



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

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

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 32, Folder 7, Jewish-Muslim dialogue, 1972-1986.

February 22, 1972

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

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

Thank you for your interesting presentation before the Asia Society last week. Your statement on the Jewish doctrine of salvation was of particular significance. Much has been written on it also regarding Maimonides' views. (A paper of mine on his life and thought is in the Maimonides Library, Portuguese Synagogue, Amsterdam, Holland.)

You mentioned the difficulty of obtaining one or two Muslim scholars during last year's interfaith conference in Jerusalem. It is sad that a meaningful exchange between Muslims and Jews is so hard. My own experience is that there is ignorance of Jewish doctrine among the Muslim intelligentsia.

You may be interested in an article based on my interview with Maulvi Maududi whom Pakistani modernists consider "reactionary". He is the head of the Jamaat-e-Islam, an offshoot of the Egyptian Ikhwan. He continues to have great influence in Pakistan's political and legal life. The other enclosed article, "Change Versus Tradition" shows the great tensions in the Islamic world where the old traditions have not fallen off despite western challenges.

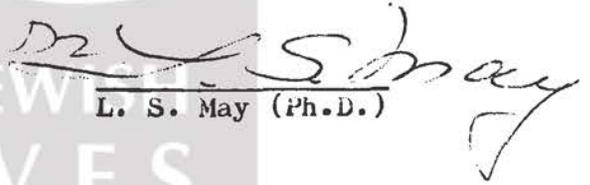
Among my other articles are three covering the Bangla Desh issue on which I am completing a fourth and one on religion in the U.S.A. today. My book: THE EVOLUTION OF INDO-MUSLIM BELIEF FROM 1857 showing the interrelationship between religion and politics in Islamic and in Hindu India was published in late 1970; another studying the Hindu-Muslim problems from other angles is coming out soon.

For your further information, please be advised that Columbia University granted me a Ph.D. in History of Religion and a Certificate in Near and Middle East Studies; since 1960, I have been teaching at The New School. Originally born in Holland, we were forced out by the Nazis. Apart from my broad humanistic education and interests, I have pursued Jewish studies, including Hebrew, and taught Torah, Jewish philosophers and the origins and substance of Zionism. A manuscript on medieval Jewry and Christian relations is nearly complete.

My name appears in Dictionary of International Biography (1972), Directory of American Scholars (Volume IV, 5th ed., 1969) and, once again, in Learning for Jewish Living. At one time, I was a member of the American Jewish Committee, but felt that I wanted to do some more meaningful work for them rather than just being another membership figure. The interfaith program appeals so much to me!

Would it be possible to have a meeting with you? Hoping to hear from you, I remain,

Sincerely,


L. S. May (Ph.D.)

R.s.v.p.:
Dr. L. S. May
300 East 71st Street
New York, New York 10021

Encs.: 2 articles.



November 4, 1974

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES AND ISSUES FOR JEWISH-MOSLEM DIALOGUE

1. ~~HADITH~~ ^{JLHAD}: is it possible for Moslems to renounce the contemporary validity of this Islamic principle?

2. ANTISEMITISM: is it possible to condemn such alien manifestations (in Islam) as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion; the espousal of the view that the Jew is an enemy of mankind and has a reprobate status among nations?
" is it possible to find and reject sources of anti-Jewish feeling in Islamic tradition?

3. TERRORISM: is it possible to condemn acts of violence against Jews anywhere in the world; against Israeli civilians; against diplomatic personnel?
" is it possible to condemn Marxist-oriented revolutionary groups as anti-Islamic?

4. MOSLEM PURITANISM--QADDAFISM: is it possible to denounce those aspects of this tradition that endanger interreligious and intercultural amity?

5. ERETZ ISRAEL: is it possible to recognize the historic roots of the Jews in Eretz Israel apart from particular questions of sovereignty?

6. JERUSALEM: is it possible to define both Jewish and Moslem attachments to the city from the perspective of each religious tradition while clarifying the theological and historical differences of those links?
" is it possible to pray in common for the peace of Jerusalem?
" is it possible to affirm the unity of the city and the end of barriers?

In order to realize these program objectives, the Interreligious Affairs Commission asks the National Executive Council for its approval of these recommendations. IAC also asks the NEC for approval to seek to raise special funds for these projects from foundations and individuals.

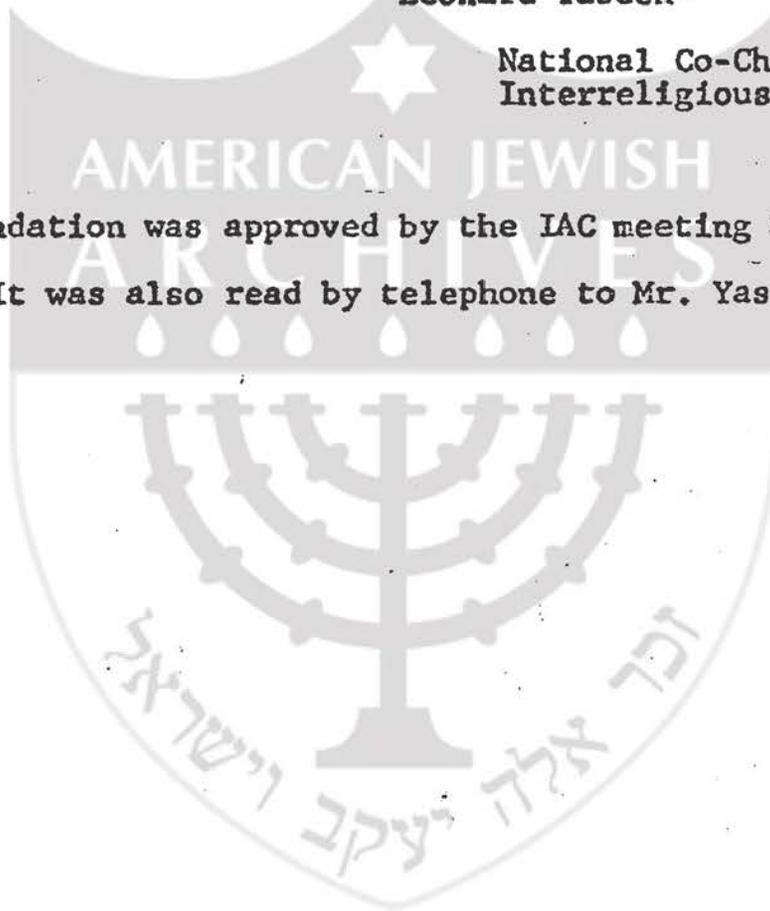
Arthur N. Greenberg

Leonard Yaseen*

National Co-Chairmen
Interreligious Affairs Commission

*This recommendation was approved by the IAC meeting Thursday evening at the NEC. It was also read by telephone to Mr. Yaseen, who approved it.

October 1974
74-700-92



JEWISH - ARAB CHRISTIAN - MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Interreligious Affairs Commission of the American Jewish Committee views as an important need the creation of a mechanism within the Interreligious Affairs Department, in cooperation with other agency departments, ~~that~~ which will enable the AJC to do the following vital programming in Jewish-Arab Christian-Muslim relations:

- 1) To carry out systematic research and to prepare background memoranda on the use of Islamic religious concepts and teachings as the basis of a growing international campaign of Arab and Islamic anti-Semitism and anti-Israel propaganda;
- 2) To research and document the situation of human rights of Jewish and Christian minorities in Arab and Muslim countries in Africa and Asia, and to develop programs with Christian leadership to publicize and combat this systematic violation of human rights in a number of third world nations;
- 3) To undertake a study of the historic, religious, and cultural interactions of Judaism and Islam as the basis for promoting carefully prepared Jewish-Muslim dialogues in the United States and abroad;
- 4) To study and evaluate the several Jewish-Arab dialogues that are presently being conducted by local AJC chapters, and to stimulate similar programs in other chapters where competent personnel and resources are available;
- 5) To give effective support to the organization of joint Jewish and Christian study tour groups to Israel and the Arab countries as "Journeys for Reconciliation," based on our present "Christian Visitors to Israel" program conducted in cooperation with the National Council of Churches. (Our first such joint mission to Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Israel leaves in mid-November.)

Memorandum to W. C. Miller

Dr. Byron Byron Haines
Hartford ~~theological~~
Seminary Fdn 06105
Hartford Conn

Dear Byron:

It was good to talk with you the other day, and I'm grateful that you took time from your busy day in Manhattan to stop by ~~my~~ ^{our} office ^{s/} to begin what I hope will be the first of many fruitful conversations.

As a follow up to our meeting, ~~I want~~ ^{The American Jewish Committee wishes} to propose a national interreligious consultation that will involve Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Such a conference ~~would~~ ^{might} focus on history, theology, Scripture as well as the socio-cultural traditions of our various faith communities. ~~I envision~~ ^{We} ~~such a meeting lasting 2 or 3 days~~ ^{two three} a 2 or 3 day meeting that would bring together ~~the most~~ creative and scholarly individuals who would address themselves to the consultation's themes. At this critical moment ^{in history}, such a conference could ^{well make an important} ~~be a decisive breakthrough in~~ ^{strengthening the common bonds} ~~among us~~ ^{between} and in building mutual understanding and cooperation.

^{Haines pioneered in organizing in 1972 an Islamic-Jewish dialogue}
The Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee would be prepared to act ~~as the Jewish~~ ^{help} sponsor along with ~~your~~ ^{THE} National Council of Churches' Christian-Muslim Task Force and an appropriate Islamic body. ^{add (note on source paper)} We would give the conference "top priority" since it ^{could} ~~would~~ be a pioneering effort of ^{the} ~~greatest~~ ^{utmost} importance.

^{As you may know,} The AJC has had long and successful experience ^{s/} in working cooperatively with many religious groups both here and overseas, and I am pleased to enclose several ^{printed} programs from some previous consultations. I am also enclosing a copy of Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum's remarks on "Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: Discovery of Mutual Harmonies" that were given before the Pakistani Council of the Asia Society in February, 1972.

^{Among the possible subjects that we might wish to consider for}
I propose the following tentative formulation for the tri-faith meeting are the following: ^{such a}

- A. Common and differing theological perspectives on ^{and} human rights
- ^{peoplehood} The Biblical Covenant ^{and} ^{land} peoplehood
- Religion, nationalism, ^{and} land, and peoplehood



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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~~B. Common and differing theological perspectives on religious pluralism - unity is the result of the co-existence of religious and national co-existence~~
religious liberty

C. Religious, political and economic issues of mutual concern

Tradition and modernization

D. Religion as a resource for promoting peace

All of us at the AJC are quite excited about the prospect of a Christian-Muslim-Jewish meeting. After you have had a chance to study this proposal with your colleagues, perhaps we can set a time to discuss this in greater detail. I look forward to hearing from you,

Serious

Discuss
conference

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Cordially Yours,

RAJR

cc: Rabbi MHT



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November 23, 1976

Bert Gold

Sonya Kaufer

Attached is a backgrounder, based on Milton Ellerin's extensive paper, which George Salomon spent last weekend cutting down to agreed-upon size and which he and I have devoted the past two days to refining further.

Before he began, George consulted with Milton Ellerin, who provided guidance as to which parts of the material -- loosely documented or relatively unimportant -- should be omitted or referred to merely in passing. The result, I think, is a tightly drawn piece that can stand up to some measure of questioning.

There are, as you will note, details still to be filled in; I hope Milt can provide these fairly easily and quickly. The manuscript contains nothing on the interreligious area. Marc was to have supplied one or two paragraphs; we have not received them.

If this is to be ready for the NEC, any changes, additions or deletions will have to be made almost immediately, since the copy must still be retyped, run off and shipped out to Dallas. Obviously there is no time for another group meeting on this subject. I am therefore asking all those who receive copies of this manuscript to relay their suggestions to me no later than Monday morning, November 29, so that George and I may incorporate those that seem feasible.

SFK:F
encl.

cc: Milton Ellerin
Morris Fine
George Gruen
Selma Hirsh
George Salomon
Seymour Samet
Marc Tanenbaum
Mort Yarmon

Muslims, Jews
Christians
Tri-Faith

September 19, 1978

Dr. Byron Haines
Hartford Seminary Foundation
Hartford, Connecticut 06105

Dear Byron:

It was good to talk with you the other day, and I'm grateful that you took time from your busy day in Manhattan to stop by our offices to begin what I hope will be the first of many fruitful conversations.

As a follow up to our meeting, the American Jewish Committee wishes to propose a national interreligious consultation that will involve Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Such a conference might focus on history, theology, Scripture as well as the socio-cultural traditions of our various faith communities. We envision a two or three day meeting that would bring together creative and scholarly individuals who would address themselves to the consultation's themes. At this critical moment such a conference could well make an important contribution in strengthening the common bonds between us and in building mutual understanding and cooperation.

Having pioneered in organizing in 1972 an Islamic-Jewish dialogue, the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee would be prepared to help sponsor along with the National Council of Churches' Christian-Muslim Task Force and an appropriate Islamic body. Because of the central role that Lonnie Turnipseed plays in tri-faith relations, his involvement along with Bill Weiler's will be most important to insure the success of the conference.

We would give the conference a "top priority" since it could be a pioneering effort of singular importance. As you may know, the AJC has had long and successful experiences in work-

September 19, 1978

ing cooperatively with many religious groups both here and overseas, and I am pleased to enclose several printed programs from some previous consultations. I am also enclosing a copy of Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum's remarks on "Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: Discovery of Mutual Harmonies" that were given before the Pakistani Council of the Asia Society in February, 1972.

Among the possible subjects that we might wish to consider for such a tri-faith meeting are the following:

- A. Common and differing theological perspectives on the Biblical Covenant and human rights, religion, nationalism, land, and peoplehood
- B. Religious pluralism - unity in the midst of diversity, religious liberty
- C. Religious, political and economic issues of mutual concern
Tradition and modernization
- D. Religion as a resource for promoting peace

All of us at the AJC are quite enthusiastic about the prospect of a serious Christian-Muslim-Jewish meeting. After you have had a chance to consider this proposal with your colleagues, perhaps we can set a time to discuss the conference in greater detail. I look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

Rabbi A. James Rudin
Assistant National Director
Interreligious Affairs

AJR:FM
Encls.

cc: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

Muslim - Jewish relations

memorandum

cc: Milton Ellerin
Jim Rudin
Eugene DuBow
Harold Applebaum
Murray Friedman

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 8, 1978
to Marc Tanenbaum ✓
from Brant Coopersmith
subject

Enclosed find copies of stories from the Washington Post of February 4th (I am sorry that the continuation of this story is missing), and the Washington Star of February 5th reporting on the appearance of Wallace D. Muhammad at Sabbath Eve services, February 3rd, at Washington Hebrew Congregation. More than a thousand persons were present; at least 65% of whom were members of the World Community of Al-Islam in the West.

It was a very friendly evening with Wallace Muhammad wearing what appeared to be almost an informal garb--namely some kind of leisure suit--having gotten in only minutes before services from Chicago.

Wallace Muhammad as a speaker was unimpressive. The prize for homiletic had to go to Haberman who, I believe, could have done just as well without referring to Wallace Muhammad as one of the world's great religious leaders. But that would be quibbling.

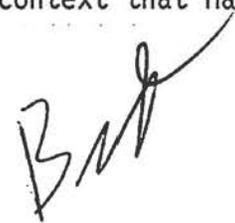
It was an impressive occasion when you consider that the Black Muslim community here is one which is catered to by our local politicians.

Just a week before the Sabbath, Haberman called me to ask about certain community leaders whom he was intending to invite. I suggested that he consult with one or two black religious leaders before extending them invitations to find out what their reaction would be, and I gave him the addresses of some of the other blacks that he intended to invite. From what I could see there were practically none of the black leaders to whom Haberman had issued personal invitations present. Otherwise, it seemed like a very successful event.

I don't know what Muhammad's views are, but when I caught sight of the invitation a week or so before, I talked to Sheryl Leonard in Chicago who advised me that Muhammad was getting along pretty well with Jewish leadership there. Therefore, I added nothing other than make myself available to Haberman.

The NCCJ here has involved representatives of the Black Muslims in the dialogue from time to time. And it was in that context that Haberman met Muhammad's representatives here.

Regards,



[start]

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1978

B 1

Wallace Muhammad to Jews: 'We Are One Fellowship'

By Marjorie Hyer
and Elaine Harden

Washington Post Staff Writers

Wallace D. Muhammad, leader of a group once known as Black Muslims and once regarded as anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish, made his first appearance at a Jewish house of worship last night when he spoke at an unusual service at the Washington Hebrew Congregation.

"We are one fellowship. We are one people under God," Muhammad said to about 1,000 worshippers at the Shalom Friday night service at the Reform synagogue, one of the largest in Washington.

Muhammad was introduced as "one of the foremost religious spokesmen

in the world," by Rabbi Joshua Haberman, who had invited the Muslim leader to address his congregation.

In an interview, the rabbi said he hoped Muhammad's appearance would signal the black community here that his congregation seeks to join all religious forces in the area to attack common community problems.

The unusual nature of last night's service was underscored by the attendance of a number of blacks and followers of Muhammad. They greeted his appearance on the pulpit with choruses of "Salaam Aleikum," a ceremonial greeting from the Koran that means "Peace Be Upon You."

At least once during the rabbi's

talk, they responded with fervent murmurs of "All right," out of a tradition generally foreign to the worship patterns of the synagogue.

After following earlier portions of the service from a prayer book he shared with the rabbi, Muhammad took the pulpit to say he looked forward to the "beautiful day when American Jews, Muslims and Christians will work together fighting the common enemy."

Defining common problems faced by religious groups such as had Rabbi Haberman, Muhammad cited alcoholism, a decline in family life and a general secularism in American life.

Muhammad, who greeted the worshippers as "dearly beloved people," predicted last night's service would

herald "the beginning of a new day in Jewish-Muslim relations in the United States and I hope all over the world."

Searching carefully for the desired word, speaking haltingly at times, in a soft voice, Muhammad expressed eagerness for a drawing together of "our Muslim community and the Jewish community."

Jews and Muslims, he said, "have one God, one religious spirit . . . even one Word of God."

Special security precautions also underlined the unusual nature of the service. Security was provided by plainclothes D.C. police and private guards hired by the congregation.

The precautions were taken at the initiative of the rabbi, who indicated that it may have been prompted by memories of last year's takeover of three buildings here by a group of Hanafi Muslims. The Hanafis have quarreled with the Black Muslims.

Absent were the Fruit of Islam bodyguards, who had surrounded Muhammad's father, the late Elijah Muhammad, longtime leader of the Black Muslims who died three years ago.

Since assuming leadership of the movement, Wallace Muhammad had abolished this force and introduced many other changes, including rejection

of the anti-white orientation for which the movement had been known.

The movement now is known as the World Community of Islam in the West.

In his talk last night, Muhammad took pains to emphasize the shared heritage of Jews and Muslims.

"The source of revelation is the same," he said. "Our religious heroes are the same."

"With all these many, many things between us," he went on, "we should continue to come together if for no other reason than to defend the life we cherish."

See MUHAMMAD, B5, Col. 4

Washington Star
February 5, 1978

Jewish Service Led by Head Of Former Black Muslims

By Kenneth Walker

Washington Star Staff Writer

Calling his visit the "beginning of a new day for Moslem-Jewish relations in the U.S. and all over the world," Wallace D. Muhammad, the leader of the World Community of Al-Islam in the West, led several hundred Jews and Muslims in an interfaith service at the Washington Hebrew Congregation Friday night.

The service was said to be among the country's first joint religious meetings of Jews and Muslims.

The gathering was remarkable for its divergence from the extremely hostile rhetoric that had highlighted affairs between American Jews and the Muslim group under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, a militant anti-Zionist who taught his followers that whites are "devils."

Wallace Muhammad was invited by Senior Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman to speak at the congregation's regular Sabbath observance at its synagogue at Massachusetts Avenue and Macomb Street NW.

In an exchange of sermons and prayers, Muhammad and Haberman both stressed the commonality of experience between the two groups as the basis for the "effort at dialogue." Muhammad's group was formerly called the Black Muslims.

BOTH STRESSED a willingness to coordinate efforts to challenge what they see as the "moral deterioration of American society and family structure."

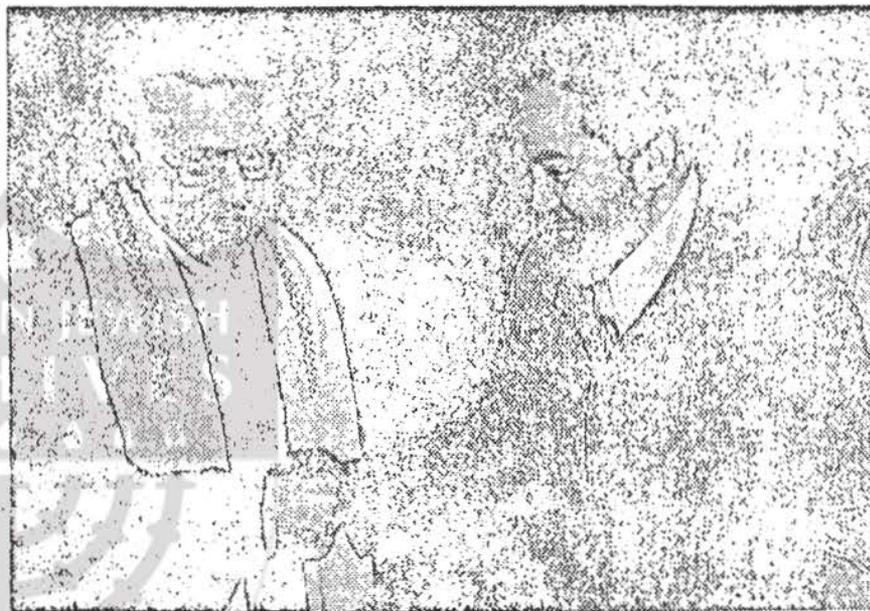
There were no controversial topics in Muhammad's 15-minute talk, which consisted mostly of generalized calls for increased cooperation. Synagogue leaders had not suggested a topic for the Muslim leader, whose organization strongly supports the Arab position in Middle East peace negotiations — including a state for the Palestinians.

In a soft, methodical voice, Muhammad began his talk to moderate applause by extending offerings of peace in Hebrew and Arabic. He asked that the two groups cooperate in combating "the serious threat to the existence of intelligent life."

"Otherwise," he told the congregation — about half Muslims and half Jews — "the world will be inherited by vandals and tyrants."

Haberman said he first thought of inviting Muhammad to a service late last year, while attending a local board meeting of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

IT WAS DURING that meeting that Haberman met and extended the invitation to Ali Abdur-Rahim Khan, a local official of the Muslim group.



—Washington Star Photographer, Walter Oates

Rabbi Joshua Haberman greets Wallace Muhammad before the service.

Muhammad immediately accepted the invitation, he said.

Haberman acknowledged the two groups' long-standing bitter relations in the synagogue newsletter, released last week to members of the congregation. He called the late Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad "somewhat of a bigot" who used "racist and anti-Semitic slurs."

It was Wallace Muhammad's repudiation of his father's racist theories, shortly after assuming leadership of the group, that created an environment favorable for an invitation, Haberman said.

In an interview after the service,

Haberman said he envisioned further cooperation with local Muslim groups "in a number of areas."

"There are plans to bring together a local committee of Christians, Muslims and Jews to define area problems and recommend solutions."

Muhammad said he probably would invite Haberman to address the Muslim mosque in Chicago.

After the service Muslims and Jews attended a synagogue reception that was held in honor of Mitzvah celebrations for a boy and girl. There, small inter-religious clusters of persons gathered to discuss religious philosophy.

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August 5, 1980

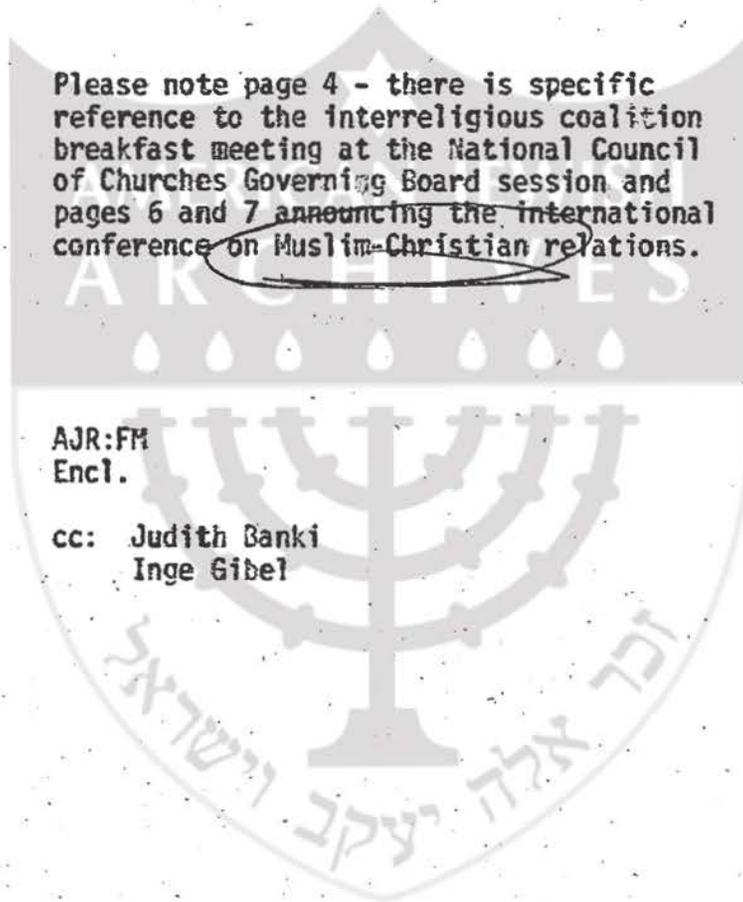
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

Rabbi A. James Rudin

Please note page 4 - there is specific reference to the interreligious coalition breakfast meeting at the National Council of Churches Governing Board session and pages 6 and 7 announcing the international conference on Muslim-Christian relations.

AJR:FM
Encl.

cc: Judith Banki
Inge Gibel



NEWSLETTER

of the

Task Force on Christian-Muslim Relations

A Project of the Commission on Faith and Order of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., in cooperation with the Duncan Black Macdonald Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations

No. 9

July, 1980

SHI'ITE ISLAM AND THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

The prominent role of Islam in the Iranian revolution and in Iran's turbulent post-revolutionary period has drawn much Western attention as a symptom of the resurgence of Islam throughout the Middle East. It is important to note, however, that the phenomenon of religious beliefs affecting or determining state policy is not confined to the Islamic world. Israel, for example, is conceived by many of its citizens to be a nation founded upon Jewish faith and dedicated to the demonstration of the validity of that faith.

Nevertheless, it is the Iranian revolution and its Islamic component that has most compellingly captured our attention in recent months and an introductory discussion of the particular characteristics of Iranian Shi'ite Islam, it is hoped, will help to provide a perspective on the role of religion in the Iranian revolution and subsequent developments. Generalizations about the retrogressive nature of Islam and its medieval tendencies tend to obscure the great diversity that exists within Islam in general and the complexity of Iranian religio-political thought in particular.

HISTORY

The schism that led to the two branches of Sunni and Shi'ite Islam had its origin in the period immediately after the Prophet Muhammad's death in 632 AD. Muhammad had assumed the role of both political and religious leader in the nascent Islamic community largely because the religion he preached made no distinction between the secular and religious realms. He did not, however, designate a successor, nor did he explicitly prescribe a means of selecting a successor. Ultimately, the leading members of the community elected a khalifa (caliph, or "successor"), Abu Bakr. This fateful decision was to mark the beginning of a division within Muslim ranks, for a group was to emerge that argued that the leader of the Islamic community properly should be a member of the "House of the Prophet." Since Muhammad had no male children, the choice of this group naturally fell on Ali, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law. Although Ali was eventually elected the fourth caliph, he was shortly thereafter murdered, and a rival and member of the opposing Muawiya family assumed the title of caliph.

The members of the party (shi'a) of Ali were to argue that Ali should have been succeeded by his son, Hasan, and thus the lines of dispute were clearly drawn. According to Shi'ite beliefs, Hasan died by poisoning, and thus the leadership (imamate) of the community passed to his brother, Husayn. The forces of the Sunni Caliphate moved against the Imam Husayn and his entourage in 680 AD on the plain of Karbela in Iraq. Husayn and nearly all of his followers were brutally massacred. This martyrdom is commemorated yearly by the Shi'ite Muslims on the tenth day of the month of Muharram, a holy day during which they experience vicariously the passion of their beloved martyr.

The presence of a Shi'ite Imam continued, however, through the survival of other descendants of Husayn until the year 878 AD when the Twelfth Imam, Muhammad, went into occultation. Other groups of Shi'ites recognize only five Imams (the Zaydis) or seven Imams (the Ismailis). It should be noted that the Twelfth Imam did not die, but rather he disappeared. He is present in this world although he is not visible, "just as the sun's rays warm the earth even when the sun is hidden behind a cloud." Shi'ites believe that the Twelfth Imam will manifest himself at the end of the world as a charismatic leader (the Mahdi, or the Imam of Time) who will unite the realm of Islam under his victorious banner. It was this "Twelver" Shi'ite doctrine that was to become the official religion of Iran.

SHI'ITE DOCTRINES

The most distinctive Shi'ite doctrine is that of the imamate. Shi'ites not only believe that the descendants of Ali were the legitimate leaders of the Islamic community as opposed to the Sunni caliphs, but they also attributed to these Imams distinctive qualities, notably the trait of 'isma, or infallibility. Whereas Sunni political theory argued that the informed consensus of the community was the best way to determine proper Islamic policy, the Shi'ites believe that the proper repository of such authority lies with the divinely appointed and infallible Imam.

The absence of the Twelfth Imam during his period of occultation requires that a reliable source of his authority be found in the interim. Such authority is said to reside in the "Sources of emulation:" leading scholars of the time who by scholarly effort (ijtihad) interpret the Qur'an and the traditions about the Prophet in light of the contemporary context. The doctrine of ijtihad implies that Islamic law is a dynamic concept, that it will never be out-of-date, because there is always at least one "source of emulation" to serve as a guide to faithful Muslims, a source guided by the hidden, but ever present Imam. In Iran the leaders called ayatollahs (or "signs of God") are seen as bearers of this authority delegated by the hidden Imam.

Although in theory this doctrine meant that a leading scholar-authority, or 'alim (plural, 'ulama) should exercise temporal and spiritual power, in practice Iran was until the recent revolution under the rule of kings and sultans. Shi'ite scholars adjusted to this situation by arguing that the 'ulama's responsibility was primarily in the realm of spiritual concerns but that they could intervene in the temporal realm to prevent injustice committed by a shah. But the doctrinal basis for rule by the religious scholars was always there, and Iranian history is punctuated by 'ulama-led uprisings against un-Islamic rule by a despotic shah.

