECC, the federation of Central American Jewish communities. Their economic devastation cannot but have repercussions throughout the whole of Central American Jewry.

Clearly, the drug criminal Noriega made Panama's economy into a basket case for all Panamanians. American Jewish leaders two weeks ago wisely urged the White House to do everything possible to help rebuild that devastated country. That request will need to be followed up regularly to assure that Panama and its vital Jewish community received all necessary aid to rebuild its former thriving life.



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Portland, Maine
Feb. '90

Is Archbishop Tutu anti-Jewish?

By MARC H. TANENBAUM
(Copyright 1990,
Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.)

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Jewish-Chinese leader Wencesky, 1985 2/1/90



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commercial television. Whatever its source, to me it is another reflection of the dehumanization, the assault on humanness which is so prevalent in our society.

It provides the musical backdrop for a culture exploding with crack and ice, crime and corruption, indifference to human suffering and sheer

killing for kicks. After the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BCE, the Roman Empire began to collapse. "All was rapine, avarice and expense," as one author described it. At its height, Rome functioned as the civilized capital of the then-known world, because of "ancient character and men" who were "honest, governed themselves firmly, knew how to obey, and served the State."

This rap garbage feels like the decline that brought Rome to its knees. Jews have a stake in repulsing such moral sickness.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.



US Anti-Semitism

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Tutu and His Anti-Jewish Attitudes

BY MARC H. TANENBAUM

I first met Desmond Tutu, the Anglican archbishop of South Africa and Nobel laureate, in his church in October 1985. Helen Suzman, the feisty anti-apartheid leader in South Africa's parliament, arranged for an American Jewish Committee delegation to meet with Tutu for a frank discussion about apartheid and black-Jewish relations.

After the usual courtesies, the archbishop launched into a long lecture to us about how apartheid is the equivalent of the Nazi Holocaust, and the Jews are spectators to the black tragedy.

Suzman — as did we all — bristled with anger. She was the first member of the South African parliament to campaign against the evils of apartheid more than a quarter century before Tutu was on the scene. She also organized the first liberal party in South Africa to combat apartheid.

"Listen, Desmond," Suzman said, "I have devoted my entire life and career to battling against apartheid. Terrible and tragic as is apartheid, it is no way the equivalent of the Nazi Holocaust which tried to destroy physically the entire Jewish people. I wish you would stop exploiting that great Jewish tragedy for your purposes."

Tutu seemed to be embarrassed and remained silent for awhile.

But he obviously has not remained silent since then. He has consistently exploited Judaism and the Jewish historic experience. I am not sure whether he really believes what he has been saying about Jews and Judaism, or whether he is cynically distorting — even raping — Jewish sancta for his own dramatic purposes.

In 1984, in an address before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, he asserted that apartheid owes its origins to the Holy Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. The temple courtyard, which separated Gentiles from Jews, was the earliest form of apartheid, Tutu said. So what about the courtyards that separated priests from Levites, from Israelites, men from women? Did that make the Jews anti-Semitic?

Then, he freely spoke about the "arrogance of Jewish power" and "the Jewish lobby." Tutu seems to have memorized the Protocols of the Elders of Zion as well as he has the Bible.

Now, on his latest visit to Israel, he flamboyantly calls for the creation of a Palestinian state, and calls on the Jews to forgive the Nazis. Support unconditionally for a PLO-dominated state is another irrespon-

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sible monkey wrench tossed gratuitously into the delicate peace process that is painstakingly being put together.

And while affronting Jews for not forgiving the Nazis sounds very Christian, I have not yet heard Archbishop Tutu call on 23 million blacks in South Africa to forgive the racist Afrikaaners.

Indeed, this self-styled disciple of Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi declared on Jan. 25, 1986, in New York, "I believe there are situations where one has to use force."

Examining the record of Archbishop Tutu's declarations over recent years, I have come to the conclusion that his mind-set is that of the medieval Christian tradition, which believed that Jews are morally exhausted and that Christianity has come to supersede Judaism as a "superior" form of religion. Thus, we see it as classic anti-Judaism which feeds his consistent pattern of anti-Jewish attitudes. Some Nobel Peace Prize laureate.

(Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations).

Archbishop Tutu is More Anti-Jewish Than He Acknowledges

The Jewish Post Yanofsky, M. 2/25/90
By Marc H. Tanenbaum
Jewish Telegraphic Agency

I first met Desmond Tutu, the Anglican archbishop of South Africa and Nobel laureate, in his church in October 1985. Helen Suzman, the feisty anti-apartheid leader in South Africa's parliament, arranged for an American Jewish Committee delegation to meet with Tutu for a frank discussion about apartheid and black-Jewish relations.

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Point



"I find it very hard to understand the Israeli government's policy. What is happening in the West Bank and Gaza could, just by changing the names, describe what is happening in South Africa."

-Archbishop Desmond Tutu in an interview with

the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* on the eve of his recent trip to Israel.

"The positive thing that can come is the spirit of forgiving, not forgetting. We pray for those who made it happen . . . Help us to forgive them, and help us so that we . . . will not make others suffer."

- Tutu at the Holocaust memorial Yad Vashem on his trip to Israel.

Counterpoint



"The situation in South Africa is a domestic one in which the majority population is denied full representation. The situation in the West Bank and Gaza is an international conflict. The protestors are . . . citizens of Jordan, who are denied any form of democracy and the right to participate in Jordanian government affairs. There is the true parallel."

- Former Assistant Secretary of State Dr. Alan Keyes, in an interview with Israel radio, responding to Tutu's appraisal of the Palestinian problem.

"No one has the right to forgive except the dead themselves, and the dead were killed and silenced by their murderers."

- Author Eli Weisel, responding in New York to Tutu's remarks at Yad Vashem.



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GUEST EDITORIAL

The price of appeasement

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

TWO DOCUMENTS ISSUED recently by the Vatican about relations with Islam and Israel appear to be unrelated, but in fact may have subterranean connections in the thinking of the Holy See and meaning for Israel and world Jewry.

The first, published last month, was an encyclical of Pope John Paul II on evangelizing non-Christians. Not only was it significant from a Jewish point of view, in that Jews were not identified as targets for conversion, but it confronted publicly for the first time the repression of Christianity in the Moslem world.

The second was a statement issued last week that seeks to explain why the Vatican has not established full diplomatic relations with Israel.

It asserts that the Vatican does recognize and respect the existence of the state of Israel, and that there is no theological objection to Israel's sovereignty. However, standing in the way of normal relations, the Vatican claims, are what it calls "political problems" — the future of Jerusalem, Palestinian "self-determination," and the status of Catholics in Israel and the territories.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is the former director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee and a pioneer in Vatican-Jewish relations.

The real reason more likely is the Vatican's fear of reprisals against millions of Arab Christians in Moslem countries, such as Lebanon, where an estimated 150,000 Maronite Catholics were slaughtered by Moslems during the country's long internecine strife. The list of such massacres includes the Sudan, Uganda, Nigeria and Pakistan.

In conversations with Vatican leaders, Jewish delegates have made the case that the failure of the Holy See to stand up to Moslem Arab threats and reprisals has only served to invite further intimidation of Christians.

Indeed, several Vatican officials have recently confided that they now see as a major error the failure to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel in 1948 — a gesture that would have made clear to Arab extremists that the Vatican believed in Israel's permanence, and that the Arab Moslem world would have to come to terms with the reality.

Four decades of appeasement at Israel's expense has not won security for Christians in Arab lands. But the pope's willingness to confront the hostility toward Christians could well be the beginning of a change in policy.

While the expression of firmness may be too little and too late, the Vatican will need to find the wisdom to reach out to Israel with full diplomatic relations if the church ever wants to play a meaningful role in a Middle East peace.



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THE JEWISH LEDGER • Thursday, Feb. 28, 1991

The Vatican, Islam, and Israel

BY MARC H. TANENBAUM
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NEW YORK— Two documents have been issued by the Vatican in recent weeks about relations with Islam and Israel. The separate documents appear to be unrelated, but in fact, may have subterranean connections in the Vatican's thinking and their meaning for Israel and world Jewry.

The first document, published on Jan. 23, was an encyclical of Pope John Paul II on evangelizing non-Christians. From a Jewish point of view, the most significant fact of this encyclical was not only that it did not point to Jews as a target for conversion, but it confronted for the first time Islamic repression of Christianity in the world of Islam. "Not only is evangelization forbidden," the Pope said, "but conversion as well, and even Christian worship."

A Vatican official commented that the Pope was referring to "most North African and Middle Eastern nations where Christians may practice privately but it is against the law to convert Moslems. Saudi Arabia forbids any cult that is not Moslem."

The second document was a Vatican statement, issued on Feb. 6, seeking to explain why the Vatican has not established full diplomatic relations

with Israel. The statement asserted that the Vatican does recognize and respect the existence of the state of Israel, and that there exists no theological objections to Israel's sovereignty.

The bottom line of the Vatican's policy, repeated often to us in Vatican-Jewish meetings, is that there are "political problems" that prevent the full normalization of diplomatic relations. These "reasons" usually include the future sovereignty of Jerusalem, the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinian "self-determination" and the status of Catholics in Israel and the territories.

Those are apparent reasons. The real reasons, I have often felt, is their fear of reprisals against millions of Arab Christians in Moslem countries, such as Lebanon, where some 150,000 Maronite Catholics were slaughtered by Moslems. The list of such massacres is long, including the Sudan, Uganda, Nigeria, Pakistan, etc.

In lengthy, private conversations that several of us have had with Vatican authorities, we have had made the case that the failure of the pope for years to stand up against the Moslem-Arab threats and reprisals have in fact invited mounting intimidations and pressures against Christians. An apothegm summarized this view that we expressed:

"A bleeding lamb invites the tiger."

Several Vatican officials have recently told us they realize now that the Vatican made a major mistake in not establishing full diplomatic relations with Israel in 1948. That would have made clear to the Arab extremists that the Vatican believed in Israel's permanency, and that the Arab Moslem world has to come to terms with that reality.

Appeasing the Arab Moslem world at Israel's expense has obviously not brought security to the Arab Christians.

The Pope's frontal confrontation with the Moslem world's hostility to Christians could well be the beginning of a change in Vatican policy toward the Arab Moslem world.

What I fear is that the Holy See's belated firmness is too little and too late. They are going to have to find the wisdom of normalizing full diplomatic relations with Israel if the Vatican ever wants to become a meaningful player in Middle East peace negotiations.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, former international relations director of the American Jewish Committee, is a past chairman of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations.

Sign of understanding

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

On Feb. 19, leaders of the Polish Catholic episcopacy and of the Solidarity-led government in Poland began digging the ground on which the new Carmelite convent will be built.

The convent will be the first structure to be constructed as part of the interreligious center for dialogue and study that was agreed upon by European Jewish leaders and four Catholic cardinals meeting in Geneva in February 1987.

In the face of the swirling controversy and understandable anger throughout much of the world Jewish community, it must be recorded as a matter of historic record that the present achievement is the result of five years of difficult but patient and tempered negotiations involving key European, American, and Israeli Jewish leaders, the Polish Catholic hierarchy, and the new Polish government.

Central to moving this decisive issue forward to a constructive resolution were people of such stature as Sir Sigmund Sternberg of London, Theo Klein of Paris, Tullia Zevi of Rome, and the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations, headquartered in New York and Geneva. Certainly several of the responsible demonstrations by Belgian Jewish groups and WIZO helped dramatize Jewish concerns.

Those of us who were involved in week-to-week conversations with Polish authorities knew as long as eight months ago that all the elements were present then for the current action. It was a matter of money (in Poland, even the Church is poor and had to raise money from other Catholic sources), land title purchases, architects' plans, and finding productive workers before the present move could be made.

"Shreiyng gevalt" and threatening lawsuits, many of us believed, could only inhibit the present action, not advance it.

Recently, Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki said in London that he not only supported actively the decision to move the Auschwitz convent to a new site, but made two other commitments:

First, he said that diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel would be resumed shortly. Second, he has set up an international commission of Poles and world Jewry to redesign the museum at Auschwitz, "to do justice to the tragedy of the Jewish people" and the other victims.

If all parties manage to behave in a serious, responsible manner during the coming months — and not seize on Auschwitz as an occasion for personal and/or institutional publicity — we may finally be able to honor and do justice to the memory of the 6 million whose tragedy has been denied or distorted in Poland for more than 40 years.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

German Reunification Calls For Wise Jewish Strategy

The Jewish Floridian
March 9, 1990

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

NEW YORK (JTA) — The issue of German reunification has quite rightly emerged as a central concern in international relations, particularly so for Jewish foreign policy.

Despite all the analysis and punditry, there seems to be a strange passing in the night between some German leaders and their European neighbors, including the Jewish people.

There are two Germanies — the Germany of history and the Germany of today. In much of the anxious public discussion over reunification, German leaders appear to concentrate almost entirely on the Germany of today, avoiding or denying the Germany of history.

The European neighbors — France, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and for self-evident reasons, world Jewry, perceive modern Germany primarily as the Germany of history.

Modern Germany, as I can testify from much personal experience in that country, is a solid constitutional democracy, committed to civil and political liberties for all its citizens.

Since the days of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, the Federal Republic has had a strong positive record of commerce, trade and cultural exchanges with Israel, and payment of reparations to Jewish survivors of the Nazi Holocaust. That is the Germany that Chancellor Kohl concentrates on in the current debates.

The Germany of history produced the horrors of World

War I and the Nazi Holocaust of World War II. But to students of German history, the anxieties are reinforced by the awareness of the 1,000-year-old dominance of the Holy Roman Empire, which was led by German emperors who sought to realize the fantasy of a "world theocratic empire."

In his "Basic History of Modern Germany," Professor Louis Snyder wrote, "Germany has never been a typically European nation . . . The Western ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity did not take firm root in German soil; instead, the option of German rulers was for Eastern authoritarianism with a thin veneer of Western constitutionalism. The twin currents of liberalism and democracy were overwhelmed in the Germanies, and in Germany by the forces of nationalism and militarism."

There is a double task of reciprocal honesty that the reunification movement requires before it becomes an ambiguous fact of life. German leaders need to confront once again that long and frightening history and assure that the constitutional restraints are institutionalized so that there will be no possibilities of rever-

sion to those destructive patterns of the past.

While insisting on such assurances, European nations — and world Jewish leaders — need honestly to acknowledge that the Germany of 1990 is not the Germany of 1945, and help validate the democratic Germany as the model for a reunified Germany. And that means, among other things, demilitarization and integration fully into the NATO Alliance.

One final strategic point for Jews (that runs the risk of being misunderstood). There is abundant concern in both East and West European countries over German reunification and its possible threats to their security. It is in the best Jewish interest, I believe, for those European countries as well as the United States to be in the forefront of pressing these concerns on Germany. World Jewry and Israel ought not appear to be the primary agents opposing reunification, and thereby become scapegoated.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Inter-religious Consultations.

JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS: Achievements and an Unfinished Agenda

"If, after two millennia of estrangement and hostility, Christians and Jews can create a genuine culture of mutual esteem and reciprocal caring, [it] could become a sign and an inspiration of hope to other religions, races, and ethnic groups. . . ."

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

SINCE the adoption of *Nostra Aetate* by Vatican Council II in 1965, the Catholic church and the Jewish people have experienced what rightly has been called a "revolution in mutual esteem." That transformation of a 1,900-year-old encounter between Christians and Jews, which had been characterized mainly by a culture of contempt—a deicide culture against the Jews—into a radically new culture of "covenantal partnership" and growing mutual esteem is a momentous achievement in its own terms. It is an accomplishment, even in its infancy, that also resonates with moral and spiritual meaning for enabling us to understand and cope constructively with the enormous challenges and threats posed by the immense diversity of religions, races, ethnic groups, and political ideologies in the pluralistic world we inhabit.

Today, there are about 12,000,000 refugees scattered throughout the world, some 6,000,000 in Africa alone. Many, if not most, are victims of profound religious, racial, and tribal conflicts. In a large number of these tragedies, religious fanaticism and absolutistic, messianic nationalism have become the terrible chemistries which resulted in these explosions, causing so much human devastation and pain.

The late psychoanalyst Eric Fromm, a great humanist, became disturbed deeply by the growing pattern of violence and fanaticism throughout so many parts of the world. At the time of the strife between Hindus and Muslims in India, he carried out a clinical psychoanalytic study of that intergroup violence. In *The Anatomy of*

Human Destructiveness, Fromm concluded that there is "a pathological dynamic" at work in such religious-political conflicts, which he termed "Group Narcissism." As is the case with individual narcissism, groups that are narcissistic attribute to themselves all the virtue and ultimate value, while denying value to the outside group—"the other." The narcissistic group views itself as superior and regards the other as inferior. This mentality leads to a process of dehumanization or "monsterizing" in which the so-called superior group feels justified in emptying the alleged inferior group of all human dignity and value. Such dehumanization becomes the precondition, as well as the justification, for destroying the other.

There are two corollaries to this process which Fromm characterized as the engine of such vast destructiveness. First, physical violence against a person or group invariably is preceded by verbal violence. White racist segregationists in the American South invariably abused blacks verbally before carrying out their lynchings. The Nazis engaged in systematic verbal vio-

lence against the Jews, the Polish people, and gypsies, among others, reducing them to dehumanized *untersmenschen* as a cultural precondition for their systematic pogroms. In every instance, it becomes easier to destroy human beings when they are reduced to caricatures filled with contempt and hostility.

Second, in practically every major religious, racial, and tribal conflict, there is nonexistent or seriously undeveloped religious ideology or political doctrine of co-



In March, 1963, a historic meeting occurred between Vatican and Jewish leaders to exchange views about the text that was being prepared by Cardinal Augustin Bea's Vatican Secretariat on Catholic-Jewish Relations for consideration and final adoption by Vatican Council II. (Left to right) The Rev. Stephen Schmidt, secretary to Cardinal Bea; Rabbi Leon Fram, president, Central Conference of American Rabbis; Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, professor of Jewish ethics and mysticism, Jewish Theological Seminary; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, then national interreligious affairs director, American Jewish Committee; and Cardinal Bea, president of the Vatican Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity and of the Vatican Secretariat on Religious Relations with the Jewish People.

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existence in a pluralist society. There are simply no religious or ideological resources for living with differences that invariably are experienced as a threat, rather than the possibility of becoming a source of enrichment.

A great reversal of historic proportions has taken place in the Church's relationship to Judaism and the Jewish people since the adoption of *Nosstra Aetate*. Pope John Paul II expressed that new spirit powerfully during a Feb. 15, 1985, audience with the American Jewish Committee: "I am convinced and I am happy to state on this occasion that the relationships between Jews and Christians have radically improved in these years. Where there was ignorance and therefore prejudice and stereotypes, there is now growing mutual knowledge, appreciation, and respect. There is, above all, love between us, that kind of love, I mean, which is for both of us a fundamental injunction of our religious traditions and which the New Testament has received from the Old." Then, as if to suggest his idea of pluralism between Christians and Jews, he added, "Love involves understanding. It also involves frankness and the freedom to disagree in a brotherly way where there are reasons for it."

Pope John Paul II, building on the foundations laid by his predecessors, Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI, personally has made a singular contribution in redefining and advancing on deep theological, moral, and human levels improved understandings between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people. That should not obscure the fact that there are significant differences regarding certain policies and actions—relating mainly to some interpretations of the Nazi Holocaust and the state of Israel. However, anyone who wishes to speak seriously about the role of the Pope in his inspired commitment to fostering genuine solidarity and mutual respect between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people has a moral duty to study the texts of his numerous addresses and declarations contained in *On Jews and Judaism, 1979-1986*.

The Church and the Jewish people

The spiritual bond with Jews is understood properly as "a sacred one, stemming as it does from the mysterious will of God," Pope John Paul II stated in 1985. The relationship is not marginal to the Church. It reaches to the very essence of the nature of Christian faith itself, so that to deny it is to deny something essential to the teaching of the Church.

The dialogue between Catholics and Jews is not one between past (Judaism) and present (Christianity) realities, as if the former had been superseded or displaced by the latter. "On the contrary," the

Pope declared to the Jewish community of Mainz in 1980, "it is a question rather of reciprocal enlightenment and explanation, just as is the relationship between the Scriptures themselves." Instead of the traditional terms of Old Testament and New Testament, which might be understood to imply that the "old has been abrogated in favor of the new," the Pope, in a 1986 address to the Jews of Australia, suggested the use of "the Hebrew Scriptures" and "the Christian Scriptures" as appropriate alternatives.

In his historic visit to the Great Synagogue of Rome in 1986, the first such visit since Apostolic times, the Pope asserted, "The Jewish religion is not 'extrinsic' to us, but in a certain way is 'intrinsic' to our own religion. With Judaism, therefore, we have a relationship which we do not have with any other religion. You are dearly beloved brothers and in a certain way, it could be said that you are our elder brothers."

Speaking to the Jewish community of Mainz, he cited "the spiritual heritage of Israel for the Church" as "a living heritage, which must be understood and preserved in its depth and richness by us Catholic Christians." The "common spiritual patrimony" of Jews and Christians is not something of the past, but of the present which includes an understanding of post-biblical Judaism and "the faith and religious life of the Jewish people as they are professed and practiced still today," he declared in 1982.

The Pope teaches that the Jews remain God's chosen people in the fullest sense ("most dear"), and this in no way diminishes the Church's own affirmation of its own standing as "the people of God." In Mainz, the Pope addressed the Jewish community as "the people of God of the Old Covenant, which has never been revoked by God," referring to Romans 11:29, and emphasized "the permanent value" of both the Hebrew Scriptures and the Jewish community that witnesses to those Scriptures as sacred texts.

In his very first audience with Jewish representatives in 1979, the Pope reaffirmed the Second Vatican Council's repudiation of anti-Semitism "as opposed to the very spirit of Christianity" and which "in any case, the dignity of the human person alone would suffice to condemn." He has repeated this message in country after country throughout the world.

In 1985, on the 20th anniversary of *Nosstra Aetate*, the Pope stated that "anti-Semitism, in its ugly and sometimes violent manifestations, should be completely eradicated." He called the attention of the whole Church to the mandate given in the 1985 Vatican Notes to develop Holocaust curricula in Catholic schools and catechetical programs: "For Catholics, as the Notes . . . have asked them to do, to fathom the depths of the extermination of

many millions of Jews during World War II and the wounds thereby inflicted on the consciousness of the Jewish people, theological reflection is also needed."

The complexities of the Middle East situation and the differences between the Holy See and Israel on the issue of establishing full diplomatic relations are well-known. The Pope has expressed generally positive views on a moral plane toward the state of Israel, as disclosed in his Apostolic Letter of April 20, 1984: "Jews ardently love her [Jerusalem] and in every age venerate her memory, abundant as she is in many remains and monuments from the time of David who chose her as the capital, and of Solomon who built the Temple there. Therefore, they turn their minds to her daily, one may say, and point to her as a sign of their nation. For the Jewish people who live in the state of Israel and who preserve in that land such precious testimonies of their history and their faith, we must ask for the desired security and the due tranquility that is the prerogative of every nation and condition of life and of progress for every society."

Beyond the rethinking of the traditional understanding of Jews and Judaism, he has called upon Catholics to undertake a major effort: "We should aim in this field, that Catholic teaching at its different levels, in catechesis to children and young people, presents Jews and Judaism, not only in an honest and objective manner, free from prejudices and without any offenses, but also with full awareness of the [Jewish] heritage."

The Pope repeatedly affirms his vision for Jews and Christians of joint social action and witness to the One God and the reality of the Kingdom of God as the defining point of human history. This way of collaboration "in service to humanity" as a means of preparing for God's Kingdom unites Jews and Christians on a level that, in a sense, can be said to be deeper than the doctrinal distinctions that divide them historically. His views have been reinforced by pronouncements issued by National Bishops Conferences in the U.S., Austria, Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Colombia, and Brazil. Individual cardinals and bishops, as well as theologians, have made pronouncements on a variety of religious and moral issues relating to Catholic-Jewish bonds that have enlarged the culture of mutual esteem.

To appreciate the dramatic changes in Catholic teaching about Jews and Judaism, one needs only to examine the contrasts in educational materials published since the Vatican Council with textbooks and teaching manuals in common use into the 1960's. The St. Louis University textbook studies conducted in the U.S. by three Catholic sisters under the supervision of Jesuit Father Trafford Maher revealed teachings of hostility and contempt that

lent credence to Jewish concerns about Christian polemical traditions as a source of anti-Semitism.

In Europe, the Louvain and Pro Deo University studies which examined Catholic educational materials in a variety of languages—Italian, French-speaking countries (Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Canada), and Spanish—showed that teachings of contempt were widespread throughout the religious culture. Summarizing these findings, Claire Huchet-Bishop, a Catholic scholar, wrote in *How Catholics Look at Jews* that many young Catholics in these countries still were being instructed in the 1960's, 20 years after the Nazi Holocaust, the following teachings:

- The Jews are collectively responsible for the Crucifixion and they are a "deicide people."

- The Diaspora is the Jews' punishment for the Crucifixion and for their cry, "His blood be upon us and upon our children."

- Jesus predicted the punishment of his people; the Jews were and remained cursed by him and by God; Jerusalem, as a city, is particularly guilty.

- The Jewish people as a whole rejected Jesus during his lifetime because of their materialism.

- The Jewish people have put themselves beyond salvation and are consigned to eternal damnation.