In other matters of basic theology and in the practice of worship Shi'ites do not differ greatly from Sunni Muslims.

THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

Although it must be emphasized at the outset that the 'ulama in Iran have never constituted a monolithic force, it is possible, nevertheless, to articulate some of the more important concerns that mobilized the religious authorities as a potent force in the Iranian revolution. These, in fact, are concerns that derived from the gulf between the Shi'ite theory of ideal Islamic government and the realities of the rule by the Pahlavi regime. They revolve around what the 'ulama saw as a deliberate effort by the Shah to strip them of their traditional prerogatives and to lead Iran down a materialistic, corrupt, and un-Islamic road.

One of the most important of these concerns was the Shah's social legislation, that is, the land reform program of the White Revolution and the law passed that enfranchised women. Seen through the eyes of the religious authorities, the Shah's land reform did not alter in a positive way the traditional exploitation of peasants; it merely exchanged one set of exploiters for another. But it did affect the control of the religious establishment over land left for it in trust (waqf), and thus income from this land was not available for maintaining the centers of religious education. This, then, represented a frontal assault on religion. The reforms having to do with the status of women were also seen as encroachment in the area of moral laws. Similar objections were leveled at the "literacy corps," which further eroded the position occupied by religious leaders in rural education.

Another concern was the foreign policy of the Shah and in particular the concessions the Shah granted to foreign interests. It must be recalled that the recent history of Iran has been a history of foreign involvement and in some instances domination. The Iranian xenophobia of recent months can only be understood in the light of that history. In the late nineteenth century the religious authorities played a significant role in overturning the Capitulations concessions to British and Russian interests. It was the issue of extraterritorial concessions to nondiplomatic American personnel that brought Ayatollah Khomeini to the forefront in the uprising of 1963. In 1964 Khomeini issued a fiery statement about foreign concessions:

(The Parliament) has acknowledged that Iran is a colony; it has given America a document attesting that the nation of Moslems is barbarous. . . . By this shameful vote, if an American adviser

or the servant of an American adviser should take liberty with one of the greatest specialists of Shi'ite law. . . the police have no right to investigate the perpetrator. . . . But if one of their dogs is attacked, the police must intervene and the court must investigate.¹

The religious authorities also protested the Shah's favorable foreign policy toward Israel and its most important ally, the United States.

Despite these and other shared concerns, there were other issues that divided the 'ulama and make generalizations about a "religious position" impossible. Personal rivalries between the great ayatollahs persist, the most notable being that between Khomeini and Shariatmadari, whose constituents include many Azerbaijanis. Shariatmadari has expressed deep reservations about the theoretical basis for Khomeini's Islamic Republic as presented to the people of Iran for a yes-or-no vote last December. One of the focuses of Shariatmadari's criticisms has been precisely the question that has engaged the attention of Shi'ite theorists through the ages: what shall be the role of the religious leader in the conduct of government.

The place of the 'ulama in the Iranian revolution is certainly important, but we must not, in our fascination with the gray-bearded eminence of Ayatollah Khomeini, overlook the important part played by dedicated Muslims in other fields. One of the outstanding theoreticians of the Iranian Revolution was Dr. 'Ali Shariati (1933-1977), a brilliant Western-educated sociologist who undertook a thoroughgoing critique of Shi'ite Islam in the Iranian context. His critique involved a radical reinterpretation of Islamic concepts somewhat along the lines of Christian Liberation theology. Thus, he could redefine the Imamate, traditionally understood as belief in the twelve divinely inspired Imams, as "pure revolutionary leadership. . . by human beings who incarnate the religion." Ijtihad is "permanent revolution and integrative revolution in the outlook of religion."²

Implicit in Shariati's analysis of Islam was radical criticism of the regime of the Shah, although he had to couch this criticism in metaphorical terms. But along with that criticism was a strident attack on the religious establishment. He called the religious leaders "the timeless ones" who pursued their abstract studies, unaware of the needs of society for a meaningful Islam. Indeed, he held their inability or unwillingness to make Islam relevant responsible for the defection of Iranian youth from Islam to the corrupt, imperialistic West.

Among the admirers of Shariati's theories is Mehdi Bazargan, the first Prime Minister of the transitional Islamic government of Iran after the revolution. Bazargan was a bridge between the Islamic technocrats who had supported the Mosaddegh government and the more socially aware religious authorities, notably the late Ayatollah Taleghani. In the early sixties Bazargan had founded the Liberation Movement, a political party that hoped to bring about a truly Islamic government. Shariati's provocative writing enlivened the Liberation Movement, but also inspired the breakaway of a group of young Islamic Marxist ideologues, the Mujahedin, a group at odds with the religious party in Iran today.

In conclusion, it seems clear that the Islamic component in the Iranian revolution is considerably more diverse than contemporary press accounts would suggest. Although the various factions of the religious element have held certain goals in common--the overthrow of the Shah, the rejection of Western domination, the revitalization of Islam--there are significant differences in their theological orientation and in political theory. Now that the common goals have been largely achieved, it will be interesting to observe the interaction of these Islamic groups as they attempt to fashion a new and just government.

¹Cited in Roy P. Mottahedeh, "Iran's Foreign Devils," Foreign Policy No. 38, Spring 1980, p. 28.

²Cited in Shahrough Akhavi, Religion and Politics in Contemporary Iran: Clergy--State Relations in the Pahlavi Period. Albany: SUNY Press, 1980, pp. 231, 232.

Dale Bishop
Regional Secretary for the Near East
United Church Board for World Ministries

AN INVITATION TO BREAKFAST

To break bread, to drink a cup of tea together--these are signs of hospitality in most parts of the world. When people share a meal, many things are implied: the participants are equal in their position before God and before each other, what is there to eat belongs to all present, there is a measure of commonality in their concerns, and each demonstrates some consideration of the other. These signs are a part of what Kenneth Cragg calls "the right courtesies" that people of differing religions must demonstrate to each other.

In the hope of fostering this courtesy of spirit, the Task Force on Christian-Muslim Relations and the Advisory Committee of the Office on Christian-Jewish Relations of the National Council of the Churches of Christ sponsored an interfaith breakfast at the recent meeting of the Governing Board of the NCCC, which was held in Indianapolis, Indiana, on May 7-9, 1980. Over fifty people attended this breakfast. Jewish and Muslim friends were present, along with media personnel, NCCC staff and members of the Governing Board. The Rev. R. Lonnie Turnipseed, Chairperson of both sponsoring groups, was the host. Short talks on the importance of interfaith relations were presented, one by Dr. Adil Al-Aseer, Imam and Director of the Islamic Center of Central Ohio in Columbus, Ohio, and the other by Rabbi James Rudin, Assistant National Director for Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee.

In his presentation, Dr. Al-Aseer spoke of how the areas of tension in the Middle East pointed to the need for Muslims, Jews and Christians to come together to discuss their similarities and differences in an attempt to find peaceful solutions built on respect and trust. The Abrahamic heritage of all three religions and the similarities of their ethical standards would be helpful to these discussions. He did not view this as an easy task, but it was one which could not be avoided. The fact that adherents of these semitic religions were meeting over breakfast was for him a hopeful sign, especially if it was a prelude to more extended and probing discussion.

Rabbi Rudin, also affirming the necessity for interfaith discussion, presented some "ground rules," which he felt would facilitate these associations. Summarized, these rules are as follows:

1. Don't take the best in one tradition and use it to judge the worst of another.
2. Do not define the other person's religious values and perspectives. Let participants speak for themselves.
3. There should be absolutely no missionary proselytization and no hidden motives in the seeking out of relationships with people of another religious position.
4. One should affirm that the other person's belief is for him or her perfected religion; that is to say, each religious tradition needs to develop a theology of pluralism. There is no monopoly on God's grace, love or thirst for peace and justice.
5. Conversations should be open, dynamic, and their participants subject to change; there should be a willingness to admit and correct error.
6. Avoid single issue discussions. Relationships and discussions between people of different faiths should not hinge on the resolution of one issue to the satisfaction of one participant in the discussion.

On behalf of all present, Mr. Turnipseed expressed appreciation for these talks that were substantive and encouraging. They encompassed the concerns of the sponsoring agencies and gave directions for the future.

All of the above is given as a kind of report. There is, however, more than that. Such an interfaith experience has many more facets than just a description of how many attended and what was said. The fact that this breakfast was the first of its kind for the Governing Board of the NCCC is significant. The Governing Board consists of the leadership of some thirty denominations in the U.S.A. A number of these leaders shared in this breakfast, hearing for the first time a representative of the Muslim community in the U.S.A. in an interfaith context. This leadership attended because they were deeply concerned about the encounter between religions and the impact of that encounter on world affairs. The breakfast was thus a

small step in the process of alerting the leadership of the Christian church to the full dimensions of the issue of religious pluralism. Christian participants must thank their Muslim and Jewish friends for their willingness to help in this very important task. Of course, the real value of such interfaith exposure will be seen in what it produces in the future. Nevertheless, a step was taken and that is what makes this event worthwhile.

The dominant mood of the participants was one of good will. There could have been some present, however, who felt that more was needed, that such a gathering ought to have focused on the specific issues and problems that made the breakfast necessary, otherwise participants risked compromising their positions and beliefs for the sake of a superficial expression of good will which, after all, is of little permanent value. Such criticism has its merit, because interfaith gatherings that do not at some point push on to the deeper level of problems and differences ultimately increase the troubles they set out to relieve.

The question in all of this is where do interfaith relations begin? When the contact between people of differing religious commitment is meager and barriers have been erected between religions, what does one do to pursue those associations which will enable people to come together in a common effort to understand each other, to achieve peaceful and just relationships, and above all, to be faithful in their confession of the God they worship? Conversations over walls are of little value. On the other hand, closed doors in the walls often open when the right courtesies are observed. This is what the interfaith breakfast was all about--a small happening, one among many other interfaith events, yet an attempt to observe the right courtesy. Its full value will depend largely upon whether those who participated will pursue efforts to integrate interfaith concerns and commitments into the life of the synagogue, mosque and church.

Byron L. Haines

NCCC GOVERNING BOARD APPROVES MESSAGE TO MUSLIM COMMUNITY

At its meeting in Indianapolis, Indiana, on May 9, 1980, the Governing Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., one of the most important Christian organizations in the States, approved a draft of a message to the Muslim community in the U.S.A. This message recognizes and honors the celebration of the fourteen hundredth year of Islam. It was prepared by the NCCC's Task Force on Christian-Muslim Relations, submitted to the Governing Board by the Rev. Jean Audrey Powers of the Faith and Order Commission and passed unanimously for sending to Islamic centers and leaders in the U.S.A. and elsewhere. The NCCC Governing Board has no precedent for this kind of recognition of Islam. For this reason, the statement hopefully marks a milestone in the relationships between the Muslim community and the NCCC Governing Board. For the information and use of the reader, the message is printed below:

Message on

the Occasion of

the Fourteen Hundredth Year of Islam

On November 21, 1979, the Muslim World began its celebration of the fourteen hundredth year of the Islamic era, marking fourteen centuries of history since the Hijrah, or emigration of the Prophet Muhammad and his associates from Mecca to Medina in September, 622.

Islam calls people to the worship of the one God, whose revealed will to humankind recognizes all of God's prophets, thus establishing a spiritual kinship between Muslims, Jews and Christians, as all three communities of faith seek to live in commitment to divinely revealed, ethical imperatives and to promote among all peoples and nations the justice, unity and peace that God has ordained for creation.

Muslim men and women have, through the course of history, made outstanding contributions to the culture and civilization of the world. Such contributions are represented in architecture by the

Great Mosques of Isfahan, Iran, and Cordova, Spain, the Taj Mahal of Agra, India, and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem; in artistic expression by decorative calligraphy, geometric design, and miniature painting; in science and mathematics by such scholars as Avicenna, Averroës, and Al-Khawarizmi; in literature by the writings of Rumi, Ibn Khaldoun, and Taha Hussein; and in political organization by Saladin, Al-Mu'izz, Suleiman the Magnificent, and Akbar the Great.

Muslim women and men have also greatly advanced education in such institutions as Al-Azhar University in Cairo and Aligarh University in India. Notable, too, are the intellectual achievements of such persons as Al-Biruni, Al-Ghazali, Muhammad Abduh, Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan, and Muhammad Iqbal.

Islam is practiced by over 750 million people, living primarily in Asia and Africa, but also in almost every other nation of the world, the United States having a Muslim population of over 2 million, making Islam the third largest religious community in the country.

The Governing Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., therefore, by this message recognizes and honors the fourteen hundredth year of the Islamic era, expresses its appreciation of the achievements of Islam and its respect for the faith of Muslims, extends its best wishes to them in their celebration of this year, and commits itself to those pursuits which will bring Christians and Muslims together in the praise and service of God.

COMING EVENTS

From December 1-5, 1980, Dr. David Kerr, Director of the Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England, will conduct a seminar in Ventnor, New Jersey, sponsored jointly by the Overseas Ministries Study Center of Ventnor and the Maryknoll Mission Institute. The theme to be considered is "The Gospel and Islam: Issues for Mission Today." Inquiries for further information should be addressed to:

Overseas Ministries Study Center
6315 Ocean Avenue
P.O. Box 2057
Ventnor, New Jersey 08406

1980 INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

The Duncan Black Macdonald Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations announces its 1980 International Conference

FAITH AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY:

MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN RESPONSES

Dates: October 2 (dinner) through October 6 (breakfast), 1980
Place: Civic Center Hartford Holiday Inn, 50 Morgan Street, Hartford, CT
Costs: Registration fee: \$25.00
Lodging and meals at the Holiday Inn: \$225.00
Speakers include the following:

Dr. Ahmad Abu Hakima, McGill University, Montreal
Dr. Khalil Abdel Alim, Washington, D.C.
Dr. Hasan Askari, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England
Dr. Mahmoud Ayoub, McGill University, Montreal
Dr. J. Jermain Bodine, Henniker, New Hampshire
Dr. Issa J. Boullata, McGill University, Montreal
Dr. Kenneth Cragg, Meltham, England
Dr. Ala'Eddin Kharofa, Muslim World League, New York
Metropolitan George Khodr, Archdiocese of Mount Lebanon
Dr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dr. Muhammad Abdul Rauf, The Islamic Center, Washington, D.C.

as well as the faculty and adjunct faculty in Islamic Studies at The Hartford Seminary Foundation: Dr. Willem A. Bijlefeld, Dr. Yvonne Y. Haddad, Dr. Wadi' Z. Haddad, Dr. Byron L. Haines, and Dr. R. Marston Speight.

● FULL INFORMATION WILL BE SENT ON REQUEST

Write to: Dr. Willem A. Bijlefeld
Director, Duncan Black Macdonald Center
The Hartford Seminary Foundation
77 Sherman Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06105

STATEMENT BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, BEFORE THE PAKISTANI COUNCIL
OF ASIA SOCIETY, LECTURE ON "JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM: DISCOVERY
OF MUTUAL HARMONIES", WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1972

I greatly welcome this opportunity to open a dialogue with representatives of Islam, as well as of Christianity, in this country. There has been far too much hostility and suffering between members of our three monotheistic communities and hopefully, this dialogue between the three branches of the one Covenant is a "sign of the times" marking the beginning of a more constructive and humane relationship between our three faiths.

From the researches and studies of such eminent scholars as Professor S. D. Goitein and many others, we know how great and lasting a reciprocal influence Judaism and Islam have had on each other from the seventh century down to recent times. Nearly 1400 years ago Judaism and a segment of the Jewish people then living in Arabia stood beside the cradle of the Muslim religion and Arab statehood. Judaism played a decisive role in the development of the religious, moral, and legal conceptions in the Koran in early Islam, and in the formulation of the young Muslim community and state.

Indeed prominent scholars have stressed that Islam was far more akin to Judaism in its basic ideas, as well as in the details regulating the lives of its believers, than to Christianity - despite the closer "family relationship" between Christianity and Judaism.

Reciprocally, Jewish thought and philosophy, even Jewish law and religious practices, were systematically and finally formulated under Islamic influences. The Hebrew language developed its grammar and vocabulary on the model of the Arab language, and the revival of Hebrew today is unthinkable without the influence of the Arab world some 1000 years ago. To phrase the relationship more directly, the Muslim religion and Arab nationhood took form under Jewish impact, while traditional Judaism received its final shape under Muslim-Arab influences. When the Arabs faded out from world history (roughly from 1300 to 1900), the Oriental Jews also virtually disappeared from Jewish history, thus demonstrating their interdependence.

To gain a truer perspective today of relationships between Judaism and Islam, it would be helpful to remind ourselves that Judaism and Islam, in distinction from the great civilizations that surrounded them, shared very definite common ideals, and common traits in social traditions and moral attitudes.

It is clear that the uncompromising attitude on monotheism by the Prophet Mohammad is due to the very strong influences of Jewish monotheists. Mohammad declared in the Koran (Sura No. 7, 59), after

proclaiming himself the Prophet of Gentiles, "Among the followers of Moses there is one people who lead others with the truth and with it they judge." The prophet never ceased to emphasize that these ideals came from Israel - the intrinsic values of the belief in one God, the creator of the world and the designer of human destiny, the god of justice and mercy. Before Him everyone, high and low, bears personal responsibility.

As there is a very close connection between Mohammad's creation, the Koran, and the religion of Israel, there is an even more amazing affinity between the fully developed systems of the two religions:

- A) Both possess a tradition of revealed law - halachah in Judaism and Sharig in Islam - which regulate worship, ethics, and social etiquette, and all aspects of life.
- B) Both have an oral tradition - in Judaism, Torah She'beal Peh and in Islam, Hadith - which authoritatively interpret and supplement the written law.
- C) Both rely on a completely free and unorganized republic of scholars rather than on a hierarchy of religious dignitaries who made decisions.
- D) The study even of purely legal matters is regarded in both religions as worship. The holy men of Islam and Judaism are not priests or monks, but students of the divinely revealed law.

In addition, both Judaism and Islam shared such common social traditions and moral attitudes as the following: they were both "primitive democracies" characterized by the absence of privileged castes and classes; the absence of forced obedience to a strong authority; a high respect of freedom of speech, for human life, dignity and freedom.

Overriding these common features is the extraordinary unique fact that both Judaism and Islam are basically national religions which are essentially universal in character.

Much more could be said about the historical aspect of the Jewish people under Islam. Suffice it to say that there has been both periods of enormously creative Islamic - Jewish symbiosis, as well as periods of mutual intolerance and oppression. The moral and spiritual challenge posed to Muslims, Christians and Jews today is essentially that of George Santanyana, "Those who will not learn from history are doomed to repeat it."

As Christians, Muslims and Jews begin to dialogue together in mutual respect, hopefully they will recover those common features of their religious beliefs and ways of life that will enable them to make a genuine contribution to the building of a unified human community which respects the diversity of religious, ethnic, and racial groups as a source of positive enrichment.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES AND ISSUES FOR JEWISH-MOSLEM DIALOGUE

JIHAD:

1. ~~is it possible~~ is it possible for Moslems to renounce the contemporary validity of this Islamic principle?

2. **ANTISEMITISM:** is it possible to condemn such alien manifestations (in Islam) as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion; the espousal of the view that the Jew is an enemy of mankind and has a reprobate status among nations?

" is it possible to find and reject sources of anti-Jewish feeling in Islamic tradition?

3. **TERRORISM:** is it possible to condemn acts of violence against Jews anywhere in the world; against Israeli civilians; against diplomatic personnel?

" is it possible to condemn Marxist-oriented revolutionary groups as anti-Islamic?

4. **MOSLEM PURITANISM:- QADDAFISM:** is it possible to denounce those aspects of this tradition that endanger interreligious and intercultural amity?

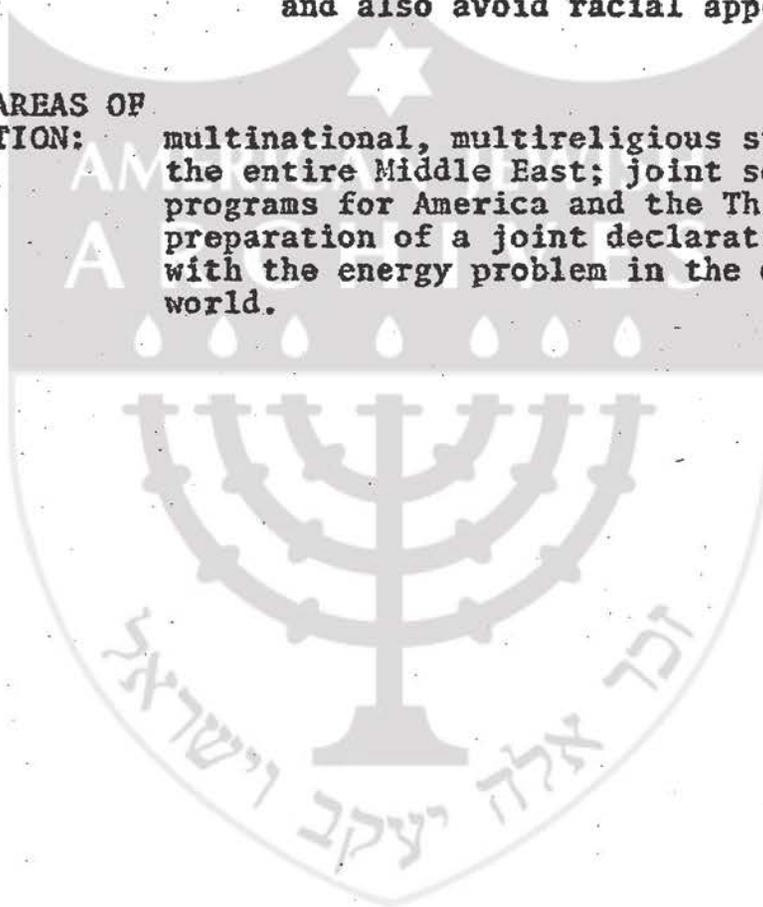
5. **ERETZ ISRAEL:** is it possible to recognize the historic roots of the Jews in Eretz Israel apart from particular questions of sovereignty?

6. **JERUSALEM:** is it possible to define both Jewish and Moslem attachments to the city from the perspective of each religious tradition while clarifying the theological and historical differences of those links?

" is it possible to pray in common for the peace of Jerusalem?

" is it possible to affirm the unity of the city and the end of barriers?

7. **EDUCATION:** is it possible to pledge mutual support for Islamic studies in America and Israel, with the preparation of course materials on historic junctures between Islam and Judaism, as well as to examine teaching materials in both Jewish and Islamic centers of education?
8. **EXPANSION OF ISLAM:** is it possible for Islamic movements in Africa (particularly) to renounce anti-Christian and anti-Jewish polemics, and also avoid racial appeals?
9. **OTHER AREAS OF COOPERATION:** multinational, multireligious study tours of the entire Middle East; joint social justice programs for America and the Third World; preparation of a joint declaration of concern with the energy problem in the contemporary world.



March 28, 1972
4 P.m.
ATC

Judaism -

Islam

Islam

HISTORY

Prof. ud-Din Howard

Sayyed

Hazij Malik

THEOLOGY

SOCIAL-CULTURAL - ANTHROPOLOGY

②

Tradition - modernization -

①

Religion - land - people - nationalism =

Religious liberty, religious equality, pluralism

?

Human Rights -

Dec 1 - 5 - 1972

- program

- list 10-12

- meeting place - Arab Society

JEWS, CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS: The Way of Dialogue

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

The Way of Understanding

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

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

the creative vitality of such Jewish spiritual movements of recent times as Hasidism and Musar.

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

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

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

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

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

9 In understanding Islam it is necessary for Christians to grasp the central place of Islamic law in Muslim life. Islamic Law, shari'ah, is based on the belief that God has, as a gracious act of mercy, revealed to humanity basic guidelines to live both individually and in society. Whereas Christians today tend to think of Christian faith as a personal commitment which can be expressed quite happily in a secular society, many Muslims believe that God has revealed his will on how the whole of society is to be ordered, from details of banking to matters of public health. Although based on the Qur'an, the sources of Islamic law are much wider. The picture becomes even more complex if one attempts to include the Shi'ites who are the majority in Iran. A long development independent from the majority Muslim community (Sunni) has resulted in a very different ethos and theology, making blanket statements about Islam almost impossible when Iranian and other Shi'ite thinkers are taken into account. Some non-Muslim communities living under Islamic rule experience the application of Shari'ah law as oppressive and inhumane. Another aspect of Shari'ah law which causes some distress is the treatment of women. We note that in many respects Islamic law has pioneered the rights of women. For example, under Islamic law married women had the right to own property and conduct business in their own names thirteen centuries before these rights were granted in many Western countries. It is hoped that Christians and Muslims may

search together for ways in which the position of women may continue to be improved for the benefit of society as a whole. We also need to remember that classical Islamic law provides safeguards for the rights of religious minorities which are not actually being enforced today. Further, in judging, we must always be careful to compare like with like. We must compare the highest and most humane ideals of Islam with the highest and most humane ideals of Christianity and the misuse of power at the hands of Muslims with the misuse of power at the hands of those who call themselves Christians.

10 Islam, no less than Judaism, has suffered from Christian stereotyping. This is especially true of the notion that Islam is a religion committed to spreading its faith by the sword. History shows a much more complex pattern. It is true that the communities of the Middle East, North Africa and the northern half of the Indian subcontinent were originally brought under Islamic rule by military expansion. On the other hand even in these areas the facts of history are complex and we must remember, for example, that it was the Muslims who were the first to invite Jews to live again in the holy city of Jerusalem after Christians had forbidden it for centuries. On the other hand, much of the part of the world which is now predominantly Muslim did not receive its Islam through military conquest. In fact, the majority of the territory won by Islam in its early advance was taken from it by the Mongols, who already numbered Christians among them. Yet Islam converted its Mongol conquerors and central Asia remains Islamic to this day.

11 In fact, jihād, usually mistranslated "holy war," is a complex notion that needs to be seriously explored by Christians in dialogue with Muslims. The word actually means struggle and encompasses everything from spiritual struggle to armed struggle as sanctioned by Islamic law. Although Muslims have, in the course of history, sanctioned aggressive wars in this way, it is important to realize that there are many Muslim views what kind of warfare is legal under Islamic law. The existence of such divergent views might be a constructive point of dialogue.

The Way of Affirmation

12 If Christians wish their own faith to be affirmed by others they themselves must be open to the full force of the attraction of the partner in the dialogue and be willing to affirm all they can affirm, especially when it resonates to the Gospel.

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

God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob". A right understanding of the relationship with Judaism is, therefore, fundamental to Christianity's own self-understanding.

14 Christians and Jews share one hope, which is for the realisation of God's Kingdom on earth. Together they wait for it, pray for it and prepare for it. This Kingdom is nothing less than human life and society transformed, transfigured and transparent to the glory of God. Christians believe that this glory has already shone in the face of Jesus Christ. In His life, death and resurrection the Kingdom of God, God's just rule, has already broken into the affairs of this world. Judaism is not able to accept this. However, both Jews and Christians share a common frame of reference, in which Christian belief in Jesus Christ is set. For it is as a result of incorporation into Jesus Christ that Christians share the Jewish hope for the coming of God's Kingdom.

15 Christian faith focuses quite naturally on Jesus the Christ and his Church. However, both these realities can and should be seen within the hope for, and the horizon of, the Kingdom of God. The presence and the hope for the Kingdom of God were central to the preaching and mission of Jesus. Moreover, Christians continue to pray daily "thy Kingdom come". Christians and Jews share a common hope for the consummation of God's Kingdom which, for Christians, was inaugurated in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus the Christ. Thus, it is through incorporation into Christ, through membership of the Christian Church that Christians come to share in the hope for the Kingdom. We believe that if this hope for God's Kingdom was given its central place by both Jews and Christians this would transform their relationship with one another.

16 Christians and Jews share a passionate belief in a God of loving kindness who has called us into relationship with himself. God is faithful and he does not abandon those he calls. We firmly reject any view of Judaism which sees it as a living fossil, simply superseded by Christianity. When Paul reflects on the mystery of the continued existence of the Jewish people (Romans 9-11) a full half of his message is the unequivocal proclamation of God's abiding love for those whom he first called. Thus he wrote:

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

17 However, with some honourable exceptions their relationship has too often been marked by antagonism. Discrimination and persecution of the Jews led to the "teaching of contempt"; the systematic dissemination of anti-Jewish propaganda by Church leaders, teachers and preachers. Through catechism, teaching of school children, and Christian preaching, the Jewish people have been misrepresented and caricatured. Even the Gospels have, at times, been used to malign and denigrate the Jewish people.

Anti-Jewish prejudice promulgated by leaders Church and State has led to persecution, pogrom and finally, provided the soil in which the evil weed of Nazism was able to take root and spread its poison. The Nazis were driven by a pagan philosophy, which had as its ultimate aim the destruction of Christianity itself. But how did it take hold? The systematic extermination of six million Jews and the wiping out of a whole culture must bring about in Christianity a profound and painful re-examination of its relationship with Judaism. In order to combat centuries of anti-Jewish teaching and practice, Christians must develop programmes of teaching, preaching, and common social action which eradicate prejudice and promote dialogue.

18 Many Christians would also affirm Islamic monotheism and speak approvingly of Islamic devotion to Jesus and to Mary, his virgin mother. Islam stands in a particular relationship to Christianity because of its acceptance of Jesus as the promised Messiah of Hebrew scripture. At the same time, however, we note that Muslims do not understand this affirmation to imply a doctrine of the person and work of Jesus as the Messiah which would be acceptable to most Christians. Nonetheless this affirmation of Jesus as the fulfilment of the Messianic promise is unique to Christians and Muslims. The same is true of the Islamic affirmation of Jesus as the "Word of God", although Islamic Christology does not accept this as implying the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. Many Muslims, though not all, would confine its significance to reference to the miraculous events surrounding Jesus' conception and birth. At the same time, Islam affirms the Hebrew Scriptures and of the special relationship which God had established with the Jewish people "to whom he had show his special favour." While it is currently the majority view among Muslims that the whole Bible has been textually corrupted and is therefore no longer valid, this is not the only view found in either classical or contemporary Islamic thought. Some of Islam's greatest scholars have argued that the "corruption" of Jewish and Christian scriptures referred to in the Qur'ân is a corruption, not of text, but of interpretation only. Christians in dialogue ought to know the classical Islamic sources which have argued strongly for this view of the Bible.

19 On the other hand, it has been the almost unanimous Islamic tradition to reject the crucifixion of Jesus as either historical fact or as theologically significant. The Qur'ânic material relating to the crucifixion is highly ambiguous and there is the possibility of theological dialogue with Muslims on the interpretation and significance of the Qur'ânic material on Jesus. We need not, however, totally reject the Islamic affirmation of Jesus, even as we challenge it in its rejection of his atoning work upon the cross. It is important to note that the Islamic rejection of the crucifixion is not ultimately based on a rejection of the concept of the suffering of God's righteous prophets. God's power is not perceived in Islam as a magic charm

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against unjust suffering and persecution. The Qur'an often refers, as does the New Testament, to prophets of God who have been killed at various times in history. It accepts not only the possibility but the fact of prophets' death at the hands of the wicked. Nor can we say that Islam automatically rejects the positive value of suffering for others or in the cause of God. This it affirms strongly and in the Shi'ite tradition the concept of vicarious suffering is of fundamental importance.

20 Many Christians can also affirm the Islamic struggle to be faithful to the example of Abraham. Islamic tradition traces the descent of the Arabs, and so of Muhammad, to Abraham through Ishmael. Many Christians, among them John of Damascus and the Arab apologist Ishāq 'Abd al-Masīh al-Kindī, accept this genealogy. This is important for Muslims in their understanding of the prophetic mission of Muhammad and of their relationship with Judaism and Christianity as religions which also have a special connection with the faith of Abraham. Even though most Muslims today are not Arabs, they feel, like Christians, that they are Children of Abraham by faith because of the message of Muhammad, descendant of Ishmael, son of Abraham.

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

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

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

24 Christians would also want to affirm the deep Islamic reliance on the grace and mercy of God. Although often misunderstood and misrepresented by Christian theologians as teaching salvation by works, all schools of Islamic thought

are marked by a deep sense of the gratuitous Mercy of God. This mercy cannot be earned by anyone because, in Islamic thought, no one can have any claims against God. All that God gives, he gives not because we deserve it but gratuitously. This emphasis on the gratuitousness of God's gift has led Islamic theology to abandon the doctrine of the atonement as understood in Christianity, although both the word (kaffârah) and the concept are known and used in more restricted senses. Islamic theology argues that God needs no sacrifice or atonement in order to freely forgive human sin and alienation. This he may do simply because he is God almighty. And yet, Islamic thought does not reject the importance of human co-operation with God in working his revealed will here on earth. In this respect the Qur'ân speaks of humanity as God's viceregent (khalifah) on earth, and this line of thought is developed by many Islamic thinkers. Although some forms of popular Islam may seem to have degenerated into legalism and fatalism, the normative Islamic emphasis on grace and human co-operation should always be born in mind.

The Way of Sharing

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

26 Within this sharing there are a variety of attitudes towards Judaism within Christianity today. At one pole, there are those Christians whose prayer is that Jews, without giving up their Jewishness, will find their fulfilment in Jesus the Messiah. Indeed some regard it as their particular vocation and responsibility to share their faith with Jews, whilst at the same time urging them to discover the spiritual riches which God has given them through the Jewish faith. Other Christians, however, believe that in fulfilling the law and the prophets, Jesus validated the Jewish relationship with God, while opening this way up for gentiles through his own person. For others, the holocaust has changed their perception, so that until Christian lives bear a truer witness, they feel a divine obligation to affirm the Jews in their worship and sense of the God and Father of Jesus. All these approaches recognize that Christians today are being called into a fresh, more fruitful relationship with Judaism. We urge that further thought and prayer, in the light of scripture and the facts of history, be given to the nature of this relationship.

27 Both these approaches, however, share a common concern to be sensitive to Judaism, to reject all proselytising,

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

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

29 In this process it is important to remember also the damage that has been done to Christian-Muslim relations by a distorted view of Islam and by outright animosity. Both Jews and Muslims often shared a common fate at the hands of Christians in the Middle Ages and the centuries of warfare known collectively as the Crusades was directed primarily against the Muslims, although both Jews and Eastern Christians shared in the suffering inflicted by the Western Christian armies as they advanced to and through the Middle East. Christians have upon occasion seen Islam as a Christian heresy and at other times as the mere product of human imagination. Scholars have always stressed the influence of Jewish-Christian monotheism on Islam, for it was born in an area where both Judaism and Christianity were practised. We should always be careful about how we characterize another person's faith and try to avoid hurtful language. This is especially the case when, as with both Judaism and Islam, the negative characterizations of the past have resulted in much pain and suffering inflicted by Christians in the name of religion or where it has left a legacy of bitterness and division, a legacy which continues to cause much suffering to innocent Christian communities today through an indiscriminating attitude on the part of others which unjustly associates them with events for which they bear no responsibility. Many Christians, for example, justly point out that their histories do not overlap the European experience of holocaust and pogrom at all or that they themselves fought against the Crusader armies of Western Europe.

30 There is also much in the way of common action that Jews, Christians and Muslims can join in; for example:

-the struggle against racism, apartheid and anti-Semitism

- the work for human rights, particularly the right of
- people to practice and teach their religion.

There is a common witness to God and the dignity of human beings in a world always in danger of becoming godless and dehumanized.

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

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

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

considerable discussion today by Muslim thinkers and jurists and is an area where Christians versed in Islamic law must enter into dialogue with Muslims. In matters such as this the sometimes tiny, struggling churches set in Islamic societies need the support of the wider church.

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

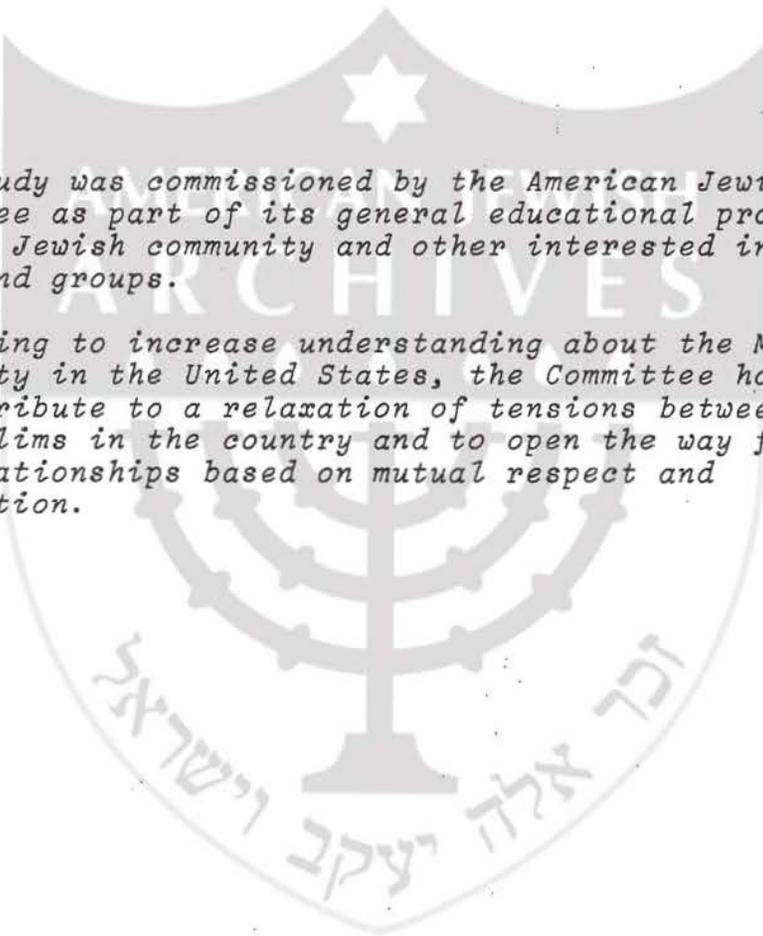




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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations

165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022



This study was commissioned by the American Jewish Committee as part of its general educational programs for the Jewish community and other interested individuals and groups.

By helping to increase understanding about the Muslim community in the United States, the Committee hopes to contribute to a relaxation of tensions between Jews and Muslims in the country and to open the way for new relationships based on mutual respect and cooperation.

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ISLAM IN AMERICA

The Muslim community in the United States began with mass immigration from the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire during the last quarter of the 19th century. At that time, great political and economic changes in the area supplied an impetus for migration to both Europe and the U.S.

It is not known how many people came from what are today Arab states and how many from Turkey proper, since until 1899 all immigrants from that part of the world were listed as Asians. Between 1871 and 1880, only 67 persons are listed as "Asians" in U.S. immigration records. In the decade 1881-90 there was a sharp rise: 2,220 immigrants from Turkey in Asia are listed. After 1899, Syrians (including persons from present-day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel) were listed separately, because they were arriving in far greater numbers. Between 1899 and 1919, an average of 5,000 Syrians a year entered the U.S., reaching a peak of over 9,000 in 1913.

The overwhelming majority of the Syrian immigrants were Christians. In the main, they probably came because they were relatively Westernized and had economic ambitions which could only be realized in the West; religious persecution in Syria also played a minor role. Muslims were not yet immigrating en masse, because of antipathy against Western Christian societies and fear that they would not be able to maintain their Islamic way of life in America. Before 1914, only a few hundred young Muslim men joined their Christian fellow villagers in emigrating to the U.S.

In the period between the two World Wars, Muslims came to the U.S. in small numbers, mostly for economic reasons and mostly from poor, rural areas. Many Arab Muslims went to Chicago, Toledo and Detroit, attracted by the development of the auto industry and high industrial wages. In 1934 they built the first mosque in the U.S., in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Turkish and Slav Muslims arrived in increasing numbers after the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire following the First World War; they first settled in port cities. A few Indian Muslims, belonging to the Ahmadiyya movement (a Muslim missionary sect), also came and soon began to seek converts, mostly in the black community.

A second great wave of immigration, politically motivated, occurred immediately after the Second World War. It consisted mostly of urban, relatively educated people. Muslims came from all over North Africa, the Middle East, other parts of Asia and Eastern Europe. From the Arab countries alone -- Morocco, Egypt,

Iraq and Yemen as well as Syria and Lebanon -- over 150,000 came between 1945 and 1977.

We are now in the midst of a third wave of Muslim migration, once more economically motivated. Poverty and lack of opportunity at home are driving hundreds of thousands to move to the oil rich countries, Europe or the U.S. Most come from Arab countries, but in recent years growing numbers have come from Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, the Philippines and Indonesia. As a result of a change in immigration laws in 1965, about 38,000 Arabs alone came to this country between 1968 and 1970. Most of these recent arrivals are urban, educated and highly trained; many come as students to get professional training and remain afterwards to reap the benefits of the rich, capitalist West. With growing numbers, Muslim and ethnic organizations and mosques have proliferated in the United States.

The total number of Muslims in the U.S. today is unknown. A census undertaken by the Federation of Islamic Associations in the U.S. and Canada is unfinished and likely to remain so. Many organizations do not even know how many members they have, or do not publish the figures if they have them. Estimates vary widely: the U.S. Government and the National Council of Churches claim that there are two million Muslims in the country; Islamic Horizons, a publication of the Muslim Students' Association, claims three million (March 1978); Muslim World, published in Pakistan, says there are five million Muslims in all of North America. Whatever the right figure, all sources agree that the American Muslim community has grown tremendously and continues to do so, primarily through migration from the Middle East and conversions.

The 1976 Annual Report of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service contains data on arrivals from Muslim countries which give an indication of the magnitude of Muslim immigration to this country since 1967 (Table 1). Unfortunately, the Immigration Service does not collect statistics on religion, so there is no way to learn precisely how many of the immigrants actually were Muslims. Furthermore, there are no separate entries for the North African countries, the Gulf states or the Muslim countries of Asia. Nor do the consulates of these countries have precise information on the number of their countrymen in the U.S. The best estimate, then, for the U.S. Muslim population remains the official government one of two million.

TABLE 1

Immigrants, by Country of Birth, July 1967 - September 1976
(Muslim and non-Muslim)

Iran	23,015
Iraq	16,897
Jordan	25,611
Lebanon	19,695
Syria	10,190
Turkey	19,345
Egypt	26,432

TOTAL 141,185

(No breakdown for other countries)

TABLE 2

Persons Naturalized, by Country of Birth, July 1967 - September 1976
(Muslim and non-Muslim)

Iran	5,001
Iraq	3,590
Jordan	8,265
Lebanon	5,340
Syria	2,666
Turkey	5,071
Yemen	1,321
Egypt	8,434

TOTAL 39,688

(no breakdown for other countries)

Arab Muslims

Arab Muslims constitute a large and ever-growing part of the American Muslim community. As of 1966, Abd Elkholy, the author of Arab Muslims in the U.S., estimated that there were 100,000 in the U.S., some 10 per cent of the entire Arab-American community. Today, the figure is much larger, thanks to vastly increased immigration under the changed law, which allows immediate relatives of American citizens to enter the U.S. The 1967 Arab-Israeli War gave further impetus to mass immigration. A quick look at what figures there are suggests that at least another 100,000 Arab Muslims must have arrived since 1967, giving a rough total of 200,000 Arab Muslims.

The Arab Muslims who came before 1966-67 were mostly unskilled and uneducated, and tended to work in heavy industry and agriculture. As noted, a large number (mostly Palestinians, Lebanese and Yemenis) are employed in the auto industry in the Detroit area. About 70,000 Arabs (10 percent of them Muslims) live in Dearborn, Michigan, which is said to be the largest Arab Muslim settlement in the U.S. Arab members of the United Auto Workers International, some 15,000 in a total membership of 1.4 million, have formed an Arab Workers Caucus in Detroit to agitate for better working conditions and pay. They have become involved with other Third World workers and American blacks who "view the Zionist state as one of the imperialist powers playing an exploitative role in Africa," and have obtained their support in an attempt to force the U.A.W. to get rid of its State of Israel bonds.¹

Arab Muslims employed in agriculture are usually from poor countries such as North and South Yemen and Iraq. Quite a few are migrant workers in California. TWA in Los Angeles, which arranges flights for Yemenis, estimates that a total of 100,000 Yemeni farm workers have come and gone in the past decade.²

In contrast to these groups, Arab immigrants of the years since 1966-67 are predominantly urban, educated, skilled and Muslim. They hail from all over the Middle East and North Africa. Many come as students and remain after completing their education. Middle Eastern magazines now frequently deplore a "brain drain" of students and professionals -- a drain that is caused by social, economic and political underdevelopment and instability in the Middle East, and aggravates these conditions further.

1. MERIP REPORTS; #34, January 1975

2. Ibid.

The recent newcomers bring with them a new strong feeling of Arab identity and political consciousness. Thanks chiefly to this vigorous, active influx, the Muslim community in the U.S. has emerged from a long period of inactivity and assimilation. The number of mosques and Muslim organizations has multiplied rapidly, the use and study of Arabic has increased, and new life has been infused into existing organizations, such as the Federation of Islamic Associations, which the Arab Muslims have almost taken over. (see page 15)

Of all Muslim groups, the Arabs are by far the most active and devout with regard to religion. The Islamic Centers now proliferating in cities and university campuses throughout the country are founded, funded and run almost exclusively by Arab Muslims. This renewed religious activity goes hand in hand with a revival of fundamentalist Islam in the Muslim world, particularly in Saudi Arabia, Libya, Egypt and also in Pakistan. These countries play a large role in financing the Islamic revival in the U.S., partly out of religious fervor and partly because of their close ties with many of the recent immigrants to the U.S. Religious articles and education materials from the Middle East abound, as do concerned visitors -- both government officials and religious dignitaries -- with fat checkbooks.

Arab nationalism, too, plays a large role in the Arab Muslim community in this country. Muslims from Arab countries work closely with their Christian compatriots in all matters affecting Arabs in general, through organizations such as the Arab-American Chamber of Commerce and the Arab lobby in Washington. However, the conflict in Lebanon has increased tensions between Lebanese Christians and Muslims here.

Turkish Muslims

Muslims of Turkish origin are a numerically large group among American Muslims. Statistics are scarce and often unreliable; estimates as of the mid 1970s range from 70,000 to 95,000. The Turkish Consulate in New York claims a much higher figure of 200,000 Turks in the U.S., but included in that number, besides Anatolian Turks, are Turks from the U.S.S.R. -- from Azerbaijan, the Crimea and Turkestan -- who hold Turkish passports.

The Turkish American community started much later than the Arab Americans. Small numbers of Turks arrived before the First World War, motivated by the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the attendant economic difficulties in Anatolia. They were illiterate lower-class workers; many of them returned to Turkey after saving some money. After the Second World War, immigration shot up as the Turks' admiration for the West,

particularly the U.S., increased. Earlier, Turks had been wary of contact with the West; at the end of the Ottoman Empire, the mood had been anti-Western. But that changed gradually with Kamal Ataturk's policy of secularization, the impression made by the Allied victory in 1945, and Turkey's membership in NATO in 1952. More and more Turks now went to Europe and the U.S. U.S. Immigration figures show 798 Anatolian Turkish immigrants in 1941-1950, 3,519 in 1951-1960, and 10,142 in 1961-1970.

The new Turkish immigrants in the U.S. are mostly professionals or small businessmen -- unlike their counterparts in Europe (some 656,000 in 1977), who are mainly industrial workers. They are motivated primarily by economic and professional ambition, though recently political unrest at home has also played a role. In the last few years, increasing numbers of Turks have been coming to the U.S., and more would like to come but are prevented by immigration restrictions. However, most of the immigrants will probably return to Turkey at some time. Many Turks refrain from becoming American citizens, because the present law in Turkey does not allow dual citizenship; and those who are not U.S. citizens have difficulty in bringing over family members. For these reasons, the Turkish American population grows slowly.

Since the earliest immigration, the community has remained concentrated around major urban centers. The biggest group (some say as many as 40,000) lives in the New York metropolitan area; large numbers also reside in the Midwest, primarily around Chicago, and on the West Coast. Many Turkish Americans are doctors, lawyers, engineers or professionals of other kinds. There are also 3,000 Turkish students in U.S. universities. The community has a high ratio of university graduates, and median income is relatively high.

Turkish Americans maintain strong feelings of communal solidarity. There are nearly 100 clubs and societies scattered over the country, including Turkish student associations on campuses. Most of these organizations have 50 or fewer members. Several professional societies exist, for example a Turkish-American Physicians' Association and a Society of Turkish Architects, Engineers and Scientists in America. There also are associations of Turks from outside Turkey, such as the American Association of Crimean Turks, the Turkestan-American Association, the Azerbaijan Society of America, the Turkish Cypriot Aid Society and the American Turk-Tatar Association. Three clubs specialize in soccer; the rest are essentially social clubs, sponsoring educational and cultural activities.

Two organizations stand out. One is the American Turkish Society (380 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017), founded in

1949 by businessmen "to promote cultural exchange." Through the Society, contacts are made between Americans and Turks active in the high echelons of business, banking, government and industry. Corporate members include several dozen major U.S. corporations. The group's activities are exemplified by a symposium on Turkish foreign policy and its effects on U.S.-Turkish relations, held on October 5, 1978.

The Federation of Turkish-American Societies (821 United Nations Plaza, New York; N.Y. 10017), founded in 1956, is an umbrella organization for some 20 associations. Its main purposes are to create and maintain close ties among Turkish Americans, and to represent their political views vis-a-vis U.S. policies and activities of other ethnic groups such as Armenians and Greeks. The Federation schedules social activities (among them an annual ball) and observances of Turkish holidays, and organizes educational programs. It has frequently coordinated relief campaigns for earthquake victims, and has publicly refuted allegations concerning Turkish-Armenian relations, and the Greek-Turkish confrontation in Cyprus. The Federation's most vigorous single effort to date has been a campaign, launched in 1975 to press Congress for repeal of the arms embargo against Turkey.

Religion plays a small role in the identity of Turkish Americans, because most of them were brought up in the anti-religious atmosphere of the Ataturk regime. Outside the home country, there are no Turkish mosques, and Turks have no strong religious feelings. Except for those from the Soviet Union, relatively few observe the traditional Muslim holidays. Turks in the U.S. thus have no common ground with other Muslim ethnic groups and do not identify with the Arab world at all. On the contrary, they go out of their way not to be grouped with Arab Muslims; many say they would rather pray at home (if at all) than go near an Arab Muslim mosque. Hence, it may be assumed that whatever foreign contributions made to Turkish groups in the U.S. come from Turkey, not from Arab countries.

Contact between Turkish Americans and other American ethnic and religious groups is minimal, but on the whole is cordial as far as it goes -- except for occasional friction with Armenians and Greeks, particularly over Cyprus during the last few years.

Other Ethnic Groups and Sects

Besides the large Arab and Turkish communities, a number of much smaller Muslim ethnic groups live in the U.S.

-- The Ahmadiyya movement has about 5,000 followers. Founded in India in 1870, it was brought to this country by

Indian missionaries after the First World War. Members are active in missionary activities in the U.S. and elsewhere, and it is estimated that several thousand Americans, mostly blacks, have converted and become members. California has the largest number of Indian Muslims belonging to the movement -- mostly farmers who came in 1906 from the Punjab and the Northwest Frontier region of what is now Pakistan. They publish a journal, Sunrise, and have their own mosque, the American Fazl Mosque.

-- The Albanian Muslim community is relatively small; exact figures are unavailable, as is other information on the community and its activities. There are Albanian Islamic centers in Chicago, Brooklyn and the Detroit suburb of Harper Woods.

-- The Baha'i movement was the first religious movement originating in Islam to be represented in the U.S. It was founded in Turkey in 1863 by a Persian named Baha'u'llah, and headquartered in Haifa; the U.S. community dates from 1894. According to the U.S. Religious Census of 1926, there were 2,884 Baha'is in the U.S. in 1916 and only 1,247 in 1926; but in recent years the membership has been estimated to be as high as 100,000. The movement attracts converts, primarily among American blacks, through its emphasis on small congregations, its study requirements and the absence of an official clergy. Until the 1930's, the Baha'i National Spiritual Assembly was headquartered in Teaneck, New Jersey; it has since moved to Wilmette, Illinois.

-- The Black Muslim Organization, known today as the World Community of Islam in the West (WCIW) is headquartered in Chicago, Illinois. The group is variously estimated to number between 7,000 to 50,000, though WCIW itself has at different times claimed a quarter million to two million members. Since 1975, the group has been led by Wallace Muhammad, who is called the Chief Imam. (see page 22)

-- Bosnian Muslims in the U.S. number between 10,000 and 12,000. They arrived here in spurts. Between 1900 and 1939, the immigrants -- mostly young unskilled laborers -- came primarily for economic reasons, chiefly from Bosnia-Hercegovina, a poor area of what became Yugoslavia. Immediately after the Second World War came families from urban areas, motivated by the political turmoil then prevailing. Recently, Bosnians have again been immigrating to the U.S., this time because of poor employment opportunities at home. The largest number, about three-quarters of the U.S. total, live in the Chicago-Milwaukee-Gary area. In 1955 they formed the Bosnian American Cultural Association, whose activities are primarily religious and social. In 1976, the community built an Islamic Center in Northbrook, Illinois, with substantial aid from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

The Center has a few non-Bosnian members (mostly Arabs and Pakistanis) but 60 per cent of the facilities is owned by the Cultural Association, and Bosnians predominate in the general membership and the leadership. A Bosnian Muslim owns the Precision Carbide Tool Company, which employs about 300 workers, many of them Bosnian Muslims, and is probably the largest firm in North America to give all employees paid vacations on major Islamic holidays.

-- Some Circassian Muslims settled in the U.S. after fleeing the Soviet Union, mostly in the late 1940s and the 1950s. In 1959 there were some 200, most of them in New York. Today between 500 and 1500 Circassian families are thought to live in the U.S., most of them in New York City, in and near Paterson, New Jersey, and in California and North Carolina. They have several organizations: a Circassian Benevolent Association in Paterson, a Circassian Community Center in Haledon, New Jersey, and a mosque, the Karacay Turks' Mosque, in the Bronx borough of New York City.

-- Croatian Muslims number only a few thousand in the U.S. When Austria occupied Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1878, thousands of Croatian Muslims left for Turkey, but only a small number sailed for America. Most of those here today came after 1908, when Austria annexed the two provinces; many had left their country illegally. In 1945, several hundred more Croatian Muslims arrived, settling primarily in Cleveland (since 1950 the largest colony of Croatian immigrants) and in Chicago and Milwaukee. In 1957 a Croatian Moslem Mosque and Cultural Home was opened in Chicago, in the presence of Muslims of other nationalities and of Croatians Catholics. This institution is also frequented by other Muslim groups, primarily Turks. But the Croatian Muslim's strongest tie is with other Croatians; for example, they participate in the American-Croatian Congress. They have religious and cultural organizations of their own, and there is a publication called The Voice of Croat Moslems from Bosnia, Hercegovina and Sandzak in Exile, the organ of the Society of Croatian Muslims from Bosnia, Hercegovina and Sandzak.

-- Members of the Druze sect in the U.S. are somewhat of an unknown quantity. The sect originated in Syria in the 11th century. Most of its adherents still live in Syria and Lebanon, but some joined the general emigration from those countries. Druzes avoid speaking about their religion and attempt to keep its doctrines and mysteries an inviolable secret, even from uninitiated members; to all outward appearances they are Syrian or Lebanese Muslims. Therefore it is difficult to judge how many Druzes there are, whether in Syria and Lebanon, or in the U.S. and Europe. (Size of community estimated at less than 100 around San Francisco, with others in Atlanta, Houston and

Alabama.) An American Druze Society was established in 1960, with headquarters in Michigan. Its primary functions appear to be cultural and social. A Druze may not marry a non-Druze; hence a meeting place for singles is indispensable.

-- In the large East Indian community in the U.S., Muslims are a minority among a large number of Hindus. Of some 100,000 Indians and Pakistanis believed to reside in the New York Metropolitan area, only 15 or 20 per cent are thought to be Muslim. The Indian Muslims, being predominantly Sunni (i.e. orthodox) have little to do with the Pakistanis, who tend to be mostly Shi'ites. They (Indian Muslims) have much more in common with Arabs and share mosques, religious schools and organizations with them. Most of the Indian Muslims arrived in the U.S. after the liberalization of the immigration law in 1965, motivated by the lack of employment opportunities at home and opportunities for advanced professional training in the U.S. Today many are doctors and businessmen. As far as could be ascertained, they have only one organization, the Consultative Committee of Indian Muslims in the U.S. and Canada, located in Chicago, where many Indian Muslims live.

-- Estimates of the number of Pakistani Muslims in the U.S. vary from 2,000 to 5,000. Most of them live in the New York Metropolitan area. They have two organizations, both primarily political: the Pakistan League and the Pakistan Student Organization of America. The latter was established 25 years ago as a nonprofit political organization; its President, Dr. Muhammad Zafar, claims it has chapters all over the country. Pakistani Muslims at one time had their own mosque in New Jersey; after it burned down, they joined with other groups, notably Arab Muslims, in religious and educational ventures. They have been very active recently in these two areas, reflecting the strictly orthodox and fundamentalist views of the Pakistani Government. (For example, the Muslim World Congress, headquarters in Karachi, has undertaken a comparative survey of Muslim minorities throughout the world and is working with Saudi Arabia in encouraging Muslim activities in the U.S. and elsewhere.) (See page 14)

-- The Iranian community is fairly small, though again there are no precise figures. There are said to be 50,000 Iranian students and 2,200 Iranian military trainees in the U.S. and, according to one source, at least 20,000 Iranians live in the New York metropolitan area. Approximately 6,000 Iranians live in and around Washington and large numbers are in California. Many are wealthy business people and professionals who are very assimilated to the American way of life. All are Shi'ite Muslims, but to date have not been actively religious; other Shi'ites consider them to be almost atheistic and do not include them when discussing the Shi'ite community at large. However, a religious revival now appears to be afoot, perhaps in response to the struggle in Iran against the Shah. A Persian Muslim Community is in the process of being formed in Westchester County, New York.

The most active group is the Iranian Student Association, which claims 3,000 to 4,000 members in the U.S. and gets some of its money from wealthy Iranians in this country. The group is part of a Worldwide Confederation of Iranian Students, which contains different ideological factions. Within the American branch of ISA there may be as many as 14 separate factions, ranging from Maoist to simple nationalists to theocrats. Experts point out that a severe split has developed between the Muslim students identified with the Ayatollah Khomeini and Marxist-oriented students who oppose the idea of an Islamic republic. The Iranian Student Association supports the Palestine Liberation Organization.

-- Shi'ism, a heterodox Muslim sect which began in the seventh century and today is widespread in parts of the Middle East, most notably Iran, is also represented in the U.S. There are no major religious differences between Sunni and Shi'i Islam, either in observances or customs, so that Sunnis and Shi'ites can and often do pray in the same mosques, especially in the U.S. The main difference between them concerns religious leadership; the Shi'ites do not accept the Sunni Caliphs as successors of the Prophet Muhammad; instead they have 12 Imams whom they consider to have been supreme Muslim leaders -- from Ali (the Prophet's nephew) to a Messiah-like, mystical figure known as the Mahdi. There are an estimated 300,000 to 400,000 Shi'ites in the U.S., from East Africa, Iran, Pakistan, India and Malaysia. At present there is only one Shi'ite mosque, in the New York City borough of Queens. Elsewhere Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims share mosques and facilities for religious education, though there are plans to set up a Shi'ite school. Shi'ite literature, published in Iran, is distributed free to all adherents. The Shia Association of North America, located in Queens, was set up in 1973, but this attempt to organize the community has been only partly successful. A census of Shi'ites remains incomplete because of lack of response, and membership in the Association is small compared to the estimated number of Shi'ites in the U.S. The organization is active in New York, Chicago, Houston and Los Angeles, and hopes to expand in the near future. Its president, Mr. Reza Hassanali, from East Africa, travels to the Middle East in search of speakers and, presumably, financial aid.

-- Sufism, a mystical Muslim sect which originated in Persia, appeared in the U.S. before the First World War. In 1910, Hazrat Pir-O-Murshid Inayat Khan was assigned the task of bringing Sufism to the West; he travelled to the U.S. and Europe, gathering disciples and forming Sufi centers. Today, there are about 5,000 Sufis scattered over the U.S. The center at New Lebanon functions as Sufi headquarters in the U.S. and publishes a monthly, The Sufi Message. Since Sufi worship consists of meditation, there are no mosques, hence, contacts with other Muslims are almost nil.

-- Finally, there are a few small groups of Muslims of

Turkic origin. In Brooklyn, New York, we find some 250 families of Kazan-Volga Tatars, some 4,000 Tatar Poles with their own mosque and 500 to 800 families of Crimean Turks (with an American Association of Crimean Turks). Elsewhere, there are Turkestanis (some 150 families) and Azerbaijanis, again with their own groups: the Turkestan American Association, the Azerbaijan Society of America and the Azerbaijan-Turkish Cultural Association of America, all in New Jersey. All these groups maintain ties with the Turkish community in the U.S.