- The Jewish people have been unfaithful to their mission and are guilty of apostasy.

- Judaism was once a true religion, but then became ossified and ceased to exist with the coming of Jesus.

- The Jews are no longer the Chosen People, but have been superseded as such by the Christians.

Bishop noted that charges against the Jewish people were accompanied by a rhetoric of invective—"verbal violence"—which attributed the most vicious motives to them.

In citing these themes of negative theology toward the Jews, it is not my intention to obsess about the past, nor to seek to evoke guilt. Rather, my purpose is to underscore that the radical improvement in Catholic-Jewish relations, theologically and morally significant in itself, also may be a model of how it is possible to transform a culture that once demonized and thereby dehumanized a people into a whole new culture of rehumanization. It also has something to teach us about the importance of overcoming verbal violence and toxic language which destroy human dignity and family solidarity, and replace those invectives with healing language of respect and mutual affirmation. That lesson applies equally to Jews as well as Christians, and, I believe, to all groups who are afflicted by such dehumanizing tendencies.

In the U.S., Eugene Fisher, executive secretary of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the National Confer-

ence of Catholic Bishops, published a study of post-Vatican Council II Catholic textbooks covering 16 major religion series used in the grade and high school levels. In *Faith Without Prejudice*, he found great improvements in the treatment of many of the past troublesome themes. For example, he found clear references to the Jewishness of Jesus, which mostly had been avoided in the past, and the notion of Jewish suffering as an expression of Divine retribution completely eliminated from the textbooks. References to the Holocaust were handled with great sensitivity, though those to violence against Jews during the Crusades and the Inquisition and to the modern state of Israel he found to be still inadequate.

In the growing atmosphere of confidence and trust, the Jewish community has conducted its own self-studies of its textbooks in terms of what Jewish schools teach about Christians and Christianity. The studies found that, while Judaism has been influenced in its development by interaction with Christianity more than generally is acknowledged (Maimonides and St. Thomas Aquinas, etc.), it does not define itself in contrast or comparison with Christianity. The Jewish-Christian encounter, as described in Jewish high-school textbooks, is social and historical, not doctrinal or theological. On the one hand, this avoids the problem of polemical approaches to Christianity; on the other, recounting the episodes of persecution, expulsion, and massacres which Jews suffered at the hands of Christians for centuries, and which are among the realities of Jewish history, tends to leave a negative image, not so much of Christian faith, but of the Church as temporal power. In fairness, it must be said that this negative image is offset somehow by attention paid to righteous Christians who shielded and protected Jews across the years, and to the high value assigned in Jewish textbooks to religious and cultural pluralism and human kinship.

Still, many Jews—like many Catholics—are not aware of the momentous changes in Catholic thinking about Jews and Judaism that have issued from the highest levels of the Church since Vatican Council II. As part of the future agenda, Jewish students, as well as others in the general Jewish population, need to be informed of these developments both in formal education and through mass communications.

An unfinished agenda

Education. While remarkable progress has been made since Vatican Council II, there is still much to be done to change habits of thinking. The self-definition-by-denigration model has not yet been replaced fully on the pedagogical level. Current scholarship which sets the conflict events described in the New Testament—particu-

larly the Passion narratives and the portrayal of the Pharisees—into historical perspective should be reflected in textbooks, teachers' manuals, teacher training, and seminary education and by homilists and clergy to a much greater extent than at present. In Jewish education, particularly the seminaries, there is need to overcome the little knowledge about Christian beliefs and the history of present communities, as well as a longer view of the development of Christian thought and history.

Communications. There should be a concern that commitment to improved Jewish-Christian relations is progressing primarily among the "ecumenical generals," leaving a substantial gap with the vast number of "infantry troops." A thoughtful, creative, and systematic use of modern means of public education through mass communications would help close this gap and give depth to Jewish-Christian solidarity.

Joint witness, social justice, and human rights. The epidemic of dehumanization in large parts of the world is, I believe, one of the most profound challenges facing Christians and Jews. Fanaticism, resort to verbal and physical violence, torture, terrorism, and violations of human rights and freedom of conscience are daily assaults on the dignity of human life created in the Divine image. Close collaboration of Christians and Jews who share a common vision of biblical humanism could become a critical mass in stemming the forces of dehumanization and in upholding the preciousness of every life in God's human family. There are models and structures in both the Christian and Jewish communities for advancing this fundamental objective of redemption. It requires moral will, commitment, and courageous leadership.

World refugees and hunger. At a time when nations and peoples squander billions on arms races and weapons of death and destruction, it is scandalous that such modest resources are available to help relieve the staggering hunger, starvation, poverty, and diseases in so many parts of the developing world. Wherever and whenever Christians and Jews join hands together and mobilize their common will and material resources, they make a crucial difference in relieving vast suffering and saving human lives.

Pluralism. If, after two millennia of estrangement and hostility, Christians and Jews can create a genuine culture of mutual esteem and reciprocal caring, the Christian-Jewish dialogue could become a sign and an inspiration of hope to other religions, races, and ethnic groups to turn away from contempt to realizing authentic human fraternity. This pluralistic model of the Jewish-Christian symbiosis may be the most important service that we have to offer to our troubled world.

Our values, history, practicality converge

Jews must help relieve suffering wherever it occurs

ANALYSIS

By
RABBI MARC TANENBAUM

Many American Jewish organizations have issued public statements condemning the early international indifference to the plight of the Iraqi Kurds and Shi'ite Muslims fleeing Saddam Hussein's brutality.

Two leading Jewish overseas relief agencies — the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the American Jewish World Service — two weeks ago launched major national campaigns to provide food, clothing and medical aid to the Iraqi refugees. The AJWS also announced that it would be channelling its resources through the International Rescue Committee, a non-sectarian relief group formed in the 1930s to rescue refugees from Nazi Germany.

I serve on the boards of both the AJWS and the International Rescue Committee. During discussions of what would be an appropriate response to the crisis, everyone sympathized with the victims. But some Jews questioned the idea of providing aid to the bitterly anti-Israel — and in many cases anti-Semitic — Shi'ite Muslims.

With like-minded others, I counselled that we have no moral alternative to aiding in the relief of the hunger, disease and suffering of these unfortunate people.

I am fully conscious of the anti-Israel and anti-Semitic culture that pervades much of the Muslim world. But if the sole criterion for deciding when to save lives were the victims' opinions about Israel and the Jews, none of the Jewish relief agencies — or the State of Israel — would be working in countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique or Uganda.

In making the decision to join others in

providing aid to Iraqi refugees, there is a convergence of Jewish values, Jewish history and practicality.

Tikan olam (repairing the world) and saving human lives are primary, fundamental Jewish values. If Judaism is taken seriously, it can only be interpreted as conferring an inescapable obligation to reduce human suffering and salvage human beings from destruction.

The Jewish historical experience has traumatized us, in the words of Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel, into an awareness "of the indifference to evil and the evil of indifference."

This awareness of evil and its consequences is not a product only of recent history; its roots go back millennia. The Talmudic scholar Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik has said that God put the Jews through the hell of Egyptian slavery so that

they might become *rachamanim b'nei rachamanim* — a people made, by their own suffering, hypersensitive to the suffering of others.

Finally, my years of experience in working on world refugee and hunger programs in Africa, Asia and Latin America have persuaded me that involvement by Jews and Israelis in relieving human suffering often leads to re-examination by Third World peoples of the hostile attitudes toward Israel and Jews instilled in them by Arab propaganda. The rescue of Ethiopian Jewry shows what can occur as a result of one country undergoing such a change in attitude.

(JTA)

(Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, for 30 years the director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee, is now a lecturer, writer and consultant.)

TORONTO The CANADIAN Jewish News, 5/2/91

Islamic fanatics threaten Soviet Jews and all air travel heading for Israel

by Marc H. Tanenbaum
(©1990 JTA Inc.)

NEW YORK — Suppose a group of Italian or Irish immigrants wanted to come to the United States, mainly for repatriation with their families. And suppose a group of American extremists declared they would not let them into this country because the United States belonged to them.

And further, suppose the American extremists said that, if the Italian or Irish immigrants embarked for America, they would explode Alitalia or Aer Lingus airlines.

How do you think American Italians and Irish peoples would feel about those threats? Pretty much the same way, I think, that most of the Jewish people feel about the latest threats Islamic fanatics have made about blowing up East European airlines carrying Soviet Jews to Israel.

The Soviet Jews are now caught in a terrible double bind. If they remain in the Soviet Union, the right-wing nationalists such as Pamyat threaten many of them with anti-Semitic pogroms. Should they

emigrate to Israel, Islamic extremists threaten to destroy the Soviet and other East European planes.

Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States — nor any country for that matter — can afford to capitulate to these thugs. For, if they do, secure international air transportation will become hostage to this latest form of piracy, and no one anywhere will be secure.

The one bright spot in this dismal scene took place recently, when Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, speaking at an impressive American Jewish Congress dinner in New York, said that his country is prepared to play a role in helping Soviet Jews emigrate.

Ironically, if he acts on his words, it may be a Polish leader who will give backbone to the superpowers not to knuckle under to these Islamic terrorists.

(Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.)

Winner of 18 Florida Press Awards
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5/4/90

The Day Madison Square Garden Became A Giant Yeshiva

900524

BY MARC H. TANENBAUM
© 1990, J.T.A., Inc.

NEW YORK

ONE observer said that he imagined for the first time what it felt like standing at the foot of Mount Sinai receiving the Ten Commandments. Another said that is what it must have been like when thousands of Israelite pilgrims thronged the Holy Temple in Jerusalem for the three pilgrimage festivals.

They were trying to describe the experience of April 26, when some 20,000 traditional Jews assembled reverently in Madison Square Garden in New York. Under the inspiration of the Agudath Israel Organization, this mammoth group came together to celebrate the completion of the ninth cycle of daily

study of the Talmud, the Daf Yomi Hashas.

The political manipulations of some of the leaders of the Agudath Israel and other Orthodox parties in Israel hardly attracts me as one of their admirers. But their otherwise deep commitment and advocacy of study of Torah and performance of mitzvot is admirable.

A special poignancy emerged from this extraordinary assembly of black-garbed men and modestly dressed women when they dedicated this event of prayer and religious study to the memory of the 6 million Jews murdered in the Nazi Holocaust.

From the 16th century until World War II, Eastern European, and especially Polish Jewry, were the

chief world center of Judaism. Talmudic learning, with its unique capacity to guide the Jewish way of life and to train the mind sharply, was the national pastime of those Jewish communities.

Pilpul tournaments ("pilpul" meaning literally "pepper" for the spicy Talmudic dialectic) were held regularly in Polish fairs, markets, and poetical meetings — a far cry from the hockey games, basketball games and circuses normally found at Madison Square Garden.

Adolf Hitler and his Nazis attempted to destroy that remarkable spiritual treasure. The sounds of Torah learning filling the bleachers of Madison Square Garden demonstrated that ultimately Hitler has failed, and the religious spirit of Judaism has prevailed.

The Jewish Ledger May 24, 1990

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Reform In Israel is American Jewish Concern Too

BY MARCH H. TANENBAUM

© 1990, J.T.A., Inc.

THE process that led to the formation of the most right-wing, Likud-led government since the establishment of the State of Israel has dramatically demonstrated how unwieldy the democratic process has become in the Jewish state.

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The signators included the current chairman and four former chairmen of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, heads of major Jewish organizations, prominent business people, lawyers, politicians, literary figures and rabbis from the three branches of Judaism, all deeply committed to Israel's well-being.

Asserting the group's support for the growing electoral reform movement in Israel, the statement

said: "A parliament, elected by proportional representation through a party list system, with only a one percent threshold for party participation, will necessarily be fractionalized.

"Recent experience has demonstrated that the major parties in such a system, when attempting to form a government, become hostage to the demands of smaller, narrow-issue parties, and if the major parties join together in a government of 'national unity,' that government is paralyzed on serious matters in which they differ."

(Continued on Page 15)

900621
The Jewish Ledger June 21, 1990



Reform

(Continued from Page 19)

Pointing out that "all polls show that the Israeli electorate overwhelmingly supports reform," the signators to the statement called on Israel's political leaders, of all parties, to promptly create a new electoral system, "consistent with democratic values, that will provide for effective government."

As one of those signators, I received a letter this week from Dr. Arye Carmon, president of the Israel-Diaspora Institute, which coordinated the statement-signing project. He said that when the statement was presented to President Chaim Herzog, he spoke of "his deep anxiety about current developments."

"In these days, in which Israel's isolation is increasing, the challenges engendered by the huge influx of Soviet Jewish immigration and renewed threats from the Arab world, a stalemated government is clearly a disaster for the future of our society.

"We believe that electoral reform is the key to remedy the current system's ills, both in terms of accountability and governability."

Electoral reform is clearly an internal political matter for Israel's citizenry. But the consequences of continued electoral stagnation seriously affect not only Israel's relations with foreign governments, particularly the United States, but Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora.

For reasons of both domestic and foreign affairs, Israeli leaders of all political parties would do well not to ignore the heartfelt sentiments of the American Jewish leadership.



Opinion

Electoral Reform Is a Concern

BY MARC H. TANENBAUM
(Copyright 1990, Jewish
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The Arizona Post June 22, 1990

920622P

Israel's electoral reform is concern for Americans

By Marc H. Tanenbaum

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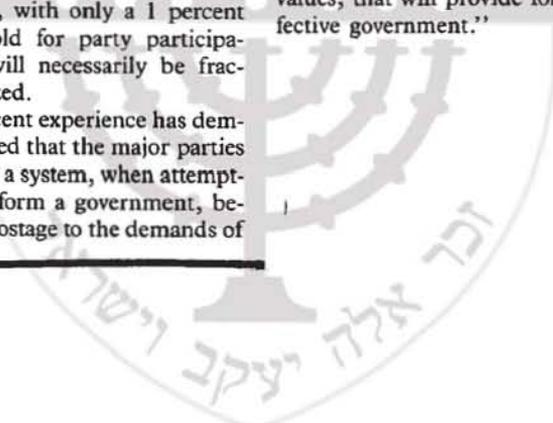
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Electoral Reform In Israel Is American Jewish Concern, Too

900622e

The Jewish Florida Daily June 22, 1990

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The American Jewish world
Minnesota June 22, 1990

900622d



Electoral reform: diaspora concern

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
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Viewpoint

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Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle
June 22, 1990

908622c



Israeli electoral reform concerns U.S. Jews

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

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Jewish Telegraphic Agency



*The Jewish Standard - N.J.,
June 22, 1992
9006826*

Electoral Reform Our Concern ¹⁰⁰⁶²⁸

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June 28, 1990 in Jewish Post N.Y.

Commentary

Electoral reform: Key to remedy current ills

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

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Mandela visit poses dilemma

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

(JTA) The recent visit of Nelson Mandela to the United States poses a sharp moral and political dilemma for American Jews.

The anti-apartheid leader received a hero's welcome in New York, complete with a ticker-tape parade headed by Mayor David Dinkins, a Yankee Stadium platform and a full-court ecumenical service at the prominent Riverside Church.

As one Jewish spokesman said, "Nelson Mandela is seen as a savior of black people in the anti-apartheid struggle, and will be hailed as a modern messiah." Mandela's years of sacrifice in South Africa's prisons have cast him in the symbol of a Christlike figure who suffered for the redemption of his African people.

To many Jews in South Africa as well as in the United States, there are feelings of deep appreciation of his heroic role in struggling against the injustices of apartheid. His recent embracing of Yasir Arafat and his one-sided criticisms of Israel, however, have raised serious doubts about Mandela's trustworthiness and fairness in his relations to the Jewish people.

The quandary for Jews is that Mandela will be lionized by virtually every segment of American society, and all the mass media are having a field day in treating his visit here as a kind of second coming.

If Jews become assertive in their public criticism — not to mention unrestricted displays by extremist elements who will play their demagogic and strident theater — they will end up appearing, together with

some few fundamentalist Christians, as the only enemies of Mandela, and ipso facto, supporters of apartheid.

If U.S. Jewry remains completely silent for prudential reasons, that could be seriously misunderstood as passive acceptance of Mandela's ties to the PLO and Arafat.

The issue will be balancing the concern of domestic black-Jewish relations against the long-range concern of modifying the African National Congress' and Mandela's Third World, anti-Western ideology, while at the same time remaining committed against the evils of apartheid.

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BY MARK H. TANENBAUM

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Editorial

The horse-trading and deal-making with minuscule nationalist and religious parties show how out of proportion these parties' powers have become in the procedure of selecting an Israeli government.

U.S. statement

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Israel needs electoral reform

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Internal matter

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The Jewish Chronicle Leader July 5, 1990

900708

Rabbi Remembers Powerful Man, Friend

By Marc H. Tanenbaum
(Copyright 1990, Jewish
Telegraphic Agency, Inc.)

"He was a powerful person. His power was that of love. And his power was never exercised at the expense of another human being."

Those were the words of Rabbi Levi Kelman of Jerusalem as he paid loving tribute to his

remarkable father, Rabbi Wolfe Kelman.

Wolfe, who was my classmate at the Jewish Theological Seminary and one of my oldest and closest friends, died June 26 after a long struggle with cancer.

During his 40 years as executive head of the

Rabbinical Assembly, the Conservative rabbinic association, he literally helped change the course of Jewish and general history through his wisdom and statesmanship.

Wolfe Kelman was beloved virtually everywhere as the "rabbi's rabbi." He was pivotal in transforming the Conservative rabbinate into a large, model professional group that empowered the spiritual life and the physical security of rabbis. One of his proudest efforts led to the ordination of women rabbis by the seminary in 1985.

Rabbi Kelman worked vigorously to promote

solidarity with the Orthodox and Reform movements, and to advance mutual respect between all religions and races.

In the early 1960s, Wolfe and I became bonded together in collaborating with our teacher, the late Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, during the civil rights activities led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and in advancing Jewish interests at Vatican Council II in 1962-65.

Out of his rich Hasidic background in Poland and then Toronto, he lived a life of learning and deep caring for Jews and other human beings all over the world. He was

profoundly concerned about improving American Jewish-Israeli relations, and made a strong personal impact on

advancing religious pluralism in the Jewish State.

With all that extensive and often hectic activity, he was a devoted husband to his loving partner, Jackie, and a caring father to his children, Levi, Naamah and Abby, his six grandchildren, and to his brothers and sisters.

His daughter, Naamah, spoke for all of us who were blessed to know Wolfe Kelman when she said in her eulogy, "My heart is broken and yet so full. This is a paradox my



■ Rabbi Wolfe Kelman father would understand."

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Texas Jewish Post
July 12, 1990

Jewish Standards - N. NJ
7/13/90

Statement on values important

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

The joint declaration by Jewish and Catholic religious leaders calling for systematic cultivation of moral values in our nation's secular school system is a potentially important development.

Drafted by committees of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Synagogue Council of America, the declaration addresses the almost universal anxieties in American society over the rise in drug addiction, crime, depression, alcoholism, promiscuity, AIDS, and teen pregnancies.

The joint statement attributes these social dysfunctions to the collapse of fundamental values among our children — "like honesty, integrity, tolerance, and belief in human worth and dignity." It then proposes a series of steps for arresting this moral decline, and for nurturing core values among our children and youth through our schools.

Thanks to the invitations of Rabbi Joel Zaiman, SCA president, and Rabbi Jack Bemporad, SCA interreligious affairs chairman, I took part briefly in discussions which led to the adoption of this statement. Therefore, I am strongly supportive of its intentions and purposes.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

But there are two comments, I think, that are in order:

First, as far back as the 1960s, the National Religious Education Association had prepared a series of extensive moral education projects, both for secular and religious school curricula. Much of the material was pedagogically excellent, and deserves to be examined in light of present changed circumstances.

The lesson to be learned from that experience is that while great investment was made in preparation of materials, much less vigor was devoted to implementation, that is, to getting the curricula and textbooks used in the school systems. That should not happen this time around.

Second, for this project to be taken seriously, there is a pressing need for the most thorough social, psychological, cultural, and moral analysis of the American condition today. Unless you have a reliable diagnosis of the causes of the illness or disease, you are not likely to produce a meaningful prognosis.

The leadership on both the Jewish and Catholic sides, I can testify, is of such high quality of intelligence, wisdom, and commitment, that I think all of us can be confident that they will work to make this project a serious and lasting contribution to the moral healing of America.

Jewish Telegraphic Agency



900713

Electoral reform in Israel concerns American Jews

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

NEW YORK (JTA) — The process that led to the formation of the most right-wing Likud-led government since the establishment of the state of Israel has dramatically demonstrated how unwieldy the democratic process has become in the Jewish state.

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The electorate overwhelmingly supports reform

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Greater Phoenix Jewish News
 Sun 13, 1990

Do Homosexual Rabbis Threaten Jewish Continuity?

By Marc H. Tanenbaum
(Copyright 1990; Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.)

Should gay and lesbian Jews be ordained as rabbis and allowed to serve Jewish congregations?

That controversial issue received widely differing responses in the Jewish community in recent weeks, and promises to become a subject of widespread soul-searching among American and Israeli Jews in the months ahead.

After four years of intensive study, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the rabbinic arm of Reform Judaism, voted unanimously to welcome homosexuals into the Reform rabbinate.

In a delicately balanced statement—which deserves to be read in full—the CCAR resolution affirmed “heterosexual, monogamous, procreative marriage (as) the ideal human relationship (in Jewish tradition) for the perpetuation of species, covenantal fulfillment and the preservation of the Jewish people.”

At the same time, the Reform rabbis acknowledged the reality of homosexuality among some of its members and sought to accord them full religious equality, including in the rabbinate.

Orthodox Jewish leaders vigorously opposed the Reform decision. The traditional view is based on the firm belief that the Torah and Jewish law strictly prohibits homosexual activity.

The Rabbinical Assembly, the rabbinic arm of Conservative Judaism adopted a sensitive if brief resolution last May. It welcomed gays and lesbians as full members in Conservative synagogues, deplored violence and prejudice against them and urged their complete civic equality, as did the CCAR.

While the biblical teaching in Leviticus 18:22 condemns homosexuality as “an abomination,” the oncoming debate will center far more on sociological than on theological grounds.

The preservation of the Jewish family—which means the reproduction of Jewish children—has been the foundation stone of Jewish continuity and survival across four millennia.

Gay and lesbian “marriages”—with some few exceptions of child adoptions or child-bearing through artificial insemination—becomes the equivalent to Jews of Catholic celibacy, “the end of the line.”

For centuries, rabbis have been upheld in Jewish communities across the world as role models of these Jewish family values. Not only were they expected to teach the biblical mandates of “be fruitful and multiply,” but their family life normally became a model for how other faithful Jews should construct their homes.

Reinforcing current Jewish anxieties about the homosexual rabbinate issue is the fact that American Jews have the lowest birth rate of any religious or ethnic group in this country.

The fear that homosexual rabbis threaten Jewish continuity and survival—rather than sheer homophobia—is the primary force underlying the strong negative reaction of some Jewish groups to their ordination.

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friends of my relatives, ... Dave Kachel, who was also a minister, did everything possible to help us adapt to new and strange conditions. At their request, tens of people gathered furniture and everything necessary to begin life here.

It has been eight months. My

brothers.

Rabbi Marc Liebhaber is on vacation. His column will resume on his return.

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August 3, 1990

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Gay rabbis: The issue is continuity

By Marc H. Tanenbaum

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Viewpoint

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That Jews have the lowest birth rate of any religious or ethnic group in the United States reinforces Jewish anxieties about the homosexual rabbinate issue.

I believe the fear that homosexual rabbis threaten Jewish continuity and survival — rather than sheer homophobia — is the primary force underlying the strong negative reaction of some Jewish groups to their ordination.

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Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, August 3, 1990

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point of view

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While the biblical teaching in Leviticus 18:22 condemns homosexuality as “an abomination,” my sense is that the oncoming debate will center far more on sociological than on theological grounds.

The preservation of the Jewish family—which means the reproduction of Jewish children—has been the foundation stone of Jewish continuity and survival across four millennia.

Gay and lesbian “marriages”—with some few exceptions of child adoptions or child-bearing through artificial insemination—becomes the equivalent to Jews of Catholic celibacy, “the end of the line.” For centuries, rabbis have been upheld in Jewish communities across the world as role models of these Jewish family values.

Not only were they expected to teach the biblical mandates of “be fruitful and multiply,” but their family life normally became a model for how other faithful Jews should construct their homes.

Reinforcing current Jewish anxieties about the homosexual rabbinate issue is the fact that American Jews have the lowest birth rate of any religious or ethnic group in this country.

I believe that the fear that homosexual rabbis threaten Jewish continuity and survival—rather than sheer homophobia—is the primary force underlying the strong negative reaction of some Jewish groups to their ordination.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

Nebraska + Iowa

Jewish Press, August 3, 1990

THE EXHIBIT
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should homosexuals be rabbis?

By MARC H. TANENBAUM
New York City © 1990, JTA)

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*The Jewish World Aug. 9, 1990
900909*



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Vatican-Jewish Meet a Turning Point

BY MARC M. TANNENBAUM

From the perspective of 30 years of work in Vatican-Jewish relations, I have little hesitation in stating that the four-day conference in Prague last month was a significant breakthrough in 1,900 years of Catholic-Jewish relations.