Cultural and Political Efforts

Muslim political and cultural activity, like the Muslim population, is on the rise in the U.S. This is due in part to the current nationwide trend of ethnic consciousness and to a desire to organize at least as effectively as the Jewish community has done. But another reason is the growing importance of the Middle East and the revival of pan-Islamic ideology there.

Most of the new activity can be traced to the Arab-Israel war of October 1973, which changed not only Western perceptions of the Arab world, but also the Arabs' perceptions of themselves. The war itself (viewed by Arabs as a victory) and the accompanying oil embargo proved that Arabs could adopt and manipulate Western tools and methods, notably propaganda, to their own advantage. Both in the Middle East and elsewhere, Arabs have since put this ability to use.

It is primarily Arab Muslims who are behind the increased Muslim activity in the U.S. The more recent arrivals -- Palestinians and Syrians, who are influenced by the political instability in their home countries -- work in politically oriented organizations. The established citizens and residents -- such as the Syrian-Lebanese community -- are more concerned with maintaining group identity in the face of widespread assimilation and work in culturally and socially oriented groups. (The Lebanese War of 1975-76 has spawned some relief organizations, but no Lebanese nationalist associations in the Muslim community.) Whatever their particular agenda, all Muslim groups are agreed that Muslims in America cannot and must not assimilate themselves away, but should make themselves seen, heard and felt -- in keeping with their status as followers of a worldwide religion with 700 million adherents.

Their main activity is promoting Islam, about which most Americans know little or nothing. It is felt that, with correct information, erroneous notions of Muslims (and Arabs) can be corrected and American sympathies can be redirected to the (Arab) Muslim world. Many Islamic day schools and centers have been

opened in the past few years, as have new mosques in all parts of the country. Much of this building has been financed by Arab Muslim countries -- notably by Saudi Arabia, as part of a Saudi Government program to help revitalize Muslim minorities all over the world. (There is a new Institute of Muslim Minorities Affairs at King 'Abdul 'Aziz University in Jidda.) In June 1978, the Saudi Government announced grants of \$3 million for building mosques and Islamic Centers in North America alone over the next two years. Other countries, such as Egypt and Pakistan, offer religious scholarships -- which also provide educational materials, teachers and guest lecturers -- to American Muslim youths.

To help bring Islam to the attention of Americans, Muslims have begun to press for recognition of their religious holidays and prayer times. On many college campuses, rooms are reserved for use as mosques for Friday prayers; several schools (for example, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Indiana at Bloomington) have their own Islamic centers. Others have begun to list Muslim religious holidays along with Yom Kippur and Christmas; Columbia Teachers College and Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge now recognize the two 'Ids as official holidays. Muslim workers in both the private and the public sector are demanding time off for prayers and holidays. Chicago was the first city where, by order of the mayor, municipal departments excused all Muslims from duty, with full pay, to celebrate the end of the month-long fast of Ramadan (in October 1977). Several companies are allowing Muslim workers time off for the five daily prayers.

The "Middle East connection" in these activities is strong. With the yearning for pan-Arab unity has come a revival of pan-Islamic ideology, the ultimate goal of which is Muslim unity, something never accomplished since the seventh century. The centers of this ideology are Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, with Egypt occasionally joining in, and each has something unique to offer: Saudi Arabia its petrodollars and its stewardship of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina; Pakistan its apparent success in molding a modern nation-state on an Islamic model; Egypt its ancient Muslim university, Al-Azhar.

Of the three countries, Egypt has less to do with the American Muslim community than the rest, probably because of its shaky economy. Former President Gamal Abdel Nasser gave some money to build Islamic centers in Detroit and Washington, but his main contribution was in the field of education. Scholarships to Al-Azhar have been offered through the Federation of Islamic Associations and the Muslim Students' Association. Imams and teachers, as well as books, have been sent to get Islamic schools in the U.S. going. An Egyptian, Dr. Muhammad Abd'al Ra'uf, the Imam of the Islamic Center in Washington, is

regarded as the patriarch of the American Muslim community.

Pakistan lately has supplanted Egypt as the prime source of teachers and teaching materials. Both the Pakistani government and the World Muslim Congress in Karachi see themselves as missionaries to, and protectors of, their fellow Muslims in the West. Delegations from Pakistan attend every major Muslim convention in the U.S. and Canada (a four-man group attended the 1978 Federation of Islamic Associations Convention in West Virginia); and Pakistanis living in this country are very active in Muslim organizations.

The Muslim World, the official weekly of the World Muslim Congress, is published in Karachi and circulated to members throughout the world. While it runs articles on Islamic teachings and the traditions of the prophet, it concentrates mainly on political and economic developments in Islamic countries. Also serving as a platform for the Palestine Arab Delegation (the successors to Hajj Amin al Husseini, former Mufti of Jerusalem and a founder of the World Muslim Congress), its strident anti-Israel propaganda calls on all good Muslims to liberate al-Quds (Jerusalem), which is "an Arab Islamic city forever." The Muslim World also reprints articles from American anti-Semitic publications as well as essays by such well-known anti-Zionists as Dr. Alfred Lilienthal and Norman Dacey.

Saudi Arabia is the main power at both the religious and the political level. The Saudis provide money, trained personnel and books, and serve as a role model for religious and political views, in perhaps conscious imitation of the Caliphs. They have set up several organizations, with branches in the U.S., which disseminate both political and religious information. Hence, not surprisingly, the views expressed by American Muslims strongly resemble those expressed by the Saudi Government. These Saudi organizations just named include:

1. The Muslim World League (Rabita), established in 1962 by the Government, and headquartered in Mecca. Its stated purpose is to provide international coordination among Muslim organizations, as well as financial assistance. Rabita has consultant status at the United Nations, and is thus in a position to be involved in all issues concerning Muslims. Its New York offices are located down the hall from those of the Federation of Islamic Associations, and the two organizations evidently work closely together.

An article in The Muslim World expressed the reaction of Rabita to the Camp David summit: "Jews along their dark history have been characteristic with injustice,

hatred and ill will against the humanity of the human being, divine religions, spiritual civilizations, moral values and ideas." The article went on to "advise Muslims everywhere to counter Jewish conspiracies." (The Muslim World, December 2, 1978)

2. The World Assembly of Muslim Youth, headquartered in Riyadh and funded by the Saudi Government. This organization has branches wherever there is a Muslim community; it concentrates on religious training and social activities (such as camps) for youth. The U.S. office is in Indianapolis, not far from that of the Muslim Students' Association.
3. The National Coordinating Committee for Islamic Work in North America (also known as the Islamic Coordinating Council of North America) founded in Mecca in 1974-75.

Other current Saudi interests include development of a recently founded Islamic Chamber of Commerce; establishment of a publishing house for Islamic materials; and dissemination of Islamic propaganda along Saudi lines -- strict and fundamentalist with respect to religion, anti-Israel and anti-Zionist in politics.

Few other Muslim countries in the Middle East, North Africa or Asia, are concerned with the world Muslim community. Except for Libya and some of the Gulf States (pulled in by Saudi Arabia), they do not give financial help to American Muslims or interest themselves in their activities.

Major Muslim Organizations in the U.S.

Following are brief descriptions of four leading American Muslim organizations: the Federation of Islamic Associations in United States and Canada, the Muslim Students' Association of the U.S. and Canada, the World Community of Islam in the West, and the Islamic Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc.

FEDERATION OF ISLAMIC ASSOCIATIONS IN UNITED STATES AND CANADA (FIA)

820 Second Avenue, Suite 200
New York, New York 10017

President: Dawud As'ad (New Jersey)

President-elect: Nihad Hamid (Michigan)

The FIA is a nationwide umbrella organization of Muslim

communities in North America, established in 1952 in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

FIA currently has about 50 member organizations. Some are local associations, such as the Islamic Society of West Virginia, which hosted FIA's 1973 convention; others are ethnic associations like the Bilalian Association of American Black Muslims. The officers of FIA reflect this geographic and ethnic diversity, although its president has usually been drawn from one specific group, the Lebanese-Syrian Muslims. The most numerous and most active members are of Lebanese, Syrian or Palestinian origin -- either recent immigrants, or, American-born children of earlier immigrants -- who have steered the FIA toward a pro-P.L.O. position. Activities are financed primarily by members' contributions and dues, and in the past two years by grants from Middle East countries and international Muslim organizations.

FIA's stated objectives are:

1. To encourage formation of local Muslim associations for religious, cultural and social purposes;
2. To explain and publicize the teachings of Islam to Muslims and non-Muslims;
3. To provide for the religious, intellectual and social needs of its member organizations and tender them with moral, legal and financial comfort.

Toward these ends, FIA recently set up new headquarters in New York, with financial help from Saudi Arabia (through Rabita, the Muslim World League). Last year, to unify the religious network, FIA assisted by the World Council of Masajid (Mosques) in Mecca, organized a Council of Masajid in the U.S. and Canada, to which approximately 32 mosques across the country already belong. In a similar move, a Council of Imams in North America was formed in 1973 "to help coordinate the activities of the various Islamic centers in North America."

Because FIA believes the North American Muslim community is facing severe problems of assimilation, mixed marriage, and dwindling numbers, education and religious training are its primary concerns. With funds raised here and abroad, plans to set up more schools and Islamic centers are under way. For example, an international Muslim organization in Jidda recently contributed \$50,000, through the Saudi Arabia Embassy to an Islamic Center in Paterson, New Jersey. (The Saudi Charge d'Affaires was present at the inaugural ceremony for this institution in late 1978.) FIA recently acquired in New York City the block between 96th and 97th Street, from Second to Third

Avenue, on which to build another Islamic Center. As of July 1978, Libya, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Iraq had donated \$8 million with smaller sums pledged by the United Arab Emirates, Malaysia, Iran, Jordan and Morocco.

FIA is also working vigorously in the press and broadcast media to counter false and unfavorable public images of Muslims and Islam. With the Islamic Press Association, it has set up a committee to plan, coordinate, and organize international publicity directed to Muslim and non-Muslim organizations; it has already sponsored special programs on local TV and radio shows and launched newspapers and magazines such as the English-language Muslim Star.

These publicity programs have a political objective as well: to "fight the Zionist machine which issues anti-Islamic propaganda" and present the Muslim view of Middle East politics to a broad audience. FIA both denounces Israel regularly, and supports the P.L.O. and the Arab countries' full right to liberate their land by any means. In January 1978, FIA issued a call to President Carter to "scrutinize efforts by the Israeli lobby and Zionist alien elements that may be detrimental to the good and welfare of our United States...."

Several resolutions adopted unanimously at the July 1978 FIA Convention in West Virginia reflect this organization's political position:

1. "The FIA supports world-wide financial, technical and industrial cooperation... President Carter should prevent pressure groups from adversely affecting U.S. policy."
2. "One year of futile peace efforts and Zionist intransigence is enough... The U.S. should go back to the U.N. forum..."
3. "President Sadat of Egypt did the maximum to promote peace in the Middle East. But Israeli intransigence and our soft handling frustrated this and enabled the expansionist Zionist regime to invade Lebanon and destroy hundreds of villages..."
4. "The FIA supports all American minorities, especially American Indians..."³

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3. *A visitor from Canada delivered a progress report on his attempts to bring Islam to Canadian Indians. He considered them prime prospects for conversion and potential support of the Muslim -- meaning Arab -- cause.*

5. The FIA is opposed to the arms race... we call upon President Carter to conclude the SALT talks..."
6. The FIA is against all forms of racism, Nazism and Zionism, especially as practiced in South Africa and Palestine.
7. The FIA supports all Muslims everywhere."

Convention proposals for future political activities included letter-writing campaigns to protest Israeli "intransigence" and the plight of the Palestinians; the use of influential individuals and citizens groups to counteract Jewish power and the "Jewish lobby" in Washington; and the formation of a Muslim "Anti-Defamation League."

MUSLIM STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S. AND CANADA (MSA)
P.O. Box 38
Plainfield, Indiana 46168

President: Rabie Hasan Ahmad

The MSA has been called the largest Muslim organization in the United States, though the number of members is not known. Subscribers to MSA publications (Al-Ittihad and Islamic Horizons) number 6,000 but the group claims to have 35,000 members and 190 chapters in North America. In any case, MSA is one of the most important groups, because its members are active, highly educated and, for the most part, Arab. It was founded in 1963 to help students adjust to life in the U.S. and at the same time keep their traditions and beliefs. Until 1967, this remained its main focus, but since then, Muslims of all occupations, backgrounds and professions have joined. Today approximately 60% of the members are working professionals, and three professional associations are affiliated with MSA.⁴ The

4. *The Islamic Medical Association; The Association of Muslim Social Scientists, devoted to research and development of a Muslim position in the social sciences; and the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers of North America, whose goals are to pool available talent and help the development of Muslim countries and peoples in Africa and Asia. All three organizations put out newsletters and publications of their own such as Muslim Scientist and Directory of Muslim Scientists and Engineers.*

organization's objectives, though still religious, cultural, educational and social, are now geared to the Muslim community at large rather than just to students.

MSA is a founding member of the International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations. As such, it participates in international conferences in the Middle East and Europe. Members of its staff go abroad on propaganda missions; delegates from Muslim countries participate in MSA's annual convention and speak in communities throughout the country. Recent activities have emphasized Islamic traditions and ideas; for example, many seminars are devoted to the ideal Muslim family.

Financial support for MSA's academic and religious activities comes from members' contributions and donations from Middle Eastern countries. In 1976, MSA bought 124 acres of land near Indianapolis for new headquarters and for a future Islamic Center of North America; a large part of the purchase price of \$375,000 came from the Middle East. (As of October 1977 the building of the center had not started, because of zoning problems.) Similarly, in 1977, more than \$395,000 was contributed towards operating costs by Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates; the largest share, about \$250,000, came from Saudi Arabia. Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia also offer scholarships to MSA and advertise for needed academic and professional personnel in its publications.

Since 1973, the U.S. has seen a big increase in the number of students from the Middle East, primarily from oil-rich countries seeking technical and managerial skills. Probably for this reason, MSA's two publications have printed more attacks on Israel, Zionism and Jews since 1973 than before. But even before the war of 1973, an annual convention adopted a resolution calling for a jihad (holy war): "Jihad is the only way to liberate occupied Muslim countries and, therefore, we support all Islamic liberation movements and struggles of Muslims in Palestine and Iran." During the October war, MSA formed a special Action Committee for the Middle East. Recently, Islamic Horizons has run a series of articles on Jewish influence in the U.S., which contended, "[The Jews'] ability to exploit media and to manipulate the political apparatus of both the Democrats and Republicans in and outside the corridors of power is beyond doubt. So powerful is their hold on the public opinion that those who oppose Israel's policies in the Middle East could be counted on fingers."

THE WORLD COMMUNITY OF ISLAM IN THE WEST (WCIW)
(Formerly the Black Muslims; also known as Bilalian Muslim
Organization)
7531 South Stony Island Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60649

Chief Imam: Wallace D. Muhammad

The Black Muslim movement began as the "Lost-Found Nation of Islam," "rediscovered" in the 1930s among American blacks. It was started by W. D. Fard, a peddler of unknown origin, who began teaching the "true" origins of blacks and their "true" religion, which resembled Islam, in the black ghetto of Detroit. His teachings grew into black nationalism.

In 1934, Fard disappeared without a trace. His most trusted student and follower, Elijah (Poole) Muhammad, took over and continued the established tradition teaching that the black is the original human, that whites are devils, that black Muslims must change their slave names and avoid certain foods. However, Elijah introduced a new slant: He claimed that Fard was Allah and he himself was Allah's prophet. This is heresy, according to orthodox Sunni doctrine, which proclaims that there is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet. As a result, the movement split; those members who refused to accept Fard as Allah formed their own organization, the Hanafi Muslim Movement.

The two groups have occasionally clashed; during 1973-74, in Washington, several persons were killed, and the quarrels surfaced again in the years that followed. But since 1975, when Muhammad died and was replaced by his son, Wallace Muhammad, things have quieted down and the organization has moved closer to orthodox Sunni Islam.

The WCIW (or Bilalian Muslim Organization) is now considered the most important black nationalist movement in the U.S. and emphasizes this aspect, rather than its Muslim character. The organization maintains a nationwide network of mosques and schools, which is totally separate from other Muslim institutions. There are about 140 mosques at present, and plans are afoot to build more, with monetary aid from Middle East countries. The Black Muslim organization owns stores, restaurants, apartment houses, a bank, a publishing company which prints the country's largest black newspaper, Bilalian News, and 15,000 acres of farmland in three states. The value of properties held by them was estimated at fully \$70 million in 1973, but the organization then suffered from lack of cash flow and of technical and managerial skills.

During most of its existence, WCIW was shunned by orthodox

Muslims and in turn shunned orthodoxy. The Black Muslims barred Arab and other ethnic Muslims from their temples and frowned on intermarriage with them. (Such marriages are in fact unheard-of.) Contributions from Middle Eastern countries were neither sought nor offered. But since Wallace Muhammad succeeded his father, there have been changes.

Negotiations with Arab countries to get money began in 1973; they were not successful while Elijah was alive because of the strife and killings within the group, and because of its all-black philosophy. Today, however, Black Muslims feel a strong affinity and identification with Muslims throughout the world; Bilalian News now offers a regular feature on the Qur'an and the Arabic language. Black Muslim philosophy has moved closer to traditional Islam, which makes it more acceptable to the Arab countries. Since 1976, "Bilalians" have participated in events at the Islamic Center in Washington, primarily an Arab Muslim institution. They took part in the 1978 convention of FIA, though not recognized by that body. And the money has started to come in: Libya has loaned WCIW several million dollars to finance new mosques and schools; Saudi Arabia -- the most orthodox and conservative Muslim country -- now offers scholarships to Bilalian students and has offered several million dollars to help finance a proposed \$15 million mosque on Chicago's South Side.

WCIW has abandoned most of its original racial and religious ideology. Black Muslims are now very active in setting up schools to teach the fundamentals of Islam, with texts and educational aids from the Middle East. They engage in missionary activities in the black community, and the number of converts to Islam in the U.S. has increased greatly thanks to their efforts. Their distinctive dress and their upright, moral behavior are important attractions in proselytizing. In their religious zeal and strict approach to Islamic law (especially with regard to dress, behavior and prayer), they share common goals with Muslims in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Clearly, both of these countries will work closely with the WCIW in their efforts to bolster Muslim minorities throughout the world and to impose one version of Islam on all of them. (For example, Rabita has recently held training seminars for Bilalian imams).

WCIW is somewhat ambivalent, usually hostile, toward Judaism and Jews. Though recognizing the similarity of religious beliefs and practices and a common history of persecution, Black Muslims still tend to see American Jews as members of the "race of devils," and Israeli Jews as enemies of their brother Muslims in the Middle East. Wallace Muhammad calls for cooperation among American Muslims, Jews and Christians in the fight against poverty and discrimination, but follows the Arab Muslim line

with regard to Israel. Bilalian News recently put the blame for stalled peace negotiations on Israeli "intransigence" and "expansionism," declaring: "The State of Israel came about when Zionist Jews, using terror and deceit, forced the Palestinians out of Palestine in 1948." With the money from Middle Eastern Muslim countries, certain political and theological influences are evidently coming in.

The rival Hanafi group is much smaller than WCIW, with a membership estimated at 1,000. Whereas WCIW attracts poor people, and recruits and rehabilitates pimps, prostitutes and prison inmates, the Hanafis are middle class. Their Chief Imam, Hamaas Abdul Khaalis, in 1958, broke with the Nation of Islam, which he felt had abandoned its commitment to orthodox Sunni Islam. But aside from theological disputes and personal grievances, there are no major differences between the two organizations. The Hanafis, too, have generally rejected the racial doctrine of the early Black Muslim movement, but believe strongly in defending their faith against "the enemies of Islam."

In March 1977, with a group of 11 armed Hanafi Muslims, Khaalis took over the District of Columbia Building, the Islamic Center and B'nai B'rith Headquarters in Washington, leading the attack on B'nai B'rith himself. During a 39-hour siege, the 116 Jewish hostages were physically assaulted, threatened and subjected to Khaalis' anti-Semitic tirades. "Zionist-Jews," he said, were a world conspiracy against which he was waging holy war as a "soldier of Allah." By the time all the takeovers ended, fortunately without a shoot-out, one black reporter had been killed and another man paralyzed by gunfire. Khaalis, who along with his associates was convicted of second-degree murder and kidnapping, was sentenced to a minimum of 41 years in prison. The case is still being appealed.

A third group, the Islamic Party in North America, has recently emerged: A Sunni Muslim organization, consisting mostly of blacks and decidedly opposed to WCIW. The Islamic Party engages mainly in social welfare activities such as distributing food to the need and running a Prison Work Unit, promotes conversion to Islam among poor blacks, and publishes a magazine Al-Islam.

ISLAMIC CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF AMERICA, INC.
P.O. Box 484
Lenox Hill Station
New York, New York 10021

Director and Founder: Mehmet Alisan Dobra

In May 1976, an International Federation of Islamic Chambers of Commerce was formed to aid Muslim businessmen, with the help and encouragement of the Islamic Conference (of Foreign Ministers) in Istanbul and the Muslim World League (Rabita). The Federation, in turn, decided to organize on the North American continent. To this end, new organizations were formed, among them the first Islamic Chamber of Commerce of America.

The Chamber's Board of Directors is composed entirely of Muslims who have been active in Muslim government and business circles. They are:

1. Alisan Dobra: President of Trans-Orient Marine Corporation of New York; shipping agent for the Government of the Sudan; Honorary Commercial Attache of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen; foreign trade advisor to the World Community of Islam in the West; Director and Vice President of the U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce.
2. Raymond Sharrieff: Chairman of the Board of Islamic Overseas Corp. of America in Delaware (Isloca); former Minister of Justice, World Community of Islam in the West.
3. Adil Araboglu: President of the Crescent group of companies of Washington; Honorary Consul General of Tunisia in Maryland; and Public Law 480 agent for the governments of Tunisia and Afghanistan (a U.S. aid program under which countries pay for food and other goods with books and their domestic products).

The objectives of the Islamic Chamber of Commerce are:

1. To facilitate, develop and maintain financial and economic relations among Muslim businessmen in the United States and Canada, as well as with Muslim countries, with the help of the Islamic Conference in Jidda.
2. To explore the business potential of the Muslim community in the United States with respect to international trade with Muslim countries, assistance and advice to Muslim immigrants, and protection of Muslim economic interests in the United States.

The Chamber has raised specific questions about discrimination against Muslims in the letting of U.S. Government contracts, unfair hiring practices of American firms, and restrictions and embargoes directed against Muslims. In addition, the Chamber intends to focus on the role American Muslims can play in Middle East trade: through establishment of a Muslim bank, preferential treatment in trading with the Middle East, and hiring Muslim labor for work on contracts in Muslim countries.

Several concrete proposals are currently being considered by the Chamber. The last week of September 1978 was designated Muslim Trade Week, and reportedly meetings were held at the Turkish Center in New York. The Chamber plans to send an all-Muslim trade mission to Muslim countries some time in 1979; it will also set up contacts with a view to establishing branches all over the U.S. and Canada.



ISLAM

November 21, 1979

CONFIDENTIAL

Miles Zitmore

Judy Banki

Conference on Islam and Judaism

I can't respond in full to all the questions raised in your memo of November 9th, particularly those dealing with budget, funding, and national/local sponsorships. Obviously, I want to check with Marc Tanenbaum about these and other questions. But I do want to get off a quick reaction to two items on your shopping list: the speakers suggested by Dean Hambly, and the substantive issues he suggests for further discussion.

By coincidence, my copy of your memo to Ira arrived the same afternoon that Dr. Riffat Hassan was here for a planning meeting for a forthcoming conference. Dr. Hassan is a Muslim and an Islamic scholar, originally from Pakistan, now professor of religion at the University of Louisville in Kentucky. She is also a woman, and-- equally rare among Muslim scholars in my experience-- extremely ecumenically-minded and open to dialogue. I asked her for her off the record opinion of the names suggested by Hambly and she noted the following, in confidence: Dr. Nasr (no longer in Utah, she said, but now at Temple University) and Dr. Algar are both specialists in Sufism, i.e. Islamic mysticism. Thus, to invite one or both of these men would be sort of the equivalent of inviting a Lubovitcher Hasid to a basic interreligious dialogue as a representative of mainstream Judaism. These men hardly represent mainstream Islam; moreover, she said, she thinks both are somewhat authoritarian in approach and "not 'into' dialogue."

I might be tempted to dismiss this response as self-serving or competitive if it were not for my high regard for Dr. Hassan, based both on personal "vibes" and on a presentation she made at our Commission meeting during the Annual meeting during Annual Meeting in May. Perhaps because she is a woman and has had to buck a male-dominated hierarchy, she seems more inclined to recognize internal problems and less defensive in her explanation of Muslim thought and history than others I have heard. I think she would be a good resource in the kind of program Hambly has suggested. We have misplaced and are awaiting another biographical sketch and will forward a copy of same to you when it arrives.

As to the substantive issues that Hamby thinks should be the focus of further discussion, I agree that they are central ones. However, I should point out that his first question is really two separate and distinct questions, one theological and the other historical. In other words, (1) What does Islam say about the treatment of alien religious minorities within its geographical turf?, and (2) What is the historical record? How that record compares with the record of Christian treatment of Jews and Judaism is a third question, and the degree to which Muslim Arab leaders have appropriated elements of the anti-Jewish Christian polemic for contemporary political purposes is a fourth question.

I believe all of these are deserving of serious exploration, but I am not sure whether the gamut can be covered in a one day colloquium. It looks to me like you have the makings for two conferences here.

I am sure you will be hearing from Sheba, Ira, and Marc, but I wanted to give you some initial feedback.

Warmest best wishes!

JHB:mk

cc: Marc H. Tanenbaum, Ira Silverman, Sheba Mittelman. Shula Bahat, Harold Applebaum, Milton Tobian



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Islamic J. R. H.

DALLAS CHAPTER • 1809 Tower Building • Dallas, Texas 75201 • (214) 747-3531

November 9, 1979

*MHT
Ira Silverman*

cc Sheba Mittelman
 Judy Banki
Shula Bahat
Harold Applebaum
Milton Tobian

TO: Ira Silverman

FROM: Miles Zitmore

RE: A Conference on Islam and Judaism



Our Chapter held an extremely interesting program this summer on the subject of Islamic Geopolitics, utilizing two local academicians. This sparked an interest in pursuing a more extensive program on Islam and Judaism.

A few weeks ago I sat down with Deans Gavin Hambly and Carolyn Galerstein at University of Texas - Dallas and we "hashed-out" ideas. We asked Hambly to draft a planning memo to which we could respond. The attached letter was his result. Hambly was one of the two panelists at this summer's program. He is an expert in Islamic History with long experience with the British Foreign Service in India, Iran and elsewhere.

At this point I would appreciate it if you and some of our colleagues would respond to Hambly's proposal. I will share your response with both Hambly and our local chapter. I would like to know:

- a. Is the slant of the topic germane to us?
- b. What would we want to accomplish in such a conference?
- c. Who would we want to target as speakers and as participants?
- d. What kind of budget do we project?
- e. How much (if any) could National AJC participate and underwrite?
(i.e. would this be a National or Local Chapter Conference)
- f. What other sources of funding would you recommend?

Please come back to me with either an expansion on Hambly's proposal or a counter proposal. Many thanks.

Regards,

MZ

MZ *PS* *I THINK WE'VE GOT SOMETHING UNIQUE!*

Chairman: LEON RABIN □ Vice-Chairmen: HARLAN COHEN, HANNE KLEIN, ARNOLD PADDOCK, CAROLE R. SHLIPAK, DONALD ZAHN □ Honorary Vice Chairmen: HENRY S. JACOBUS, SR., DOROTHY LEWIS □ Secretary: SIDNEY STAHL □ Treasurer: ARNOLD DARROW □ Board of Directors: CARL ABRAMSON, CAROL ALKEK, LESLIE G. BASS, SHARLENE BLOCK, SAM R. BLOOM, HENRI L. BROMBERG, JR., WALTER W. BRUDNO, ANN CHUD, NEIL COGAN, NINA CORTELL, LEO M. DAVIS, DONALD FAGELMAN, CARL FLAXMAN, RICHARD FOGEL, MICHAEL D. GINSBERG, REUBEN M. GINSBERG, ROBERT GLAZER, DAVID G. GLICKMAN, RAYMOND L. GOLDEN, RUTH S. GREENBERG, EDWARD C. GREENE, JAMES GREENE, FREDERICK GRINNELL, PAULA GRINNELL, SELWYN HELLER, HOWARD HERSKOWITZ, STANLEY HICKMAN, GARY S. HOFFMAN, JACK H. KAMHÖLZ, M.D., ARNOLD H. KASSANOFF, M.D., JUDY LAMBERT, CARL LEE, BENJAMIN F. LEWIS, JUDITH A. LIFSON, MOLLIE LIPSHY, MICHAEL LOWENBERG, RUTH LURIE, JOY MANKOFF, HENRY S. MILLER, JR., ROBERT MILLER, RAYMOND D. NASHER, RABBI JORDAN OFSEYER, STANLEY C. PEARLE, STANLEY A. RABIN, ALFRED RABINER, HOWARD SOBEL, FREDA GAIL STERN, ROSÉ MARIE STROMBERG, JANICE SWEET, SHIRLEY TOBOLOWSKY, MARK UNTERBERG, M.D., ANDREA WEINSTEIN, EUGENE WESTON, RHEA M. WOLFRAM, BERNARD L. YOLLICK, M.D., FLORENCE ZIEGLER.

□ Southwest Regional Director: MILTON I. TOBIAN □ Assistant Area Director: MILES ZITMGRE



THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT DALLAS

DEAN OF ARTS AND HUMANITIES

6 November 1979

Mr. Miles Zitmore
Assistant Director
The American Jewish Committee
Southwest Regional Council
1809 Tower Building
Dallas, Texas 75201

Dear Miles:

My profuse apologies for not setting my thoughts down on paper before, but as usual, I must plead the pressures of decanal business. I thought that the conversation which Carolyn Galerstein, you and I had at lunch the other week most productive, and I would now like to spell out more specifically some of my own ideas -- not because they necessarily represent the best way to go, but they may at least act as a catalyst.

On the occasion when you so kindly invited me to address the Dallas Chapter of the American Jewish Committee I came away from the post-presentation discussion with a feeling that two central issues in Jewish-Muslim relations had surfaced again and again. The first of these seemed to me to be whether Islam, as a religion, and by its very nature, implicitly condones the persecution or suppression of alien minority communities (i.e., non-Muslim communities) within its frontiers? Or, in other words, what is the historical record of Muslim persecution or tolerance of alien faiths?

The second question is to what extent the historic roots of contemporary Muslim-Jewish conflict relate to the well-documented record of anti-Semitism within the Christian Tradition. With this in mind, I wonder what your Chapter would feel about our putting together a one-day colloquium -- I am thinking of the Spring of 1981 -- in which a morning (or afternoon) panel with, say, two guest speakers, explored within a historical and theological framework, the nature of traditional Islam's responsibilities to non-Muslim minorities in its midst; while in the afternoon (or evening) there would be a *REBELLION*, again with two guest speakers, examining specific aspects of Muslim-Jewish relations in, for example, Muslim Spain, Egypt or the Ottoman empire.

Page 2

Mr. Miles Zitmore

November 6, 1979

If we were to pursue this idea further, we would want to insure that we had the right balance among our speakers. Despite your remarks at lunch the other day, I am not altogether convinced that one has to invite a Muslim, although were we to do so, we might consider Dr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, now in Utah, or Dr. Hamid Algar of the University of California at Berkeley, who (if I recall rightly) is half Egyptian and half British, is a Muslim, and also a fine scholar in the area of Islamic Theology. Muslims apart, I am thinking of Franz Rosenthal at Yale, probably America's leading scholar in the field of Muslim intellectual history, or S. D. Goitein, Professor of Arabic at the University of Pennsylvania, who has worked extensively on the Jewish communities of medieval Egypt and their relationship within the larger Islamic world in which they were encapsulated. Among less established figures, the name of Dr. Benjamin Braude of Boston College comes to mind, a specialist in the history of the non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire.

Temple

Obviously, a proposal of this kind involves money, and I fear that we have none to contribute. What UTD can contribute is the hospitality of its campus, publicity to attract a broad spectrum of concerned persons in addition to the members of the Dallas Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, and an appropriate university forum for bringing down experts who will be both informative and thought-provoking in an area of vital importance to every thinking person. You, I imagine, would be able to provide part of the audience and additional publicity, but who is to provide the funding for the travel, local accomodation, and honoraria of the scholars we would wish to bring down? Carolyn Galerstein has some views with regard to outside funding, and I suggest that if you are in agreement with the direction of the above proposals, we ask Carolyn to pursue a potential grant from the NEH, while perhaps you yourself could explore other possible sources of support in the community. If we are thinking in terms of four visitors we should allow air fares approximating to \$1,400, \$600 to cover local accomodation, ground transportation, etc., and honoraria of a minimum of \$2,000, assuming \$500 as an average, which is a reasonable figure. Can you think of any additional costs? If not, we are talking about \$4,000 plus.

Do let me know how you feel about all this, and please don't hesitate to shoot it down, if you think it inappropriate at the present time.

With warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

Gavin R. G. Hambley, Dean
School of Arts and Humanities

bbj:ll

cc: Dean Carolyn Galerstein
Mr. Richard Geyer
Executive Director, Development and University Relations

F- Islam

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 30, 1979
to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
from Sheba Mittelman
subject Arizona State University

(F. u. -)

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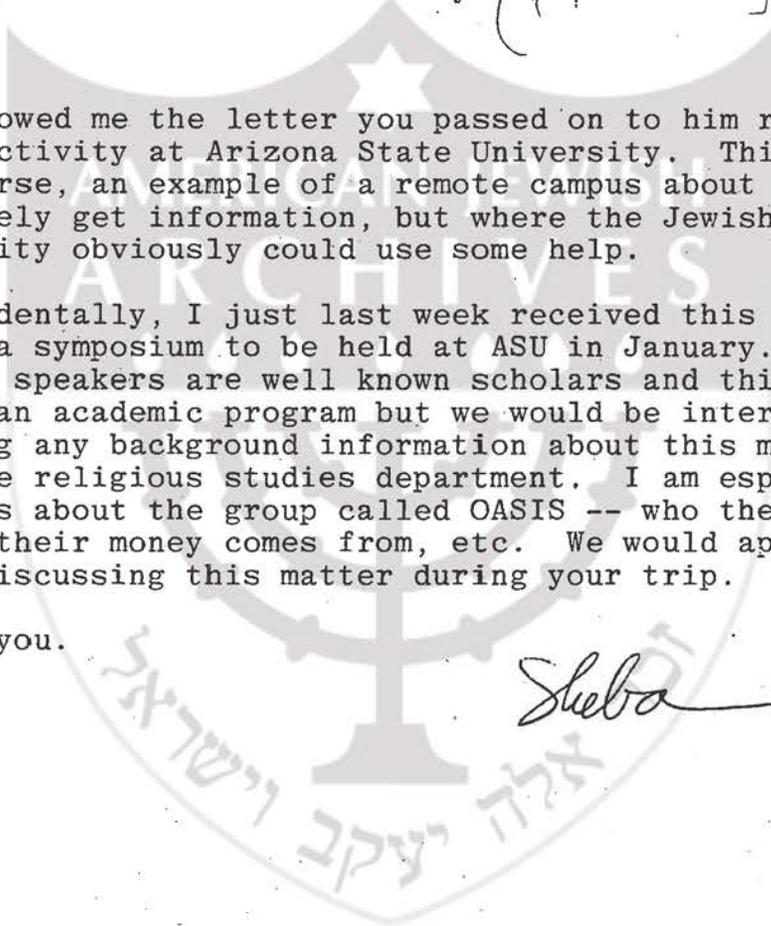
Ira showed me the letter you passed on to him reporting Arab activity at Arizona State University. This is, of course, an example of a remote campus about which we rarely get information, but where the Jewish community obviously could use some help.

Coincidentally, I just last week received this flyer about a symposium to be held at ASU in January. Some of the speakers are well known scholars and this appears to be an academic program but we would be interested in getting any background information about this meeting and the religious studies department. I am especially curious about the group called OASIS -- who they are; where their money comes from, etc. We would appreciate your discussing this matter during your trip.

Thank you.

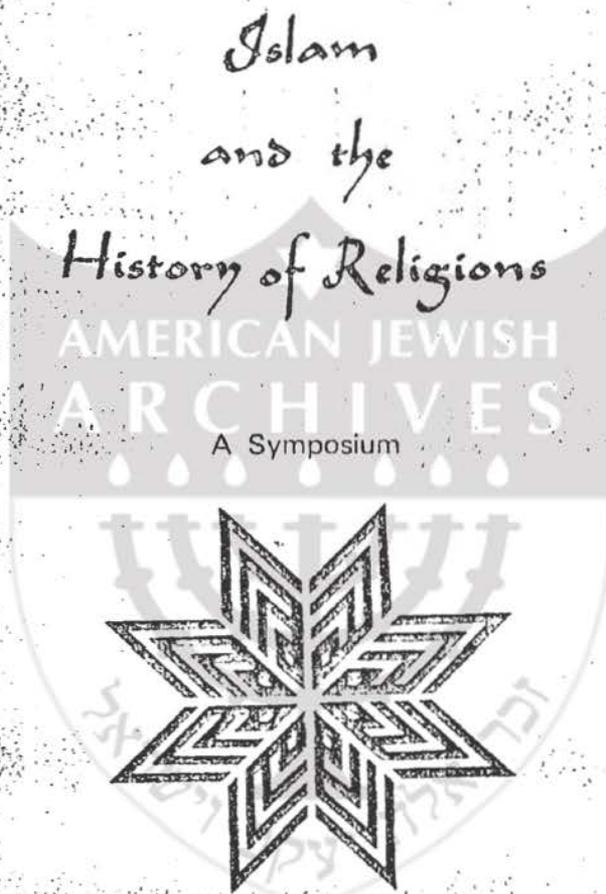
Sheba

SM:ls
enc.



502314
University Conference Services
Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona 85281

John
W. Martin



DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona

January 24-27, 1980

ABOUT THE SYMPOSIUM

The Department of Religious Studies at Arizona State University invites interested scholars to attend a symposium on ISLAM AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS January 24-27, 1980. Funding for the project is provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities, Arizona State University, and OASIS⁴ (Organization of Arizonans Supporting Islamic Studies).

The Department of Religious Studies has asked fifteen Islamic specialists from North America and Europe to present papers that analyze such fields of Islamic religious data as Koran, Tradition, ritual and folk or popular religion. Included among the methodological viewpoints solicited were form-criticism, phenomenology and structuralism.

The Department of Religious Studies has strong disciplinary interests in history of religions, and the faculty regularly sponsors projects, speakers and scholarly colloquia on topics in Asian, Near Eastern and Native American religious traditions. In addition, the University has an interdisciplinary curricular area in Islamic Studies, taught by faculty Islamic specialists from several departments.

Interested scholars may register to attend the symposium by filling out and returning the form provided in this folder along with a check for the registration fee of \$40.00 per person. Meetings and some meals will be in the Memorial Union building on the campus of Arizona State University. Lodging is available at Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge across from the campus. A generous grant from OASIS makes it possible to require a reduced registration fee, inclusive of most meals. Available funding and the seminar format of the project necessitate that participation be limited to the first 30 registrations received.

Professor Delwin Brown Professor Richard C. Martin
Chairperson Project Director
Department of Religious Studies

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Please contact Professor Richard C. Martin, Department of Religious Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85281, 602/965-7145.

NON-PROFIT.ORG



Symposium Schedule

Memorial Union
 Arizona State University
 January 24-27, 1980

Thursday January 24, 1980

Arrival of out-of-town guests. Conference and motel registration at Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge across from the campus.

Evening Buffet Dinner — 6:00 PM
 Gold Room, Memorial Union

Welcome to the University by Professor Charles Woolf,
 Dean of the Graduate College

Opening remarks by Professor Richard C. Martin,
 Symposium Convener

Evening Session — Panel — 7:30-10:30
 Moderator, Professor Richard C. Martin, ASU

ISLAM, ISLAMIC STUDIES, AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS: BOUNDARIES AND BRIDGES

Dr. Muhammad Abdul Rauf, Director, Islamic Center, Wash., DC
Islamic Studies: A Muslim's Point of View

Professor Jacques Waardenburg, University of the Utrecht
Islamic Studies: An Historian of Religions' Point of View

Professor Muhsin Mahdi, Harvard University
Islamic Studies: An Islamist's Point of View

Friday, January 25, 1980

8:00 AM Breakfast in Gold Room

Morning Session — 9:00-12:00
 Moderator, Professor Delwin Brown, ASU

ISLAMIC THOUGHT: VIEWS ON RELIGION

Professor Fazlur Rahman, University of Chicago
Muslim Philosophers' Approaches to Religion

Professor Richard M. Frank, The Catholic University of America
Kalam as a Religious Discipline

Professor Jane I. Smith, Harvard Divinity School
Islamic Understanding of the Afterlife

Afternoon Session 2:00-5:00
 Moderator, Professor Joel Gereboff, ASU

ISLAMIC TEXTS AND HERMENEUTICS

Professor Charles J. Adams, McGill University
The Hermeneutics of Henry Corbin: A Critique

Mr. Andrew Andrew Rippin, Michigan State Univ.
Literary Analysis of Qur'a, Sira and Tafsir: The Methodologies of John Wansbrough

Professor Jean René Milot, Université de Montreal
A Case Study of Structuralist Analysis Applied to Sufi Texts

Evening
 Dinner for Symposium Participants in Phoenix Area

Saturday, January 26, 1980

8:00 AM Breakfast in Gold Room

Morning Session 9:00-12:00
 Moderator, Professor James H. Foad, ASU

ISLAMIC STUDIES IN HISTORY OF RELIGIONS: CLASSICAL APPROACHES

Professor Willard G. Oxtoby, University of Toronto
The Category of Prophet: Illustration and Critique

Professor Frederick M. Denny, University of Colorado
Islamic Ritual: Perspectives and Theories

Professor William A. Graham, Harvard University
Scripture As Problem in the Study of Islam and the History of Religion

Afternoon Session 2:00-5:00
 Moderator, Professor Sam D. Gill, ASU

ISLAMIC STUDIES IN HISTORY OF RELIGIONS: NEWER APPROACHES

Professor Earle H. Waugh, University of Alberta
The Popular Muhammad: Survey of Prophetic Models And their Impact on Islamic Piety

Professor Richard Eaton, University of Arizona
Approaches to the Study of Conversion in Muslim India

Professor Marilyn Waldman, Ohio State University
Primitive Mind/Modern Mind: Recent Approaches to an Old Problem Applied to Islam

Evening
 Reception for Symposium participants by OASIS members

Sunday, January 27, 1980

Breakfast Session — 9:00 Gold Room

10:30 AM Symposium concludes

HOTEL RESERVATION FORMS

Mail Directly to:
 HOWARD JOHNSON'S
 MOTOR LODGE
 225 E. Apache Blvd.
 Tempe, AZ 85281

Name _____
 Group: Islam and the History of Religions
 Home _____
 City _____
 State, Zip _____
 Please reserve: Single _____ Double _____
 Arrival Date _____ Time _____
 No. of Nights _____ No. of People _____

Hold for arrival before 6 P.M. Guaranteed arrival

ISLAM AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

January 24-27, 1980

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION FORM
 FEE: \$40.00 per person

Name _____
 Title or Position _____
 Institution _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to **Arizona State University** and mail with registration form to Islam and the History of Religions, University Conference Services, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

cc: Rabbi A. James Rudin ✓
Susie Schub
Eugene Du Bow

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

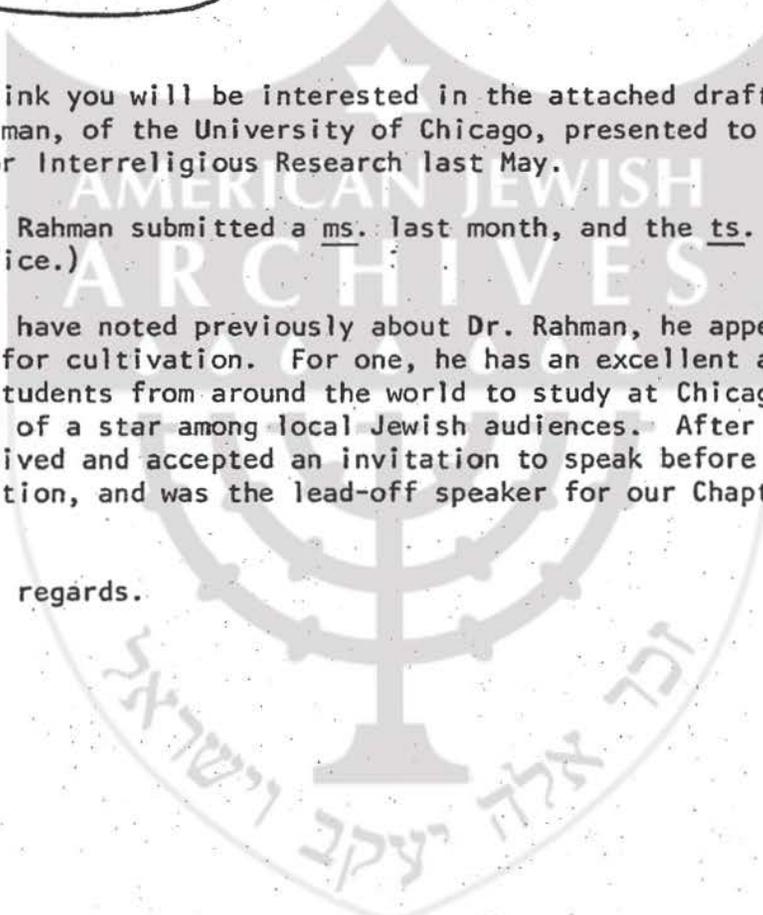
date January 16, 1979
to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
from Adam Simms
subject 'Islam and Violence Among Nations'

I think you will be interested in the attached draft of the paper presented by Fazlur Rahman, of the University of Chicago, presented to a colloquium of the Chicago Institute for Interreligious Research last May.

(Dr. Rahman submitted a ms. last month, and the ts. draft was completed this week by our office.)

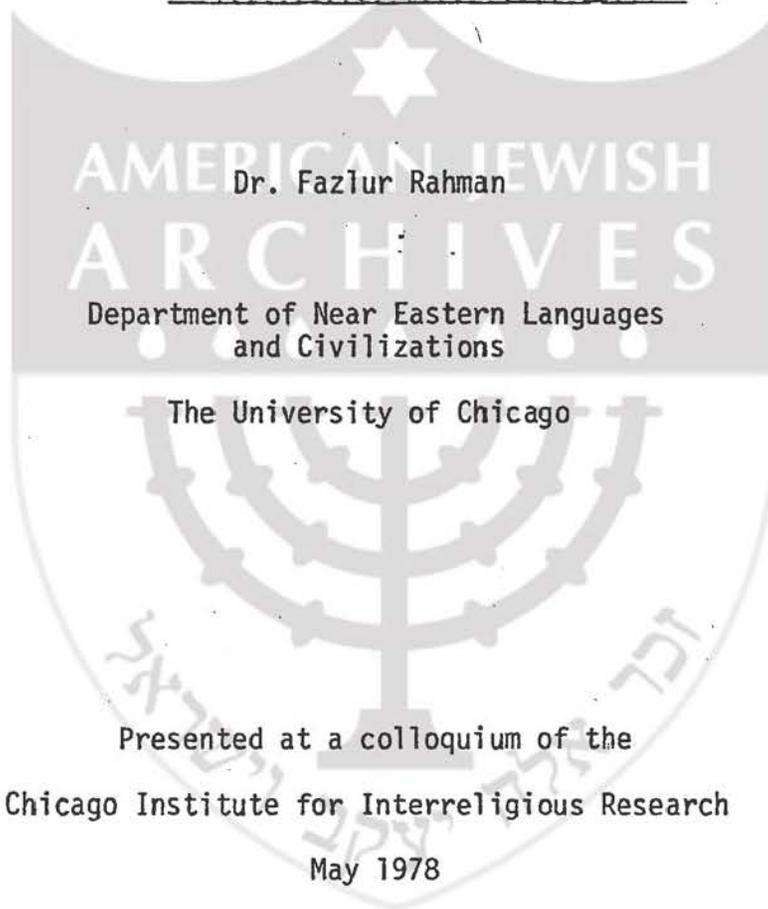
As I have noted previously about Dr. Rahman, he appears to be an excellent candidate for cultivation. For one, he has an excellent academic reputation and draws graduate students from around the world to study at Chicago. For another, he has become something of a star among local Jewish audiences. After his participation at the CIIR, he received and accepted an invitation to speak before the Niles (IL) Township Jewish Congregation, and was the lead-off speaker for our Chapter's Arab Seminar this autumn.

Best regards.



RECEIVED JAN 21 1979

ISLAM AND VIOLENCE AMONG NATIONS



Dr. Fazlur Rahman

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Department of Near Eastern Languages
and Civilizations

The University of Chicago

Presented at a colloquium of the
Chicago Institute for Interreligious Research

May 1978

ISLAM AND VIOLENCE AMONG NATIONS

The background of the origin of Islam in Mecca in the early seventh century A.C. is hardly known to the world, although it seems indispensable for an adequate understanding of the nature of the Islamic movement as it was led by the Prophet Muhammed. Even the Muslims themselves have forgotten much of this background. It appears from the Qur'an that Muhammed was deeply troubled by certain problems in his society (which, it must be remembered, was a commercial society) and carried a "burden which was breaking your back" (94,1-3). There are two problems that are underlined in the early Suras (chapters) of the Qur'an, once concerning the idolatry of the Meccans and Arabs in general and the other concerning certain commercial malpractices, exploitation of the weaker and disenfranchised classes and an ugly socio-economic disparity between the rich and the poor. It is known that before his Call, Muhammed used to frequent the Cave of Hira [? - spelling] in the north of Mecca to pray to God about a solution of these and other problems and to contemplate. It was in one of these contemplative moods that Revelation came to him. When, however, invited he/~~xxxxxx~~ the Meccans to give up polytheism and to remove the stark socio-economic disparity in their society, they rejected him because both of these reforms hit directly at their vested interests (for his large and powerful tribe of Quraish were also in charge of the pagan religious cult besides being traders).

The Qur'an then warned the Meccans of a Day of Judgement when every individual will be answerable for his/her deeds, when

deed-sheets will be weighed - good against bad - and when nobody will be protected by his clan, tribe, friends or intercessors. A little later the Qur'an introduces another judgement-theme, the "judgement in history" and begins to dilate on the fate of certain earlier nations which did not mend their evil ways despite the summons to them of their "prophets" and good men and were hence destroyed. It interestingly repeats that peace and prosperity are great blessings of God but that nations forfeit such life when they misuse it and that, therefore, this life of peace and prosperity is both a blessing and a trial. It emphasizes that when nations go under, even these "good" men are enveloped by the same fate who had been passive and only those survive or are "delivered" from punishment who had actively protested against and opposed evil (11, 116; cf. also 5, 63). This undoubtedly encouraged the Prophet himself to remain steadfast in his protracted and painful struggle that lasted for nearly twenty-three years.

During this struggle, the basic theology, rituals and the ethico-social doctrine of the Qur'an gradually unfolded themselves. There is one and unique God, the creator and sustainer of the universe who created the world out of His sheer mercy; He alone deserves service and worship, the worst sin being to "associate any partner with Him." When He creates something, He also puts its amr [?-spelling] or command and its hidayn [?-spelling] into it; i.e., the laws of its behaviour whereby it fits into the rest of the universe to form a well-knit and firm system wherein "there is no [spelling?] _____ and no gap". The universe is,

therefore, autonomous since its laws are ingrained into it, but it is not autocratic or absolute since it points to a creator beyond itself: it is the greatest "sign" or miracle of God. Yet, man is so immersed in his immediate visible environment that he mostly does not see God in nature and becomes aware of Him only in his helplessness and in the failure of natural causes. When a ship is sailing smoothly and the sea is calm and winds favorable, man is apt "to forget" God, but when a storm suddenly ~~breaks~~ brews and angry waves strike the ship, man turns to God and asks His help, but "when He delivers them safely to the land, lo! they again begin to assign partners to Him" (29, 65). And yet, this universe is only a finite being while God and God alone is truly infinite.

All the faults and failures of man actually arise from his pettiness, narrowness of his mind and almost unmitigated selfishness: "Man, by nature, is unstable; when evil hits him he panics but ~~when~~ when good things come his way, he prevents them from reaching others" (70, 19). "If you were to possess the treasures of the mercy of my Lord, you would still withhold from spending them [on others] out of fear [of impoverishment]" (17, 100). It is Satan who whispers into the minds of people that if they were to spend of their possessions for the sake of the needy, they would be impoverished; God, on the other hand, promises well-being and prosperity for such investment (which the Qur'an often calls "establishing credit with God") (2, 268). The real and only remedy, then is for man to transcend his selfish and narrow interests for they are not his real interests, and to develop

a long range vision and to have the "end of things" in view. In fact, the Qur'anic teaching on the Day of Judgement essentially centers on this point, viz. "to send forth something for the morrow", words which occur so frequently in the Qur'an. Purely materialistic gods tend to obscure these long-range and higher goals and make man necessarily short-sighted, and in its critique of the Meccan businessmen it says, "they know the externalities of the worldly life but are heedless of the higher ends [of life]" (30, 7); "This is the height of their knowledge" (53, 30).

The goal the Qur'an sets for mankind is to establish an ethically based viable social order where the good will be ~~enforced~~ [_____ ? _____] and evil prohibited. This was the task defined for the Muslim community which is described as the "Middle Community" and the best community brought out for mankind: "Those who, if we give them power on the earth, shall establish prayers, pay the Zakat-tax (i.e., the welfare tax), and command good and prohibit evil" (22, 41). But such a moral-social order cannot be established without the eradication of what the Qur'an constantly calls "corruption on the earth" which is [? _____] means all the negative tendencies in man but at the center of which stands the selfishness and narrowness of the mind spoken of above - be it at its individual, group, class or national level. Under all circumstances, justice and fair-play must be done and Muslims are warned not to resort to unfairness even towards their (erstwhile) enemies; "Let not the enmity of a people determine you to be unjust towards them -- be fair for it; nearest

to taqwa (piety) (5, 8; also, 5, 3).

This "corruption on the earth" can take various forms but its essence, then, is injustice of some kind or the other. But what makes the task of "reforming the earth" is not just the conscious rebelliousness and deliberate stubbornness of man but also, and more so, the self-deception of man as to his purposes and real motivation. Wanton destruction of human life and of the means of human sustenance is often there for men often resort to foolish transgression when they think their pride has been hurt, "When it is said to him 'fear God', his exaggerated pride leads him to commit follies" (2, 206); "When he turns his back [upon admonition], he [? ?] on the earth, sowing corruption and destroying crops and life, while God does not approve of corruption" (2, 205; cf., 5, 64). But much more subtle and consequently far more dangerous are the corrosive acids of self-righteousness: "When it is said to them 'do not sow corruption on the earth', they say 'We are only trying to reform'. Beware! these are the ones who corrupt but they do not understand." (2, 11-12) It is in this connection that the Qur'an speaks of the "lightness" and "weightiness" of deeds and that "in the end" or "on the Day of Judgement" actions that seem very significant and weighty in the immediate perspective, will simply "lose all weight" and "shall vanish." "Say: shall we tell you about those who are the greatest losers in terms of [the consequences] of their actions? [It is] those whose endeavors have got lost in the immediate [material] life of this world

but who all the same think they have made great achievements" (18, 103-104).

While, therefore, it is absolutely necessary to actively resist evil -- as we shall elaborate presently -- it is equally necessary that those who resist injustice think well whether themselves are not transgressors. It is to this end of proper self-examination and assessment that the Qur'an develops its key term "taqwa" which we have translated above sometimes as "piety" and sometimes "fear of God". Taqwa actually is a state of mind that tells you what is right and wrong in a situation and provides the necessary motivation for choosing the right -- in order to avoid the evil consequences of a wrong choice. It is that indispensable instrument without which man cannot see the right from the wrong, let alone choose right over the wrong. Only when this inner perception has been developed adequately can a person or a people undertake resistance to evil and "restore the earth" to a state of justice. Indeed, after the development of such perception, man must, and, in fact, is compelled to undertake this task.

The Qur'an often speaks as though God chooses certain peoples at certain times for this task, because of certain qualities developed by those peoples for this task. We have spoken above of the fact that the Qur'an had called Muslims "the best community brought forth for mankind" because, when they achieve power on the earth, they would do so and so. This "choice", therefore, has nothing unconditional about it and the Qur'an is recurrently and abundantly clear that no people is indispensable for God's purposes and that no community may lay

proprietary claims to God: in fact, it was such claims made by Jews and Christians that made the Qur'an declare that "Guidance is God's guidance" and not that of Jews and Christians (2, 120); further, "Jews say Christians have nothing to stand on and Christians say Jews have nothing to stand on -- yet, they recite the same book" (2, 113). For the Qur'an, in fact, divine guidance is a universal phenomenon and no people has been left without it (35, 24; 13, 7).

But the same Qur'an that told Muslims that they were the "median" and the "best" community told them also that they had to live up to it and that they cannot take God for granted: "If you turn your backs [upon this teaching], God will substitute another people for you and they will not be like you" (47, 38; also, 5, 54). By the same token the Qur'an strenuously rejects Jewish claims of election while affirming that God had blessed them with his Messengers, above all Abraham: "[God] said to Abraham: I am going to appoint you leader over men; he said: And from my progeny? God replied: My promise does not extend to the unjust ones." (2, 124). When the Muslim community later tried to claim "immunity from error" through Hadith (the putative reports of the Prophet's sayings and deeds), it did so in spite of the Qur'an for which there is nothing more arrogant for a community than to claim to have God on its side as a matter of course.

Resistance to obvious injustices is patently sanctioned by the Qur'an and is called by the now well-known term Jihad. when the Qur'an sanctioned Jihad for the first time about a year and a half after the immigration of Muslims and the Prophet himself

from Mecca to Madina, its purpose was explicitly described as redressing of the wrong inflicted upon Muslims by the pagan Arabs in expelling the former from their homes and properties in Mecca: "God will defend those who are Believers [for] God is no friend of treacherous disbelievers. [Jihad] is now allowed for those who fight because they have been wronged -- and God is, indeed, powerful enough to help them. Those who have been expelled from their homes and properties without any just cause -- except that they said that God is our Lord. But for the fact that God causes some people to resist and crush [? - correct word?] others, churches and synagogues and places of worship and mosques -- wherein God's name is frequently mentioned -- will surely be destroyed..." (22, 38 - 40).

Contrary to the prevalent view in the West, Jihad is a general term covering a variety of closely related phenomena and does not mean only "war". In the late Meccan period of the Qur'an, at a time when a general persecution of the Muslims started, the Qur'an at best allows mere retaliation for aggression: "If you punish, then retaliate only to the extent that you have been punished -- but if you be patient [and do not even retaliate], patience is better for you" (16, 126). A little later, however, when still in Mecca, under the pressure of persecution, some weaker ones cave in, we have the following, "Do people think that they will be let go simply by making the statement 'We believe' and that they will not be put on trial? We put on trial earlier peoples too, so that God must know who are

steadfast in their belief and those who are liars. Or, do those who perpetrate evil think that they are going to outstrip us? -- Evil is what they judge!...Whosoever does Jihad, he only does it for himself, for God is independent of the whole world" (29, 1-6). The high point is reached when a general state of war is proclaimed against pagan Arabs and Muslims are warned, "Say [O Muhammed!], if your fathers and your sons and your brothers and your wives and your clans and the wealth you have accumulated and the trade of whose decline you are fearful and the homes you are so pleased with -- if all these are dearer to you than God and His Messenger and waging Jihad in His cause, then wait until God brings down His decision, and God guides not an unrighteous people" (9, 24).

As the passage 22, 38-40 quoted above clearly shows, Jihad's primary function is to defend human right, particularly the right of freedom of belief and religion, but also ~~the~~ considerations of social and economic justice which, as said at the beginning of this paper, were largely responsible for the genesis of the Islamic movement. Jihad, therefore, is liberation struggle par excellence -- liberation from bondage and of deprivation of rights in general. It is interesting that just as Jihad was formally launched about fourteen centuries ago permitting these Meccan Muslims who had been forced out of their homes and properties, the same story was repeated in the twentieth century when Muslim freedom-movements successfully used the instrument of Jihad to liberate their countries from Western colonial rule. What is even more interesting and significant is

the fact that these freedom-movements used Jihad even when these movements themselves were not religious and some of them were patently and declaredly secular -- like, for example, the Algerian liberation struggle, where 10 % of the population was lost [? - correct word?] fighting against the French. Further, most leaders of these movements themselves acknowledge the efficacy of Jihad: in 1962, the Tunisian ambassador in Cairo told the present writer, "But for [the principle of] Jihad, we would have been completely finished [i.e., by the French]." Some other movements, like the Morroccan liberation movement had, in any case, certain strong religious features and the Istiqlal [? - spelling?] Party of Moroco had decidedly religious leadership.