Vatican Council II struggled for three years to produce *Nostra Aetate* in October 1965. That historic document "deplored" any manifestations of anti-Semitism, past, present or future. But church pride did not allow for confession of the salient role of Christianity in fostering demonic anti-Semitism, which dehumanized Jews for nearly 2,000 years in Western Christian society.

By hurtful contrast, Vatican documents and Church officials had little difficulty in confessing the sins of the Roman Catholic Church in conflicts with Islam and other Christians.

In Prague, the highest Vatican official present, Archbishop Edward Cassidy, president of the Vatican Commission on Religious Relations With the Jews, broke forthrightly with that long defensive tradition of Catholic evasion. He told us directly that "certain traditions of Catholic thought, teaching, preaching, and practice in the patristic and Middle Ages contributed to the creation of anti-Semitism in Western society.

"In modern times," he added, "Catholics were not vigilant enough to react against manifestations of anti-Semitism." The Catholic delegates condemned anti-Semitism "as a sin against God and humanity, and affirmed that one cannot be authentically Christian and engage in anti-Semitism."

The Australian archbishop called on the Catholic Church to engage in an act of *teshuvah* (repentance) and of reconciliation. Not widely reported were his comments that "we Catholics have a parti-

cular obligation to take the initiative in reconciliation, in *teshuvah*, and to ask forgiveness of the Jewish people."

These confessions of conscience, it needs to be added, were anticipated as trial balloons by Catholic leaders in Los Angeles in relation to the Vatican's failures in the Holocaust, but also more recently by the Czech and Polish churches, which are issuing major declarations in this new spirit of truth and candor.

The effect of these declarations is becoming therapeutic. They help dissolve long-repressed resistances among Catholics in coming to terms with reality. That became evident in Prague in the cleansed atmosphere in which the large Vatican delegation was prepared to speak frankly about the upsurge of anti-Semitism in Eastern and Central Europe.

Medieval demonic anti-Semitism pervades those countries, even where few Jews are left. (One psychiatrist calls it pathological "symbol sickness," where the symbol of a person is hated as much as a person who is not present.) Since the freedom revolutions in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Germany, among others, the Vatican and local Catholic Churches have emerged as major moral influences.

The fact that the Vatican delegation committed itself, without qualification, to join with Jews in helping organize joint committees in each of the East European countries in order to combat every manifestation of anti-Semitism is a sign of how real was the progress in Prague.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

Manu Jewish Tribune - 10/12/90

FOCUS

Comment/Opinion/Insight

Rx for a malignant mental disorder, anti-Semitism

By MARCH H. TANENBAUM

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO this month, on Oct. 28, 1965, Roman Catholic hierarchies from throughout the world adopted at Vatican Council II *Nostra Aetate*, or In Our Time, the historic declaration that launched the most dramatic changes in 1,900 years of Catholic-Jewish relations.

Next month, international Catholic and Jewish leaders will meet in Vatican City with Pope John Paul II to assess the progress made during these 25 years in improving ties between Catholics and Jews. They will also examine the problems that still bedevil Catholic-Jewish understanding.

Contrary to some critics, the achievements have been significant and encouraging to anyone open to the impressive evidence of positive changes. Catholic schoolbooks have been revised so that anti-Semitic references have been virtually eliminated in school texts used in the United States, parts of Europe and Latin America. Liturgies and sermons have rejected anti-Jewish themes.

Catholics and Jews cooperate increasingly in a wide range of social justice efforts. Cardinals, bishops, priests, nuns and lay people have taken part in Holocaust observances and have marched in demonstrations to liberate Soviet Jews — and Christians.

The record justifies the oft-repeated judgment that greater progress has been made in overcoming misunderstanding and in building mutual respect and friendship during these 25 years than throughout the past 1,900 years.

But hovering over this historic change are uncertainties and reservations. I do not speak of the obvious public issues of establishing full diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the State of Israel, nor of the Vatican's reflex defense of its relative silence in the face of the Nazi campaign to exterminate the Jews. These issues are maturing in Catholic circles, and I think they will be resolved in the not-too-distant future.

The critical underlying issue still to be confronted is the recognition by Christian authorities that anti-Semitism in Western society is as much psychopathological as it is theological. In his recent study, "Anti-Semitism — A Disease of the Mind," psychiatrist Dr. Theodore Isaac Rubin writes, "Anti-Semitism is a non-organic disease of the mind a malignant emotional illness. People sick with this disease can be very dangerous and even murderous but are not treated accordingly."

Unless the social-psychological dynamic of anti-Semitism as a sickness is grasped and dealt with therapeutically, theological fine-tuning in imagery and language could ultimately become just a surface repair of uncertain duration.

The psychopathology I speak of begins with the systematic demonization of Jews and Judaism in the sermons and treatises of the Church fathers in the first four centuries of this era.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, former director of international and interreligious affairs of the American Jewish Committee, was the only rabbi present at Vatican Council II, as a guest observer. He is writing a book on "The Vatican, the Jews and Israel" for Grove-Weidenfeld Publishers.



Pope John Paul II discusses Catholic-Jewish relations with Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum during 1985 meeting with international Jewish and Catholic leaders in Vatican City.

Thus, the "golden-tongued" St. John Chrysostom, in his notorious four sermons delivered in Aleppo in 387 C.E., brutally attacked the synagogue as "the work of Satan," a "house of prostitution," and urged that Jews be packed into their houses of worship and destroyed.

Church Father Eusebius, the great historian of Caesarea in the fourth century, wrote two massive works — *Preparatio Evangelica* and *Demonstratio Evangelica* — in which he formulated one of the first systematic theologies of the displacement and rejection of Judaism through the rise of the church and Christianity.

In subsequent centuries, these demonic images of Jews and the Jewish religion were intensified, penetrating the marrow of Western Christian society. In the 12th and 13th centuries, Christians enlarged the impact of that hostility and rejection through Passion plays, the slander of ritual blood libel and through artistic presentations of Jews as being in league with Satan, i.e. the Jews as "anti-Christ."

The Rev. Martin Luther, the Augustinian monk who fathered Protestantism, hoped to convert the Jews through kindness. When Jews did not respond to his "friendly" conversionary appeals in the 1500s, he wrote several hostile pamphlets — "The Jews and Their Lies," "Vom Shem Hamephorash" — in which he appropriated entirely the demonic images of Jews and the synagogue from the writings of the Church fathers.

Verbal violence was invariably followed by the physical violence of pogroms, inquisitions, crusades, autos-da-fe, expulsions, ghettos and other frequent persecutions.

Scholars make a convincing case that both Nazism and Communism created a secularized demonization of Jews that borrowed extensively from the overflowing cornucopia of anti-Jewish metaphors, caricatures and icons.

Vatican Council II inspired Roman Catholics to remove such scandalous group libels of Jews as "Christ-killers" and as "wandering Jews" punished by God for not accepting Jesus.

These revisions, welcome as they surely are, are a form of

theological cleansing in keeping with the church's religious renewal. The Nazi Holocaust and the restoration of Jews to Israel gave strong impetus to that purification process.

But after 25 years of work in Jewish-Christian relations, I am convinced there needs to be and can be more than that academic, pedagogical religious housecleaning.

To vanquish anti-Semitism at its malignant source, theological reformulation must be comprehended as a radical psychological transformation. It involves a conscious, systematic demonization of Jews and Judaism. And it requires replacing those dehumanizing images with a whole new mentality that views Jews as normal human beings, with strengths and weaknesses, "the elder brother" without whose continuous, living spiritual traditions and values Christianity might never have emerged into history.

This is not an issue of resolving guilt for past offenses, or of being nice to Jews, especially in light of the Holocaust. The future character of Western societies is deeply affected by this challenge. Neither Germany, Poland, France, Brazil nor any other Christian country will be able to build stable, unified, peaceful societies as long as the land mines and time bombs of anti-Semitism lurk in their cultural subconsciousness, exploding periodically as political or economic crises erupt.

Poland is Exhibit A of that destructive pathology which witnesses anti-Semitism flourishing without Jews. The term Dr. Rubin uses is "symbol sickness" to explain the phenomenon of transferring hostility for Jews to the symbol of the Jews, making inhuman action plausible.

The psychological task of cultural therapy involves facing up — finally — to the magnitude of the dehumanization of the Jewish people that has dominated Western Christian civilization over the past 1,900 years.

A theological renewal that is fully conscious of that systemic illness and mobilize all its moral and spiritual resources to heal profoundly, in depth, that sickness would hold the greatest promise for the future health of Catholic-Jewish relations in the next 25 years, and beyond.

25 years ago — 25 years from now

By LEON KLENICKI

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, I was a student at the Hebrew Union College Seminary in Cincinnati. My fellow students and I shared concerns, even anguish, over papers to write, Talmudic questions posed by teachers and other overwhelming problems of young scholars.

Rabbi Klenicki is director of the interfaith affairs department of the Anti-Defamation League's intergroup relations division.

At the same time, in Rome, Christians were struggling with questions and answers that would change the very direction of their faith commitment. The Catholic Church was debating its very role, and existence in the 20th century, facing contemporary problems as well as questions of the past. It was during this Vatican II conclave that the Church began an analysis of the Catholic-Jewish relationship that considered two millennia of Jewish pain and of Christian spiritual arrogance. It signaled the beginning of a new moment in history.

At lunchtime in Cincinnati, the students and professors would discuss the events in Rome. Opinions were divided. There were those who did not believe that there would be any

change, that Catholicism would never reckon with the past or face the eternal actuality of the God-Israel covenant.

Others were somewhat more optimistic. While acknowledging that there would be changes, they were not sure that they would be implemented in Catholic life or benefit the Catholic-Jewish relationship.

How did I feel, a student from overwhelmingly Catholic Argentina? I was indecisive. Bad memories came unwillingly to my mind of Catholic right-wing teachers in high school who were quite open in their anti-Semitism.

Why couldn't I remember other teachers such as the Cath-

(Continued on Page 47)

New Auschwitz Convent Center Moves Forward

BY MARC H. TANENBAUM

During the breakthrough Vatican-Jewish meeting in Prague last September, Bishop Henryk Muszynski of Poland went to some lengths to persuade several of us that progress was being made in the construction of the new Auschwitz convent away from the grounds of the death camp.

The bishop, who is chairman of the Polish Catholic Bishops' Commission on Catholic-Jewish relations, spread out on the table before us several photographs of the infrastructure of the convent and of the center's administrative building.

The important thing for us now is to make sure that we get the constructive result that so many of us campaigned for

and government, was told by the Polish Cultural Institute that "construction work began in February 1990 . . . and the building foundation (was) laid down for the offices. Work on the convent's foundation has started. The Polish Ministry of Culture and Art has approached the Father Superior of the Carmelite Order in Rome, asking him to designate a person authorized to negotiate the future use of the building in which the Carmelite Sisters Convent is situated."

Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, with whom Sir Sigmund established a working relationship in the face of all the turmoil over his anti-Semitic remarks, wrote the Jewish leader on Oct. 12. The Cardinal reported the following developments:

- The structure of the administrative building has been completed. Its first visitors will be accepted in the spring.
- The foundations of the convent have been completed, as has the excavation for the main building of the center.
- The completion of the interior of the administrative building and the two stories of the convent is planned by winter.

As for the money issue, the Polish Cultural Center stated the person designated by the Carmelite Order in Rome will take charge of "all financial details connected with the takeover of the (interreligious building) by the planned museum."

As all Jews know, the Auschwitz convent issue has been a long, heated and painful one. The important thing for us now is to make sure that we get the constructive result that so many of us campaigned for.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, former international and interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

Muszynski, whom I believe is a genuine friend of the Jewish people and who is committed to combating the deep-seated anti-Semitism in Poland, had only one reservation about the pace of building the new convent-interreligious center — and that is the shortage of funds in the impoverished Polish economy.

This week I received strong confirmation that progress in the building program continues. Sir Sigmund Sternberg of London, chairman of the International Conference of Christians and Jews, informed me by telephone and correspondence that two Polish sources have confirmed that the construction goes forward.

Sir Sigmund, with whom I cooperated closely during the negotiations with the Polish hierarchy

11/2/90

M/AM/

JEWISH TRIBUNE

Jews, Catholics build on past success

BY MARC TANENBAUM

NEW YORK (JTA) --

Following on the heels of the breakthrough conference in Prague in early September between Vatican and Jewish leaders, the announcement of plans for convening another international meeting of these two groups in Vatican City on Nov. 14-15 augurs well for the future of Catholic-Jewish relations.

Having served on the steering committee of the Prague meeting, I experienced a new energy and determination of the Vatican delegation to come to terms in a forceful way with the problems of anti-Semitism, especially in Eastern and Western Europe.

The unanimous decision of the Catholic and Jewish delegations to establish joint committees in every East European country to monitor anti-Semitic manifestations and to implement programs -- for the first time -- to change the anti-Semitic cultures in those countries gave us confidence that the Vatican meant business about implementing *Nostra Aetate* where it was badly needed.

The International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations believes that the November meeting will be a real opportunity to give momentum to the entire range of issues outstanding between Catholics and Jews.

A major feature of that meeting will be further discussion on the preparation by the Vatican of a major document

examining the history of 1,900 years of anti-Semitism in the Christian West, culminating in the terrors of the Shoah.

Archbishop Edward Cassidy set the moral tone for that undertaking when he confessed "teshuva," or repentance, in Prague over the sufferings inflicted on the Jews by Christians across millennia, and asked Jews for forgiveness.

The Vatican-IJCIC meeting in November will mark the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the historic *Nostra Aetate* declaration on Oct. 25, 1965, which changed the course of two

millennia of Catholic-Jewish history. But it also will concentrate heavily on current issues.

The meeting will be climaxed by a discussion with Pope John Paul II, which we expect will give the seal of approval to those vital developments for the instruction of nearly a billion Catholics throughout the world. *Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum is the former international and interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.*



Vatican Council II - 25 Years Later

By RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
(Copyright 1990, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.)

A spate of conferences and institutes are being held in many parts of the United States, Europe, Latin America and Israel to mark the 25th anniversary of the adoption of Nostra Aetate, the Vatican Declaration dealing with Catholic-Jewish relations.

That historic declaration, adopted overwhelmingly on Oct. 28, 1965, by 2,500 Catholic leaders from throughout the world at Vatican Council II, transformed Catholic-Jewish relations.

Cynics and extremists who oppose involvement in Catholic-Jewish relations point only to current problems and avoid or deny the progress that has been made. Despite its limitations, Nostra Aetate has resulted in major changes in Catholic attitudes towards Jews and Judaism, and even toward Israel.

In contrast to the Baltimore Catechism of 1937, which was virtually a manual in teaching anti-Semitism, the majority of Catholic textbooks used in parochial schools today are free of any anti-Jewish references.

Similar improvements have taken place in Catholic liturgy, sermons, mass media, Catholic teaching in seminaries, colleges and universities. Don't take my word for it; the evidence is available for any fair-minded person to see and judge.

Critics will resist believing this, but we have also seen the beginning of meaningful changes in Vatican and Catholic attitudes toward Israel and Jerusalem.

At a conference in which I took part four years ago between the Vatican and International Jewish delegations, the Vatican's officials wrote into our joint communique, "There exist no theological objections to the existence of the sovereign state of Israel; only unresolved political problems stand in the way of full normalization of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Israel."

Earlier this year, the American Catholic hierarchy adopted a statement on the Middle East in which they did not question the right to Israel's sovereignty over a unified Jerusalem, but focused their concerns on assurance to free access to all holy places.

When I was in Rome as a delegate observer to Vatican Council II, there was a "conspiracy". It was a powerful conspiracy between a number of ultra-conservative Catholic bishops - several of them explicitly anti-Semitic - who joined forces with Arab prelates and Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who tried to defeat Nostra Aetate.

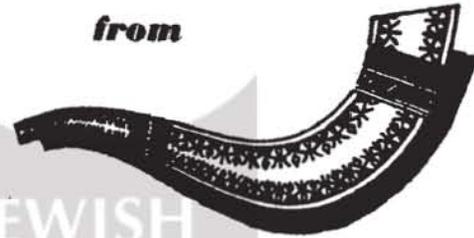
They believed that any Vatican declaration that condemned anti-Semitism and said positive things

about Jews and Judaism would be either a reversal of Catholic theology or a political victory for Is-

rael. A monumental struggle was carried out by friendly Catholic cardinals and their Jewish allies, and the pro-Jewish forces finally prevailed. The late Cardinal Augustin Bea, Vatican Secretariat president, Cardinal Lawrence Shehan of Baltimore, the entire

Greetings and Best Wishes for the New Year

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1990 — year of anguish in Israel

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

What kind of year was 1990 for the Jewish people?

To cite a commentary on the Passover Haggadah, "We begin with anguish (over the slavery in Egypt) and we conclude with joy (over the liberation from exile through the Exodus.)"

Jews had multiple reasons for anguish in 1990. Israel, at the center of Jewish consciousness, was battered and threatened incessantly by its violence-prone Palestinian and Arab neighbors.

Saddam Hussein's brutal aggression against Kuwait, and his massive military machine with its weapons of potential mass destruction, transformed Israel's bad neighborhood into a scene of apocalyptic threat. The intifada of the Palestinians, fueled by the rage over the Temple Mount conflict, increased the street stabbings of ordinary Israelis.

Hovering over all this turmoil and uncertainty, the organization by President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker of an international consortium to drive Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait became a *raison d'etat* -- or in fact, a pretext -- for the U.S. to support a series of troublesome anti-Israel resolutions at the United Nations.

The intention of the new abrasive pressures against Israel was explained as an effort to keep the Western-Arab military coalition in the Persian Gulf intact.

But to concerned Israelis and Jews, it suggested the beginning of a reordering of America's alliances and priorities in the Middle East, with Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, Egypt and even Syria as anchors of U.S. foreign policy there, leaving Israel on the back burner.

The result is that in 1991 and beyond, the heart of Israel's security and interests in the United States may lie in Congress.

Ironically, and in some ways tragically, the preoccupation with the Persian Gulf crisis tended to minimize

if not obscure one of the great historic developments of our lifetime -- namely, the large migration of Soviet Jews to Israel.

That stunning development holds the possibility of transforming Israel's internal political and cultural life, and could help bolster Israel's capacity to defend herself from external enemies.

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Despite the overwhelming preoccupation with the Persian Gulf crisis, American and other Jewish communities -- especially Israeli Jewry -- merit much tribute for their intensified support of Soviet Jewry through Operation Exodus. The absorption and resettlement of Soviet and Ethiopian Jewry should clearly become a predominant priority for world Jewry during the coming decade, despite all the diverting external problems.

On the international scene, several other developments require much examination but can be only listed here:

* The reunification of Germany raised widespread anxieties in world Jewry, but it was balanced by an awareness that next to the United States, the Federal Republic remains the largest financial and commercial supporter of Israel.

* The explosion of democratic forces in Eastern Europe is largely welcomed by Jews, but enthusiasm is

diminished by the deep-rooted Anti-Semitism that seems married to xenophobic nationalism. Israel's quiet but growing trade and cultural ties with Hungary, Poland, and other East European countries will be watched with interest.

* Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe and elsewhere became a major issue of constructive concern with Vatican authorities in Prague in September, and later in Rome with Pope John Paul II in December.

* Foreign affairs often obscured pressing Jewish domestic concerns, of which there are many. The rise in intermarriages nationally to 49 percent, as recent studies revealed, and the decline of conversions of non-Jewish partners posed deeply nettlesome questions to all of Jewry.

* On the "joyous" side, the turn to tradition of increasing number of Reform and Conservative Jews is reassuring. The emergence of modern Orthodoxy, including the burgeoning Hasidic movements, bids to influence the national policy-making of established national Jewish agencies.

But mainstream Jewry, I believe, will watch carefully that some of the exclusionary and anti-democratic stands of ultra-Orthodox forces in Israel not be imported to distort U.S. Jewish life.

The best way I can suggest the mood of this vastly complex foreign and domestic Jewish scene is to recall a line from my mother, of blessed memory. When we asked her to define a genuine Jewish pleasure, she wryly answered, "A Jewish pleasure, my children, is a cool Yom Kippur."

The 1990s may well see such a cool Yom Kippur for world Jewry.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, former international relations director of the American Jewish Committee, is past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

Rabbi urges U.S. Jews, Christians to fight deceit

New York Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum says he admires the United States for being "more generous than any other nation in history." But this generosity is not enough, said Tanenbaum, director emeritus of international relations for the American Jewish Committee.

Tanenbaum will discuss "Moral Challenges for Jews and Christians in the '90s" at 7 p.m. Sunday at Grace Lutheran Church, 2331 E. Fifth Place. His visit will mark the fifth annual Knippa Interfaith-Ecumenical Lecture, established in honor of the Rev. Clarence Knippa, pastor emeritus of Grace Lutheran.

The United States has "done more (than other countries) to sustain a decent life for other Americans and people around the world," Tanenbaum said. "But our job is hardly done."

He said Americans should become aware of "those things that threaten our health." A main threat to the "health" of the United States is the widespread fraud, corruption and deceit that he said he sees in politics, the media and even in religion.

"I see a growing decline in confidence and a growing sense of cynicism," Tanenbaum said. Cynicism could make people apathetic toward social concerns, he added.

Tanenbaum said he calls on Christians and Jews to be a prophetic voice in confronting deceit.

"In colonial times, if a politician violated the public trust, he was taken out to the stockade," he said, adding that Christians and Jews have a "shared responsibility for the social welfare of society." He said people should be assured of such basic securities as food, clothing, shelter and medical care.

Tanenbaum spent much of his career dealing with international human rights, hunger, refugees and foreign relations. He formerly was interreligious-affairs director of the American Jewish Committee. A story in New York magazine recently described him as "the foremost Jewish ecumenical leader in the world today."

Victory brings risks and opportunities

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

New York (JTA) — The world is euphoric in the wake of the brilliant victory of U.S.-led forces over the despotic Iraqi aggressor Saddam Hussein.

All Americans, especially American Jews, as well as Israel have every moral right and prac-

has been exploded in the rape of Kuwait and the missiles flying into Saudi Arabia. These oil-rich kingdoms — as well as Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and even duplicitous Jordan — must know now that their survival depends on containing political violence.

If in the wake of Iraq's traumatic aggression they have not learned to appreciate their stake in securing peace and coexistence in the Middle East, especially with Israel, what will it take for them to come to terms with the real world?

The leadership credibility of President Bush — who with the U.S. military saved the existence of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Gulf emirates — now becomes decisive in helping move the Arab nations from delusion and fantasy to realistic accommodation with Israel.

• Will Israel summon the political will and wisdom to seize this moment as an opportunity for advancing peace with the moderate Arab nations and a viable political arrangement with the Palestinians?

Saudi Arabia and Egypt are speaking publicly of becoming more assertive as centers of pan-Arab leadership.

There is great hostility to Yasir Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization leaders who betrayed the Saudis, their longtime financial backers.

King Hussein of Jordan is openly condemned for siding with Iraq. He must do something dramatic and constructive with Israel and the Palestinians to regain any standing with the Saudis and others.

This constellation of new forces in the Middle East affords unprecedented opportunities as well as risks. Bold, imaginative and unified responses now are in Israel's interest.

Viewpoint

tical reason to appreciate the magnitude of that historic achievement.

The worst threat to Israel's existence since 1948 has been crushed.

But the euphoria is tempered by the tough and fateful challenges that are now emerging. They can be summarized in several questions:

• Is Saddam's power broken or will he — with Soviet and perhaps other European collusion — slowly rebuild his military machine?

That sounds paranoid, but given his past deviousness and deception, the surveillance of Iraqi's possible remilitarization must be vigilant.

Of course, if the anti-Saddam revolts drive him out of the presidency, the demilitarization issue may be modified, but hardly dissolved.

• Will there be a realignment of "moderate" Arab states toward the United States and the West that could lead to negotiations for finally ending belligerency toward Israel?

The myth of pan-Arabic unity

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is former international relations director of the American Jewish Committee and a past chairman of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations.



this Jewish Chronicle 3/15/91

American Morality Under Siege

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By Marc H. Tanenbaum

Morality, both private and public, is under siege in America.

The flamboyant revelations about former first lady Nancy Reagan and her alleged Machiavellian role in the White House followed hard upon the reported escapades by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and members of his family on their family estate in Palm Beach, Fla.

Those two "blockbuster" moral explosions were preceded by the horrendous episode of a group of Los Angeles policemen mercilessly beating a black man.

In a certain sense, these were "micro-morality plays" involving mainly domestic concerns of conscience and ethical standards. Looming infinitely larger in the public mind was the abandonment of the Kurds and Shi'ites to massacre by public enemy Saddam Hussein.

Providing them with food and medical aid is vital, but are we merely keeping these civilian victims alive while doing nothing to prevent Hussein from destroying them after they are fed?

One of the overarching considerations of these deeply troublesome events is the effect it must be having on public trust and confidence in our nation's

leaders.

Even if allegations of Nancy Reagan's infidelities and reliance on astrology are never proven, the moral effects on our nation are already devastating.

The Psalmist was on target when he wrote: "Trust not in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no salvation." □

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, for 30 years the director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee, is now a lecturer, writer and consultant.

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Mashville Observer 4/19/91

Morality under seige ^{910426a}

by Marc H. Tanenbaum
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ESSAYS ...

Morality Under Siege

Rochester, NY The Jewish Ledger 5/2/91 910502

BY MARC H. TANENBAUM
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THE JEWISH LEDGER • Thursday, May 2, 1991 • Page 19

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Morality Under Siege

By Marc H. Tanenbaum

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The miracle of Ethiopian Jewry

By RABBI MARC TANENBAUM

NEW YORK (JTA) — Mevasseret Zion, west of Jerusalem, is one of the major absorption centers in Israel for Jewish refugees and displaced people.

About four years ago, an Israeli Foreign Ministry official took me to that center to witness the absorption of Ethiopian Jews into Israeli society. It was one of the most moving experiences of my life.

Several hundred of these incredibly gaunt but dignified black Jews came to Israel hungry, perhaps starving, their only possessions the clothing on their backs.

Two startling impressions still stand out in my mind. The first was the children. Beautiful chiseled features, bright saucer-sized eyes staring out in a mixture of pleasure and fear.

Most of the children had come to Israel virtually illiterate. By the second and third weeks of their stay in Mevasseret Zion, they were learning Hebrew by watching an Israeli TV version of Sesame Street.

With the dotting attention of Israeli teachers and social workers, a number of the Ethiopian children were sitting in front of computers learning the rudiments of high-tech communication. Several weeks before, most of them had not known what to do with a pencil.

All around the center, the Ethiopian Jewish parents and grandparents were hovering over their children with a love and caring that was palpable. That devotion helped me understand how this proud but vulnerable people was able to survive hundreds of years of drought, hunger, marauding Christian and Moslem missionaries, and civil war.

The second dominant impression was the phenomenal response of the Israelis — ordinary men, women and children — in welcoming their distant relatives. Israeli govern-

ment officials had invited Israelis to donate whatever clothing, housing supplies and toys they could share with the Ethiopian Jewish immigrants.

I was taken out to several of the nearby warehouses. They were jammed to the rafters with supplies that Israelis had given voluntarily to the new olim. The supplies had become so numerous that Israeli officials had to beg Israeli citizens to halt their generosity, at least for awhile.

Transcending these wonderful human expressions of compassion was the sense that this was a defining moment for Israel's establishment and existence.

World Jewry is continuously besieged by the worrisome reports of Israel's declining economy, shortage of jobs and housing, the Palestinian attacks. The historic immigration of hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews, though wonderful, intensifies these daily burdens and challenges.

But in the midst of all this difficult and often forlorn news, it is abundantly clear that the mystique and mitzva of kibbutz galuyot — the ingathering of the exiles — is the deepest conviction alive and flourishing among Israelis and world Jewry.

With our hearts and our pocketbooks we need to be responsive to what a great movement in Jewish history is the ingathering of the remnants of Ethiopian Jews. That, and the immigration of Soviet Jews, are the historic justifications of the rebirth of Eretz Yisrael.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, for 30 years the director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee, is now a lecturer, writer and consultant.

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Minnetota, American Jewish WORLD 6/7/91

The impact of Yom Hashoah on the Christian world

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

Yom Hashoah has had two primary purposes since its proclamation by Israel's Knesset.

Its primary intention was to enable Jews to commemorate the memories of the 6 million Jewish martyrs massacred by the Nazis. That sacred purpose has been widely realized, as virtually every Jewish community throughout the world observes this holy day of honoring our dead brothers and sisters.

There has also been a parallel purpose to Yom Hashoah — to make the vast Christian world aware of the magnitude of the horrors inflicted on Jews as a result of centuries of demonic anti-Semitism, especially in Europe, both East and West.

The raising of that consciousness has not been a matter of revenge or guilt. It was, and is, June 13, 1991

to galvanize the moral responsibility of the Christian world to stand against anti-Jewish bigotry and to develop mutual respect and solidarity between nearly a billion Christians and world Jewry.

Judging by recent pronouncements and actions of Roman Catholic and Protestant bodies, the profound message of Yom Hashoah's call to humanize the Christian conscience regarding Jews and Judaism has begun to have deep effects.

In Prague last September, we heard the president of the Vatican Secretariat on Religious Relations with the Jews, Archbishop Edward Cassidy, call on the Roman Catholic world to engage in "teshuvah," repentance for the horrors Catholics inflicted on Jews across the cen-

turies.

In Rome in December, Pope John Paul II gave his personal support to the Prague declarations and urged Catholics to combat anti-Semitism and to recall the meaning of the Holocaust for Jews as well as for Christians.

Perhaps most dramatic of all, the entire Polish Catholic hierarchy issued a powerful pastoral letter repudiating hatred of Jews in Poland and urging increased dialogue and mutual knowledge. Bishop Henryk Muszynski, a wonderful Polish bishop, was the catalyst in the historic undertaking which involved the reading of that pastoral letter in every Polish Catholic Church on Jan. 20.

Similar forthright declarations have been issued by Catholic and by many Protestant hierarchies in

Czechoslovakia, Hungarian primates, the German and Austrian bishops, and other European, Central, North and South American Catholic leaders, especially the Brazilians.

What all this means for the future between Christians and Jews is still to be determined. But it certainly is evidence that Yom Hashoah has had enormous impact on sensitizing the leadership of the Christian world to the horrors of the past and the need for creating a more humane and responsible future, for Jews and the whole human family.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, for 30 years the director of international relations department of the American Jewish Committee, is now a lecturer, writer and consultant.

-Chitavo Lertimeel 6/13/91

Perspectives

A Catholic Poland stirs uneasy memories

BY RABBI MARC TANENBAUM

NEW YORK (JTA) — The reported proposal of the Roman Catholic bishops to abrogate church-state separation in Poland holds ambiguous meanings for Jews.

Should such a revised concordat between the Polish state and the Catholic Church be enacted, it would not be the first time. Poland's constitution of 1921 had granted the Catholic Church an official and privileged position among the country's religious communities.

Article 114 of that constitution provided as follows: "The Roman Catholic religion, being that of the great majority of the nation, occupies the first place among the religions accepted as such by the State. ... The relations of the State and Church will be determined on the basis of a Concordat with the Holy See, which shall be ratified by the Sejm (Parliament)."

The forging of that church-state alliance had fatal consequences for the Jews of Poland. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Polish Catholic Church was integrally allied with right-wing, reactionary and anti-Semitic parties in Poland. The Camp of National Unity exploited anti-Semitism as a central political theme, and publicly made a case for excluding all of the several million Polish Jews from the country's political and cultural life.

In 1936, Cardinal Hlond, the Primate of Poland, issued a pastoral letter condemning Jews in invidious terms. He called for an economic boycott of all Jewish businesses and professions.

For obvious — and tragic — reasons, this latter-day attempt at a renewed alliance of Polish state and church represents far less of a threat to the Jewish community in Poland, which is today comprised of about 7,000 to 10,000 mostly elderly Jews.

Weighed in the balance must be the recent remarkable declaration of the Polish Catholic bishops who in January 1991 unambiguously condemned anti-Semitism and called for a systematic educational campaign to uproot these poisonous weeds from Polish life.

While I believe the cause of human rights should compel Jewish concern about such regressive moves in Poland or anywhere else, it would be foolhardy for Jews to be first in line to try to save Poland from its past.

The Polish intellectual and cultural leadership, particularly Polish youth, have a self-evident stake in keeping their nation open, democratic and committed to freedom of conscience and religion. The European Community, which Poland may one day join, also has a primary interest in strengthening democracy and human rights among all their member nations, present or future.

Tragically, the Nazi Holocaust, which resulted in the destruction of more than 3 million Polish Jews, has rendered this church-state question more a symbolic issue than a real threat to the Jewish people.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, for 30 years the director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee, is now a lecturer, writer and consultant.

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Commentary

New challenges emerge in Austrian-Jewish relations

By Marc Tanenbaum

(JTA)The welcome decision by Austrian President Kurt Waldheim not to run for a second six-year term may make it possible for Austria finally to come to terms with its Nazi past.

The years-long international controversy over Waldheim's involvement with Nazi units in the Balkans, which he tried to suppress during his first election campaign in 1986, had the paradoxical effect of casting him as a "supervictim" in the

eyes of large numbers of conservative Austrians.

They rallied to his support in angry resentment against what they called "the international Jewish lobby" — which they charged with trying to dictate who the president of Austria should be. It became commonplace in these circles to associate the honor of Waldheim with the honor of Austria.

That polarization of the Austrian population had the disastrous effect of putting on the defensive a substantial number of

decent, often younger Austrians who were determined to face up to Austria's horrible Nazi past in order to uproot the poisonous weeds of anti-Semitism deeply buried in that ancient soil.

For several years, beginning in 1984, I and a number of my colleagues from the American Jewish Committee worked in Vienna and elsewhere in Austria to organize systematic programs in schools, universities, churches and the media for confronting that nation's pathological Nazi past, and to lay the foundations for a

new attitude toward Jews, Judaism, the Holocaust, and Israel.

It was startling and reassuring to find a significant number of Austrians who were prepared to work with us on a long-term program. Foremost among them were the eminent Cardinal Koenig, the Mayor of Vienna, the Minister of Education, and key people in both the conservative People's Party and the Social Democrats.

We were encouraged by the progress we began to make with the Education Ministry, producing impressive educational materials and arranging for regular visits and lectures at the Mauthausen concentration camp in an effort to reorient the understanding of every student in the Austrian school system.

The more successful these immunization programs against Nazism and anti-Semitism became, however, the stiffer grew the resistance of Waldheim's many supporters. More "Jewish interference and manipulation," they caricatured this moral cleansing, calling the philo-Semitic Austrians "traitors."

With Waldheim stepping down, and the equating of the president's political fortunes with "Austrian honor" possibly soon to become a thing of the past, it may now become smoother sailing for the decent, younger Austrians who are determined to create "a new Austria."

A final word.

During the height of the vig-

orous campaign led by the World Jewish Congress to defeat Waldheim's first election campaign, I agreed completely with their objective, but differed on the method and style of the international campaign, concerned that Waldheim not be made into a "supervictim" of "international Jewry."

Whatever our differences, the result that we all wanted has been achieved, and I express to the World Jewish Congress leadership and others involved a hearty "ye-yasher kochem" — well done.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, the director of interreligious and international relations at the American Jewish Committee for 30 years, is now a lecturer, writer and consultant.



Commentary: Misguided multiculturalism

By Marc Tanenbaum
(JTA) — "One Nation, Many Peoples: A Declaration for Cultural Interdependence."

That is the title of a 97-page report recently drafted by a committee of schoolteachers and scholars recommending radical changes in the teaching of social science and history in New York's school system.

In effect, the report calls for a de-emphasis on the unity of American society in favor of the view that racial and ethnic differences make up the substance of "the real America."

I have worked with textbook publishers for many years advocating a more adequate portrayal of the role of Jews and Judaism in the shaping of America. As a consequence, I am in complete sympathy with similar calls by

other groups in the American mosaic of peoples.

But advocacy I was involved in took place in the context of an appreciation of the uniqueness of American democracy and the blessings of liberty which nourished all its citizens. By contrast, what emerges from the New York report is a proposal for defaming and rendering monstrous early American history, as a means of idealizing each of the diverse racial and ethnic groups which found its way to these shores.

Neither extreme — neither defamation nor mindless group cheerleading — contributes to the overriding purpose of education: the search for truth.

European religious and national warfare bloodied the continent, and a desire to escape that charnel house — as well as the oppres-

sive, authoritarian governments of Great Britain and other European countries steeped in corruption and violence — contributed to the birth of America.

America became a place where ordinary people could realize religious and political freedoms and find equality of opportunity. A personal experience stamped this appreciation of American democracy on my mind. As I walked through a refugee camp for Vietnamese boat people in 1978, a 10-year-old Vietnamese girl followed me everywhere I went. Finally, she said, "Mister, take me to America. America is liberty."

Millions of refugees who continue to flock to America have that sentiment in their hearts.

Let our educational system reveal that truth about this nation as well.

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Gun Control Is A Mitzvah

By Marc Tanenbaum

A continuous pattern of random and senseless shootings in virtually every major city of America is making increasingly clear the convergence of Jewish and general social interests in containing the proliferation of firearms throughout the country.

Earlier this month, the U.S. Senate passed a strong crime bill containing a number of controversial measures aimed at reducing crime in America. The House is scheduled to consider such legislation by September.

Among the key features of the Senate bill are a ban on semi-automatic weapons and toughened penalties for criminals using guns.

Both positions, I believe, would find strong moral support in Jewish religious tradition.

According to Orthodox scholar and columnist for the Jewish Press in New York, Rabbi Chaim Lipschitz, among others, Judaism's attitude toward gun control may be learned from the Biblical and rabbinic teachings concerning the killing of animals.

A prominent criminologist, Dr. Georgette Bennett, in her recent study, "Crimewarps — The Future Of Crime In America," observes that "about 40 percent of Americans own firearms. The vast majority own rifles and shotguns — rather than pistols," indicating an American love affair with firearms for sport — i.e. hunting.

Referring to the models of Samson and King David, Rabbi Lipschitz asserts that one is permitted to defend oneself from attacks by both animals and human beings. But the use of guns for the pleasure of hunting is forbidden. A person is permitted to hunt only that which is needed for food and not for recreation.

Using guns for sport violates the Biblical prohibition of "Ba'al Tashchit" — enjoining needless destruction — and constitutes "Tsa'ar Baalei Chayim" — the forbidden act of causing needless suffering to living creatures.

If it is forbidden to destroy or cause suffering to animals, how much more so should that apply to stop the killing of fellow human beings?

The overriding Jewish moral consideration is the talmudic dictum that "should anyone destroy a single life he shall be called to account as though he had destroyed an entire world."

For profoundly Jewish as well as simple human considerations, the Jewish leadership in America should be urging the passage of federal and state legislation that would establish a uniform licensing system for handguns that would keep guns out of the hands of anyone without a legitimate need for them.

How many more innocent people, both Jews and non-Jews, need to be destroyed before our government and politicians take effective steps to curb the unrestricted access to murderous weapons in America?

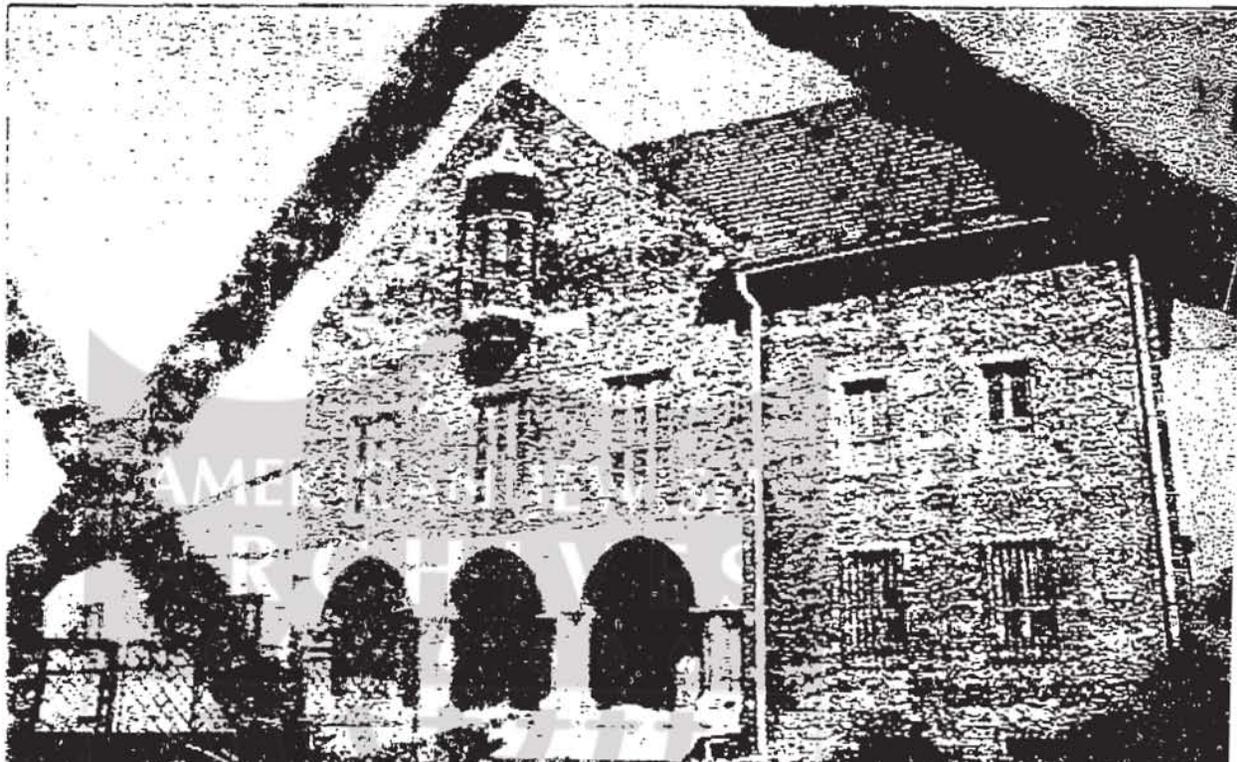
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OP-ED

Should Jews Sue — Or Meet With — Poland's Cardinal?



An Open Letter To Cardinal Jozef Glomp AVRAHAM WEISS

I have seen your letter to Detroit's Archbishop Adam J. Maida. Your "understanding" that my colleagues and I did not come to Auschwitz to murder the nuns or destroy the convent is a first step. But it falls far short.

The accusation that you made in your homily of August, 1989, that we came to kill the nuns caused us immeasurable harm. Your silence after we were beaten — while a priest and a theological student urged the at-

Avraham Weiss is rabbi of the Hebrew Institute of Riverdale and president of AMCHA, The Coalition For Jewish Concerns.

macks on — rubbed salt into the wounds that were inflicted upon us. Rectifying this grievous error requires more than an "understanding." It requires remorse. The simple words, "I'm sorry" are in order.

Additionally you blame the Jewish community to part for your egregious error. Your letter states "In the past we (the Catholic and Jewish) of humanity and momentary and learned more about each other, we would not have arrived at those regrettable misunderstandings which took place in Poland in 1939 concerning the Cardinal's convent in Auschwitz." Apparently you believe that the "regrettable misunderstandings" is, in large measure attributable to the Jewish community's lack of contact with the church on the convent issue.

Let's check the facts. The Geneva Declaration which obligated the church to move the convent by Feb. 22, 1939 was signed by European Jewish leaders and four cardinals in February, 1937. Before the declaration was signed, through the two years in which the nuns were supposed to move and then for months afterwards, our leadership was in constant con-

Continued On Page 60

The convent's convent in Auschwitz.

The Cardinal's Visit Is A Time For Change

MARC W. TANENBAUM

While Cardinal Jozef Glomp is in the United States from yesterday through Oct. 7, there are essentially two contradictory responses open to American Jewish leaders.

The first: Condemnate and rebuke Cardinal Glomp's horrible anti-Semitic statements he has made in his homily on Aug. 28, 1989, at the shrine of Czestochowa, and ignore any charges that have been placed since that time.

The second: Keep clearly in mind the crude anti-Semitic themes expressed in that offensive homily, but acknowledge with reason and decency that a number of important changes have occurred since 1969 in the attitudes and behavior of Cardinal Glomp and leaders of

Rabbi Tanenbaum, formerly chaired the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC).

the Polish Catholic Church. The challenge, then, comes how to build on the changes and assure that the movement toward pro-Orthodox and Semitic in Poland strengthened bonds made during the 1960s.

The first response to him is to him by serving: that it will, any of two or three individuals. But the consequences of the

action could be exceedingly damaging to the pitiful remnant of Polish Jewry, as well as to American Jewry. Someone has to keep in mind that American Jewry is passing through a very troubling time. The confrontation between the Bush administration and the Sharm el Sheik government over obtaining \$8 billion in guarantees for Israel, even with the

Continued On Page 60

OP-ED

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Tanenbaum

Continued From Page 9

positive compromise, is going to leave a great many Americans angry at Jews for opposing the U.S. president in favor of the Israeli government. I do not think we should underestimate the negative fallout of this emerging confrontation.

Also, the pogrom by blacks in Brooklyn's Crown Heights against Lubavitcher Jews had disclosed how pervasive a black culture of vicious anti-Semitism is creeping out around us. While moderate black leaders have remained largely silent in the face of hateful, Nazi-like verbal violence and murderous riots, a number of black radical agitators — the Rev. Al Sharpton, Sonny Carson, et al — have had the audacity to warn that Crown Heights pogroms could well be repeated in Williamsburg, Boro Park, Washington Heights and elsewhere. With encouragement from the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, Dr. Leonard Jeffries, and anti-Semitic rap lyrics, who can guarantee that imitative behavior could not break out in other cities?

A public explosion against Cardinal Glemp in the United States clearly risks alienating the entire American Catholic hierarchy, the majority of whom are trusted friends of the U.S. Jewish community, not to mention tens of thousands of Polish Catholics in the United States.

It is more than probable that public attacks against Cardinal Glemp while he is in the United States will have the most dire consequences for elderly Polish Jews. As happened when Rabbi Avi Weiss invaded the sanctuary of the Carmelite nuns, another wave of anti-Semitism can be expected in Poland should Cardinal Glemp be publicly humiliated while in the United States. But it will be the frail Polish Jews who will be beaten, cursed, and spat upon, not Jews living in the safety of Riverdale, N.Y. and Cambridge, Mass.

Jewish leaders are elected to office by their constituencies — to whom they are regularly accountable — for the primary purpose of defending Jewish interests and assuring Jewish security. It would be perverse if they felt justified in provoking further animosity and hostility toward Jews. American Jewry has abundant real problems with the

imminent U.S./Israeli confrontation, the Crown Heights black culture of vicious anti-Semitism, not to mention the latent garden variety anti-Semitism which lies buried in the culture.

Since 1989, Cardinal Glemp committed himself to transfer the Carmelite convent to a new center that is under construction. He gave the full authority of his office to an extraordinary declaration of the Polish Catholic hierarchy that condemned anti-Semitism "as evil and contrary to the spirit of the Gospel." He approved the reading of that historic pastoral document in every Polish Catholic Church last January, an unprecedented act in the history of Poland.

And in August, in a letter to Detroit's Polish Catholic archbishop, Cardinal Glemp retracted charges he had leveled during his 1989 homily that Jewish demonstrators had intended physical harm to the Carmelite sisters or destruction of their convent.

I do not know whether Cardinal Glemp is a genuine *ba'al teshuvah*. But he and the Polish Catholic church have shown demonstrable signs they are undergoing serious corrective changes in their attitudes towards Jews, Judaism, the Nazi Holocaust, and Israel.

When a group of us from the Synagogue Council of America meet with Cardinal Glemp and American Catholic cardinals and bishops today in Washington, we feel we will be acting in the best Jewish interests to help advance that process of change and transformation, and not to torpedo it through angry outbursts. □

8 Gold Medals

Four Jews won between them eight gold medals at the first modern Olympic Games, held in Athens in 1896. They were Hungarian swimmer Alfred Hajos-Guttman, Austrian swimmer Paul Neumann, and two brothers from Germany — gymnasts Alfred and Gustav Felix Flatow.

Lawman's Wife

Wyatt Earp, the legendary western lawman, had a Jewish wife — Josephine "Sadie" Marcus.

[end]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible





Polish Cardinal Josef Glemp, second from left, talks with Rabbi Mark Tanenbaum, right, in Washington. Archbishop Adam Malde of Detroit, left, and Archbishop William Keeler look on.

Photo/Associated Press

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

'Exchange and change'

Meeting with American Jewish leaders an education for Glemp

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

Cardinal Josef Glemp, primate of the Polish Catholic Church, looked around the large conference table at 12 American Jewish leaders, who were joined by leaders of the American Catholic Church, and said: "This is the largest group of Jewish people I have ever met."

His statement was a telling revelation early in an historic meeting in Washington. It left the clear feeling that the cardinal — center of a controversy in the Jewish community — can be educated, or re-educated, about Jews and Judaism.

Both his biography and his remarks made it evident that the primate of Poland was ignorant about the elementary facts of Jewish history, religion and culture in his own country.

In that vacuum, the vicious stereotypes of Polish folk-

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, for 30 years director of interreligious relations for the American Jewish Committee, was the only rabbi present as a guest observer at Vatican Council II between 1962 and 1965. He is also a former chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

lore have filled his mind and his vocabulary. And having had virtually no contact with any living Jewish community, there had never been a serious challenge to his caricatures and gross misinformation.

The meeting on Sept. 20 at the offices of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops was a fundamental encounter. As Rabbi Mordecai Waxman of Great Neck,

News analysis

Glemp served subpoena. Page 9.

L.I., put it: "There was an exchange and there was change."

The more scholarly of our colleagues reviewed both "the grandeur and the misery" of Jewish existence in Poland since the 13th century:

- How Polish kings — Boleslav V in 1264 and Casimir the Great in 1364 — invited the Jews of Germany and Central Europe to come to the impoverished peasant land and help build an urban, commercial and industrial economy.

■ How, by the first census in 1765, Polish Jews had
(Continued on Page 35)

Glomp

(Continued from Page 3)

already made up 10 percent of the population, practiced all trades and were prominent in many aspects of urban life. From the 16th century until the Holocaust, Poland was the chief world center of Judaism.

How the Christian bourgeoisie came to envy and resent the Jewish merchants, and how the Catholic clergy, particularly the Jesuits in the 17th century, became the chief architects of slander and riots that later degenerated into bloody pogroms, with the oppressed and illiterate peasants rallying to the cause.