What explains this apparent paradox is that Islam looks upon the restoration [?] of the rights of deprived peoples as a sacred task in itself. Hence violence for the sake of violence and wanton destruction of life is incompatible with the principle of Jihad, since this principle itself came into being in order to stop violence. In strict doctrine and according to the requirements of Islamic law, the only resort to war is allowed in thr form of Jihad and any war undertaken for sheer territorial gain is categorically unlawful. Further, the Jihad has certain definite rules according to which it must be constructed. Destruction of property and particularly that of crops and cattle is not allowed. The killing of children, (non-fighting) women, the old and the rich and of priests and other religious personnel is prohibited. Early legal schools of Islamic law discussed the question whether, if the enemies,

during active hostilities, shield themselves with women and children, it is permissible to shoot at them, and while there is a difference of opinion on this, the majority of the priests disallow this. An unarmed man may not be killed even if he is actively engaged in armed hostility.

Above all, Jihad is never waged against individuals but against organized powers, i.e., states. It follows necessarily from this that acts of terrorism, like hijacking of airplanes carrying innocent people and taking or threatening their lives would be criminal according to Islam. To do this is to invite Jihad against oneself. In practice, however, people can be driven to desperation if their rights are ruthlessly and persistently trampled upon and they may, and, in fact, will resort to desperate acts which strict law does not sanction. This is quite a separate matter and passing judgement upon desperados, the extent to which they have been wronged and the nature of the wrong itself have to be taken into due account. The international scene let alone, we know only too well that the people of a country can take up arms against their own ruling people. In Islam, armed rebellion is strongly discouraged and yet civil wars and rebellions against governments are not among our rare experiences. Certain Muslim jurists, like the eleventh century Ibn Hazm [?] of Spain, think that if a government persistently ignores the basic needs of its masses and neglects to provide them with food, clothing and shelter, it becomes incumbent upon such have-nots to take the law into their own hands and wrest these things from those that have them in surplus - for if the masses do not do this and

die of starvation etc, they would be guilty of suicide!

This is undoubtedly an extreme position to take and, of course, the majority of the Muslim lawyers do not hold this view. Nevertheless, such phenomena underline the truth that, besides the logic of reason, there is also the logic of brute facts and that facts themselves have to be brought in conformity with reason. There is no doubt in the mind of this writer that should the Arab-Israeli question be settled justly and _____ [?] with mutual trust - for there is no denying the fact that the basic source of the trouble is arising out of lack of real and effective communication and understanding due to lack of mutual confidence -, the two sides can not only co-exist, but exist in cooperation. It may well, of course, be that certain individuals who have become habituated to desperate acts of international terrorism, will continue to do so for some time to come (although recently such incidents have become much less frequent), but there is also no doubt that the world opinion does tell effectively in the long run if not in the short run.

Indeed, there are in Islam itself normative factors making for peace. The very fact that the Qur'an emphasizes the eradication of "corruption on the earth" means that warfare and feuding must be removed. The Qur'an sets very high value on peace and prosperity and considers them among the great blessings of God: "How about the fact that the Quraish (i.e., the tribe of Muhammad) have got so habituated to their trade-journeys of the winter [to the Indian Ocean] and the summer [to Byzantium]? Let them, then, serve the [one] Lord of this House (i.e., the

Ka'ha Sanctuary) Who feeds them that they do not starve and Who has given them peace that there is no fighting (i.e., in Mecca)." (106, 1 - 4). Time and again the Qur'an reminds people that peace and plenty are the great favors of God (16, 112; 15, 82; 28, 57; 29, 67, etc.) and that to misuse them precisely constitutes the corruption of the earth. The original meaning of the term "Islam" itself (which technically means "surrender to God"), is to be whole, integral and of one piece as opposed to splitting and disintegration. The Qur'an, in fact, calls Muslims for general peace, "O you Faithful! enter all of you into peace" (2, 208) and asks them to hasten to peace "if the other party does so".

To the "People of the Book", (8, 61) in particular (i.e., Jews and Christians, Islam issued a call not only for peace but for cooperation fourteen centuries ago through the Qur'an: "O People of the Book! let us come to a platform (or a formula) that is common between us - that we shall not serve any except God and shall not associate anyone with Him..." (3, 64). This purely religious cooperation has unfortunately never come about in the past, but there certainly has been a great deal of cultural and scientific cooperation, bordering on theology as well. Not only did Muslims, Jews and Christians often work together in Baghdad and other Eastern cultural centers of the Islamic Caliphate, but what happened in Spain during Muslim rule offers us an unprecedented example of the flowering of an intellectual and scientific culture wherein Muslims, Jews and Christians freely and unstintingly participated. Most Jewish philosophers in the medieval period wrote philosophy in

Arabic, the most famous example being Miamonides' "Guide of the Perplexed". In this remarkable work Maimonides discusses, among other things, the doctrine of Prophethood which, after the fashion of al-Farabi [?] and Ibn Sima [?], he interprets as combining the highest pinnacle of intellectual development with a strong power of imagination. This is but one example among many of a common fund of thought created by followers of all three religions. It has also to be remembered that this intellectual output is not just secular, but is shot through with religious ideas and motifs which were the hall-mark of the religio-philosophical interpretation of the universe linked closely with the Scriptures of the three religious traditions. The echos of this "golden period of Spain" have been frequent in later history and are so patently present in the writings of the Jewish British Minister Disraeli who looks upon this period of Jewish history with great nostalgia.

One must not minimize, of course, the current bitterness in the Middle East and the present situation must be appraised realistically. But it remains a fact that the nature of the present animosity between Arabs and Israel is political and requires a political solution. But in the search for this solution - which must be just and reasonable - both religion and much of history can give considerable help. Religion and history pointing to common roots, common experiences, and a good deal of common heritage and, above all, common values, can help lessen fanaticism and tension under whose clouds the distinction between right and wrong, reasonable and unreasonable, harmful and beneficial, the immediacy of emotion and the farsightedness of purposiveness, can so easily be blurred.

ARAB INFLUENCE ON U.S. POLICY TODAY

A Background Memorandum

Arab governments have long sought to win friends and influence in the United States. A major purpose of this campaign has been to undermine U.S. support for Israel. Until recent years, the Arabs' only tool was a rather ineffectual propaganda drive conducted by the Arab League, but that has changed since the 1973 oil embargo and the subsequent quadrupling of oil prices, when the oil-producing Arab countries suddenly became economic superpowers, courted throughout the Western world.

In the past three years, Arab economic ties with the United States have multiplied. Nor is business the only area where Arab influence in the U.S. has increased. Skilled, highly paid American experts are now retained to press the Arab position with Congress, the Administration and the general public. The number of Arab students in American colleges and universities has risen precipitously; Arab art exhibitions and cultural festivals are proliferating; interest in the history and development of Islam is growing. American Congressmen and business leaders have received red-carpet treatment in Arab capitals and have been feted by Arab businessmen and officials in this country.

The American public and the U.S. Government remain overwhelmingly committed to Israel's survival and right to exist. But the U.S., in a policy officially billed as "evenhanded," has become considerably tougher with Israel since the 1973 oil embargo.

Certain U.S. military leaders appear to be "tilting away" from Israel and are voicing views more favorable to the Arab side. ~~The~~ ^{has asserted} ~~assertion by~~ General George S. Brown, U.S. Chief of Staff, that

Israel is a burden on the U.S.; and though he later sought to explain away his statement, it is reportedly shared by a number of his colleagues. In October 1976, the Pentagon barred publication of an article stressing the strategic relationship between the U.S. and Israel, lest it offend the Arab countries.

Our ~~pluralist~~ nation welcomes greater contact with other nations and peoples. But to what extent the new well-financed and highly sophisticated ~~Arab~~ ^{Arabs'} campaign to enhance their standing with Americans is designed to increase ^{mutual} respect and understanding, ~~among business partners,~~ and to what extent it is intended to influence U.S. foreign policy and turn Americans away from their traditional support of Israel is a judgment the American people will have to make.

Oil as a Weapon

America's economy, freedom and living standards "today depend, almost absolutely, on oil from the Arab countries" (Forbes, October 15, 1976). Our domestic oil production is off by 13 per cent since 1973. Over two-fifths of our consumption is now imported, and some 10 per cent of ~~that~~ ^{these imports are} from Arab countries.

Secretary of Commerce Elliot ^{L.} Richardson has estimated that another oil embargo, even if only 50 per cent effective, would reduce our gross national product by some \$170 billion. Most experts agree that such an embargo is unlikely; but the threat of an oil price increase by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is enough to send shock waves through Washington and the American business community.

America's still growing dependence on Arab oil was skillfully exploited in the last Congress to defeat legislation curbing compliance by American companies ^{with} the Arab boycott against Israel. Throughout the two years ^{of} ~~in which~~ Congress ^{held} ~~held~~ hearings on the need for such legislation, opponents warned that passage of an antiboycott law would prompt an embargo, a cutback in oil production or a large price rise--any one of which could seriously impair economic recovery.

^{At the same time,}
~~As the antiboycott legislation gathered momentum,~~ the Arab Boycott Commissioner General, Mohammed Mahgoud, openly threatened that, to the extent that such a rule could be enforced, no oil would be sold to American companies that refused, under the proposed law, to supply information requested by Arab boycott authorities (SOURCES? DATE?). And when the ^{anti-boycott} bills, passed by large majorities in both Houses of Congress, were killed by last-minute parliamentary maneuvering, the authoritative Oil and Gas Journal (DATE?) flatly stated that "the threat...of a possible Saudi Arabian embargo ^{...} killed this controversial measure."

As for future use of such economic blackmail, the semiofficial Egyptian newspaper, Al Ahram, in the aftermath of the Presidential election, urged the Arab world to stand ready with its "oil weapon" for possible pressure tactics against the expected pro-Israel policies of the Carter Administration (DATE?).

Business Opportunities

In 1975, American companies sold some \$5.5 billion of goods and services to Arab countries. The forecast for 1976 is \$7.1 billion; a conservative prediction for 1980 is \$10 billion. Saudi Arabia alone will spend \$80 billion on imports in the next five years; American companies now hold one-quarter of this market and hope to increase their share. ~~In Syria,~~ The American share of ~~the~~ Syria's import market totaled \$127.8 million in 1975 and is expected to reach \$300 million in 1976. Trade with the oil-rich sheikhdoms on the Arabian Gulf is similarly substantial.

Threats to choke off this trade are voiced periodically by Kuwaiti and Saudi officials. The Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister, Prince Saud Ibn Faisal, ^{has} warned of "dangerous consequences" if Americans assume the Arab boycott need not be taken seriously, and Just what these consequences might be was then spelled out in a series of ads and statements by the Mobil ^{Oil} Corporation and other oil companies combatting anti-boycott legislation! The U.S. economy might be cut off from the recycling of petrodollars, ~~these statements de-~~ ~~clared,~~ and from the Arab market--moves which could reduce America "to a second-rate economic power, our citizens to a second-rate standard of living."

It may also be significant that the ~~decisive~~ parliamentary maneuver that defeated the anti-boycott legislation was executed by ^{Republican} Senator John G. Tower of Texas--where some 25 per cent of U.S.-Arab commerce originates.

Threats of withdrawing business ~~also~~ ^{an investigation by the} stymied a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations ~~investigation~~.

of Arab deposits in U.S. banks. The inquiry was thwarted by a united front of all major banks, the Federal Reserve System, and Senators Charles ^{H.}Percy (R.-Ill.) and Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.). ^{A probe of this kind ↑}
~~Such an investigation~~ could cause "a great injustice to our own national interest," Sen. Percy said in the hearings; if Kuwait and Saudi Arabia were to withdraw their deposits from New York banks, "the biggest single loser would be the City of New York." (SOURCE?)
~~And~~ Kuwaiti Finance Minister Abdar Rahman al-Atiqi made it clear in a press statement (SOURCE?) that the Kuwaitis were in fact ready to do so.

Sales of services to the Arab nations by the U.S. Government itself provide additional leverage for Arab interests. The Corps of Engineers in effect manages all construction projects for the Saudi Government, under a \$100 million contract; it also does a great deal of work in Jordan and Kuwait. The General Services Administration and the Agriculture, Labor and Treasury Departments, too, are doing work for Saudi Arabia.

Assignment of employees for these projects is the task of the various U.S. departments. But some of the Arab states lay down rules that discriminate according to race, religion or sex, and thereby prevent many Americans from being considered for such employment--even though such discrimination is unmistakably proscribed by U.S. law.

Arab Investments

No one knows even approximately how much Arab money is invested in the U.S. This country does not have adequate disclosure requirements to provide such statistics; ^{besides,} ~~what's more,~~ the Arabs, like other foreigners, often invest secretly through intermediaries. Reportedly, investments anonymously made through Swiss banks are many times larger than those officially acknowledged (Newsday, May __, 1976).

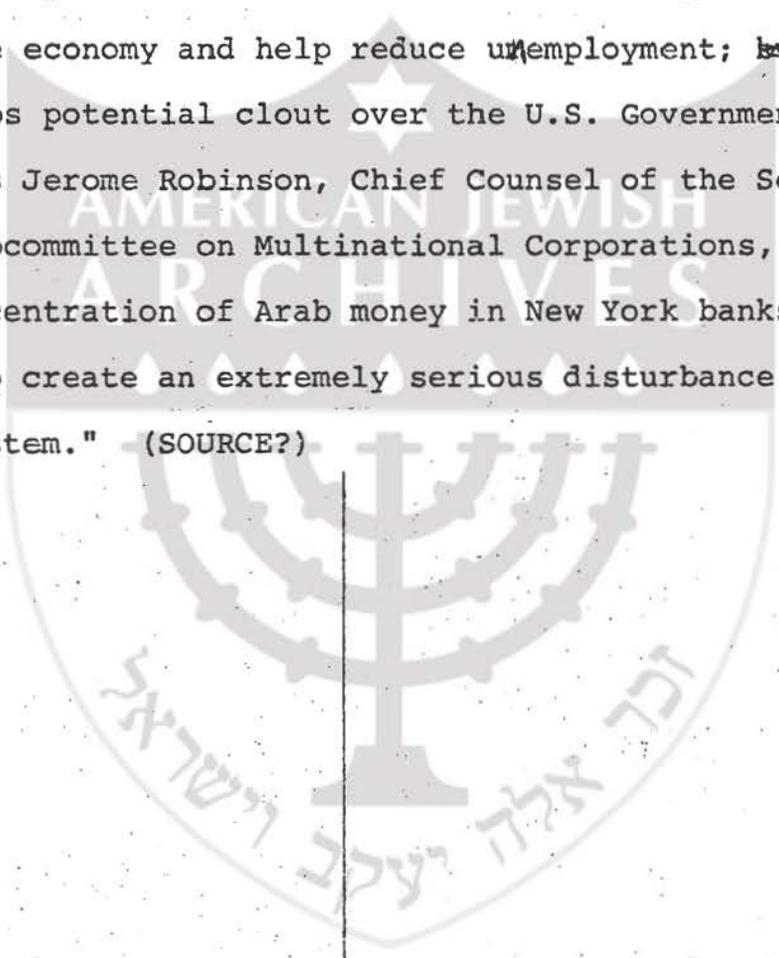
A study mandated by Congress revealed that of \$26.5 billion foreign money placed in direct controlling investments in American corporate stocks in 1974, \$1.8 billion--twice as much as the year before--came from Arab sources. Since then, controlling--as well as noncontrolling--stock purchases are believed to have increased much more.

At present, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are the only Arab oil states with cash surpluses to invest (\$5 billion and \$18 billion, respectively). Arab investors are concentrating cautiously on certificates of deposits, U.S. Treasury bills, blue chip securities (to the tune of some \$5.2 billion in 1975, according to Forbes (DATE?)), and corporate bonds, and on real estate (some \$982 million, according to the Research Project on Energy and Economic Policy). It is known that Arabs are eagerly buying into brokerage houses: A largely Arab-controlled consortium acquired 10 per cent of the stock of Reynolds Securities, Inc., at a price well above market levels (The Wall Street Journal, September 9, 1976).

~~In general,~~ Saudi investment in the U.S. appears to be large and growing. In 1975 the Saudi Monetary Agency financed a six-year, \$100 million debt issue of American Telephone & Telegraph Company. Reportedly, the Agency's foreign holdings have doubled since January

1975, when they were \$45 billion, with \$14 billion in the U.S. (The Middle East, July 1976).

A U.S. Treasury analysis reports \$8 billion foreign purchases of U.S. stocks and bonds between January and August 1976, nine-tenths of it by Middle East oil producers. Such investments, encouraged by many American Government and industry leaders, ~~will~~ stimulate the economy and help reduce unemployment; ~~but~~ they also give the Arabs potential clout over the U.S. Government and its policies. As Jerome Robinson, Chief Counsel of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations, has pointed out, the concentration of Arab money in New York banks enables Arab countries "to create an extremely serious disturbance in the U.S. financial system." (SOURCE?)



"Getting to Know Them"

In 1975, an Arab spokesman ~~observed~~ observed that any Arab bid for the good will of Americans would have to emphasize better understanding of Arab culture. As the economic influence of the Arab oil states touches more and more Americans, interest ⁱⁿ ~~about~~ things Arabic is in fact increasing.

In mid-1975, a new exhibition of Islamic art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York drew so much critical acclaim and so many visitors that it was retained as a permanent installation. A course on "The World of Islam," featuring a field trip to the new gallery, has since been offered by New York University. At the Los Angeles County Museum, too, an Islamic exhibition became a permanent fixture, and similar exhibits have been added to the holdings of the Boston, Brooklyn, Baltimore, Cincinnati and St. Louis museums, the Freer Gallery in Washington, and the Chicago Institute of Art. An exhibition of treasures from the fabled tomb of Egypt's Tutankhamen brought crowds to the National Gallery in Washington late in 1976 and is scheduled to be shown in six other U.S. cities.

A "World of Islam" festival, presented in London in the spring of 1976, was widely reported in the U.S.--among others by Reader's Digest and Vogue and in a beautifully illustrated special issue of Aramco's house magazine, Aramco World (CHECK). The event, featuring numerous exhibits and programs on Islamic history, art, calligraphy, architecture, music, science and technology, probably will be replicated in the U.S.

The Washington Islamic Center, which plays a growing part in the capital's civic life, held its second Muslim International Bazaar in 1976, with Arab crafts, clothing, books and foods. In

Indianapolis, a new Middle East Center promotes knowledge of Middle Eastern culture, history and heritage. In Boston, the city's large Syrian Lebanese community organized a cultural festival in 1976 with the same official assistance from the Mayor's office given other ethnic festivals; at the University of Wisconsin, an Eastern Folklore Day featured Mideastern music, dance and costumes; and in Dearborn, Michigan, at the instance of the local Arab community, the week of May 8 was proclaimed "Palestine Week."

As for the academic world,

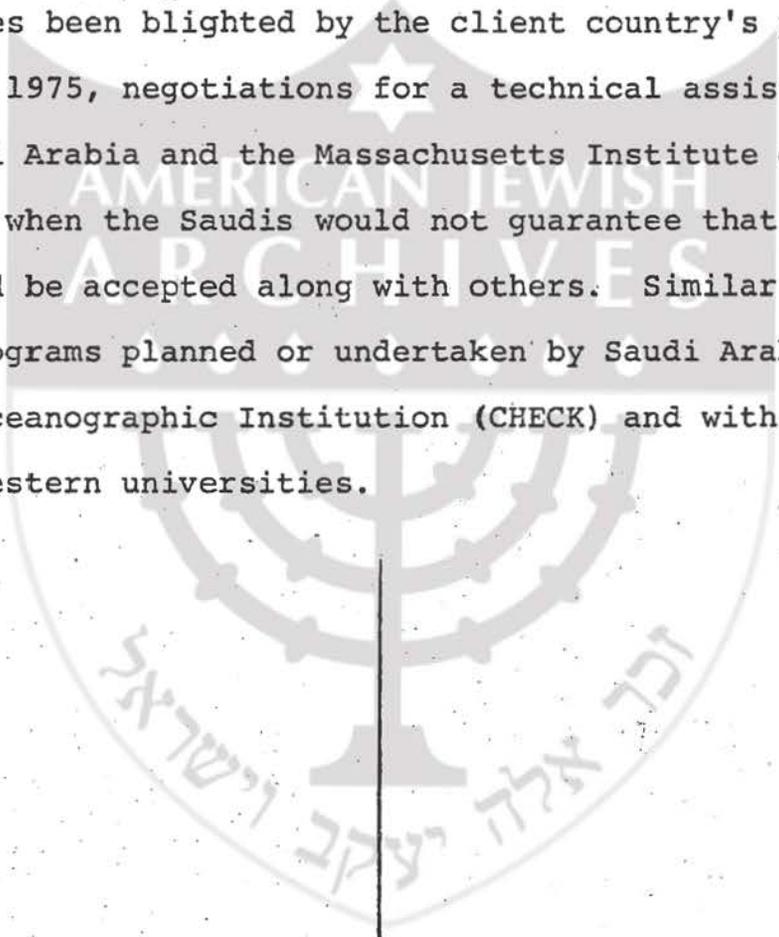
Middle Eastern Studies departments are proliferating in American universities, ^{most of them} ~~now~~ are staffed ~~and headed by Jewish scholars~~ ~~and~~ by Arabists, often with deep attachment to Arab countries. Scholarly objectivity notwithstanding, some of these experts have ^{been known to express} ~~on occasion~~ anti-Israel biases.

The funding of the Mideast Studies departments ~~also~~ involves some unanswered questions. Wealthy Arab states are endowing numerous new ~~chairs~~ professorships; and in at least some cases, the donor countries (mainly Saudi Arabia) are said to retain the right to pass on course content and to veto appointments to the chairs they endow.

Grants earmarked for Middle East studies ~~departments~~ have been received by Georgetown University (from Oman and the United Arab Emirates), Riker College and the University of Southern California (Saudi Arabia). The ^{latter} ~~grant~~ grant, totaling \$1 million, stipulates that occupants of the chair are to be chosen in consultation with the Saudi Minister of Higher Education. In addition, there are unconfirmed reports of actual or expected Saudi funding at the Universities of Texas and of Houston, and the Five-College Consortium

~~consortium~~ of Amherst College and its neighbors is said to be seeking Arab money for a cooperative Mideast program.

American universities also are involved with Arab countries through contracts for developing facilities in those countries, *and through helping to* organizing ^e universities that will supply ~~the~~ much-needed ~~workforce~~ ~~of~~ engineering and management talent. Unfortunately, such ventures have sometimes been blighted by the client country's prejudices. Thus, in May 1975, negotiations for a technical assistance program between Saudi Arabia and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology fell through when the Saudis would not guarantee that Jewish team members would be accepted along with others. Similar contretemps destroyed programs planned or undertaken by Saudi Arabia with the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution (CHECK) and with a consortium of five Midwestern universities.



The Arab Americans

There are no accurate figures on the size of the Arab American community. Very roughly, ~~it is~~^{it is} ~~believed to be~~^{number} about 1.7 million, mainly in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Texas and California. The earliest settlers, before 1900, were Christian peasants from Syria and Lebanon, who kept to themselves in ghetto-like settlements and worked their way up as best they could. Since ~~after~~ the 1967 war, there has been a ~~new~~^{new} influx of well-educated Palestinians, Egyptians, Iraqis, Syrians and Lebanese who, in many cases, came only to study, but stayed ~~and~~ and became U.S. citizens.

These new immigrants quickly integrated into American life, and it was they who first made the Arab American presence felt ~~on the~~^{same} American political, economic and cultural ~~life~~. Arab successes in the 1973 war against Israel and the impact of the oil embargo helped to strengthen their ties to their native countries, as did a feeling that the Arab positions ~~were~~^{was} not receiving adequate consideration in the U.S.

Today, Arab ethnic identity and pride are fostered by publications that chronicle the achievements of Arabs in the arts, medicine and commerce, and by a growing range of organizations. Following precedents set by other ethnic groups, Arabs in some localities are seeking to introduce Arabic language courses into the public schools. Thus, under a program of the University of California at Berkeley, accredited teachers of Arabic will be placed in junior and senior high schools in the San Francisco region.

The overall "umbrella group" for Arab political action, according to the Christian Science Monitor (DATE?), is the National Association of Arab Americans, some 200,000 strong, with a head office

in Washington and offices in five other cities. NAAA publishes pamphlets and a monthly newsletter, holds well-published annual conventions and supports Arab Americans running for political office. It is currently organizing to prevent passage of anti-boycott legislation by the next Congress.

The Ramallah Clubs, an old social and charitable organization, consists of some 20,000 persons whose families came from Ramallah, a city on the Israeli-occupied West Bank. The organization is now engaged chiefly in raising funds for the victims of the Lebanese conflict, through the Red Crescent. At a recent banquet, Sen. James Abourezk (D.-S.D.) drew an ovation with an attack on U.S. Middle East policy.

The Syrian-Lebanese Federations, heretofore apolitical, now lobby Congress and the Administration on Mideast issues. National associations include an Arab American Medical Society, a Council for Palestine and a Women's Friendship Association. Similar efforts are pursued by a number of new organizations (such as a Committee for Justice in the Middle East in Terre Haute, Indiana) and local federations, such as the Greater Cleveland Association of Arab Americans. Arab American political clubs are beginning to appear in Los Angeles.

The Association of Arab American University Graduates, headquartered in Detroit and with 16 state chapters, has some 1,000 members in academe. Besides promoting greater knowledge and understanding about the Arab world through speakers, filmstrips, exhibitions and seminars, it also seeks to assist in the social and economic development of Arab countries and is trying to mobilize Arab American manpower to that end.

AAUG has ^{conducted} ~~made~~ studies of the image of Arabs in American school textbooks and elsewhere, concluding that Arab Americans were virtual nonpersons to their fellow citizens except where the Middle East conflict is concerned. The group has also distributed information on legal problems involving the Israel occupation, ^{on} ~~A~~ women in the Arab world and many other subjects. It monitors the mass media for alleged ~~propaganda~~ ^{anti-Arab} bias; and it takes political positions, such as congratulating the United Nations on the resolution equating Zionism with racism. ~~comparing the situation in the Arab world to that of the Jews in Europe during the Second World War.~~

In connection with the Middle East conflict, Arab American groups engage in all the traditional lobbying activities: testimony before Congressional committees, meetings with State Department officials, letters-to-the-editor campaigns, advertisements, and calls for grass-roots support on particular legislation.

A number of Arab Americans now hold political office. Current incumbents include Sen. ~~James~~ Abourezk (~~D.-S.D.~~) and Reps. James Abdnor (R.-S.D.), Adam Benjamin, Jr. (D.-Ind.), Abraham Kazen (D.-Tex.), Toby Moffett (D.-Conn.), Mary Rose Oaker (D.-Ohio) and Nick Joe Rahall (D.-W.Va.). Among state legislators there are Sen. Victor Atiyeh (Ore.), Sen. James R. Deeb (Fla.), Rep. Thomas L. Hazouri (Fla.) and State Congressman (ASSEMBLYMAN?) James Tayoun (Pa.). The only Arab American Mayor to date is Edward Hanna of Utica, N.Y.

The Lebanese civil war has somewhat divided the Arab American community, but this split has not noticeably reduced the efforts to change American attitudes concerning the Middle East.

Arab Lobbying and Propaganda

The Arab countries' battle for Americans' minds, waged for three decades, has not been notably successful to date. Opinion polls indicate that Americans remain committed to Israel's survival and consider the Arab nations, more than anyone else, responsible for the Middle East conflict.

Yet the propaganda of and for Arab countries--no longer crude and tainted by association with notorious anti-Semites, as it once was--remains a factor to reckon with. Its long-term strategy in the U.S. is to alter Americans' perceptions of Israel by depicting the once-oppressed as new oppressors, militarists, imperialists and racists. Another objective is to convince the nation that support for Israel is no longer in its economic or military interests.

Propaganda and lobbying on behalf of the Arab countries is carried on by a small official lobby maintained by the Arab League; by American public relations experts and former public officials in the pay of Arab governments; by American oil companies and other businesses; by Arab students in American universities; and by private U.S.-Arab friendship and aid organizations.

The official Arab lobby in the U.S., called the Arab League's Arab Information Center, is a small (18 employees) operation with offices in six cities. The Arab Report, its biweekly newsletter, goes to members of Congress and opinion makers; Palestine Digest, its compendium of press stories, is sent to reporters and columnists. The Center also provides speakers and films for churches, civic groups and universities.

Arab lobbyists, searching out forums across the nation from Maine to California, appear to have some success at the grass roots,

talking to whatever small local groups will listen (The New York Times, June --, 1975). But in the opinion of those in the know, these unsophisticated operations are emphatically not "where it's at."

According to Parade magazine (June 20, 1976), a confidential blueprint of a \$15 million pro-Arab, anti-Israel propaganda campaign in the U.S. has circulated in the Middle East since 1974. Also according to Parade, Arab states are retaining scores of experts to lobby for their political, economic and commercial views and needs. Whether or not the alleged master plan exists, much pro-Arab lobbying is currently done by skilled public relations practitioners.

In addition, a number of former public officials now work as registered Arab lobbyists, with duties that may or may not be precisely spelled out. Thus, Algeria pays \$120,000 a year to former Attorney General Richard Kleindienst for "legal counsel for business circles, Congressional relations, and relations with various official government bodies" on behalf of its oil and gas agency. The law firm of former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, also active for this agency, gets \$150,000 a year.

Frederick G. Dutton, a onetime key advisor to Robert F. Kennedy, draws \$100,000 a year from Saudi Arabia for, among other things, accompanying Saudi officials on visits to members of Congress. Former Arkansas Senator J. William Fulbright, who has been awarded a high Egyptian decoration, receives a \$25,000 annual retainer from the United Arab Emirates for "advice and guidance."

In the fall of 1975, Gulf Oil Company gave \$50,000 to various pro-Arab groups "to promote a more balanced view of Arab-Israeli differences in the United States" (SOURCE?): Reportedly, other

American oil companies donated at least \$9 million to various Arab groups between 1968 and 1975 (Time, June 23, 1975).

Since 1973, Gulf, Mobil, Continental and Standard of California have placed pro-Arab newspaper ads, written to influential persons, lobbied on Capitol Hill, and donated money which supported the Arab propaganda effort in the U.S. Just before the 1973 war, Standard of California wrote to stockholders and employees, urging that the U.S. work more closely with the Arab people. Mobil, which since 1973 has run numerous newspaper ads articulating the oil industry's (and the Arabs') views on Middle East affairs, recently sent telegrams to the heads of the 500 largest companies in Fortune's list of U.S. industrial corporations, asking them to speak out to Congress and the White House against pending anti-boycott legislation.