Glomp was confronted by that survey of the glory and the tragedy of Jewish history in Poland. He was asked how the primate of the Polish Catholic Church could reduce that complex, noble and terrible history to three or four slogans that mirror

the worst stereotypes of peasant lore. He was told that Jews have a right to expect the head of the Polish church not to bear false witness.

Cardinal Bernard Law, archbishop of Boston, described his experience with the American Jewish community as a great blessing in his life. He said he wished that the experience could be implemented in time in Poland, given the realities of the Catholic majority and the small surviving Jewish community.

The importance of the conversation, in which some Jewish organizations had declined to take part, was that Cardinal Glomp emerged determined to change.

He said: "I have learned that certain of my own statements have caused pain to the Jewish community... but were... based on mistaken information.... I regret sincerely that this unfortunate situation occurred, and recommit myself to working

with you now and in the future... in combating anti-Semitism at its very roots."

He said that the "pastoral letter that was read [in January 1991] in all the parishes of Poland... was written in the spirit of repentance, *teshuvah*, on the part of Polish Catholics and reconciliation [with] the Jewish people."

He added, in his official statement: "In our pastoral [letter], my fellow bishops and I unanimously condemned anti-Semitism in all its insidious forms, and expressed our sincere regret for all the incidents of anti-Semitism which were committed at any time or by anyone on Polish soil, as well as our sorrow for all the injustices and harm done to Jews."

We felt it was both wise and responsible to receive his "*teshuvah*" as such, and not seek foolishly, in the prudent comment of Rabbi Jack

Bemporad of Lawrence, L.I., to compel the cardinal to "grovel."

To reinforce his changing attitudes, Glomp then reported that he had publicly condemned a recent synagogue desecration in Warsaw, but that "regrettably the international press had ignored" his statement.

Following the Washington meeting, Cardinal Glomp issued a formal statement in Boston expressing appreciation for the talks and pledging "to invite a continuation of this dialogue in Warsaw in 1992."

The first steps toward that dialogue will be taken in a meeting on Oct. 6 during Glomp's New York

visit. The meeting will be hosted by Cardinal John O'Connor, archbishop of New York, at his residence.

The proposal won the agreement of Archbishop William Keeler of Baltimore, moderator of Catholic-Jewish relations of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and Bishop Henryk Muszynski, his Polish counterpart, to organize the effort.

If American Jewish leaders can manage some measure of effective cooperation and solidarity we may be able to uproot the sources of anti-Semitic caricatures in Poland, especially with Cardinal Glomp.

VIEWPOINT

MARC H. TANENBAUM

Does Tutu Believe What He Says About The Jews?

I first met Desmond Tutu, the Anglican archbishop of South Africa and Nobel laureate, in his church in October 1985. Helen Suzman, the feisty anti-apartheid leader in South Africa's



parliament, arranged for an American Jewish Committee delegation to meet with Tutu for a frank discussion about apartheid and black-Jewish relations.

After the usual courtesies, the archbishop launched into a long lecture to us about how apartheid is the

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

equivalent of the Nazi Holocaust, and the Jews are spectators to the black tragedy.

Suzman -- as did we all -- bristled with anger. She was the first member of the South African parliament to campaign against the evils of apartheid more than a quarter century before Tutu was on the scene. She also organized the first liberal party in South Africa to combat apartheid.

"Listen, Desmond," Suzman said, "I have devoted my entire life and career to battling against apartheid. Terrible and tragic as is apartheid, it is no way the equivalent of the Nazi Holocaust which tried to destroy physically the entire Jewish people. I wish you would stop exploiting that great Jewish tragedy for your purposes."

Tutu seemed to be embarrassed and remained silent for awhile.

But he obviously has not

remained silent since then. He has consistently exploited Judaism and the Jewish historic experience. I am not sure whether he really believes what he has been saying about Jews and Judaism, or whether he is

... I have not yet heard Archbishop Tutu call on 23 million blacks in South Africa to forgive the racist Afrikaaners.

cynically distorting -- even raping -- Jewish sancta for his own dramatic purposes.

In 1984, in an address before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, he asserted that apartheid owes its origins to

the Holy Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. The temple courtyard, which separated Gentiles from Jews, was the earliest form of apartheid, Tutu said. So what about the courtyards that separated priests from Levites, from Israelites, men from women? Did that make the Jews anti-Semitic?

Then, he freely spoke about the "arrogance of Jewish power" and "the Jewish lobby." Tutu seems to have memorized the Protocols of the Elders of Zion as well as he has the Bible.

Now, on his latest visit to Israel, he flamboyantly calls for the creation of a Palestinian state, and calls on the Jews to forgive the Nazis. Support unconditionally for a PLO-dominated state is another irresponsible monkey wrench tossed gratuitously into the delicate peace process that is painstakingly being put together.

And while affronting Jews

for not forgiving the Nazis sounds very Christian, I have not yet heard Archbishop Tutu call on 23 million blacks in South Africa to forgive the racist Afrikaaners.

Indeed, this self-styled disciple of Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi declared on Jan. 25, 1986, in New York, "I believe there are situations where one has to use force."

Examining the record of Archbishop Tutu's declarations over recent years, I have come to the conclusion that his mind-set is that of the medieval Christian tradition, which believed that Jews are morally exhausted and that Christianity has come to supersede Judaism as a "superior" form of religion. Thus, we see it is classic anti-Judaism which feeds his consistent pattern of anti-Jewish attitudes. Some Nobel Peace Prize laureate.

Archbishop Tutu is more anti-Jewish than he cares to acknowledge

By Marc H. Tanenbaum
Jewish Telegraphic Agency

NEW YORK – I first met Desmond Tutu, the Anglican archbishop of South Africa and Nobel laureate, in his church in October 1985. Helen Suzman, the feisty anti-apartheid leader in South Africa's parliament, arranged for an American Jewish Committee delegation to meet with Tutu for a frank discussion about apartheid and black-Jewish relations.

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(Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.)

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San Jose, Calif. 9052

POSTORIAL

Greek Orthodox, Jewish Community Relations Close

By Marc H. Tanenbaum

The current visit to the United States of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Dimitrios I of Constantinople, is quite rightly an event of major religious importance to Eastern Orthodox Christians, about six million of whom live in this century.

Symbolically, it is also an occasion for acknowledging the general growth in positive relationships over recent decades between the Greek Orthodox and Jewish communities in North America.

In January 1972, the writer had the privilege of co-chairing with His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, the charismatic primate of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Western hemisphere, the first national conference of Greek Orthodox and Jewish scholars and leaders. It was a remarkable experience, probing deeply the historical interaction of Byzantine Christianity and Judaism.

The proceedings of that unprecedented interchange were published in the Greek Orthodox Theological Review (Volume XXII, Spring 1977), which shed new light on the role of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire and examined contemporary problems of anti-Semitism in the Eastern Orthodox world.

After years of evasion by the late Papandreou government, the recently elected Greek government moved quickly to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel. It is not generally known that the American Greek Orthodox community played a crucial role in influencing Athens to make this decisive move, despite much opposition from the Arab Orthodox world.

Archbishop Iakovos, who has a deep appreciation of the Jewish foundations of Christianity, was among the first major Christian leaders to repudiate the infamous U.N. resolution libelling Zionism as racism. Greek Orthodox leaders in the United States, both clerical and lay, have also quietly sought to counter some of the lingering theological and liturgical anti-Jewish attitudes which still pervade Greece.

Of the 250 million Eastern Orthodox Christians, the majority reside in the Soviet Union, the Balkan nations, the Middle East, and North and South America. Given the massive anti-Jewish attitudes among Christians in the Middle East, and the rising anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe with its large Orthodox Christian populations, positive Eastern Orthodox and Jewish solidarity could become a constructive countervailing force. The visit of Patriarch Dimitrios might well become a stimulus for enlarging that circle of understanding and mutual respect.



Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

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Jewish-Ethnic Dialogue

By Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

A considerable amount of attention is being devoted in the nation's major media to demographic changes in American society occasioned by the rise of Asians, Hispanics and blacks in many of our large cities.

While the 1990 census is still the subject of charges of undercounting, the numbers that did emerge tell of some clear trends in New York City. The city's white population dropped by half a million people, while the population of Asian-Americans doubled and the Hispanic population rose by 30 percent. Blacks made up 28.7 percent of New York's population in 1990, up from 25 percent in 1980.

"Every New Yorker is now a minority," wrote one commentator.

These numbers have at times been reported with a hint of breathless anxiety, as if the demographic shifts they represent are a clap of thunder out of the blue.

In point of fact, students of American demography and ethnic groups began to recognize this changing pattern as early as the 1970s. All of the major Jewish intergroup agencies began developing strategies two decades ago for relating to Asian, Hispanic, black and Native American groups.

Most of the Jewish community-relations groups around the country undertook, during the past two decades, to cultivate relationships with leaders and key players in each of these ethnic groups in their communities.

The crucial issue, I believe, is not whether Jewish agencies both nationally and locally are alert and responsive to these important religious, racial and ethnic changes. I think by and large the evidence is that they know what is going on in these population shifts and are generally being creative in their search for common ground.

The critical question is how Jewish agencies will define their relationships with the ascendant ethnic bodies.

For a period of time, some theoreticians and practitioners in the Jewish community appeared to support an unbridled assertion of ethnicity in unconditional terms. Such ethnic assertion, however, quickly becomes ethnic aggression, demanding entitlements from society while acknowledging it few duties.

Dr. Martin Marty, a leading Protestant scholar, wrote some years ago that the dynamic of American pluralism involves a tension between "identity and exposure." Each group has a right and a duty to define its identity in its own terms. But if each group cares only for itself, the result will be an American Balkanized into rival camps.

Dr. Marty added that there is an obligation on each and every religious, racial and ethnic group, once its identity is realized, to expose its values and culture for the benefit of the general society.

It is such a conception of the duties and responsibilities to one's own group and to the general welfare that should become the basis of the new cycle of ethnic relationships in our changing nation.



The TWA Hijacking - Issues And Non-Issues

By Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum

First it was Bitburg. Then Mengele. And now, the savage TWA hijacking by the brutal, sadistic radical Shiite Muslims. It is little wonder that the nerves of the Jewish people are raw and inflamed.

But against that emotionally turbulent background, it is important that our community sort out the real issues from the "non-issues." One of these "non-issues" is the purported role of the TWA stewardess, Uli Derickson. Press reports have alleged that this German-born flight attendant singled out "Jewish-sounding" names of the American hostages and handed them over to the fanatic Shiite hijackers.

Last week, TWA executives invited several of us from major Jewish agencies to discuss that issue. After a two-hour detailed discussion of the evidence, we are persuaded that Uli Derickson has gotten a bum rap. The facts are that she played an absolutely heroic role. Were it not for her skill and professionalism, I have no question but that the TWA plane would have been blown up by the suicidal fanatics, spelling death for all the hostages.

All the anger that is being needlessly vented on her must not divert us from the main issues: a) anger needs to be focussed on these murderous Shiites who must be held accountable; b) every support must be given to the U.S. and Israeli governments who are assiduously trying to get all the hostages released and returned safely to their families.

Beyond that, we need to concentrate our efforts in countering those voices who, incredibly, are trying to scapegoat Israel as the villain responsible for this tragedy.

Unmask The PLO

It is encouraging that Jordan's King Hussein has given a qualified positive response to Israeli Prime Minister Peres' latest proposal for direct negotiations among Jordan, Israel and responsible, non-terrorist Palestinians.

While Peres appears willing to accommodate Hussein's insistence on an international forum for negotiations and has agreed that both sides would be free to put any issue they like on the negotiating table, the major stumbling block, as always, remains the PLO. Though King Hussein obviously still hesitates to talk to the Israelis without the PLO, it is to be hoped that his recent "reassessment" of the situation will strengthen his readiness to seek out Palestinian leaders who will promote, not sabotage, the peace process.

Meanwhile, the PLO has again shown its true face in the recent Achille Lauro hijackings. The four terrorists who seized the ship and murdered a disabled old man in a wheelchair were on their way to Israel, where, like other PLO henchmen before them, they were to engage in the random murder of as many unarmed civilians as possible.

At some point the world must strip the cloak of legitimacy from Chairman Yasser Arafat and recognize the PLO for the criminal gang that it is. Only then will there be a real chance to achieve peace and justice for the Israelis and the Palestinians.

J. David Levy

President, St. Louis Chapter
American Jewish Committee

Richmond Heights

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH

Letter From Gail Kaplan

Pres. Central New Jersey Chapter The American Jewish Committee

Dear Editor,

When terrorists strike, it is natural to focus on the actual perpetrators. Almost always, the terrorists turn out to be fanatics, acting in support of a religious, political or other cause that they value above human life — including their own and those of their victims. Most often, these killers are untraceable, compounding outrage with frustration. But while those who pull the triggers and throw the bombs may be faceless, the suppliers of their guns and grenades are not.

There are governments and organizations known to spearhead the terrorist network. Libya, Iran and the Palestine Liberation organization, for example, have openly declared their support for terrorism. Syria and the U.S.S.R. prefer to be active but silent partners. Agents of these sponsors train terrorists in the use of weapons and explosives, equip them with false documents, and furnish them with information about security arrangements in airports, on ships and around public institutions. All this takes money — lots of it. The terrorists' trainers and handlers are paid employees.

Terrorism can only be stopped if the decent nations of the world join in diplomatic, economic — and perhaps military — responses that make the cost too high for the governments and groups that sponsor such outrages.

Gail Kaplan
Princeton, N. J.

AMERICAN JEWISH LIFE

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4258

Commentary

By
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
A SEVEN ARTS FEATURE

Pope-Arafat Meeting — Another View

THE TIME is past due for talking some calm, rational sense about the recent meeting of Pope John Paul II and the PLO's Yasir Arafat. That controversial meeting has resulted in considerable stress in Catholic-Jewish relations.

Much of the anger in the Jewish community was appropriately in response to the inexplicable fact that the Pope would even agree to meet with the PLO's Arafat, the chief architect of international terrorism. Arafat, after all, was responsible for the massacre of tens of thousands of Christians, Muslims, as well as Jews.

The photograph of the Pope and Arafat became the chief provocation for it suggested to the world that the Holy See somehow sanctioned and murderous actions of the arch terrorist. But the embittered



RABBI TANENBAUM

reactions to the provocative picture must not be allowed to obscure what actually went on during that meeting.

☆
WE KNOW from reliable sources that the Pope forcefully demanded that Arafat's PLO give up their violence and terrorism.
Please Turn to Page 26

Remember The Sabbath



CARDINAL COOKE: Prelate called for respect between Christians, Jews

By MARC TANENBAUM

NEW YORK (JTA) — The nation's press, particularly the press in New York, has been lavish in its coverage of the life and death of Terence Cardinal Cooke, the late archbishop of New York.

But if one read that press carefully, especially THE NEW YORK TIMES, one would never know that Cooke had a long and faithful relationship with leaders of the Jewish community.

I first met this warm, cheerful prelate when he was Msgr. Cooke, serving as personal secretary to the late Francis Cardinal Spellman. Most people are unaware that Spellman played a key role in helping mobilize support among the American Catholic bishops during Vatican Council II (1962-65) for the Vatican Declaration on Catholic-Jewish relations that condemned anti-Semitism and called for mutual respect between Catholics and Jews.

than ever before."

Supports historic relationship of Jews to Israel

In November, 1968, at a United Jewish Appeal dinner honoring his close friend, Charles Silver — who conducted the famed Al Smith dinner for Catholic charities, Cooke made warm and positive statements supporting the historic relationship of the Jewish people to Israel. Subsequently, he lent his name to petitions supporting the human rights of Soviet Jewry.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Cooke attended Sabbath services and spoke from the pulpits of several leading New York synagogues. Reciprocally, rabbis were invited to speak from the pulpit of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

On the problematic side, some Jewish leaders differed publicly with the cardinal on such issues as abortion and aid to private schools, but there was cooperation with him on the condemna-

'Anti-Semitism should never find a basis in the Catholic religion and must never find a place in any Catholic's life...'

During that period, Msgr. Cooke frequently served as a liaison between the Catholic Church and the Jewish community. He was also involved in the fight against the use of drugs, pornography,

The Nomination of ^{NC24} Justice William Rehnquist

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

The recent Congressional hearings over the nomination of Justice William Rehnquist to be Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court were hardly our nation's finest hour.

Justice Rehnquist may well be a brilliant lawyer and technically an above-average Supreme Court Judge. But the revelations during recent weeks of testimony of his past attitudes towards civil rights, and quite possibly, towards blacks, Hispanics, Jews, and women are far from reassuring.

How does one reconcile the venerable image of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as impartial arbiter of the law of the land and the picture of William Rehnquist in Phoenix in 1962 challenging blacks and Hispanics in order to prevent their voting in elections? And he compounds the injury by denying he ever intimidated voters even though a Federal prosecutor testified under oath that he saw him do it.

Then there are the deeds to his houses in Phoenix which barred sale to blacks, and his Vermont house which would exclude sale to Jews. I am inclined to accept Rehnquist's explanation that those discriminations were not intentional.

But then I wonder about his writing the majority opinion last March that denied an Air Force psychologist who is also an Orthodox rabbi the right to wear a skull cap while on duty.

The late Justice Brandeis once wrote, "If we desire respect for law, we must first make the law respectable."

Justice Rehnquist has much to explain to the American people about his past actions and views if he is to deserve the respect and confidence that a Chief Justice requires to be effective.

(c) WNS-Seven Arts

son between Spellman and myself, as well as with American Jewish Committee leaders Charles Silver, a close friend of the cardinal, Judge Joseph Proskauer and Morris Abram. It was then that Msgr. Cooke received his "on-the-job" training in Catholic-Jewish relations.

Reputed anti-Semitism

On his designation in 1968 as archbishop of New York, the AJC sponsored a luncheon in his honor, attended by prominent Catholic and Jewish leaders. In his maiden address on Catholic-Jewish relations, Cooke spoke of his commitment to "heightened respect, sympathy and affection" between Catholics and Jews. He then went on to repudiate anti-Semitism in these words:

"In these years following the Second Vatican Council, we Roman Catholics are more than ever convinced that anti-Semitism should never find a basis in the Catholic religion and must never find a place in any Catholic's life..."

"We Catholic people are anxious to salute our Jewish brothers anew. Conscious of our common heritage of salvation in the covenant between God and Abraham and his descendants, we pledge ourselves to continue fostering stronger and more extensive bonds of mutual respect, concern and cooperation."

Cooke then encouraged cooperation between Catholics and Jews in social justice areas:

"The pursuit of justice in civil rights and the resolution of our serious urban problems are surely areas in which our cooperation can bear rich fruit. Our opportunities are extraordinary here in New York — a great Jewish city and a great Christian city....I pray today and every day that together we shall seize the opportunities afforded now and serve the needs of our people more effectively

...house of sex and violence in the media and related public morality issues.

Abhorrence of violence

Some anxiety did develop in the Jewish community when Cooke became president of the Near East Catholic Welfare Council, whose professionals were one-sidedly allied with Palestinians and other Arabs to the exclusion of any sympathy for victimized Jewish refugees in Israel and in Arab countries.

But the cardinal trod a careful middle ground in upholding the legitimate social welfare needs of Arabs while not retreating from his moral support of Israel.

His abhorrence of violence, made public in his condemnation of terrorism in Ireland, carried over to his disdain for PLO terrorism and violence, as he told me on more than one occasion.

His keen sensitivity to the state of the Jewish soul was perhaps most dramatically reflected when he and I collaborated on world refugee problems, particularly the Vietnamese boat people tragedy. At a press conference held at St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1980, Cooke explained his motivation for responding to the Indochinese refugee crisis in these moving words:

"Our generation witnessed the savagery of the Nazi Holocaust which led to the destruction of millions of Jewish lives. To our eternal shame, most of the world stood by while human beings were being destroyed. We are now trying to learn our moral lessons from that tragedy, and that is why we — Christians and Jews together — are joining hands to stand against the evil which is afflicting these poor Vietnamese refugees."

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum is director of the interreligious affairs department of the American Jewish Committee.

Commentary

By
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
A SEVEN ARTS FEATURE

Reagan, Dual Loyalty & Anti-Semitism

DESPITE THE assurances that President Reagan gave to Jewish leaders recently in which he repudiated the resort to anti-Semitism during the AWACS struggle, there is something deeply disconcerting over the unresolved issue of "dual loyalty."

After 1974, when Turkey invaded Cyprus and displaced some 250,000 Greek Orthodox refugees from their homes, Archbishop Iakovos, primate of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, organized a massive political campaign against American economic and military aid to Turkey.

The Archbishop, joined by Greek lay leaders who have substantial political and financial clout, met with Presidents Nixon and Ford, and members of the U.S. Congress, demanding that America terminate its extensive aid to Turkey. Although Turkey is a critically important anchor



RABBI TANENBAUM

of the NATO alliance, the Greek community in the U.S. succeeded in influencing the American government to curtail its aid to Turkey.

★
SIGNIFICANTLY, throughout the entire American Greek political and public opinion campaign, not a whisper of the charge of "dual loyalty"

Please Turn To Page 25

Remember The Sabbath



Light candles Friday, Dec. 4, 4:25 p.m.
Sedra — Vayetze, Genesis.
End of Kriyat
Sabbath



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Commentary

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, A Seven Arts Feature

The Holy See And Israel

IT STARTED off with a dramatic headline in last week's *New York Post*—"Pope decides to recognize Israel."

That was startling and long-awaited good news and the story was most encouraging. Based on an exclusive NBC report from Rome, the *Post* story told that that a high-ranking Vatican official declared that Pope John Paul II had decided "in principle" to establish diplomatic relations with Israel as a sign of friendship to the Jewish people. The American Ambassador to the Vatican was reported to have welcomed that proposed action, but suggested that it be delayed until after the U.S. Presidential elections.

Then, within 24 hours, another report from Rome seems to have denied the story.

What are we to make of that confusion? Some Vatican experts told me that there was truth in the original report. It was a trial balloon testing what the reactions might be in the Jewish and Arab worlds.

The sudden denial of the Pope's intentions, some felt, came from some Vatican circles who feared there would be severe reprisals from Arab and Muslim leaders who would punish Arab Christians and they have in the past.

Whatever the reasons for the present confusion, I can testify from personal experience to the following facts: During the past three years, I have joined

other Jewish leaders in extended conversations with Vatican leaders on the question of establishing diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Israel. I know that there is genuine interest in Rome

that such recognition come to pass.

Whatever happens to this trial balloon, the real issue is not whether it will happen, but only when and how it will happen.



Originals cut off

Rabbi Remembers Archbishop

BY MARCH TANENBAUM
[A Seven Arts Feature]

Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen, who died Dec. 9 at age 84, was a warm, personal friend over the past two decades, and I will miss him sorely.

The emotion expressed by a rabbi will probably strike some Christians and many Jews as unexpected, if not altogether strange. Was not Archbishop Sheen the "super-evangelist" and do not the Jewish people regard Christian evangelism as a threat to the survival of Judaism and the Jews?

Truth to tell, that was the first image that I carried around in my head about Archbishop Sheen. He was, after all, the director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and through him several prominent Jews had become converts to Catholicism.

Then, on Feb. 22, 1967, I had an experience with Archbishop Sheen that caused me to change radically my attitudes and feelings about him. From that day my suspicions and cautions about Fulton Sheen gradually dissolved and became transmuted into a deep and warm friendship that grew increasingly strong and lasted until his death this past month.

When Archbishop Sheen served as bishop of Rochester in 1967, I had the privilege of speaking with him at an all-day conference on Catholic-Jewish relations at Temple B'rith Kodesh in that city. It was one of the first major Catholic-Jewish meetings to be held since the loss of Vatican Council II and the adoption of the Vatican Declaration on Non-Christian Religions (Oct. 28, 1965) which condemned anti-Semitism and called for mutual respect and fraternal dialogue between Catholics and Jews.

That beautiful synagogue

was packed that wintry evening with some 2,500 people, Catholics and Jews. In his characteristic magnetic speaking style that had made him one of the most popular national television personalities, Archbishop Sheen delivered a 20-minute address on his respect for Judaism as a living religion and his love for the Jewish people that was received by a standing ecumenical ovation.

He began his historic talk with a sparkling joke that seemed to take into account the suspicions of many Jews about his evangelical intentions. Referring to the fact that I was scheduled to leave that night for a meeting in Rome with the Vatican Secretariat on Catholic-Jewish relations, Archbishop Sheen kibitzed the audience with this opener:

"This is a very fitting evening in which to have a program of this kind because Rabbi Tanenbaum is leaving immediately afterwards for Rome. I tell you at the very beginning so that you will know what I have to say has nothing to do with his decision to go to Rome." Sustained laughter.

Then he turned to his serious message about Catholic-Jewish relations. "I propose to try to educate our own people to a deeper understanding of the mystery of our faith and how much we owe to the Jewish people," Archbishop Sheen said. "Our debt has to do with God's covenant with Israel which marks the history of the Jews from all other peoples of the world."

"Even when one side of the covenant was not kept, the promise of future blessings still endured." That covenant continues, he added, "with the people that are involved in a synagogue like this."

Referring to the covenant between the Jewish people and the land of Israel, Archbishop Fulton Sheen then declared, "God then

made a covenant with Moses. God said he would be their God, they will be My people. God had promised him a land, to turn again to a land from which they had come, into which Abraham had led them. And He also promised that they would be a blessing to all peoples.

Turning to the theme of the bonds that link Christians to Jews, the diminutive but energetic archbishop called out, "I tell you Christian people that to deny this heritage and this background would be like denying your own parentage. And is this old covenant dead and buried? Neither the written word of the old covenant nor the written word of the new would dare allow us to say that. Isaiah the prophet put it this way: Can a woman forget the child of her womb? Yet will I not forget thee."

"So that in a synagogue, God is worshipped. By a rite, by a reading, by a law, which God himself gave. If any Christian would ever think that, maybe God forgets in the new Covenant, let them read that lovely book of Hosea of the Old Testament. In answer to the question, will I abandon them? Will I reject Efram? Shall I abandon my people? Comes the words of God: I will not, I will not, I will not."

"Because we are Christians, we believe in this deep dimension of love. We mingle with all those who have this heritage -- we will express to them the same love that God has expressed and still does. As I see it, the Jews and the Christians both have vocations from God. We are God's people, and not two different people. I will be your God and you will be My people. This is a vocation. It's this covenant that makes us unique."

Referring to the suffering of Jews under the Nazis and of Christians and Jews

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Commentary

By
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
A SEVEN ARTS FEATURE

Pope John Paul II, Vatican And Jews

Rabbi Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, was the only rabbi present at Vatican Council II. He was among a group of world Jewish leaders who participated in the first audience with Pope John Paul II in March 1980 in Vatican City. Editor

THE THREE-day meeting in Vatican City (March 2-6) of 40 experts in Catholic-Jewish relations was an event of potentially historic importance. This was the first time in 1,900 years of the Roman Catholic Church that the Vatican officially brought together the key Catholic experts in Christian-Jewish relations to examine systematically the state of Catholic-Jewish relations on a global basis. They also developed a program for furthering mutual understanding throughout the world, including the drafting of a Vatican Catechetical Directory on Catholic-Jewish Relations.



RABBI TANENBAUM

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Remember The Sabbath

Commentary

From Page 19
edging with emotion (as Catholics who were present told me) "the terrible persecutions inflicted on Jews by Christians" and that "finally (these persecutions) have opened our eyes and transformed our hearts."
The Pope then strongly emphasized the need for Catholic educators "in the catechism taught to children and adolescents" to "present the Jews and Judaism not only in an honest and objective manner, without any prejudice and without offending anyone, but even more with an active consciousness of the heritage we have already outlined."
With delegates from world Protestant and Eastern Orthodox bodies participating, the Catholic experts also studied "the inalienable ties of Judaism to the land of Israel and the Jewish people."
At a time when anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism is on the rise, it is heartening to know the Vatican-Jewish dialogue over the past 15 years is bearing real fruit.

Biblical Reading

Jewish History

From Page 19
on JCPS an organization born in 1921 with a mission of aid for prisoners, the mentally ill, those institutionalized, and others. Ziskind has to be an expert as he served as the Southern California Executive Director of JCPS from 1939 til retirement in 1979. (Somewhere in 1956-57 I interviewed him at behest of a publisher who had a great interest in the prison work JCPS did. At that time I edited a different Anglo-Jewish weekly than this one).
Anything I can do to aid Ziskind's work will be done. Thanks for the letter. Columnists live on letters.

World And Music

From Page 11
bumpy Mozart. However, for all their best efforts, they were not on an artistic par with the vocalists, who should have had top professional support in so demanding a masterwork. And the high pit level resulted in some musicians' heads and instruments visually intruding above the stage floor. Even worse, the absence of a legitimate sunken pit for the musi-

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NC 51

Geneva

Vatican and Jewish Leaders Meet

By RABBI MARCH TANENBAUM

(Seven Arts Feature)

This is being written from Geneva, Switzerland, where the United States and the Soviet Union are discussing the reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe as a means of avoiding possible destruction of human lives.

While those important talks are going on before the glare of international publicity, another round of talks have been taking place here between representatives of the Vatican and world Jewish leaders. Even though the Vatican and Jewish deliberations have avoided the fanfare of pub-

licity, in the long run their effects could be of no less importance for the welfare of the human family than the U.S. Soviet negotiations.

Deeply concerned over the growing epidemic of violence, terrorism, and crime throughout much of the world, the Vatican spokesmen and our Jewish delegates agreed to sponsor jointly next September a major international conference in Milan, Italy, on the theme, "The Sanctity and Preservation of Human Life in Relation to the Present Situation of Violence." The Vatican and world Jewish leaders are of one mind in believing that it is essential to help educate or re-educate the human fam-

ily about the dignity of every human life and to find effective means to stand against every form of violence that threatens human survival.

From Geneva we traveled to Arnoldshain, Germany, for a major conference of German educators and government officials on Nazism and anti-Semitism. The meetings of Jewish leaders with the Vatican and then with German educators have a common purpose—a determination to mobilize all our moral, humanistic resources in an effort to prevent hatred, fear, and prejudice from running rampant again in our life-time and to forestall any possibilities of a global Auschwitz.



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Nobel Laureates Call UN Dangerous Threat to Peace

By RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
(A Seven Arts Feature)

It is not often that 30 Nobel Laureates join together in common cause for the welfare of mankind.

A few weeks ago Nobel Laureates of the international stature of economist Kenneth Arrow, physicists Hans Bethe and Arno Penzias, and Sir John Eccles joined 100 of some of the most prominent academic, scientific, civic, religious, labor, and human rights leaders from throughout the world in issuing a "statement of conscience" that warned of "the growing danger to world peace resulting from the erosion of the United Nations."

People of the standing of Simone de Beauvoir, Henry Steele Commager, Bruno Bettelheim, NAACP's Benjamin Hooks, playwright Eugene Ionesco, AFL-CIO's Lane Kirkland, Sir Isaiah Berlin, Sargent Shriver, Beverly Sills, Sen. Daniel Moynihan, in an unprecedented expression of condemnation, charged that the United Nations has become "perverted by irrelevant political machinations" and is "in danger of becoming a force against peace itself."

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REHOVOT, Israel — Increased capabilities for data processing

and crushing humanitarian problems of 14 million refugees and vast hunger go virtually unchallenged while the UN, manipulated by the Soviet Union, the PLO, and Arab blocs, concentrate obsessively in undermining the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty and in trying to isolate Israel.

"We cannot remain silent," these world leaders declared, "while forces which incite hatred and foment war betray our hopes for world peace and progress."

Significantly, representatives of President-elect Reagan's transition team played an active part in that consultation, and they got the message.

It remains to be seen whether the UN under its present leadership will get the message — while there is still time.

Rabbi Bernard Twersky Dies

NEW YORK (JTA) — Rabbi Bernard Twersky, for many years the public relations director of the Rabbinical Council of America, an Orthodox rabbinic body, died Dec. 31.

Born in Lublin, Poland, he came to the United States at an early age. He was a longtime member of the executive board of the Rabbinical Council of

The Nomination of Justice William Rehnquist

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

The recent Congressional hearings over the nomination of Justice William Rehnquist to be Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court were hardly our nation's finest hour.

Justice Rehnquist may well be a brilliant lawyer and technically an above-average Supreme Court Judge. But the revelations during recent weeks of testimony of his past attitudes towards civil rights, and quite possibly, towards blacks, Hispanics, Jews, and women are far from reassuring.

How does one reconcile the venerable image of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as impartial arbiter of the law of the land and the picture of William Rehnquist in Phoenix in 1962 challenging blacks and Hispanics in order to prevent their voting in elections? And he compounds the injury by denying he ever intimidated voters even though a Federal prosecutor testified under oath that he saw him do it.

Then there are the deeds to his houses in Phoenix which barred sale to blacks, and his Vermont house which would exclude sale to Jews. I am inclined to accept Rehnquist's explanation that those discriminations were not intentional.

But then I wonder about his writing the majority opinion last March that denied an Air Force psychologist who is also an Orthodox rabbi the right to wear a skull cap while on duty.

The late Justice Brandeis once wrote, "If we desire respect for law, we must first make the law respectable."

Justice Rehnquist has much to explain to the American people about his past actions and views if he is to deserve the respect and confidence that a Chief Justice requires to be effective.

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Commentary

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, A Seven Arts Feature
Is Nicaragua Anti-Semitic?

THE MASS media have been filled with reports in recent weeks charging the Sandanista regime with being flagrantly anti-Semitic. The evidence given for those charges is that with the ascendancy of the Sandanistas, some 50 Jewish families fled the country, their community synagogue was taken over, and their property expropriated.

In addition, the Sandanistas have lined up with the PLO, gave them a major office in Managua and have followed an anti-Israel line in the United Nations and elsewhere. The Sandanistas argue that Israel provided substantial military aid to the hated Somoza regime, and the friend of their enemy is their enemy.

In recent weeks, we have met with Nicaraguan government officials and with several Nicaraguan Jewish leaders who have fled to the United States. It seems clear that the situation is more complicated, less simplistic than some Jewish groups have made it out to be by screaming headlines that reduces everything to anti-Semitism.

Nicaraguan Jewish leaders have told me that there was virtually no anti-Semitism under the Somoza regime. When the Sandanistas came to power as a Marxist revolutionary movement, some 20,000 middle class Nicaraguans fled the country, including the 50 Jewish families. That was a "class war" phenomenon, not an anti-Semitic one. But during the upheaval, there is no question that some Sandanista guerrillas, poisoned by the PLO propaganda, committed anti-Semitic acts. But anti-Semitism, as distinct from anti-Israel foreign policy, was not Sandanista government policy.

In recent weeks, the Sandanistas have repudiated anti-Semitism and have promised us to restore the synagogue to the Jewish community and to make restitution for expropriated Jewish property.

The crucial issue for the Jewish community is not their alleged anti-Semitism but their disastrous anti-Israel foreign policy and their deep alliance with PLO forces. Given their expansionist Marxist tenden-

cies throughout Central America, that is the critical issue for us to cope with, not the hysterical cries of anti-Semitism.

The UN— A Moral Cemetery

By Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum
(A Seven Arts Feature)

It was a speech that you would have expected to hear from the lips of Adolf Hitler or one of his Nazi henchmen in the Reichstag. This time it was fulminated by the chief delegate of Libya at the United Nations. The demonic language and slanderous images were straight from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

Colonel Qaddafi's agent, Dr. Ali Treiki, was not content repeating his usual diatribe calling for the expulsion of Israel from the

United Nations. This time, he dropped his mask and revealed his vulgar anti-Semitism, which is the engine of his anti-Zionism. The Libyan diplomat defamed the entire American Jewish community by charging that American Jews are destroying America by their alleged control of the pornography industry. He even proposed a final solution for the Jewish people. Eliminate the Zionist entity, this so-called diplomat said, and then eliminate American Jews and the American and European



UN
(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2)

peoples will be saved.

The response of Israel's ambassador was instant and brilliant. "I will not compete with Dr. Treiki in his expertise about pornography," Ambassador Blum said. "I readily concede that he is a much greater expert on these matters than myself or anybody else in this hall."

Blum then zeroed in on the core issue. "We have known all these years that a closet anti-Semite . . . uses anti-Zionism as slogans behind which to hide. The mask has finally fallen."

The United Nations Declaration Against Racial Intolerance forbids such incitement to violence and group hatred. Yet except for the American delegate who condemned this obscene verbal violence, the United Nations remained completely, totally silent. It is the silence of a moral cemetery.



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Commentary

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, A Seven Arts Feature

Tribute To The Danes

THIS WEEK marks the 14th anniversary of the remarkable rescue operation by which more than 7,200 Danish Jews were ferried from nazi-occupied Denmark to neutral Sweden and thereby escaped certain destruction by Hitler's savages.

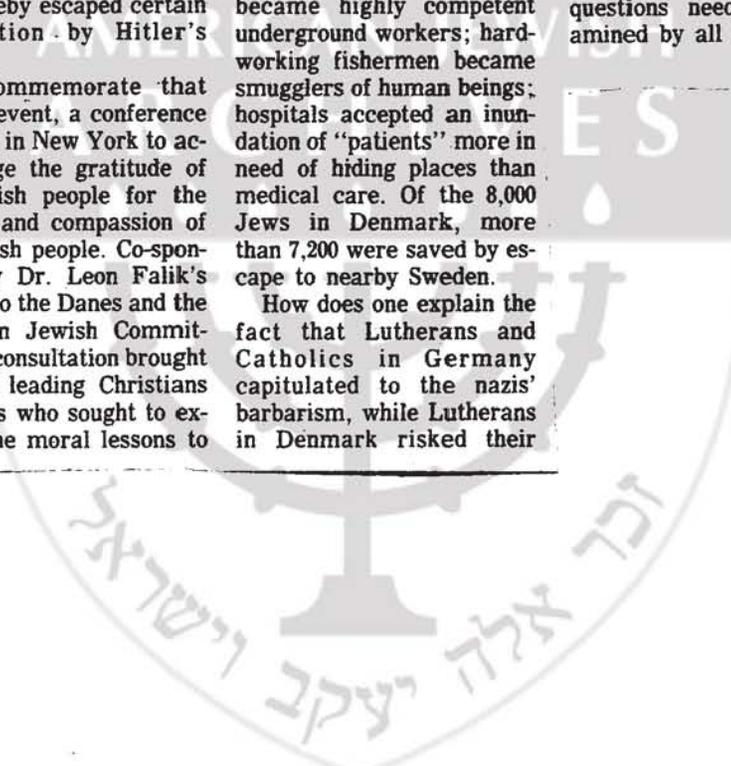
To commemorate that historic event, a conference was held in New York to acknowledge the gratitude of the Jewish people for the courage and compassion of the Danish people. Co-sponsored by Dr. Leon Falik's Tribute to the Danes and the American Jewish Committee, the consultation brought together leading Christians and Jews who sought to examine the moral lessons to

be learned from that heart-warming experience.

It is an inspiring story that needs to be told and re-told. Ordinary citizens in this predominately Danish Lutheran society overnight became highly competent underground workers; hard-working fishermen became smugglers of human beings; hospitals accepted an inundation of "patients" more in need of hiding places than medical care. Of the 8,000 Jews in Denmark, more than 7,200 were saved by escape to nearby Sweden.

How does one explain the fact that Lutherans and Catholics in Germany capitulated to the nazis' barbarism, while Lutherans in Denmark risked their

lives to save Jews? From where came "the in-eradicable humaness" of the Danes who alone among the occupied nations thwarted nazi efforts to exterminate the Jews. These crucial questions need to be examined by all of us.





Commentary

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, A Seven Arts Feature

Nairobi and Live-Aid—A Study in Contrast

TWO GLOBAL super-events that took place last week were contrasting studies—one in international despair and the other, of hope for a better, more civilized world.

In Nairobi, Kenya, some 10,000 women gathered from all over the world to attend the United Nations Decade for Women's Conference. Non-governmental women's groups took part in Forum '85, the unofficial part of the conference. The official delegates began meeting on Monday, July 15.

Women throughout the world, especially in Islamic and developing countries, have very serious problems of second-class status and suppression of basic human rights. Nairobi ought to have provided an opportunity for dealing with those critical women's issues in a constructive way. But some of our worst fears have begun to be realized.

Nairobi has become a place of ideological warfare. The Soviet Union, the PLO, Iran and Iraq, among others, have

exploited women's issues for their own narrow political purposes. Nairobi is rapidly becoming a symbol of international despair.

By contrast, the international Live-Aid rock concert organized to raise funds for relief of African famine is a symbol that lifts the spirit. Beamed to nearly two billion people in 152 countries—including the Soviet Union and

China—"the Global Jukebox," as it was called, had one simple human purpose that transcended all ideology and politics. That purpose was clearly stated by Bob Geldof, the Irish rock musician and coordinator of Live-Aid. "To me this is not a pop concert, nor a TV show. To me, it is simply a means of keeping people alive."

Nairobi's adults have a lot to learn from Live-Aid's children of the 80s.



MEMORIAL CEREMONY—Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. ambassador to the UN, spoke at a memorial ceremony held at Jerusalem's Mount Herzl, for Yonathan Netanyahu, who was killed in the 1976 Entebbe rescue operation. Fifth from left is Benjamin Netanyahu, Yonathan's brother and Israel's present ambassador to the UN.

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ADAT ARIEL, 5540 Laurel Canyon, North Hollywood. Rabbi Moshe Rothblum. Rabbi Emeritus Aaron M. Wise. Cantor Allan (213) 877-0666.

CONG. BETH ISRAEL, 8056 Beverly Blvd. Rabbi Samuel Lieberman. Cantor Hershel Wallfish. 657-4022 (O)

SYNAGO

Anatoly Shcharansky —

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Humanitarian Voice Of Our Age

BY RABBI MARC
TANNENBAUM

It is historically just that Anatoly Shcharansky has come to symbolize the cause of Soviet Jewry at its best, much the way that Elie Wiesel represents the meaning of the Nazi holocaust.

This small, buoyant man of indomitable courage and warm humor was the engine that fired the Jewish dissident movement in Russia.

But at the very same time he was the bridge to the larger human rights movement in the Soviet Union.

Despite his fierce suffering over nine years of imprisonment in the Soviet Gulag system, on his release to join his heroic wife, Avital, in Israel, his first words were concern for the Jewish dissidents left behind. In the very same breath, Shcharansky said that we must not forget

Andrei Sakharov. Shcharansky also spoke movingly about his fellow prisoners who were Russian Orthodox believers, Baptists, Pentecostals and Catholics who shared his cruel fate.

It is remarkable and inspiring that Anatoly Shcharansky who spent much of his 37 years as an assimilated Jew in an atheist society was able to find his spiritual roots in Judaism which sustained him morally

during his harsh confinement. His clasping the Book of Psalms to his chest and telling KGB agents he would not leave Russia unless the Psalms would go with him surely must be one of the dominant spiritual images of this generation.

If he can manage to rise above the political and religious pressures that surround him, Anatoly Shcharansky may well become one of the foremost humanitarian voices of our age.



Freedom Is Everybody's Business

By RABBI MARC TANENBAUM

Why have the Jews marched again up Fifth Avenue? A few weeks ago it was for Israel's 35th anniversary. A week after, it was for the three million Jews suffering oppression in the Soviet Union.

Doesn't anyone else suffer oppression in Russia and elsewhere? Why aren't people marching for the persecuted Baptists and Pentecostals in Russia? The Catholics in Lithuania and Poland?

These are interesting questions that people must be asking themselves and they deserve a straight answer.

In mid-April, six Siberian Pentecostal Christians were released from the American Embassy in Moscow. They took ref-

uge in the American Embassy in 1978 to escape terrible persecution by the Soviet Union. They vowed to remain in the Embassy until they and their families were allowed to emigrate to a country where they could practice freely their religion.

On April 10, one of the Pentecostals was finally given a Soviet exist visa. She went to Israel and is sending invitations to the newly-released members of her family to join her in the Jewish state.

Among the groups who agitated for release of the persecuted Christians were the National Interreligious Task Force for Soviet Jewry headed by Sister Ann Gillen, the American Jewish Committee and the Christian Legal Society.

The moral experience is

clear — while Jews march for the liberation of their brothers and sisters in Russia, the effects of that Jewish campaign is in the end beneficial to all people who are denied their human rights. That's why the recent Solidarity Day marches are everybody's business, not just Jewish business.

Arab Prisoner Claims Abuse

JERUSALEM (JTA) — A West Bank Arab arrested last month for alleged incitement, has complained to the Supreme Court that he was tortured while undergoing interrogation by his

nade murder of Peace Now activist Emil Grunzweig last February. The suspect, who was not identified by name, had been in custody for 15 days.

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CARDINAL COOKE:

Prelate called for respect between Christians, Jews

By MARC TANENBAUM

NEW YORK (JTA) — The nation's press, particularly the press in New York, has been lavish in its coverage of the life and death of Terence Cardinal Cooke, the late archbishop of New York.

But if one read that press carefully, especially THE NEW YORK TIMES, one would never know that Cooke had a long and faithful relationship with leaders of the Jewish community.

I first met this warm, cheerful prelate when he was Msgr. Cooke, serving as personal secretary to the late Francis Cardinal Spellman. Most people are unaware that Spellman played a key role in helping mobilize support among the American Catholic bishops during Vatican Council II (1962-65) for the Vatican Declaration on Catholic-Jewish relations that condemned anti-Semitism and called for mutual respect between Catholics and Jews.

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Supports historic relationship of Jews to Israel

In November, 1968, at a United Jewish Appeal dinner honoring his close friend, Charles Silver — who conducted the famed Al Smith dinner for Catholic charities, Cooke made warm and positive statements supporting the historic relationship of the Jewish people to Israel. Subsequently, he lent his name to petitions supporting the human rights of Soviet Jewry.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Cooke attended Sabbath services and spoke from the pulpits of several leading New York synagogues. Reciprocally, rabbis were invited to speak from the pulpit of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

On the problematic side, some Jewish leaders differed publicly with the cardinal on such issues as abortion and aid to private schools, but there was cooperation with him on the condemna-

'Anti-Semitism should never find a basis in the Catholic religion and must never find a place in any Catholic's life...'

During that period, Msgr. Cooke frequently served as liaison between Spellman and myself, as well as with American Jewish Committee leaders Charles Silver, a close friend of the cardinal, Judge Joseph Proskauer and Morris Abram. It was then that Msgr. Cooke received his "on-the-job" training in Catholic-Jewish relations.

Reputed anti-Semitism

On his designation in 1968 as archbishop of New York, the AJC sponsored a luncheon in his honor, attended by prominent Catholic and Jewish leaders. In his maiden address on Catholic-Jewish relations, Cooke spoke of his commitment to "heightened respect, sympathy and affection" between Catholics and Jews. He then went on to repudiate anti-Semitism in these words:

"In these years following the Second Vatican Council, we Roman Catholics are more than ever convinced that anti-Semitism should never find a basis in the Catholic religion and must never find a place in any Catholic's life..."

"We Catholic people are anxious to salute our Jewish brothers anew. Conscious of our common heritage of salvation in the covenant between God and Abraham and his descendants, we pledge ourselves to continue fostering stronger and more extensive bonds of mutual respect, concern and cooperation."

Cooke then encouraged cooperation between Catholics and Jews in social justice areas:

"The pursuit of justice in civil rights and the resolution of our serious urban problems are surely areas in which our cooperation can bear rich fruit. Our opportunities are extraordinary here in New York — a great Jewish city and a great Christian city...I pray today and every day that together we shall seize the opportunities afforded now and serve the needs of our people more effectively

tion of drugs, pornography, abuse of sex and violence in the media and related public morality issues.

Abhorrence of violence

Some anxiety did develop in the Jewish community when Cooke became president of the Near East Catholic Welfare Council, whose professionals were one-sidedly allied with Palestinians and other Arabs to the exclusion of any sympathy for victimized Jewish refugees in Israel and in Arab countries.

But the cardinal trod a careful middle ground in upholding the legitimate social welfare needs of Arabs while not retreating from his moral support of Israel.

His abhorrence of violence, made public in his condemnation of terrorism in Ireland, carried over to his disdain for PLO terrorism and violence, as he told me on more than one occasion.

His keen sensitivity to the state of the Jewish soul was perhaps most dramatically reflected when he and I collaborated on world refugee problems, particularly the Vietnamese boat people tragedy. At a press conference held at St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1980, Cooke explained his motivation for responding to the Indochinese refugee crisis in these moving words:

"Our generation witnessed the savagery of the Nazi Holocaust which led to the destruction of millions of Jewish lives. To our eternal shame, most of the world stood by while human beings were being destroyed. We are now trying to learn our moral lessons from that tragedy, and that is why we — Christians and Jews together — are joining hands to stand against the evil which is afflicting these poor Vietnamese refugees."

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum is director of the interreligious affairs department of the American Jewish Committee.





Commentary

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, A Seven Arts Feature

Italy's Two Different "Governments"

THE SUDDEN resignation of Italy's Prime Minister Bettino Craxi over the Palestinian terrorist disaster illustrates the old maxim—if you embrace a snake, don't be surprised if you suffer a poisonous bite.

Last February, several American Jewish Committee leaders met in Rome with two principal actors in the current Italian drama. We held long discussions on Italy's foreign policy in the Middle East with Foreign Minister Andreotti and then with Defense Minister Spadolini. It was as if we were talking with two different governments.

Mr. Andreotti said all the right things about Italy's support of Israel's right to exist and the need for peaceful negotiations in the Middle East. But it was clear that the foreign minister had strong sympathies for the PLO and was determined to strengthen ties with Arab countries as major trading partners.

By sharp contrast, Defense Minister Spadolini

spoke passionately of his devotion to Israel and his rejection of PLO terrorism and Arab intransigence.

Our AJC group argued forcefully and at length with Foreign Minister Andreotti that his government could not sustain the contradiction—combat-

ing vigorously the domestic terrorism of the Red Brigade while coddling Arafat and his criminal murderers on the international scene.

Last week the contradiction finally exploded in the face of Craxi and his foreign minister.



JDC-FUNDED HEALTH CENTER IN GONDAR REGION

—A regional Health Center located in the Gondar Region of Ethiopia is expected to serve the 30,000-40,000 people in the Teda-Ambober Ethiopia is expected to serve the 30-40,000 people in the Teda-Ambober area when it is completed later this month. This center is and another under construction in Gondar City are being built with funds from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), the overseas relief arm of the American Jewish community in cooperation with the Relief and Rehabilitation Committee and Ministry of Health of Ethiopia.