Though not technically a lobby, the American Arab Association for Commerce and Industry has long and effectively worked for increased U.S.-Arab trade and improved economic relations. Similarly, the U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce--with ranking oil, shipping and manufacturing executives among its members--stresses the vital significance of the Arab market to the U.S. and the interdependence of Arab and U.S. interests.

The number of companies who see things in this way is increasing, thanks particularly to the construction boom in the Arab peninsula. Hundreds of American construction companies are taking part in what is perhaps the most ambitious building program in history (Fortune, September 1976). Other kinds of business are involved on a similar scale; and many are serving as willing spokesmen for Arab political views concerning the Middle East, the Third World and other issues of American foreign policy.

The young people whom burgeoning Arab countries, desperate for trained personnel, are sending in unprecedented number to study in the U.S. serve, incidentally, as another propaganda instrument. In 1975 there were 22,000 Arab students in the U.S.; in 1976, according to The Wall Street Journal (DATE?), the number is up to about 35,000. From Saudi Arabia alone, some 4,200 have come so far and 1,500 more are expected in 1976.

Most of the Arab students are serious and dedicated, eager to train for the jobs that await them back home. But they are also impassioned pleaders for the Arab cause, both on campus and in their contacts with the general American public.

Finally, U.S.-Arab friendship and aid organizations form an amorphous assortment, ranging from groups claiming 20,000 members (as does the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations in New York) to thinly disguised one-man operations (such as Norman Dacey's American Palestine Committee). Their tone is similarly varied: Some (for example, the Middle East Institute in Washington) take a scholarly approach and have professors and former diplomats among their members, while others (notably the Palestine Arab Delegation in New York) have a record of association with native American bigots. Many of these organizations define their aims as cultural, educational or charitable; aid to Palestine refugees is often the stated aim. Yet in each case a marked degree of anti-Israel activism is also present.

Conclusion

The Arab countries claim that their influence in the U.S. has vastly expanded during the last three years, and that they are constantly gaining in the effort to win sympathy for their cause. It would be difficult to argue that these claims are entirely false, for the power of Arab oil and the lure of vast profits in Middle East business obviously have a great deal of impact on American corporations, government and the public. ¶ Some American companies doing business in the Middle East have become convinced that U.S. failure to accommodate to the Arabs' political views could spell loss of jobs, higher prices for oil products, or fewer contracts, loans and investments. Some members of the military have been won over to the belief that the U.S. is slighting its own military and economic needs by keeping up large-scale assistance to Israel. A growing number of Americans accept the Arab view that America can best solve the Middle East crisis by pressuring Israel to make territorial concessions and to accept the idea of a Palestinian state.

But this does not mean the American people are ready to accept the either/or demands of Arab propaganda. Aware of their country's unique role vis-à-vis the Middle East, they would like economic and cultural ties with the Arab world to increase; but at the same time they overwhelmingly back continued U.S. support for Israel. As they become conscious of the crescendo of Arab voices in their midst, Americans will be better able to resist the suggestion that they must choose between the two.

JBFC

JEWISH BROADCASTING and FILM COMMITTEE

of the

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

Dore Schary, Chairman

55 West 42nd Street (Room 1530)
New York, N.Y. 10036
212 564-3450

February 28, 1977

Ms. Nancy Stein
Public Relations Associate
Jewish Community Council
163 Madison Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Dear Ms. Stein:

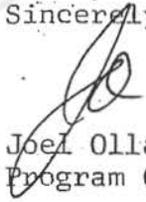
Thank you so much for sharing with me your review of the new movie "Mohammad - Messenger of G-d," which you recently previewed.

From your report -- and other information we have received from other sources -- it appears that the film raises no substantial questions for us.

I am taking the liberty of sharing your critique with several of my colleagues who have specific responsibility for audio-visual materials.

Thanks again for your fine report and cooperation.

Sincerely,


Joel Ollander
Program Coordinator

JO:slm

CC: Alvin Kushner
Julius Schatz ✓
Morton Yarmon ✓
Samuel Elfert
Rabbi Balfour Brickner



JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT

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FEB 22 1977

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Mr. Joel Ollander
National Jewish Community
Relations Advisory Council
55 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Mr. Ollander:

Enclosed is my personal view of the new movie MOHAMMAD - MESSENGER OF GOD. I previewed it for our office and at the suggestion of our Executive Director, Alvin L. Kushner, am sending you a copy of my critique.

Also enclosed is the publicity that was handed to the people attending the preview.

Sincerely,

Nancy Stein
Public Relations Associate

NS:dh
enc.

Alvin L. Kushner
Executive Director

FEB 24 1977

Commentary on the newly released movie MOHAMMAD-MESSENGER OF GOD,
as it pertains to the Jewish community

The movie is factually correct. There are sins of omission, but none of commission. In other words, they leave out some less than flattering history, but what they do tell, did happen.

Basically the Islamic religion is presented as God's best and most recent revelation. The Koran being the third book that God ordered his prophets to write with Moses writing the Old Testament, Jesus the New Testament and Mohammad the Koran. There is a stress on the oneness of God and the oneness of all his children.

Jews and Christians are treated as important people to whom God has already revealed himself.

The only danger I see to the Jewish community is that the information is so stacked, that if one is not well informed, he should come away thinking that the only sensible thing to do would be to embrace Islam since it is the outgrowth of Christianity which is the outgrowth of Judaism. A kind of "God's natural progression" type of thinking.

The susceptible Jew, in my opinion, would be the Jewish youth who is searching for a personal religion and doesn't know a great deal about his own. The same person who is interested and susceptible to the appeal of the cult religions.

Beyond this, I see no threat at all and maybe even a good educational experience for the uninformed. For the record. Mohammad does not appear in the film at all. A statement at the beginning of the film indicates that it would be profane in the eyes of the followers of Mohammad.

Neither Anthony Quinn nor Irene Pappas have much latitude for using their real talents and the movie lasts three and a half hours, which is decidedly too long.

FEB 10 1977

FILE _____

W. R. PRAUGHT COMPANY

ADVERTISING — PUBLIC RELATIONS

515 Francis Palms Building - Detroit, Michigan 48201 - Phone 963-7570

February 7, 1977

Dear Friend:

After six years of preparation, over one year of filming, and an expenditure nearing \$20,000,000, "MOHAMMAD - MESSENGER OF GOD" is ready to be released to the motion picture going public of the world.

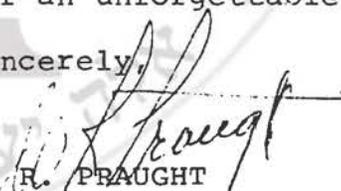
To capture the all-too-little-known story of Mohammad and his followers and the riotous, violent period which gave birth to Islam, its producers assembled two different casts to film separate versions -- English and Arabic. The recreation of Mecca, the largest set of its kind since "Cleopatra," alone cost over \$1,000,000. The English-version cast is headed by Academy Award winners, Anthony Quinn and Irene Pappas, and the score written by another Academy Award winner, Maurice Jarre.

The result is a magnificent film of truly epic proportions to take its place with such achievements as "The Ten Commandments," "The Robe" and "Ben-Hur."

For a selected list of invited guests, "MOHAMMAD - MESSENGER OF GOD" will be shown at a special preview, fully five weeks in advance of its public opening, at the Towne Theatre, Greenfield Road north of 10½ Mile Road, Tuesday evening, February 15th, at 7:30 p.m. A ticket to this preview, which will admit two, is enclosed with this letter.

Please be with us that evening for an unforgettable experience.

Sincerely,


W. R. PRAUGHT

P.S. In the event you cannot attend, you may transfer your ticket to an authorized representative. It will be useful to us if the requested information on the tickets is filled out before attending.

For information regarding group discounts and student performances, kindly telephone Joe Caponigro, 963-3538.

D R A F T

ARAB AND ISLAMIC ANTI-SEMITISM

Arab spokesmen have repeatedly claimed that they are not anti-Semitic nor anti-Jewish, only anti-Zionist. This claim has been belied for years by an intense campaign of vilification and conscious slander of Jewry and Judaism, as well as the State of Israel. This campaign, well-financed and far-reaching, has utilized every device of anti-Semitic propaganda: accusations of blood lust and ritual murder, long since repudiated by the churches which originally nurtured them; notorious forgeries, such as "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," fabricated in Czarist Russia; the entire propaganda apparatus of Nazism, including cartoons depicting Jews as physically repulsive and sub-human specimens.

The campaign of anti-Semitic abuse and calumny appears to have intensified in recent years. There are now more versions and editions of the infamous "Protocols" in Arabic than in any other language. (The Lebanese newspaper al ANWAR of March 8, 1970 listed the book as first among non-fiction best-sellers.) (1) In addition to massive circulation in the Arab-Islamic world, the anti-Semitic staple has been published in Western languages for export; 200,000 copies in French and 100,000 in English were printed by the Islamic Institute, Beirut, Lebanon, in 1968. (2) An English edition was also published in Cairo in 1965 by the Institute for the Study of Zionism. (3) Extracts from the "Protocols" have also been found in

textbooks used for the education of Arab schoolchildren, and in the indoctrination literature for the armed forces.

Not only has such anti-Semitic poison been massively produced in Arab lands, it has been actively promoted on the highest government levels. Thus, French journalists who accompanied Foreign Minister Michel Jobert to Saudi Arabia in (date?) received, as a farewell gift, a packet containing a copy of the "Protocols" (printed in Beirut, 1973) and another scurrilous volume, Les Juifs (The Jews), a compilation of excerpts from famous and infamous, real and alleged writings against the Jews through the ages, culminating in eleven pages of vicious fabrications attributed to Jewish sources, such as the Talmud.

The pressing of blatant hate literature on foreign journalists is but one indication of the new aggressiveness in fomenting anti-Semitism. King Faisal's record on this question is already clear. In an interview given in November and a speech made in December, of 1973, Faisal, who also bears the title, "Protector of Islam" declared:

The Jews are accursed by God through the prophets... They have deviated from the teachings of Moses and have attempted to murder Jesus Christ... They have no connection or right to have any presence in Jerusalem. The Wailing Wall is a structure they weep against; another wall can be built for them to weep against.

This outright anti-Jewish slander, playing on ancient Christian theological themes, was described as an "obscene, neo-Nazi outburst"

by the Rev. Lester Kinsolving, an Episcopal priest and syndicated columnist. Fr. Kinsolving commented further:

Since "The Protector of Islam" still bars all Jews and all Christians from the cities of Mecca and Medina, the world's nearly one billion Christians might do well to contemplate what would happen if this feudalistic Moslem fanatic were to gain control of Islam's third holiest city - Jerusalem. (4)

Instances of crude anti-Semitism from non-Arab Moslem leaders have also received some public notice. General Idi Amin, President of Uganda, publicly expressed his approval of Hitler's murder of six million Jews. (New York Times, September 13, 1972) President Qaddafi of Libya employed open political blackmail to try to bring about the dismissal of an Italian Jewish journalist from his editorial position on a Turin newspaper. Arab pressure may also have been responsible for a statement by Argentinian President Peron's personal secretary, Jose Lopez Rega, that the presence of Jews in the Argentine Government was hampering the country in its relations with Arab nations.

In recent years, the campaign of anti-Semitic vilification launched by Arab and Moslem political leaders has been augmented and offered theological justification by Islamic religious spokesmen and theologians to a truly shocking extent. No more effective proof of the abuse of Islamic tradition to the end of hatred against Jews exists than the proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Academy of Islamic Research, which met in September of 1968 in Cairo at Al-Azhar, the main Islamic University of the Arab world. This congress, devoted to an exploration of the spiritual and theological dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict, was greeted by El-Sayed Hussein El-Shafi'i,

Vice president of the United Arab Republic, on behalf of President Nasser. Seventy-seven Moslem Ulemas, scholars and religious dignitaries from Europe, Asia and Africa, as well as from the Middle East, participated in the conference, whose proceedings were published, in both Arabic and English, by the U.A.R. Government Printing Office --a demonstration of government support. Extracts bearing on Israel, the Jews and Judaism from the 25 papers read and discussed at the conference rebut conclusively the Arab disclaimer of anti-Jewish intent. For these authors do not distinguish between Zionism and Judaism; in fact, they claim that the evils of Zionism are inherent in the depraved nature of Judaism and the Jewish people. Contrary to their own tradition, which holds Judaism to be a religion of true revelation and the Bible a holy book for both Jews and Christians, these scholars even vilify and distort the Hebrew Scriptures.

Thus, in a paper entitled, "The Jews are the Enemies of Human Life as is Evident From Their Holy Book," Kamal Ahmad Own, Vice-principal of the Tanta Institute, described his treatise as illustrating

that the Jews as represented by their Holy Book are hostile to all human values in this life, that their evil nature is not to be easily cured through temporary or half measures.

As for the characteristics of Jews,

Evil, wickedness, breach of vows and money worship are inherent qualities in them. Many a time they were punished for their evil, but they never repented or gave up their sinfulness.

Moreover, since the Jews' "Wickedness is incurable unless they are subdued by force,"

No good is expected from them unless they live under the aegis of Islam as loyal and obedient subjects. 5

From "The Attitude of the Jews Towards Islam and Muslims in the Early Days of Islam," by Moh. Taha Yahia:

...worldly avarice, obstinate contention, and cruelty are deeply ingrained in the innermost being of the Jews who try to achieve their individual and social ambitions by fair means or foul.... arrogance and evil-doing are inherent qualities of their nature.... They are avaricious, ruthless, cruel hypocrite /sic/ and revengeful. These traits govern their lives. They never change nor are they inclined to change.... (6)

From "The Attitude of the Jews Toward Islam, Muslims and the Prophet of Islam P.B.U.H.* at the Time of His Honorable Prophethood," by Muhammad Azzah Darwaza:

All people want to get rid of the Jews by hook or by crook. All races of mankind, throughout the world, always reject the Jewish actions and behavior unanimously and thus it is an evidence and a strong proof that their wickedness and bad manners are a result of the evil nature which is inherent in them.... (7)

It is incumbent on the Muslims to strain every nerve and make all efforts in order to be well equipped by all means to fight the Jews. The Muslims should corner the Jews without feeling exhausted or tired as Allah enjoins upon them. The Muslims should spare no effort to exterminate their state and deliver every place of Muslims' homeland from the Jews' desecration and keep it under the control of Islamic authorities as it was. Any slight indifference to this matter, is indeed a shameful sin against religion. (8)

From "The Jews in the Quran," by Professor Abdul Sattar El Sayed, the Mufti of Tursos, Syria:

Jews in any community have always been a factor of sedition. They have moreover been a curse that spread among the people bringing about corruption, sowing the seeds of enmity and hatred.... the Jews are like evil which has the same effect whether it were big or small, or like germs of a malignant disease where only one germ is sufficient to eliminate an entire nation... (9)

These are but a few characteristic excerpts of charges reiterated throughout this so-called "scholarly" consultation: In reviewing the proceedings, the editors of Encounter Today, a periodical published by Catholics in France, commented:

This type of propaganda is not new. It has filled pamphlets and school books for years.... But here the territorial contest is definitely placed on theological ground and hate is openly given a religious basis and justification, feeding the old medieval spirit of holy war with crudely western antisemitic arguments. That this should be initiated and supported by scholars, theologians and "men of God," vilifying another religion and another people at a time of ecumenism, not shrinking before the vilest abuse is surprising, indefensible, and shocking. Now we know what feeds the fanaticism and alleged "despair" of the man in the street and sanctions terrorism of the most reckless kind. (10)

FOOTNOTES:

- 1) Y. Harkabi, Arab Attitudes to Israel, Jerusalem, Israel Universities Press, 1972, p. 518.
- 2) Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Oct. 9, 1968
- 3) Patterns of Prejudice, London, Institute for Jewish Affairs, 1967, No. 3, p. 6.
- 4) "Inside Religion," by Lester Kinsolving. Northeast and Mayfair Bulletin, Jan. 31, 1974.
- 5) Arab Theologians on Jews and Israel, D.F. Green, ed., Geneva, Editions de l'Avenir, 1971, pp. 13,17.
- 6) Ibid, p. 19.
- 7) Ibid, p. 28
- 8) Ibid, p. 32
- 9) Ibid, pp.35-36
- 10) Encounter Today, Paris, 1973, Vol VIII, p. 124

Harold Schweser

TRIALOGUE AND THEOLOGICAL COURAGE

Shortly after our return from Egypt--antedating by several months President Sadat's courageous journey to Jerusalem--I wrote a brief account of our experience for SHMA Magazine, and entitled it "Triologue in Cairo." One of the readers wrote me that the term triologue was a syntactic howler. He suggested that I was probably under the impression that the prefix of "di-ologue" meant "two" as in "dilemma" or "dichotomy," whereas in fact its proper prefix is the Greek "dia" which means through or thorough; thus "dialogue" refers to a thorough study of the subject.

He was right. There is no word like "trialogue" in the English language. But I offer it as an act of creative philology, a neologism which expresses a vital theological need. We have now reached a critical moment in history, one best symbolized by the spirit of Camp David, that compels us to place high on the world theological agenda a thorough study of the religions of the monotheistic covenant and their inter-relationship. The political crises in the Middle East add pragmatic urgency to an on-going Jewish-Christian-Islamic triologue. To exclude any of the three religious civilizations from ^{ENCOUNTER} dialogue is a serious omission.

The late Grand Imam and rector of Al Azahr University, Abdul Haleem Mahmoud, complained to us that the study of Islam has either been neglected or distorted by Western teachers who stand outside the circle of faith. Few of us could disagree, and all of us could offer witness to the mutilation of our tradition by theological "gerrymandering." In our third meeting with the Grand Imam when he

was last in Los Angeles, he was most receptive to our original proposal in Cairo that Christian, Jewish and Islamic scholars be given the opportunity to lecture at ^{one} ~~each~~ other's seminaries.

But academic exchange is not enough. ^{MEVE} Knowledge of the history and tradition of the three faiths is not responsive to the needs of our people. We need the knowledge which can create a new atmosphere of cooperation among the peoples of the Book. We need moral knowledge for the sake of peace. We need a theology of courage which can match the spirit of innovation of the political peacemakers. We religionists need the same determination to break down the psychological barriers to understanding that characterized the political statesmanship of the Nobel Peace Prize winners. This is a time for theological statesmanship; for a religious analogue to the spirit of Camp David; for substantive meetings and negotiations among responsible religious leaders; and for formulations of a framework for trilateral religious understanding. Are we as religious leaders prepared to urge compromise and concession, flexibility and imagination only from the powers of secularity, but from ourselves nothing more than status quo ante?

Historical argumentation over documents, inherited texts and past events have their place. But they cannot serve as surrogates for the doing of contemporary theology. Firstly, because historians are no more blessed with the gift of immaculate perception than are the politicians. And secondly, because examination of the motivations of the Inquisition, or of the Crusades or of jihad, holy wars; or historical debate as to whether the Jewish Golden Era under the Moslem rule was innocent of discrimination; or comparisons of the Christian and Moslem eras of control--will not yield the theology of hope we need so desperately.

When I read the claims and counterclaims of historians, I am reminded of the caution expressed by the Rabbi of Ger. He warned that a preoccupation with the past can paralyze the will to change. "What would you? Rake the muck this way, rake the muck that way. It remains the same. Have I sinned or have you sinned? What does Heaven get out of it? In the time we are brooding over it, we could be stringing pearls for the delight of Heaven."

Theologians cannot afford to brood over the past. Recombing the ashes of the past must not stand in the way of creating the possibility of a more decent future. Santayana was only half right. To forget history is to be doomed to repeat it; but to only remember history dooms one to repetition.

I must recall as evidence of the counter-productive debates over ^{political} the past a discussion which took place last July in Egypt in the presence of my two colleagues. How the argumentation between the Minister of Culture and Information, Dr. El Sawy, and myself began I now no longer recall. But I remember how each of us offered historic data, and cited declarations, to bolster our respective positions. The arguments grew heated and went nowhere. It was clear that the debate over who started what and when and where and the attribution of motivations was not bringing us any closer. It was only when the discussion shifted to the future, to questions not as to what had happened in 1917 but what we could do in 1977 to overcome old tensions and enmities, that we grew closer. When we spoke of our sons and daughters and their claim to security and peace, we abandoned the treadmill arguments justifying our inherited past and sought new paths towards reconciliation. The turn from what was to what ought to be, from what they did to what ^{must} we do held the promise of progress. Creative theology must direct the minds and hearts of people to that which is new under the sun.

What then can the theologians informed by the spirit of ecumenicity do to break out of the cynical cycles of repetition?

May I suggest two proposals for ecumenical theology:

we read in
(A) Jeremiah (23:29) ~~declared~~: "Is not my word like a fire, saith the Lord, like a hammer which breaks rocks into pieces." To which the Talmud comments: "As a hammer strikes the anvil and kindles clouds of sparks, so Scripture yields more meanings as it is said (Psalms 62:12) "Once did God speak, but two things have I heard."

Let the text of our sacred writings remain untouched. But let the theologians recover those verses which speak to our times and our needs; let them be raised up into the liturgy we sing and the homilies we preach. We require no new revelations, only new modes of cantillation, new tropes to accentuate their contemporary significance.

The holy texts are not of one mood or temperament. It is said that the Devil can quote scriptures, and ~~that~~ *as well* were he more learned he could quote Talmud, canon law and the Hadith. The fault lies not in the content of text but in the moral intent of the one who cites it. Good men and women too must learn to quote scriptures, to uncover those verses which have been long buried ~~in~~ *beneath* the polemical avalanche. It is the task of the spiritual guide to choose which *is* psalm *to* ^{be} *sung*, which *is* sura *to* ^{be} *chanted*, which verse is to be given salience. The manna was the same, declared the Rabbis--but it tasted differently according to man's power. And if the taste of manna differs according to man's power, how much so the word. [Tanchuma B. Yithro 40a-b; Pesik. K. 109b-110a]

Now is a time to lift up Sura II, 133. "Approaching death, Jacob said to his sons: What will you worship after me? They said: We shall worship your God, the God of your fathers, Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac the only God." Now is the time for the congregations to sing the benedictions of Isaiah's vision, the blessings of the Lord of hosts: "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth... Blessed be Egypt, My people, and Assyria, the work of My hands, and Israel, Mine inheritance." Theological wisdom is not exhausted by indiscriminate citations and quotations of what once happened. Responsible theology means to direct the spirit of men towards what must happen, and what ought to be, and what we can do to create new ~~and happier~~ memories for our children and children's children.

(B) And what shall we do with the absolutist claims of our traditions: to the theological assertions of exclusive truth, divinely chosen doctrines, the last sealed word of God and divinely elected people? Can dialogue exist in such a monolithic atmosphere?

I suggest that theologians take a leaf from the book of the diplomatic negotiators. Some issues are best held in abeyance, deliberately postponed. They must not be allowed to stand in the way of those areas in which progress and cooperation are more likely to be achieved. For in the process of working together on the more compatible areas of our concerns, the prospects of refining the more obdurate claims are increased. There are projects among the people of the three monotheistic faiths which can be initiated now. Christian-Jewish-Islamic theologians can establish vehicles through which their lay constituencies may meet. People believe what they do--more so than they do what they believe. People feel what they do--more so than they do what they feel. And meeting is doing. We can encourage men beyond historicism.

We can encourage
our laity to do things, to meet together, to discover beyond the form and substance of their happy differences, their equally happy kinship. Now is the time to emulate the first modest efforts of the Academy, to begin in every large city a grassroots movement of men and women and children of the three faiths. To encourage them to enter each other's homes and speak not of the dogmas which may divide, but of birth and marriage, of children and death, the kinship of celebration and suffering; to encourage them to enter the mosque and the church and the synagogue. Let them, the Sabbath children of Friday, Saturday and Sunday celebration, pilgrimage together to Rome and Cairo and Jerusalem. For "all real living is meeting," and we, the theologians of the triologue, are the conveners.

There are some who are fearful lest such ecumenical practice may attenuate our fidelities to our particular traditions. It has certainly not been the case for me or for my colleagues. To the contrary, nothing enriches or enlarges our individual faith-perceptions more than the discovery of the sameness and difference of the three faiths which worship a single God. In a midrash, Rabbi Levi offers a suggestive metaphor. "God is one but he appears to us like a mirror in which many faces are reflected; a thousand people look at the mirror and it looks at all of them." Faith in the majesty of one God who is creator of all things grows deeper yet when we witness His unity reflected in the prism of all faiths. Speaking for myself, the uniqueness and largesse of my faith-identity was confirmed in Egypt by the contrasts and similarities of my sister traditions. In the mosque and in the Coptic church, I understood more profoundly than before, the synagogue.

There is no fear of melting our uniqueness in the anonymity of a universal faith. We know that to be religious in general is as futile a gesture as the attempt "to speak in general without using any language in particular." Judaism is my language, the symbols and memories and sancta through which I can best express the image of divinity. One lives most authentically within one's own ambience of tradition; but it is part of that very tradition to reach out beyond that sacred circle to a transcendent sphere where we may meet. We cannot and perhaps must not live forever in that rarefied atmosphere of ecumenism--but never to have breathed its air is to deny the transcendent richness of one's own tradition.

We are profoundly challenged. For religion generally has gained an unsavory reputation as a divisive force in human relationship. We have an opportunity to convince ourselves and the world that religion can heal, can bring together those who are divided, to remind our people of the common religious ethic which sees in each of them the Tzelem Elokim--the image of God. Ours is not an academic challenge. If we succeed, the lives of tens of thousands may be saved, and a new spirit affecting many generations may follow. If we succeed, the world may gain a new confidence in religion. Theology has a heroic role to play for as our sages declared: "Who is a hero? He who can turn an adversary into a friend."

ANTI-ISRAEL INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN CHURCHES

A BACKGROUND REPORT

BY

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PREFACE

This background report is, we believe, the first to survey systematically the sources of anti-Israel influence within American Christian churches. What constitutes anti-Israel sentiment has been carefully delineated: the use of double standards - harsher judgments and stricter demands made on Israel than on her Arab antagonists - biased or loaded renderings of history; and sometimes, resort to theological arguments hostile to Judaism.

Among the recent factors which have affected negative attitudes toward Israel is the rapid increase in immigration into the United States of Arab Christians and Moslems, resulting in a growth of population from some 250,000 to an estimated two million in the last fifteen years, coupled with recent efforts to bolster a growing pan-Arabism. Surely, Americans of Arab heritage have the same rights extended to all religious and ethnic groups by American pluralistic democracy: to develop their distinctive values, culture and influence. We affirm these rights - even as we may profoundly disagree with many of their positions and attitudes.

However, many of the recent immigrants come from nations so hostile to Israel that they still refuse to recognize her right to exist. Moreover, they come from cultures heavily imbued with anti-Semitism, where notorious documents of Jew-hatred, such as The Protocols of the Elders of Zion have been reproduced not only for intensive national consumption, but for export to other parts of the world. Of those who are Christian, many are adherents of a tradition of Christianity which has had neither dialogue nor contact with Judaism or with Jews, and whose theology denies any religious validity to Judaism.

We believe there are both theological and social grounds for building understanding and mutual respect between Arabs and Jews in America, as well as in the Middle East and in other parts of the world. Jewish-Christian dialogue has taught us that an essential aspect of understanding is the confronting and uprooting of sources of bigotry and inherited caricatures, whether of religious or cultural origin. American pluralism, and ultimately perhaps the achievement of full peace in the Middle East, may depend on the success of that process taking place between Arabs and Jews.

One final note: the purpose of this study was to identify the sources of anti-Israel sentiment and influence in American churches. To avoid distortion, it should be underscored that the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, the National Council of Churches and major Protestant denominations have affirmed the right of Israel to live in security and to possess its full sovereignty as a nation-state. There are pockets of hostility to Israel in the organized church community, but there is also a broad and enduring sympathy and support on the part of millions of American Christians throughout the country for our sister democracy in the Middle East, the State of Israel.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Interreligious Affairs Director

May 1979

SOURCES OF ANTI-ISRAEL SENTIMENT

American Christians have long been divided in their views on Middle Eastern affairs. Since before Israel was actually founded, approval and disapproval of the Jewish state have existed side by side in the church community. Israel has not lacked friends and supporters; year after year, opinion polls have shown the American public to be much more sympathetic to her than to her Arab antagonists, and many of the nation's church leaders have spoken out in her behalf, singly or in concert. Yet at the same time, an anti-Israel, pro-Arab attitude has been much in evidence in certain segments of American Christianity.

A pro-Arab disposition is strongly in evidence among Protestant denominations with long-standing involvement in missions to the Arab Middle East; in churches and church-related groups engaged in aiding Arab refugees; among certain left-wing "liberationist" ideologues; and in communities with predominantly Arab constituencies, whether Catholic or Eastern Orthodox. In these quarters, champions of the Arab cause often influence church policies and organizational resolutions far beyond their numbers, giving church groups a pro-Arab tilt by constantly pressing for statements critical of or detrimental to Israel.

In this report, certain criteria have been used to determine whether a group or an action is considered anti-Israel. Concern for the welfare of Palestinian refugees does not, in itself, constitute hostility to Israel. Nor does appreciation of Arab culture, interest in religious dialogue with Islam, or disapproval of specific policies of the Israeli Government. What constitutes anti-Israel bias is the unequal application of standards -- for example, criticizing Israel for military reprisals without taking note of the hostile actions that provoked them, or calling upon Israel to recognize the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), still publicly committed to her destruction, without the contingent demand that the PLO recognize Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state. Bias may also reveal itself in an unbalanced rendering of history. For example, Israel alone may be blamed for the existence of Palestinian refugees with no acknowledgment that their displacement is also the result of Arab-initiated wars against Israel, or that an equal number of Jewish refugees were forced to flee Arab countries without compensation for homes or property.

There is also a potent anti-Jewish legacy in Christian tradition which sometimes comes into play when Israel is being discussed; in such instances anti-Israel sentiment takes on an anti-Jewish coloration.

The following pages describe the major sources of anti-Israel, pro-Arab sentiment within the organized Christian community in the U.S., the church institutions on which Arab sympathizers exert significant influence, the religious organizations which they have created or with which they are allied, and the ways in which they seek to win American public sympathy for their views through religious channels.

The Arab Missionary and Relief Establishments

Modern Arab nationalism has some of its roots in a Protestant missionary presence that began in the last century. A number of denominations have long been involved with philanthropic, educational and missionary ventures in the Arab Middle East: with universities, secondary schools, hospitals, social service centers, refugee aid projects and so forth. Many institutions of higher learning in the Moslem world began as American missionary undertakings -- among them the prestigious American University of Beirut (originally the Syrian Protestant College).