ADAT ARIEL, 5540 Laurel Canyon, North Hollywood. Rabbi Moshe Rothblum. Rabbi Emeritus Aaron M. Wise. Hazzan David Silverstein. Cantor Emeritus Allan Michelson. (818) 766-9426 (213) 877-0666 (C)

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CONG. BETH MEIER, 11725 Moorpark. Studio City. Rabbi M. Schimmel. Cantor [unclear] 760-0515 (C)

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KNESSET ISRAEL CONGREGATION OF BEVERLY HILLS, 2364 S. Robertson Blvd., Kalman Schwartz, spiritual leader. 839-4962 (O)

MAAREV TEMPLE, 180 Yarmouth Encino. Rabbi [unclear]



Commentary

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, A Seven Arts Feature

Anti-Semitism In Argentina

AN UPSURGE of anti-Semitism has been taking place in recent months in Argentina that compels the utmost vigilance of the American Jewish community.

Jacobo Kovadloff, AJC's director of Latin American affairs, himself a fifth-generation Argentinian Jew, is presently in Buenos Aires and the

reports he and others have sent us are alarming. Argentina is in a state of economic and political turmoil. The inflation rate is, unbelievably, 980 percent. There is widespread unemployment, poverty, and hunger in this once wealthy country.

On October 30th, Argentina will hold elections charac-

terized as a move to restore constitutional democracy. In this unsettled situation, right-wing elements that openly identified themselves as being nazi fascist have surfaced again with virulent anti-Semitic propaganda. They have been promoting such anti-Jewish publications as "the International Jew;" conducting anti-Semitic radio programs; and have generally been behind a series of bombings and attacks on synagogues, Jewish schools and Jewish-owned businesses.

It is reassuring, however, Kovadloff reports, that major personalities and institutions in Argentina - the press, the church, intellectuals and political leaders - have roundly condemned this anti-Semitic campaign. After the elections, when the appointments of government ministers are made, we will have a clearer idea as to whether Argentina is turning toward democracy or more tyranny.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES



זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

Commentary
By
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
A SEVEN ARTS FEATURE

FDR And The Jews



RABBI TANENBAUM

IN APRIL 1945, when news of the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt was broadcast across the nation, I was in class at Yeshiva University, with a group of fellow students, and we simultaneously burst into tears. Like millions of other Americans and fellow Jews, we felt that we had lost the father of our nation.

In our popular imagination, Franklin Roosevelt was perceived as the greatest President of the 20th century. In the wake of the demoralizing Depression he conceived and implemented the bold, humanitarian New Deal program for social justice which restored hope for impoverished millions.

FDR also inspired confidence as the leader of the Free World's crusade against Nazi barbarism.

WHILE RESPECTING those monumental achievements, FDR's image in the Jewish community has become badly tarnished as post-World War II records reveal the duplicity and callousness of his administration, particularly the State Department, which resulted in the needless deaths of thousands of Jews and non-Jews who were killed by the Nazis.

As the late Arthur Morse meticulously documented
Please Turn to Page 26

-At Foot Center

Commentary

From Page 19

in his book, "While Six Million Died," (Random House, 1968) FDR and his State Department knew of Hitler's orders for the "final solution," knew of the mass executions, but refused to revise immigration quotas or to try to ransom 20,000 children who died among others as a result of their inaction.

☆
THE FDR tragedy reinforced for Jews and other refugees today the Psalmist's warning, "Trust not in princes nor in the son of man for in them there is no salvation."

Commentary nc 108

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RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
A SEVEN ARTS FEATURE

Sensationalizing The Holocaust Tragedy

THERE IS something reckless and irresponsible about the way the agonizing issue of the Nazi Holocaust and the response of world leaders, including Jewish leaders, is being treated in the mass media.

Recently, PBS stations presented "Who Shall Live and Who Shall Die," a documentary that managed to distort the central issues of moral responsibility for saving Jewish lives under the Nazis. And for weeks earlier on, a controversy swirled in the press around a report prepared by a researcher for the American Jewish Commission on the Holocaust, headed by the distinguished Justice Arthur Goldberg.

☆
BOTH THE TV program and the earlier draft report suggest that American Jewish leaders knew almost everything the Nazis' final solution was inflicting on European Jews, and did practically nothing to try to save them. If true, that is a most devastating charge. But such an indictment should be made only after the most rigorous research is carried out by a



RABBI TANENBAUM

painstaking examination of the actual records of Jewish leaders and organizations.

But we know for a fact that neither the TV producer nor the researcher of the Holocaust Commission report did their homework.

Holocaust scholars of the stature of Professor Randolph Brahm resigned from the commission because the studies were so unscholarly and unreliable. Beyond that, there is a chillul hashem, a moral violation, in diverting central attention from

— To Page 24

Remember



Light candles for the
Sedra, Ki Tavo, which
End of Kriyat Hamizbeich
Sabbath effort.

Prepared by
Thankfully, at last, the Holocaust Commission is rewriting its report based on painstaking scholarship, rather than on cheap sensationalism.

The Jew

Commentary

From Page 19

the Nazis who were the murderers, and from the Allied governments to whom the killing of Jews was marginal to the war effort.

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come mats out for PLO terrorists.

Commentary

From Page 19
partment? Who voted them into office? To whom are they accountable?

The hearings of the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees on this so-called communications foul-up at the UN ought to throw its searchlight on these questions as well as on other aspects of this sorry and dangerous mess.

Commentary *US*

By
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
A SEVEN ARTS FEATURE

'Arabists In The State Department'

FEW ACTIONS have enraged the Jewish community and undoubtedly other thoughtful people as has the recent vote by the Carter Administration that would lead to the dismemberment of Jerusalem and to the making of a PLO state.

Mayor Koch sought to pin this clearly anti-Israel, and indeed anti-Camp David action, on "the Gang of Five." While this is a rather sweeping charge that tars some innocent people unfairly, there can be no question that this hostile resolution is the handiwork of Arabist cells in the State Department who for decades have been both anti-Jewish as well as anti-Israel.

☆
JUST READ Arthur Morse's book, "While Six Million Died," and you will find chapter and verse on how these anti-Jewish and anti-human faceless bureaucrats maneuvered the State Department for eight



RABBI TANENBAUM

months thereby contributing to the certain death of thousands of Jewish children who perished in nazi crematoria. It took a feisty President Truman to break out of their clutches finally and to recognize Israel before they were able to do their number on him.

☆
WHO IS this secret government in the State Department?
Please Turn To Page 26

Remember The Sabbath

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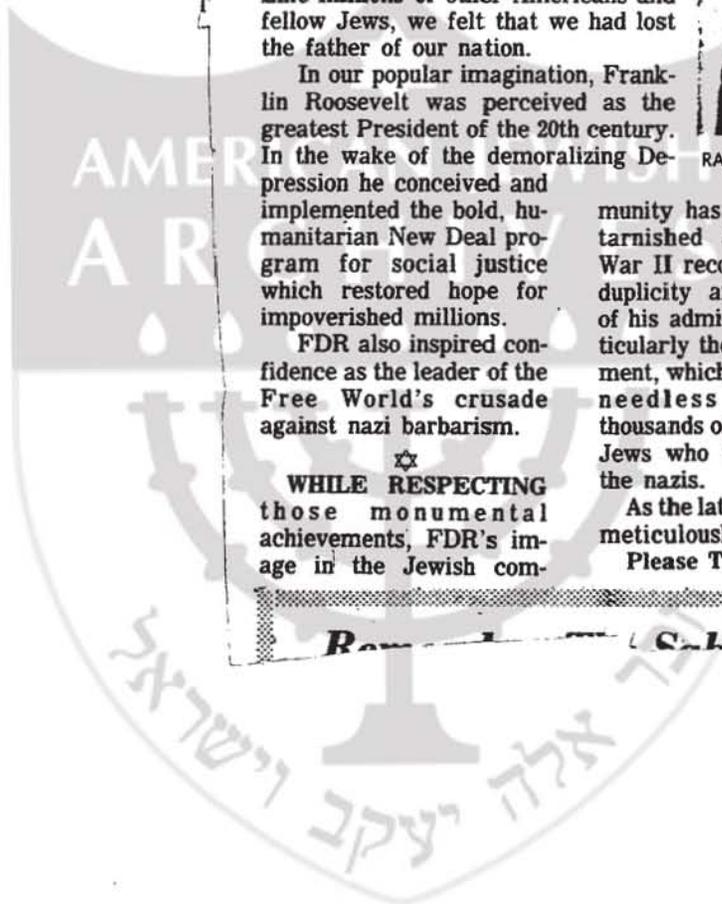
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Re... Sabbath



Protest

'Righteous Christian' James Parkes Dead

By RABBI MARC TANENBAUM
(A Seven Arts Feature)

NEW YORK — The death during the second week of August of the saintly Anglican scholar, Dr. James Parkes, has removed from our midst one of the primary architects of the world-wide movement for improved relations between Christians and Jews.

The passing of this 84-year-old British historian-theologian — whose studies decisively influenced my career more than any other single personality — also terminated the life of one of my most cherished personal friends who did me the high honor of including me in the dedication of his book, "Prelude to Dialogue," as one of "the Pioneers of Dialogue."

In 1928, James Parkes, an Oxford graduate and Anglican clergyman, was serving in Geneva as secretary to the International Student Service. There he encountered for the first time anti-Semitism among German students and he learned about "numerus clausus" discrimination against Jewish students in Eastern Europe.

To this civilized, sensitive, and humane Christian, that anti-Jewish hatred was a moral abomination, and he began an intensive study of the Christian sources

of anti-Semitism that became his life dedication.

His monumental study, "The Conflict of the Church and Synagogue — A Study in the Origins of Anti-Semitism," became a classic, influencing the attitudes of thousands of Christian leaders. With the constant inspiration and active help of his marvelous wife, Dorothy, James Parkes wrote scores of major books and pamphlets on Jewish history and religion, and on Israel.

So determined and effective was his pro-Jewish advocacy that the Nazis placed

his name on Hitler's "death list."

The last public tribute to James Parkes several years ago in Southampton epitomized his life and work as one of "the truly righteous among the nations." The text of his honorary doctorate said it all: "A scholar in an age of unreason, an individualist in an

age of conformity, and a tolerant man in an age of intolerance."

May the memory of my beloved friend and teacher, James Parkes, be forever a blessing.



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From Page 19

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Remember the Sabbath



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Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum hits current 'flirtation' with demons, exorcism

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NEW YORK (JTA) — The current "flirtation" with "demonic possession and exorcism of evil spirits" is rejected by contemporary Judaism according to Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of interreligious affairs of the American Jewish Committee. He cited the film "The Exorcist" as having become "the occasion for the surfacing of all the discussion about the devil and the demonic," adding that this had been "predictable for some time."

He said every period of major social disruption and radical change "has given rise to mass movements yearning for instant salvation, messianic redeption and apocalyptic experience with the occult" in "a weary and emotionally battered America." Rabbi Tanenbaum said Jewish theology "does not deny the reality of evil nor the existence of spiritual beings capable of harming persons" but "sin itself, rather than Satan, is regarded by the rabbis as the opponent of man and of the Deity."

The best antidote against the demonic, the rabbis taught, "was the observance of authentic religious traditions," Rabbi Tanenbaum declared, adding that "the best response to the current epidemic of the demonic is to refuse to be caught up in that collective hysteria and to face soberly and responsibly the real demons of oppression, injustice and intolerance that are of our own making."

Rockefeller says concern for Soviet Jews should

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Soviet Jewry

BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

"Please, please, will you help me save my husband's life?" Those words were spoken quietly, intently by a young striking brown-eyed Russian Jewish woman, Avital Shcharansky, to President Reagan at the White House recently.

She told the President, Vice President Bush and other government officials that her 33-year - old husband, Anatoly Shcharansky -- who is in his fifth year of a cruel 13 - year sentence in a Soviet labor camp is losing his sight and memory, is down to 91 pounds, and will surely die unless America undertakes emergency efforts to save his life. Her soft words fell like a scream to the ears. According to White House aides, President Reagan expressed deep sympathy for the persecuted Shcharansky, falsely accused by the KBG as being a CIA agent, as well as for other Jewish and Christian prisoners of conscience in the repressive Soviet Union. The President promised to do all in his power to rescue these lives.

Mrs. Shcharansky, a heroine of devotion to her suffering husband, was accompanied by Josif Mendelevich, a Jewish dissident released from a Soviet prison three months ago after serving 11 painful years in jail. An orthodox Jew who suffered horrendously to observe his religion while in Soviet prisons, Mendelevich fasted for three days recently in order to bestir American Jews and others to break through the calm of indifference toward oppressed Soviet Jews.

Do not stand by idly while our brothers and sisters cry out for help. Join them at these rallies and in their struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

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FEATURE

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By Rabbi Marc H.
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(A Seven Arts Feature)

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CARDINAL COOKE: Prelate called for respect between Christians, Jews

By MARC TANENBAUM

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Cooke then encouraged cooperation between Catholics and Jews in social justice areas:

"The pursuit of justice in civil rights and the resolution of our serious urban problems are surely areas in which our cooperation can bear rich fruit. Our opportunities are extraordinary here in New York — a great Jewish city and a great Christian city...I pray today and every day that together we shall seize the opportunities afforded now and serve the needs effectively

tion of drugs, pornography, abuse of sex and violence in the media and related public morality issues.

Abhorrence of violence

Some anxiety did develop in the Jewish community when Cooke became president of the Near East Catholic Welfare Council, whose professionals were one-sidedly allied with Palestinians and other Arabs to the exclusion of any sympathy for victimized Jewish refugees in Israel and in Arab countries.

But the cardinal trod a careful middle ground in upholding the legitimate social welfare needs of Arabs while not retreating from his moral support of Israel.

His abhorrence of violence, made public in his condemnation of terrorism in Ireland, carried over to his disdain for PLO terrorism and violence, as he told me on more than one occasion.

His keen sensitivity to the state of the Jewish soul was perhaps most dramatically reflected when he and I collaborated on world refugee problems, particularly the Vietnamese boat people tragedy. At a press conference held at St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1980, Cooke explained his motivation for responding to the Indo-Chinese refugee crisis in these moving words:

"Our generation witnessed the savagery of the Nazi Holocaust which led to the destruction of millions of Jewish lives. To our eternal shame, most of the world stood by while human beings were being destroyed. We are now trying to learn our moral lessons from that tragedy, and that is why we — Christians and Jews together — are joining hands to stand against the evil which is afflicting these poor Vietnamese refugees."

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum is director of the interreligious affairs department of the American Jewish Committee.

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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Soviet Jewry

BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

"Please, please, will you help me save my husband's life?" Those words were spoken quietly, intently by a young striking brown-eyed Russian Jewish woman, Avital Shcharansky, to President Reagan at the White House recently.

She told the President, Vice President Bush and other government officials that her 33-year - old husband, Anatoly Shcharansky -- who is in his fifth year of a cruel 13 - year sentence in a Soviet labor camp is losing his sight and memory, is down to 91 pounds, and will surely die unless America undertakes emergency efforts to save his life. Her soft words fell like a scream to the ears. According to White House aides, President Reagan expressed deep sympathy for the persecuted Shcharansky, falsely accused by the KGB as being a CIA agent, as well as for other Jewish and Christian prisoners of conscience in the repressive Soviet Union. The President promised to do all in his power to rescue these lives.

Mrs. Shcharansky, a heroine of devotion to her suffering husband, was accompanied by Josif Mendelevich, a Jewish dissident released from a Soviet prison three months ago after serving 11 painful years in jail. An orthodox Jew who suffered horrendously to observe his religion while in Soviet prisons, Mendelevich fasted for three days recently in order to bestir American Jews and others to break through the calm of indifference toward oppressed Soviet Jews.

Do not stand by idly while our brothers and sisters cry out for help. Join them at these rallies and in their struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

Cleaning Our 'Moral Ecology'

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

"Pornography has become a problem of mammoth proportions which can no longer be ignored or dealt with marginally by the broader religious community." Joseph Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago made that statement on Friday morning, July 25, at an unprecedented meeting of some 29 religious leaders who met at Cardinal O'Connor's residence in Manhattan.

Some called the meeting "historic" for it brought together Fundamentalists and Evangelical Christians, with mainline Catholic, Protestant, Greek Orthodox and Jewish leaders in a common effort to combat the epidemic of pornography. In our deliberations, all of us concentrated on the moral tragedies of child pornography and hardcore pornography. These cynically exploit human sexuality for profit and isolate persons from any feelings of love or caring.

As Cardinal Bernardin and I indicated during the press conference, there is a "moral ecology" in our society, and these abusive pornographies corrode our people's lives side by side with drugs, crime and other forms of dehumanization. The challenge is massive for pornography has become an 8-billion dollar industry, 85% of which is run by organized crime.

The religious leaders made clear they are opposed to censorship and uphold First Amendment rights. But they are determined as never before to quarantine this social sickness of pornography before it further undermines the moral health of this great nation.

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NC 97

Trouble in Paradise: Florida Fun Spot Reports Problem

By RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
(A Seven Arts Feature)

Boca Raton, Fla., is described in the tourist brochures as the "watering place for the rich and famous."

This is an elegant city of 40,000 inhabitants, with plush resorts, lush exotic plants, and pleasing Spanish architecture of pink and beige stucco. It is called the "winter polo capital of the world" and it is believed to have more millionaires per capita than any city in Florida, many of them refugees from the hazards of New York.

But the newspapers in Boca Raton are filled with controversy over a Sports Illustrated article that declares there is "trouble in this paradise." The article deals with the growing threat to the environment resulting from exploding building development of the formerly tranquil coastline.

But there are also other kinds of troubles. The Boca Raton police department reports that crimes of burglary increased more than 51

percent last year, much of it triggered by drug addicts who commute here to poach on the rich and comfortable.

This glittering physical paradise also has spiritual troubles. I was invited here to address the Christian and Jewish leaders and found despite some notable exceptions, there was little effective collaboration between the faith communities especially with the large Fundamentalist churches.

Like other parts of South Florida, Boca Raton has major concentrations of Haitian refugees and migrant workers who desperately need the care and help that religious leaders have been able to bring to ravaged Southeast Asian refugees.

If Christian and Jewish leaders can be effective in relieving suffering thousands of miles overseas, how come they can't work together effectively at home? Well, they made a start recently, and if they stay with it, they may still be able to make something of a real human paradise of Boca Raton.





Originals cut off

My Brother's Keeper?

F-7 Arts

Billy Needs One — For Sure

NC 76

By RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

"Am I my brother's keeper?" Cain spoke those cynical words after he slew his brother, Abel, and then was banished as a vagrant with the mark of Cain on his head.

Florian, M.A.

Many people are wondering aloud these days whether Billy Carter has not inflicted "the mark of Billy" on the forehead of his brother, President Jimmy Carter, and his administration. And more and more people are asking why this administration and the Congress appear to be so impotent in stopping Billy from conducting his own American foreign policy, not to speak of preventing his disgraceful public attacks against Jews and other fellow-Americans.

IT WAS morally troublesome enough that Billy Carter was allowed to exploit his brothers' presidency by making a small personal fortune selling "Billy's Beer."

And many did not think it endearing that good ole' Billy attacked with impunity: the in-

telligence and integrity of virtually every member of the White House staff, and then walked off to collect more fat lecture fees as a result of his carefully manufactured personal publicity.

Not too long ago, Billy Carter ridiculed the sports figure, Phil Niekro, as a "Polack," and repeatedly he has maligned the Jewish community in slanderous words suggestive of a Ku Klux Klan mentality.

WORSE THAN THAT, behind his deceptive clowning, it is now revealed that he has been engaged in a covert relationship as a foreign agent for Libya — one of the greatest supporters of terrorist groups in the world today.

The time has come for the White House, the Congress, the mass media and the American people to treat Billy Carter for what he is — not just a good-natured loud-mouthed buffoon, but potentially as a public menace who must be held responsible for his words and deeds.

800815

Can Carter Administration Halt Brother Billy's Antics?

By RABBI MARC TANENBAUM
(A Seven Arts Feature)

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Meridian, Mississippi

The Happier Side Of Being Jewish

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

There is some poetic justice in the fact that the happy Jewish holiday of Lag B'Omer and the Salute to Israel Day observances took place two weeks ago at the same time.

So much of the nearly 4,000 years of Jewish history has been filled with tragedy and suffering that a non-Jewish person might be led to believe that Jews don't know the meaning of pleasure, of having fun, of joy and celebration. One leading Jewish historian has decried what he called the "lachrymose" or tearful view of Jewish history. He said that it is both bad psychology and poor education to raise children to believe that being Jewish means living only with pain, and persecution.

The Lag B'Omer festival and the Salute to Israel parade up



Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

Fifth Avenue are healthy balances to that one-sided sad view of Jewish living. On Lag B'Omer, tens of thousands of Jews from throughout Israel and other parts of the world visit the grave of the great mystic, Rabbi Simeon bar Yochai, author of the kabbalistic *Zohar*. There in the village of Meron, they burn huge bon-fires, dance with torches, sing ecstatically, and learn the teachings of this extraordinary scholar.

Here, too, in New York, Jewish children celebrated, highlighted

by the Lubavitcher Hasidic parade and carnival in Crown Heights. This pleasurable day was further enhanced by the famed Israel Defense Forces Band which marched up Fifth Avenue, displaying the lighter, happier side of being Israeli and Jewish in today's world.

With all the bad news of wars and conflict that sour our lives, it is healthy and important to share in Jewish happiness. *Nur oif simchos*, there should only be happy times for everybody.

Weinberger Confers With Saudi Arabia's Defense Minister

By Edwin Eytan

PARIS (JTA) — U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger conferred recently for close to four hours with Defense Minister Prince Sultan Ben Abdel Azziz of Saudi Arabia in what observers said was another American attempt to urge the Saudis to press Syria to withdraw its forces from Lebanon and accept the Israeli-Lebanese agreement negotiated by Secretary of State George Shultz.

Weinberger refused to comment on this meeting. But Saudi sources said Abdel Azziz made it clear that Saudi Arabia will share its views with Damascus "but not, under any circumstances, agree to be an instigator." Arab states...

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...ing stars. They would tell me of their preparations at home for the festive meals - roast turkey with chestnut dressing and plum pudding with brandy sauce and that they would receive wonderful gifts. How bitterly left out I felt, for these customs belonged to a culture and religion that was not mine.

The years have passed, but the memory of that sad little girl still remains. How tragic that I did not know then that I too had something to celebrate - equally beautiful and rich in ritual - Chanukah, the Festival of Lights.

Of course, I had heard something about it from my parents and the sterile cheder (Jewish study) classes which I had to attend. I learned that it dated from 165 B.C.E. when Palestine became part of the Hellenist Syrian empire, ruled by Antiochus Epiphanes. He wanted to wipe out the Jewish religion and substitute the Greek language, customs and gods. When he defiled the Temple and forced them to worship Zeus, they rebelled and, by clever military tactics, the tiny army - led by Judah Maccabee - was victorious.

...lack of knowledge would deny them pride and joy in their own heritage, and so we came to live in Jerusalem, where the Chanukah story happened 2,000 years ago.

...it is a wonderful time for children. Each day of the festival they are often given a small, modest gift. When my children were small, they received "Chanukah gelt" in

doughnuts filled with jam. Over the years I learned more about my festivals. Chanukah taught me many important ones to be different.

Auschwitz belongs to the whole Jewish People

By Marc H. Tanenbaum

NEW YORK—The announcement last month from Warsaw by several Jewish individuals declaring their intention to conserve and preserve the decaying buildings and exhibits at Auschwitz would seem to be an honorable objective.

The association of the name of Ambassador Ronald Lauder with that project would lend credibility to its noble purpose. From my own visits and experiences in Europe, I know firsthand that Lauder has made notable contributions in helping rebuild synagogues and provide cultural centers for East European Jews, among other acts of generosity.

But the announcement of the Auschwitz preservation project

has triggered a behind-the-scenes discussion among Jewish leadership which is yet to surface. The issues have to do with process and timing.

Auschwitz is not a synagogue or a cultural center. It is the anguished moral inheritance of all Jews of the 20th century, and of the generations that will follow.

A wide range of Jewish leaders have told me that no one involved in launching this historic project has consulted them. None of the major Jewish survivor groups, who include numerous Auschwitz survivors, were invited to share in advance their views.

It would be tragic, indeed, if this sensitive project were to deteriorate into a public conflict among Jews over such real issues as:

What should be the nature of the conservation project? Is it at all wise to remodel the gas chambers and bunkers or allow them to stand as raw testimonies to their original Nazi brutalities? Is there a danger that it will be made into a shrine — the very objection that Jews held against the Catholic convent at Auschwitz? Will it become a tourist site with manicured gardens and picnic grounds, much as Dachau has become?

Representative Jewish leaders, especially from the Holocaust survivor groups, have not only a right but a duty to make their views known on how they wish to see Auschwitz preserved for the future.

It is not too late to begin that process of responsible discussion and decision-making that will affect the neshama of world Jewry for generations.



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MAY 24 1988

The Basic Threat Of Drugs

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

(JTA) — A special horror hangs over the recent brutal killing of young police officer Edward Byrne in Queens, N.Y. His savage execution-style death at the hands of hired drug thugs dramatically raises to the public consciousness the seriousness of the underground drug war that is sapping the values and morale of this nation.



Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

The murder is an arrogant statement by a drug lord that he controls the streets of South Jamaica, Queens, not the police who are charged by society with maintaining law and order. It was important and reassuring that the police arrested the suspected killers so quickly. That is a message to drug lords and their couriers that they do not own the streets of New York or of America.

But this tragic drama raises the larger issue that we ought not allow to disappear. This nation is under assault by drug-producing nations whose effects can be as devastating to our morale and productivity as any external invasion by a totalitarian aggressor.

Criminologist Dr. Georgette Bennett estimates in her landmark book "Crimewarps" (Doubleday & Co.) that illicit sale of drugs in the United States is as high as \$75 billion a year. New York Mayor Edward Koch is right in calling for a massive national response to curtail the drug supplies at the borders.

Above all, it is time we ourselves end our complacency and self-indulgence and mobilize the conscience of America to contain the drug epidemic before it consumes us from within.

Global 'Truce of God'

By Marc Tanenbaum

In the year 1050 CE, a Roman Catholic Pontiff proclaimed "the Truce of God." Since that feudal age was anarchic and pockmarked with violence, the Papal intention was to restrict the time for warfare by prohibiting any battles from Wednesday evening to Monday morning of each week, and during church festivals.

If and when observed, that meant that only eighty (80) days were left for fighting each year, and never more than three successive days at a time.

Given the epidemic of violence in the world today — some forty conflicts are raging over the globe this week — the idea of a Day of Prayer for World Peace called by Pope John Paul II for October 27 had an appealing emotional quality about it.

But it is self-evident that the Pope no longer presides over a unified Christian world as he did in the Middle Ages, and therefore the pluralism of the modern world requires that leaders of all the major world religions join together to advocate a global "Truce of God."

Jews have a profound religious and moral commitment to peace, and therefore would normally participate fully in an appropriate pluralistic demonstration of solidarity for peace. Unfortunately, somebody in the Vatican goofed and forgot that no rabbi (excepting those living in Italy) would travel on Simchat Torah to Assisi, even to daven with the Pope. Maybe Assisi should become a first step, and with better planning, a real World Parliament of Religions could be called that might seriously advance a real "Truce of God," and not just a symbolic one.

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By
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
A SEVEN ARTS FEATURE

Sensationalizing The Holocaust Tragedy

THERE IS something reckless and irresponsible about the way the agonizing issue of the Nazi Holocaust and the response of world leaders, including Jewish leaders, is being treated in the mass media.

Recently, PBS stations presented "Who Shall Live and Who Shall Die," a documentary that managed to distort the central issues of moral responsibility for saving Jewish lives under the Nazis. And for weeks earlier on, a controversy swirled in the press around a report prepared by a researcher for the American Jewish Commission on the Holocaust, headed by the distinguished Justice Arthur Goldberg.

☆
BOTH THE TV program and the earlier draft report suggest that American Jewish leaders knew almost everything the Nazis' final solution was inflicting on European Jews, and did practically nothing to try to save them. If true, that is a most devastating charge. But such an indictment should be made only after the most rigorous research is carried out by a



RABBI TANENBAUM

painstaking examination of the actual records of Jewish leaders and organizations.

But we know for a fact that neither the TV producer nor the researcher of the Holocaust Commission report did their homework.

Holocaust scholars of the stature of Professor Randolph Brahm resigned from the commission because the studies were so unscholarly and unreliable. Beyond that, there is a chillul hashem, a moral violation, in diverting central attention from

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Commentary

Remember



Light candles
Sedra, Ki
End of Kri
Sabbath effort.

From Page 19
the Nazis who were the murderers, and from the Allied governments to whom the killing of Jews was marginal to the war effort.

Prepared by
Thankfully, at last, the Holocaust Commission is rewriting its report based on painstaking scholarship, rather than on cheap sensationalism.

The Jew

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IS WORLD JEWRY UNITING?

By **MARC H. TANENBAUM**

ECUMENISM, the movement towards co-operation and unity within and between religious bodies, is perhaps the most characteristic expression of the religious zeitgeist of the last half century. In theological terms, the ideal of the spiritual unity of mankind is at least as old as Judaism and Christianity. Historically the religious communities have seldom known a period that has not been marked by sectarian division, rivalry, and mutual oppression.

The swift spread of Communism and ideological atheism since the 1917 Russian Revolution, the upsurge of the competitive missionary enterprises of Islam and Buddhism in Asia and Africa, and the fierce anti-colonialism of the newly emergent nations have contributed to a radical self-examination on the part of Western Christian leaders. Aware that they are engaged in a struggle for survival more threatening than at any time in their tumultuous pasts, many Christian leaders have become obsessively impatient over the "schism of the churches."

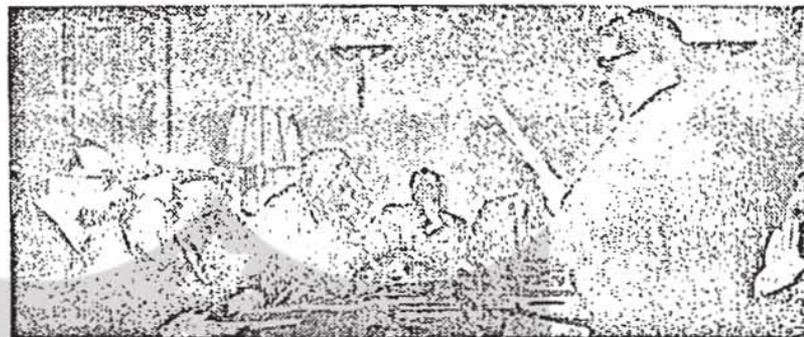
Pope's call

Against this background, Pope John XXIII has summoned an Ecumenical Council for 1962-63 to consider the problems of internal reforms to strengthen the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world, and also the question of unity with "the separated brethren" of Protestantism and

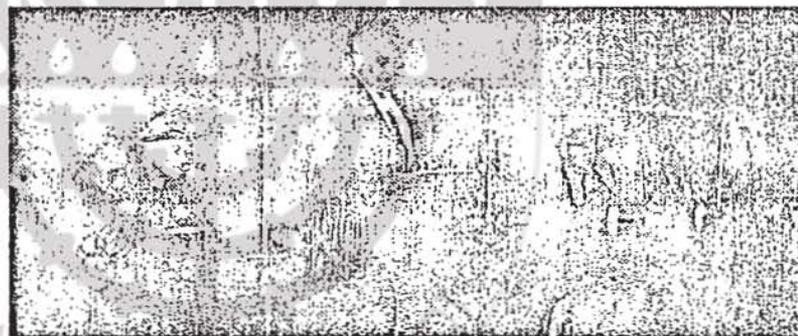
Eastern Orthodoxy. World Protestantism, too, has dealt with the ecumenical issues through the World Council of Churches, embracing 178 member Protestant and Eastern Orthodox denominations, now meeting in New Delhi. The Greek Orthodox churches, which recently met in Rhodes, have announced plans to convene their own Pan-Orthodox Ecumenical Conference.

All this ecumenical ferment has not left Jewry and Judaism unaffected. As Catholics and Protestants huddle closer together in a common front against Communism and secularism, they have begun to apply their formula for coexistence to the Jews in less ambiguous and provisional ways than in the past. The need for "all believers" to stand together in common defence against the enemy has become the psychological and social reality which undergirds the working of religious pluralism in America today and increasingly in other parts of the Western world.

This "common front" mentality may help to explain the efflorescence of "dialogues" between Christians and Jews all over the United States and in other parts of the world as an intensive effort to achieve profound knowledge of, and understanding between, allies. Within the Jewish community this has given rise to the introspection: if it is acceptable for Jews to engage in dialogue with Christians, is it not at least equally sensible for Jews to draw closer in mutual understanding and interchange? Although this is a negative and defensive reason for co-operation,



Opposite wings of Judaism: Above, the Chief Rabbi addressing a European conference of rabbis in Amsterdam; below, Rabbi Dr. S. B. Freehof addressing the World Union for Progressive Judaism in London



it is nevertheless a primary operating force that has brought many previously competing and hostile groups in U.S.A. Jewish life to sit together round the same table and to work co-operatively in increasing measure in areas of common interest. In a sense, Jewish "ecumenism" is a response to the Christian world as Christian ecumenism is a response to the pressures of the non-Christian, non-Western world.

The growth and effectiveness of the Synagogue Council of America, the national co-ordinating agency for the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform rabbinic and congregational bodies, is an illustration

of this point. Organised in 1926, the Synagogue Council floundered for the greater part of its existence. As the Protestant and Catholic "ecumenical" bodies "outreached" to the Synagogue Council during the past decade, its constituent agencies began to substitute interest for their previous indifference, and support and co-operation for obstruction. The full significance has not yet been felt of the spontaneous development of some 42 local "inter-denominational" synagogue councils and rabbinic associations in Jewish communities in the U.S.A.

It would, of course, be an oversimplification to reduce the entire causation of both Christian and Jewish "ecumenism" to the single force of a "defensive" reaction to external pressures and threats. Professor Salo Baron, of Columbia University, in his massive study, "The Jewish Community," argues persuasively that throughout history Jewish communities and their co-operative agencies were organised as a result of the interaction of twin forces: the defensive response to external hostility, and, of no less importance, the "mystique" of Jewish interdependence.

One fellowship

This "mystique" is rooted in Jewish history and consciousness, and is epitomised in the traditional expressions: "All Israel is responsible one for another," and "Israel will be redeemed only when it forms one fellowship."

Institutional expressions of this Jewish mystique on a global scale are neither new nor unknown. Both the World Zionist Organisation and the World Jewish Congress represent in a fundamental way the defence-plus-messianic impulses, and have served as supra-national instruments for linking world Jewry. But as many have observed, with the birth of Israel, world Zionist agencies have suffered a post-partum depression, and the World Jewish Congress has never really represented more than its limited constituency. Into the global Jewish vacuum being left by these agencies have begun to move synagogal bodies organised on a world scale.

Consciously created to meet the limited and concrete religious

Continued on page 39, column 1

Rabbi Tanenbaum is Director of the American Jewish Committee's Inter-religious Affairs Department.

Is world Jewry uniting?

Continued from page 23

requirements of their far-flung constituencies, there is increasingly an unpublicised awareness that their world structures may well become the ecumenical agents of Jewry in the future, roughly Jewish counterparts to the World Council of Churches. Reflecting the Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox divisions of American Jewry, the world synagogal bodies present today the following picture:

The Reform or Liberal movement organised its World Union for Progressive Judaism in 1926, but has had its most impressive growth since the end of the Second World War. Today, the World Union claims affiliates in 23 countries in Europe, North and South America, Africa, and Asia, with some 850 congregations numbering 1,600,000 members.

The Conservative movement began organising its World Council of Synagogues as late as November, 1957, but already claims constituents in twelve countries on five continents. In that short time the Council has helped to create a Latin American Council of Synagogues, a centre in Israel with three affiliated Conservative synagogues, and a consultative body in Europe.

Network of ties

The Orthodox movement has not launched its "World Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations" but the Union of Orthodox Congregations of America has established a "Joint Overseas Commission" which quietly but actively has been creating a network of ties between Orthodox Chief Rabbis and laymen in virtually every country in which the Reform and Conservative movements have made more formal connections.

The three religious wings of Judaism provide virtually identical services to their overseas "affiliates": assigning desperately needed rabbis and teachers; training foreign Jewish students; sending religious articles and education materials; providing financial aid; and, in general, through conferences and publications, serving as clearing houses for the exchange of information and experiences.

Inevitably, as the three world Jewish "ecumenical" efforts become more effective they are bound to collide—to their respective disadvantage and at the expense of the Jewish communities for whose "souls" they will be competing. The recent manoeuvring between emissaries from the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform branches who sought to bring pressure to bear on the

Continued in next column

Continued from previous column

25,000 Bene Israel of India to affiliate to their respective parent bodies; the conflicts between the Orthodox and Reform in Australia and in Holland; and the Conservative and Reform controversy in South America are foretastes of what could undoubtedly become a scandalous chapter in Jewish life.

To prevent such a *Chillul Hashem*, representatives of the Reform World Union and the Conservative World Council met three times last year to explore the possibilities of merging their overseas programme, or, at the

very least, effecting some of co-operation. The task reportedly amicable, bogged down on doctrinal differences, the Conservatives requiring overseas congregations to observe *kashrut*, the *Shabbat*, and head covering during religious services.

Perhaps the most realistic, if not idealistic, appraisal of the situation of Diaspora Jewry and what may well become the pragmatic basis on which will be constructed any eventual world ecumenical Jewish body, is the insight of the late Leo Baeck: "Jews want to belong first and then to believe."



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The real danger posed by Farrakhan



**Marc
Tanenbaum**

NEW YORK, (JTA)—The real danger posed by the recent, highly-publicized speeches of the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, I believe, is that he is beginning to be treated as big-time media entertainment.

Audiences appear to be intrigued by the Farrakhan psychodrama—the bizarre scene of frowning bodyguards in bow-ties; the bravura rhetoric and its outrageous apocalyptic imagery; the wholesale frisking of an entire audience; the mindless, uncritical excitement of the media over another circus “happening.”

The danger is that mesmerized preoccupation with the theater obscures or diminishes the content of what Farrakhan is really preaching—his precise ideology, his geo-political world-view, his propaganda warfare.

A STUDY OF FARRAKHAN'S speeches and writings since the 1950's discloses that he has a coherent world-view, that at its core is rabidly anti-white, anti-American, antisemitic and anti-Israel. Defenders of American democracy, and certainly the Jewish community, cannot afford to dismiss Farrakhan as if he were some minstrel act.

Should he continue to gain large audiences and increased media exposure—and should the PLO and Libya's Muammar Qaddafi continue to pour added millions of dollars into his coffers—Farrakhan might as well become a significant source of poisonous pollution of the wells of American democracy. And he could certainly become a focal rallying point, especially among young Blacks, for vicious antisemitic and anti-Israel hatred in the United States and abroad.

In the 1950's, early in his career in the Black Muslim movement, when Farrakhan was known as Louis X. Wolcott, he wrote and recorded a song that became a smash hit among Black nationalists. Its title—“A White Man's Heaven Is A Black Man's Hell.” Farrakhan was a loyal and dedicated disciple of Elijah Muhammad, unwaveringly committed to his Black nationalist-

separatist policies.

When Elijah Muhammad died, his son Warid D. (Wallace) Muhammad took over the movement and radically changed its outlook. He abandoned the nationalist-separatist ideology; he invited Caucasians, previously vilified and barred from membership, to join the newly-renamed American Muslim Mission; and he urged the faithful to support actively the American democratic system. He also advocated dialogue between Black Muslims and Jews.

In 1978, Farrakhan left the American Muslim Mission, strongly opposing Wallace Muhammad's integrationist views. He then formed the Nation of Islam and advocated a return to separatist, self-help policies of Elijah Muhammad.

Thus, the first key to understanding the real Farrakhan is that he shares the ideological vision of other Islamic fanatics, notably Ayatollah Khomeini and Qaddafi. Like them, he believes there will be an inevitable confrontation between the “children of light” (fundamentalist Muslims) and “the children of darkness” (the white devilish Western world, termed by Khomeini and Qaddafi as “the Great Satan.”)

Farrakhan has translated that cosmic vision of Armageddon into concrete political programs studded with appeals to violence.

A chief obstacle to Farrakhan's vision of Islamic triumph at Armageddon is that for some 3,000 years there has existed another “children of light,” namely, “the chosen people of Israel.” For years—much before his meteoric rise to prominence through association with Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign—Farrakhan has devoted major time and energy trying to displace Jews as “the chosen people” and to replace them with Blacks as the carriers of history.

Farrakhan's notoriety, and the attention he is receiving in the media, contribute immeasurably to his being welcomed as a comrade-in-arms by the PLO and Qaddafi. For the past decade, they have spearheaded the infamous “Zionism is racism” crusade against Israel and Jews.

Their purposes are identical with those of Farrakhan—the delegitimization of the Jewish people and the State of Israel.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum is the national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee.

The war in Lebanon -- in thoughtful retrospect



**Carl
Alpert**

Only in Israel

domestic Israeli politics.

Today there is certainly no one in the country who is not delighted that we are at last out of Lebanon. The cost has been high in terms of Israeli casualties, and also in the polarization of internal conflicts at a time when the country is sorely in need of unity to meet other problems.

THE DISCOVERY (and destruction) of vast quantities of PLO munitions and heavy armaments, stacked away for eventual massive use against Israel, indicates how correct were the original Israeli fears. The smashing of that gathering war machine is today overlooked as one of the elements of the Lebanese War. But what went wrong thereafter?

The major victim prior to the Israeli invasion, during the years when the PLO had established its state-within-a-

Haifa
When Israelis discuss the Lebanese War, feelings inevitably run high. What began as a highly motivated campaign to protect northern Israel against the incursion of the terrorists soon became bogged down in a morass of the objective difficulties on the ground in problem-ridden Lebanon, and the highly subjective controversies of

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Historic Meeting of Pope, Jewish Leaders Brings Far-flung Results, Commitments

By MARC TANENBAUM
VATICAN CITY (JTA) — In an historic meeting held here Oct. 29 — 20 years to the day on which Nostra Aetate was adopted by an overwhelming vote of Vatican Council II — Pope John Paul II described the past two decades in Catholic-Jewish relation as "epoch-making," and committed the Catholic Church "to this relationship and dialogue with the Jewish community."

The private audience in the Apostolic Palace began three days of intensive examination of the state of Catholic-Jewish relations. Before the largest group of Catholic and Jewish leaders from across the globe ever assembled in the Vatican, the Pope affirmed in unambiguous language the following commitments of the Catholic Church in its relations with Judaism and the Jewish people:

- He called the "spiritual links" between Catholics and Jews "sacred," saying that there is "a real 'parentage' which we have with that religious community (Judaism) alone."

- Contrary to some ambiguous language in the recently-published Vatican "Notes," he affirmed the permanent validity of Judaism, as-

serting that "God does not reject his people." Instead, he proposed that the Vatican Notes "will greatly help towards freeing our catechetical and religious teaching of a negative or inaccurate presentation of Jews and Judaism" and will "help to promote respect, appreciation and indeed love for one and the other."

- He urged that "anti-Semitism in its ugly and sometimes violent manifestations should be completely eradicated. Better still, a positive view of each of our religions, with due respect to the identity of each, will surely emerge, as is already the case in so many places."

- In apparent response to the criticism that the Vatican Notes, issued on June 24, were inadequate in their treatment of the Nazi Holocaust, the Pope called on "Catholics...to fathom the depths of the extermination of many million Jews during the Second World War and the wounds thereby inflicted on the consciousness of the Jewish people." He also added that Christians needed theological reflection on the meaning of the Holocaust for Christianity.

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman of Great Neck, N.Y., chairman of the international Jewish Committee on

Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC), in his opening statement to the Pope, asserted that Nostra Aetate, the Vatican Declaration on Catholic-Jewish relations, "marked a turning away from 18 centuries often characterized by both misunderstanding and persecution, toward a dialogue" that has fostered "mutual understanding and respect."

In direct response to Jewish concern over the ambiguous treatment of Israel in the Vatican Notes, Johannes Cardinal Willebrands, president of the Vatican Secretariat

ANTI-SEMITIC

(Continued from Page 1)

But by repeating "the big lie" and making Israel synonymous with racism, the Jewish State's potential enemies can multiply. As Jeane Kirkpatrick, former Ambassador to the U.N., stated, "It is important to remember that inside the U.N. racism is the ultimate crime. When Israel is designated a racist state, the word is out that Israel is fair game for every would-be aggressor in the world."

Furthermore, many of Israel's supporters, even Jews in the diaspora, are beginning to believe the lie, because it is not being effectively countered. Students on university campuses in the West have taken the brunt of anti-Zionist propaganda. The general public feels anti-Zionism through media hostility which reached hysterical proportions in 1982 during the Lebanon war.

Fighting Anti-Zionism

But Meir Rosentz, Israel's Ambassador to the United States, puts the blame for the growth of anti-Zionism on Israel's friends rather

on Religious Relations with Jews, declared, "For the first time the Catholic Church, at the highest level, has told its catechists, its preachers and its teachers, to consider the religious link of the Jewish people with the land of their fathers as well as the existence of the state of Israel in the context of international law, and to try to understand the meaning of the Shoah, the Holocaust."

In light of progress made in many parts of the world, especially in the United States, in Catholic-Jewish understanding during the past two decades, Willebrands said, given the Church's clear stand against anti-Semitism, "it becomes every day more difficult to have it (anti-Semitism) linked with official, approved Catholic teaching.

than her enemies: "The fault lies not with the U.N." he asserted, "but with the Western states that did not react properly, that failed to combat the Soviet campaign with determination and vigor, that failed to respond appropriately and effectively, to the pistol-packing Yasir Arafat who took the rostrum of the U.N. General Assembly. The absence of effective action has led our enemies to believe that they can vilify Israel and the Jewish people with impunity."

If Jews in the West suffer and are influenced by persistent propaganda onslaughts, Soviet Jewry faces a more ominous threat. As Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said, "For the Jews in the Soviet Union, Zionism means freedom, independence, self-determination and repatriation to Eretz Yisrael. This the Russians cannot tolerate or permit."

The World Zionist Organization thus sees the fight against anti-Zionism as one of its highest priorities. Conferences on the subject have recently been held in Jerusalem and Washington and similar conventions will take place in Paris, London and Buenos Aires.

"It may draw from other sources, secular or pseudo-religious, and this we have to assess carefully. But we all agree that it is another problem. And as we in the Catholic Church have a long experience of anti-Catholicism, coming from many sources, we can perhaps use this experience, as it has been done in certain places like the U.S.A. to counter the anti-Semitic plague."

Prior to this meeting, there was much speculation growing out of the controversy over the Vatican Notes as to whether the Vatican was "regressing" in its commitments to improved Catholic-Jewish relations. Willebrands, who as an aide to the late Cardinal Bea played a key role in the drafting of Nostra Aetate, nailed the speculation on the head.

"The Godhead is behind the text of Nostra Aetate," he said, and "the changed relationship with Judaism is not a question of practical decision, however noble and high flung our motivations may be for that. It is for us, as Catholics, a question of fidelity to our vocation, a part of our response to God."

At the close of the three-day meeting, the Vatican and IJCIC groups agreed to establish a joint steering committee to advance relations between Catholics and Jews throughout the world, with particular attention to be given to the deepening of knowledge and understanding on the part of Catholics about the meaning to them of the Holocaust and the relationship of the Jewish people to Israel.



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FOCUS

Comment/Opinion/Insight

Tutu is more anti-Jewish than he acknowledges

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

FIRST MET ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU, the Anglican leader of South Africa and Nobel laureate, in October 1985 in his church. Helen Suzman, the feisty anti-apartheid leader in South Africa's parliament, arranged for the meeting of an American Jewish Committee delegation with Tutu for a frank discussion about apartheid and black-Jewish relations.

After the usual courtesies, the archbishop launched into a long lecture to us about how apartheid is the equivalent of the Nazi Holocaust, and that Jews are spectators to the black tragedy. Suzman bristled with anger, as did we all. She was the first member of the South African parliament to campaign against the evils of apartheid more than a quarter-century before Tutu was on the scene. She also organized the first liberal party in South Africa to combat apartheid.

"Listen, Desmond," Suzman said, "I have devoted my entire life and career to battling against apartheid. Terrible and tragic as is apartheid, it is in no way the equivalent of the Nazi Holocaust, which tried to destroy physically the entire Jewish people. I wish you would stop exploiting that great Jewish tragedy for your purposes."

Tutu seemed to be embarrassed and remained silent for a while.

But he obviously has not remained silent since then. He has consistently exploited Judaism and the Jewish historic experience. I am not sure whether he really believes what he has been saying about Jews and Judaism or whether he is cynically distorting — even raping — Jewish sancta for his own dramatic purposes.

In 1984, in an address before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, he asserted that apartheid owes its origins

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Anglican archbishops Desmond Tutu of South Africa, left, and Samir Kafiti of Jerusalem recently met with Arab notable Salim Saade, right, at St. Georges Cathedral in Jerusalem.

The Jewish Week, Inc. January 12, 1986



Photo/Media Images

to the Holy Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. The Temple courtyard, which separated gentiles from Jews, was the earliest form of apartheid, Tutu said. So what about the courtyards that separated priests from Levites from Israelites, men from women — did that make the Jews anti-Semitic?

Then, he freely spoke about the "arrogance of Jewish power" and "the Jewish lobby." Tutu seems to have memorized the Protocols of the Elders of Zion as much as he has the Bible. Now, on his latest visit to Israel, he flamboyantly calls for the creation of a Palestinian state and calls on the Jews to forgive the Nazis. Unconditional support for a PLO-dominated state is another irresponsible monkey wrench tossed gratuitously into the delicate peace process that is painstakingly being put together.

And while affronting Jews for not forgiving the Nazis sounds very Christian, I have not yet heard Archbishop Tutu call on 23 million blacks in South Africa to forgive the racist Afrikaners. Indeed, this self-styled disciple of Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi declared on Jan. 25, 1986, in New York, "I believe there are situations where one has to use force."

Examining the record of Archbishop Tutu's declarations over recent years, I have come to the conclusion that his mindset is that of the medieval Christian tradition that believed Jews are morally exhausted and that Christianity has come to supersede Judaism as a "superior" form of religion.

Thus, it is his classic anti-Judaism that feeds his consistent pattern of anti-Jewish attitudes. Some Nobel Peace laureate.