Out of these missionary and service activities, which have had strong financial support, has emerged a group of church professionals who naturally sympathize with Arab aspirations, identify with Arab views, and are ready to promote Arab interests both within their organizations and in public -- often at the expense of Israel. Men and women like these usually hold the staff positions in the Middle East departments of their denominations and of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. They are thus chiefly responsible for recommending lecturers and resource persons; for choosing, producing or distributing education materials including films; and for drafting resolutions on the Middle East.

In contrast, staff members sympathetic to Israel rarely serve in Middle East departments. They do serve in other departments, and try to alter or balance resolutions harmful to Israel at church conventions, but their efforts are almost invariably last-ditch struggles waged against the inertia of large assemblies of delegates who are only too ready to adopt statements drafted by "specialists."

Among Protestant bodies, those with the most active anti-Israel staff members include the United Church of Christ, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Reformed Church in America, the Quakers (Friends United Meeting), the United Methodist Church, and the Mennonite Central Committee (the relief and development agency of the Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Churches of North America). Except for the Methodists, all of them, especially the United Church of Christ and the Presbyterians, have institutional commitments in the Arab Middle East. Officials of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches -- the latter a predecessor of the United Church of Christ -- founded the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,¹ which sent hundreds of missionaries to the Arab world.

In their appeals for support of relief services to Palestinian refugees, some of the Protestant missionary groups occasionally display anti-Israel bias and engage in distortions of historical fact -- for example, representing Israeli "aggression" as the only cause of the Palestinians' plight. This anti-Zionist animus is older than the State of Israel itself:

Protestant, AUB /American University of Beirut/ people, and oilmen helped the State Department in the 1930s to resist Zionism within the United States... In 1945 mission and

1. Renamed the United Church Board for World Ministries soon after its 150th anniversary in 1960.

church groups helped found the Institute of Arab-American Affairs to combat Zionism. During the next two years what was named the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry studied the Jewish homeland question. Testimony of American mission-related individuals was anti-Zionist, although one United States churchman, representing conservative Christians who saw a separate Jewish home as a fulfillment of biblical prophecy, was pro-Zionist.²

Originally, Christian antagonism to the idea of a Jewish state rested as much on theological and religious as on political grounds (as did the few instances of support for the idea). The view that the Church, the "new Israel," had superseded the "old Israel" and thereby inherited the biblical promises was commonly cited in responses to early Zionist initiatives. So was the notion that the Jews had been condemned to eternal dispersion because they had rejected the messiahship of Jesus. Since the State of Israel has come into being, Western Christians hostile to the Jewish state seldom resort to these theological arguments, although Arab Christian leaders invoke them frequently.

Even in the West, traces of the pervasive anti-Jewish polemic in Christian tradition, and of the triumphalism that interprets Judaism and Jewish history through Christian eyes, still surface from time to time in comments about Israel, in anti-Jewish attitudes, and especially in the use of double standards of morality. Jewish (or Israeli) behavior is judged against a standard of absolute perfection, and deviations from this idealized norm are deemed proof of utter sinfulness; the failures and shortcomings of others are judged more pragmatically. Quaker Life, for example, combined almost all of these elements in an article clearly hostile to Jews and Judaism, as well as to Israel.³

In the Roman Catholic community of the U.S., things are somewhat similar. Some leaders with a background of philanthropic or educational service in the Arab Middle East actively promote anti-Israel positions. Foremost among them is the Reverend Joseph L. Ryan, S.J., who is Rector of Holy Cross College in Worcester, Massachusetts, a member of the Center for the Study of the Modern Arab World at St. Joseph's University in Beirut, and a former Vice President of Al Hikma University in Baghdad. He was the founder and first President of Americans for Justice in the Middle East and is presently associated with the Middle East Resource Center, both anti-Israel organizations.

Father Ryan has made a number of nationwide speaking tours, lecturing at colleges and universities. His main themes have been that the PLO deserves support because there is a difference between the "violence of the oppressed" and the "violence of the oppressor"; that non-Jews are "second-class citizens in Israel"; that peace is impossible unless Israel withdraws from the territories occupied in 1967; and that a Palestinian state must be established on the West Bank and in Gaza. He does not believe, he has said, that Israel should have been created or should exist.

2. Joseph Grabill, Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), pp. 307-8

3. "Promised Land," by Harold Smuck, Quaker Life, September 1976.

Anti-Israel statements have also come from the present Archbishop of Anchorage, Alaska, Joseph T. Ryan (no relation to Father Joseph L. Ryan, above), who previously was National Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. The Association's present National Secretary, Msgr. John G. Nolan, is a board member of Americans for Middle Eastern Understanding, a pro-Arab group.

Liberationist Ideology

A second source of anti-Israel sentiment within the churches is the current ideology sometimes referred to as "liberation theology." Not unlike the Social Gospel movement of yesteryear, it calls upon Christians to identify with oppressed peoples and makes the active pursuit of racial, social and economic justice a religious obligation. This approach is supported, not only by many members of racial minorities and persons from the Third World, some of whom hold important staff positions in the church community, but also by some classic liberals concerned for justice and world peace.

In theory, liberationist thought should not lead to anti-Israel positions, for Jews, too, are a minority, and Israel is a beleaguered democracy if there ever was one. But the same selective morality which singles out Israel for special abuse in the United Nations is also at work here. Liberationist activists champion the Palestinians as oppressed Third World people and brand Israel as a racist, colonialist outpost of American imperialism. Though their numbers are not large, they are among the most vehement spokesmen on the American Christian scene, and sometimes manage to co-opt church professionals working for world peace and justice. Or they prevail on other committed liberals to endorse seemingly evenhanded public statements, which urge Israel to recognize the PLO or allow Palestinians to return to "their homeland" -- in other words, to admit hundreds of thousands committed to her own destruction.

Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J., who has denounced Israel as a "criminal Jewish community" and as a "settler state" seeking "Biblical justification for crimes against humanity," is perhaps the most dramatic spokesman for this viewpoint. Less drastic versions of his arguments are presented by others who, naively extrapolating from American history, find the call for a "secular, democratic state" appealing and the concept of a Jewish state retrogressive. The leftist liberationists, like other anti-Israel groups, insistently publicize the writings of well-known anti-Zionists Jews in the U.S., such as Rabbi Elmer Berger and Alfred Lilienthal, and the often totally unfounded accusations of a few Israelis -- such as Israel Shahak, a vehement anti-Zionist, or Felicia Langer, an attorney who is a member of Israel's Communist Party. The fact that Israel is a democracy in which, unlike most of the Arab nations in the Middle East, open dissent from government policy is guaranteed by freedom of speech, is never acknowledged.

ARAB CHURCHES

Though Protestant missionaries made a number of Arab converts in the last century, and though Arab Protestant Churches and congregations exist in the Middle East and the U.S., the overwhelming majority of Christian Arabs are Eastern Orthodox or Catholics of the Eastern Rite. This state of affairs ultimately stems from two major schisms in Christianity. Some Eastern churches, including the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Coptic Church of Egypt and the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch, have stood apart from the rest of the Christian churches since the fifth century in a dispute over the question of the two natures (divine and human) of Jesus. The great schism of 1054 separated Byzantine (Orthodox) Christianity from Western Latin Christianity.

Communities of Arab Christians have existed in the United States for some time, but only in recent years have some of their leaders aggressively pursued political goals on Middle East issues. Not all American Christians of Middle Eastern background are against Israel; thus, many Lebanese support Israel as the defender and ally of the beleaguered Christian community in Lebanon. But those who do oppose Israel are a potent new influence in organized American Christianity. They have used public relations techniques skillfully and on occasion have made common cause with Moslem leaders. From their leadership positions in their own churches, they have pressed non-Arab church groups and agencies for anti-Israel statements, and have sought to influence the U.S. Government against Israel.

The major Christian Arab communities in the U.S. are described below.

ORTHODOX CHURCHES

Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America

The U.S. and Canadian branch of the Antiochian Orthodox church, known as the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, came into being in 1975, when two groups that had split apart in 1936 were reunited. The parent church's Holy Synod is based in Syria; the North American headquarters are in Englewood, N.J. The size of the church's U.S. constituency is somewhat of a mystery. Spokesmen claim 50,000 "dues-paying members" but add that a total of 350,000 persons is "attached to" or "associated with" the Archdiocese. The 1978 Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches reports a membership of 152,000, with 152 ordained clergy and 110 churches. The American Arabic-Speaking Community Almanac of 1975 lists 98 churches, broadly distributed throughout the U.S., but most numerous in California, Florida, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

The Antiochian church has influence beyond its numbers because it is a member of the National Council of Churches with representation on the NCC's Governing Board. Its representative there is Dr. Frank Maria, chairman

of the church's Department of Near East Affairs. Metropolitan Philip Saliba, the head of the North American Archdiocese, was until recently a Vice President of the NCC. Both Metropolitan Saliba and Dr. Maria are vigorous advocates for the PLO; the latter has frequently introduced resolutions urging U.S. recognition of the PLO at NCC meetings. In similar vein, he has pressed for investigations of alleged human rights violations and breaches of international law in Israel and the occupied territories.

In mid-1977, the Patriarch of the church, Elias IV, toured the U.S. for six weeks, with appropriate panoply and publicity. He ceremoniously called on President Carter and UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim (on the latter visit, he was accompanied by the Lebanese and Syrian ambassadors, both of whom gave receptions for him). Patriarch Elias was also hosted by other Christian notables, such as Melkite Archbishop Joseph Tawil. In addition, the Patriarch, who was the only Christian leader ever to address a majority of the world's Moslem heads of state, when they met in Lahore, India, was guest of honor at a dinner given by ambassadors of Arab states in Washington.

At the church's annual convention, also in Washington, Elias declared in a press conference that Jews had little "historic connection" with the territory of the State of Israel. Speaking through his interpreter, he said: "As far as we Christians are concerned, we are the new Israel. All the prophecies of the Old Testament were fulfilled by the coming of the Messiah... After the destruction of the Temple, the Jews were dispersed. Those who remained lived in peace with the Arabs and the Christians" until modern times, when, he said, "outsiders" came in.

A leaflet distributed by the church press conference quoted the Patriarch: "As Christian Arabs, we believe that the loss of Jerusalem affects the Arab cause in general. We shall not spare any effort to insure that Jerusalem remains an Arab city, open to all believers and to the entire world... The Palestinian plea is for a Jerusalem returned to its own people." He also asserted that "the exiled and dispersed Palestinians are the symbol of all human suffering."

Bolstered by his presence and his outspoken position, the convention passed five resolutions, all of them presented by Dr. Frank Maria. One condemned the Israeli Government's legalizing three "additional Zionist-Israeli settlements on occupied Arab lands in violation of international law," and called upon President Carter to persuade Israel "to abolish these settlements and any further illegal encroachment upon Arab territories." A resolution on human rights demanded that the United States withhold economic and military aid from Israel, charging that Israel stands condemned by the UN for violations of the human rights of Arabs. Another resolution, asserting that the Arab-Israeli conflict has been "the most poorly reported story in the history of American journalism," called upon the news media in this country and Canada to "stop being part of an insidious campaign to defame and misrepresent the Arabs."

Other resolutions advocated American Christian-Islamic dialogue, settlement of the Lebanese conflict with "peace and justice for all," and relaxation of U.S. and Canadian immigration regulations to allow admission

of Lebanese refugees. All these points, widely publicized, were repeated as the Patriarch traveled from coast to coast, attending six regional parish conferences and visiting New York, Boston, Montreal, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Louisville, Oklahoma City and Los Angeles. In Louisville he said war in the Middle East was inevitable unless Israel gave back the territories taken in 1967.

Coptic Orthodox Church

Adherents believe the Coptic Orthodox church to be Christianity's oldest organized denomination and to have been founded by St. Mark in 40 C.E. in Alexandria. Today, about 7 million of Egypt's 40 million inhabitants are Copts. The head of the church is Pope Shenouda III in Cairo. In the U.S., according to the 1978 Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches, the inclusive U.S. membership totals 40,000, with 14 churches and 12 ordained clergy.

In April and May 1977, Pope Shenouda paid a ceremonial visit to the U.S. and Canada, traveling to Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Houston, as well as to Washington and New York. In Washington he met with President Carter and visited by the local Catholic archbishop, William Cardinal Baum. In New York, accompanied by two Egyptian ambassadors, he saw UN Secretary General Waldheim.

Pope Shenouda is a former Egyptian Army officer. He took part in the Israel-Arab War of 1947, and during the War of 1973 was reported by Radio Cairo to have asked that he be drafted again. However, no anti-Israel remarks by him or others were noted during his North American tour, nor has the American Coptic community been particularly active against Israel.

Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch (Archdiocese of the U.S.A. and Canada)

The Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch traces its origin to the earliest Patriarchate established in Antioch by St. Peter the Apostle, and is under the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and All the East. No information about its worldwide or U.S. membership is available. In the Middle East and India, it has 35 archdioceses as well as many churches, schools and seminaries. In the U.S. there are eight parishes, in California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey and Rhode Island. In Canada, there are three, two of them in the Province of Quebec and one in Ontario.

The present head of the Church is Patriarch Mar Ignatius Yacoub III. He has visited the U.S. twice, in 1969 and 1971. The Archdiocese of the U.S.A. and Canada was formally created in 1957. Its head is Archbishop Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, previously Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan in Jerusalem, who first came to the U.S. in 1949 to collect war relief funds for his co-religionists. His headquarters are in Hackensack, N.J. The Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch is a constituent body of the National Council of Churches, and Archbishop Samuel serves on the NCC Governing Board.

Armenian Apostolic Church of America

This is a branch of the Armenian Church under the jurisdiction of the See of Cilicia in Lebanon, whose Coadjutor Catholicos is Karekin Sarkissian. Cilicia's jurisdiction traditionally extends over Armenian dioceses in Lebanon, Syria and Cyprus; it is also accepted by adherents elsewhere who consider the See in Soviet Armenia too much dominated by Communist authorities.

Catholicos Sarkissian has been active in the World Council of Churches and has been a vice chairperson of its Central Executive Committee since 1975. He came to the U.S. in 1973, and was prelate of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America when he was elected to his present office in 1977.

Pan Orthodox Trends

When Patriarch Elias of the Antiochian church toured North America in 1977, he repeatedly pleaded for unity among Orthodox Christian churches, describing it as inevitable. And indeed, cooperation, if not structural unity, among Orthodox churches in North America is a significant trend. In October 1978, at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, a National Conference of Orthodox Bishops in America was held for the first time, to consider the prospects for Orthodox unity and to make Orthodoxy "a major spiritual and moral force in this nation."

Already, the different churches interlock in many ways. Thus, the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese is an outgrowth of the Syrian Mission of the Russian Orthodox Church. Antiochian Metropolitan Saliba is Vice Chairman of the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas, (SCOBA); its head is Archbishop Iakovos, the Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. Also included in SCOBA are archbishops and bishops of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church in America, the Orthodox Church in America, the Serbian Orthodox Church in America, the Albanian Orthodox Diocese of America, the American-Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Diocese in the U.S.A., the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America, and the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in Exile.

Pan-Orthodox ecumenism is clearly an internal Christian concern, but its implications reach farther. A unified Orthodoxy would offer a far more prestigious platform to the more vehemently anti-Israel leaders in the Orthodox community than they have had to date.

EASTERN RITE CATHOLIC CHURCHES

Melkite Eparchy

Melkite or Byzantine-rite Catholics accept the Pope as their spiritual leader, but have their own liturgy and are governed by their own patriarchs and bishops. Their titular head is Patriarch Maximos V Hakim of Damascus. There are about one million Melkite Catholics in the world, half of them in the Middle East.

In the U.S., Melkites number about 20,000. An eparchy (diocese) was established by papal bull in 1977, in Newton, Massachusetts. The eparch or head of the American church, Archbishop Joseph Tawil, was one of an Eastern Rite Catholic and Orthodox Group which hailed the UN's recognition of the PLO, describing the latter as "a moderate organization whose concern had been the liberation of their homeland from Israeli occupation and aggression."

In July 1976, Patriarch Maximos visited this country to attend the annual meeting of the American branch of his church, as well as the International Eucharistic Congress in Philadelphia. At a press conference he urged the U.S. to be "more impartial, not involved one hundred percent with Israel," and added that he thought the U.S. was beginning to give "more consideration to the Arab side" in the Middle East. He asked that the U.S. use its influence to have the lands occupied by Israel since 1967 returned to Arab control, so that the Palestinians might create their own state on the West Bank.

In June 1977, on the tenth anniversary of the Seven-Day War, Patriarch Maximos celebrated a special mass in Rome to pray for Jerusalem. The ceremony was organized by the Egyptian Ambassador to the Holy See, who is the dean of Arab diplomats accredited to the Vatican; it was attended by a number of high Vatican officials. The patriarch called on the Jewish people to recognize the rights of the Palestinians, and told those present: "Let us pray for the return of the Palestinians to their homeland."

A curious conflict arose between Patriarch Maximos and the Vatican over the Patriarch's authority to ordain priests serving in the U.S. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Melkite Church accepts married men into the priesthood. Two married priests ordained in the Middle East are serving in the Newton eparchy; a third was ordained in Canada and then was brought to the U.S. A Vatican spokesman claimed that the Canadian ordination was illicit, and that those performed in the Middle East were licit only for service in that area, not in the U.S. Maximos replied sharply, asserting his own prerogative and taking the Vatican spokesman to task.

The controversy over patriarchal vs. papal authority, while an internal Christian affair, has a bearing on the matter of Arab influence in American Christian institutions and thus is of concern to Jews. An influx of Arab clergy ordained by an Arab prelate with a record of strong hostility to Israel is not a heartening prospect. Significantly, the priest ordained in Canada, the Reverend Romanos Russo, is the director of the Damascus area group for the Friends of the Holy Land, a nonprofit organization headquartered in Yonkers, New York, which was founded in 1974 "under the guidance of His Beatitude, Maximos V Hakim..." Whether or not Patriarch Maximos will use the Newton eparchy to bring Arab prelates into the U.S., and what roles such prelates may play here, will bear careful watching.

The Maronite Diocese

The Maronites take their name from St. Maron, a monk who lived in Northern Syria in the late fourth century. Their liturgy is in Aramaic.

Although no exact numbers are available, they are known to be the largest Christian community in Lebanon. Outside the Middle East, they have an archbishop and many monasteries and religious houses in Rome, as well as bishops in Brazil, Australia and the U.S. Maronite parishes also exist in North Africa and in France, Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay and South Africa.

In the U.S., after being an exarchate for six years, the Maronites became a diocese in 1972. The Diocese of St. Maron currently consists of 43 parishes, two institutions, 58 priests and 12 seminarians; its jurisdiction extends to all 50 states. The diocesan seminary is located in Washington. The see of Maronite Bishop Francis Zayek, head of the church, has recently been moved from Detroit to Brooklyn.

Chaldean Rite Catholics

The Chaldeans trace their origins to Nestorius, a bishop and prominent teacher in the Eastern Church during the fifth century, who was censured by Rome on doctrinal grounds. His followers subsequently split; one faction became the Nestorian Church, still in existence as an independent Eastern denomination, while the other, the present Chaldeans, reunited with the Roman Catholic Church, though retaining the Eastern rite. To this day, Chaldeans pray in Aramaic.

In the U.S., Chaldeans number about 1,500 families, comprising some 7,500 persons. Most of them originally came from Northern Iraq and settled around Detroit, where they now form two large parishes. There is a third parish in San Diego and a fourth in Los Angeles. They are under the jurisdiction of local Catholic bishops, but in matters of rite their superior is the Patriarch of Babylon, whose see is in Baghdad.

ORGANIZATIONAL TIES

To what degree do the various Arab Christian groups in the U.S. make common cause with one another, with Moslem leaders and with non-Arab Christian groups in promoting anti-Israel positions? The answer is that some are extremely active in this way, others not at all; the Arab-American community, far from being monolithic, reflects many of the differences and power struggles that divide peoples and governments in the Middle East.

Many Maronites, for example, are friendly to Israel, because Israeli forces have acted to protect and preserve their co-religionists during the recent fighting in Lebanon; others are anti-Israel, believing that Israel's policies -- indeed, her very existence -- are ultimately responsible for the influx of Palestinians which upset the delicate political and religious balance in Lebanon and helped precipitate the civil war there.

Yet despite differences like these, there are efforts to foster a growing pan-Arab consciousness. Sparked by the more vehemently anti-Israel spokesmen, a number of religious leaders have formed a Standing Conference of American Middle Eastern Christian and Moslem Leaders. The Antiochian Orthodox Metropolitan Philip Saliba is its Secretary General; the Melkite Archbishop, Joseph Tawil, is treasurer. Maronite Bishop Francis Zayek is also a member, as are Imam Mohamad Jawad Chirri, Islamic Center in Detroit; Imam Muhammed Abdul Rauf of the Islamic Center, Washington; the Rev. George Garmo of the Chaldean Catholic Church in Southfield, Mich.; the Rev. Joseph Hourani of the Presbyterian Church in Elmer, N.J.; Msgr. John Nolan of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association in New York; Rafic Rasamny of the American Druze Society in New York; also, Bishop Mar Aprim Khamis of the Church of the East in Chicago; Archbishop Mar Athanasius Y. Samuel of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch in Hackensack, N.J.; and Bishop Mesrob Ashjian of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America in New York.

The Standing Conference claims to represent two million Americans of Arabic heritage and to be "composed of hierarchs and representatives of Orthodox Christian, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Sunnite Moslem, Shiite Moslem and Druze bodies in the United States." On March 22, 1978, Metropolitan Saliba, acting for the Standing Conference, wired to President Carter and Secretary of State Vance to protest the Israeli invasion and occupation of South Lebanon. In a press release of the Conference, issued on the letterhead of the Antiochian archdiocese, he commented: "Without Israeli withdrawal from all Arab-occupied land and self-determination for the Palestinian people, there will never be peace in the land of the Prince of Peace."

In the Washington area, Arab-American Moslem and Christian leaders came together in October 1977 to assure President Carter of their support for his human rights program. They particularly commended the 1977 U.S.-Soviet declaration concerning objectives for an Arab-Israeli peace settlement (a move since eclipsed by President Sadat's visit to Israel and the Camp David accords), and stressed that the legitimacy of Palestinian rights must be taken into account in any settlement. The signers were: the Very Reverend George M. Rados, pastor of St. George Antiochian Orthodox Church; the Reverend Joseph Francavilla, pastor of Holy Transfiguration Melkite Greek Catholic Church; Dr.

Muhammad Abdul-Rauf, executive director of the Islamic Center; the Reverend Esper Ajaj, pastor of the Arabic Baptist Church; the Reverend Hector Douehi, pastor of Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Church; and Aida F. Habib, a member of St. Mark Egyptian Coptic Orthodox Church.

It was the first known meeting of the Washington area's Arab-American religious leaders, and the first time they joined to speak in a common cause. Given the long history of Christian-Moslem tensions in the Arab world, marked as it has been by oppression and bigotry on both sides, these joint efforts certainly are a noteworthy development.

At the National Council of Churches

A move in a similar direction was the formation of a task force on Christian-Moslem Relations and the establishment of an Islamic Desk at the National Council of Churches, in August 1977. The formal request for the task force had come from Dr. Frank Maria and Metropolitan Philip Saliba of the Antiochian archdiocese, both officers of the NCC at the time. The two leaders emphasized that it was essential for American Christians to understand Arab Christian and Moslem attitudes and aspirations, "particularly in relation to a Middle East settlement."⁴

The inner workings of the National Council of Churches provide frequent illustrations of how forces sympathetic to Arab claims bureaucratically outweigh those sympathetic to Israel. The promoters of pro-Arab sentiment identified earlier in this paper -- the missionary establishment, the left-wing "liberationists" and the Arab churches -- are all represented in the NCC, many in key positions; and they tend to work together when matters pertaining to Israel are on the agenda.

In 1973, for example, when a number of state and local councils of churches publicly decried Egypt's and Syria's surprise attack on Israel during the Yom Kippur Holy Day, the NCC carefully avoided putting responsibility for the war where it belonged (though its then deputy general secretary, speaking as an individual, joined in the condemnation). Rather, a resolution by the NCC's Governing Board pointed to the United Nations as "the primary instrument for achieving long-range peace" and urged the U.S. and the Soviet Union "to halt immediately arms shipments to the belligerents" -- at a time when the Soviet Union had already sent massive armaments to the Arab nations and when Israel's military supplies were critically low.

Again, in May 1978, when Israel responded to a terrorist attack with a reprisal raid on southern Lebanon, the NCC's Governing Board passed a resolution scoring Israel's use of cluster bombs and criticized the U.S. Government for supplying them -- but rejected an amendment referring to persons "wantonly killed or maimed" in the terrorist action which occasioned the reprisal.

The affair of the Reverend Isaac C. Rottenberg is another case in point. In a letter to The New York Times (May 24, 1978), Mr. Rottenberg,

4. The Washington Star, August 6, 1977

for ten years Director of Communications at the Reformed Church in America, protested what he described as "a persistent anti-Israel propaganda campaign within the Council," noted that "every NCC Governing Board meeting has been preceded by internal bureaucratic power plays aimed at criticizing Israel," and claimed that whenever "concerns were raised in the Council about anti-Semitism, the Holocaust or the emergence of neo-Nazi movements, attempts have been made to trivialize or neutralize them." Earlier, Mr. Rottenberg had been among those who protested that Rumanian Archbishop Valerian Trifa, who was under Federal indictment on charges of having lied about his involvement in war crimes, was a member of the NCC Governing Board. Shortly after the publication of his letter in the Times, Rottenberg was fired from his denominational position.

There are, both within the NCC and in denominational groups, persons sympathetic to Israel and seriously interested in Jewish-Christian dialogue, but they are less close to the centers of institutional power and funding than those of the opposite persuasion:

Where churches have had an overseas missionary relationship with a particular faith, funds can be obtained from the mission agencies. However, where no such relationship exists, it is very difficult to attract financial support. The Jewish-Christian Advisory Committee of the National Council of Churches is an illustration. Because there are no parallel units with funding capability in the denominations, this office is facing a serious financial crisis. Our churches are not presently equipped to deal with other faiths outside the context of mission.⁵

A recent resolution by the NCC Governing Board on the Middle East peace effort, adopted on November 3, 1978, combined elements of sympathy and antipathy toward Israel. It welcomed the movement toward peace represented by the Camp David agreements, celebrated the role of Egypt and the initiatives of its President, and rejoiced with Israel "in feeling that its dream of peace and deliverance might be realized and the threat of annihilation diminished." At the same time, the resolution underscored the Palestinians' right to self-determination, reaffirmed "the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force," and urged President Carter "to broaden the context of the peace discussions to include the recognized representatives of the Palestinian people in order to enable them to become full parties in the peace process." The resolution also voiced the hope that other Arab states besides Egypt would agree to participate in the search for peace and cautioned that until the unresolved issues in the Middle East conflict were settled, "the unity, independence, and territorial integrity of Lebanon" would "continue to be in jeopardy."

Other Organizations

Members of the clergy and present or former church officials also sit on the boards of a number of pro-Arab organizations that are not explicitly

5. Robert L. Turnipseed: "Interreligious Relationship -- An Urgent Ecumenical Concern," editorial in Ecumenical Trends, September 1978

church-related. Thus, Americans for Middle East Understanding (AMEU) has the following among its board members: Harry G. Dorman, formerly director of NCC's Middle East and Europe Department; Msgr. John G. Nolan, the Pontifical Mission for Palestine; Father Joseph L. Ryan; and L. Humphrey Walz a former Synod executive of the United Presbyterian Church, who is also editor of AMEU's journal, The Link.

American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc. (ANERA) similarly counts a number of religious leaders among its present or former directors: J. Richard Butler, the NCC's director for the Middle East and Europe; the Reverend Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate; Msgr. Nolan (see above); and the Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Dean of the Washington Cathedral.

Father Joseph L. Ryan was a signer of a letter appealing for contributions to the Middle East Resource Center (MERC) in Washington. MERC, established late in 1975, is a project of Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine, an organization directed from Waverly, Massachusetts by Dr. Edmund Hanauer, an anti-Zionist Jew and disciple of Rabbi Elmer Berger. Father Ryan's co-signer was Dr. Hisham Sharabi, president of the National Association of Arab Americans, who has been publicly criticized by moderate Arab-American leaders for his defense of Palestinian terrorist tactics. MERC's function, the letter noted, was "to bring information on Middle East issues to members of Congress, journalists and citizens groups." MERC was "currently establishing personal contacts in the offices of members of Congress who have shown concern for human rights, in order to raise the issue of Israeli violation of Palestinian rights with these members of Congress as well as with the general public."

Finally, Middle East Perspective, Inc., which is headed by Dr. Alfred Lilienthal and publishes his vehemently anti-Zionist newsletter, has for its Vice Chairman John Nicholls Booth, a Unitarian minister.

CONCLUSION

Recent public opinion polls have shown some dilution of American popular support for Israel: not a reversal toward increased identification with the Arab cause, but a shift toward neutrality.

After thirty years of incessant refusal by the Arab states to recognize Israel, Egyptian President Sadat's dramatic visit to Jerusalem undoubtedly captured the imagination of many Americans and prompted them to view him as the prime champion of peace. On the other hand, Israel's concerns for security and normalization as part of the peace process may have impressed many Americans as foot-dragging or nit-picking. The shift in public opinion is probably due more to these developments than to the efforts of the anti-Israel groups described in this report. Undoubtedly, most Americans welcomed the signing of a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, but how that achievement will affect attitudes toward Israel remains to be seen.

Despite the peace treaty, anti-Israel forces will continue their efforts to attenuate the still broad support Israel enjoys among Americans. The Jewish community, in its interreligious contacts and programs, must help consolidate that support and give it expression, so that voices in the Christian community that are hostile to Israel will not resonate beyond their true proportions.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

September 19, 1978

Dr. Byron Haines
Hartford Seminary Foundation
Hartford, Connecticut 06105

Dear Byron:

It was good to talk with you the other day, and I'm grateful that you took time from your busy day in Manhattan to stop by our offices to begin what I hope will be the first of many fruitful conversations.

As a follow up to our meeting, the American Jewish Committee wishes to propose a national interreligious consultation that will involve Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Such a conference might focus on history, theology, Scripture as well as the socio-cultural traditions of our various faith communities. We envision a two or three day meeting that would bring together creative and scholarly individuals who would address themselves to the consultation's themes. At this critical moment such a conference could well make an important contribution in strengthening the common bonds between us and in building mutual understanding and cooperation.

Having pioneered in organizing in 1972 an Islamic-Jewish dialogue, the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee would be prepared to help sponsor along with the National Council of Churches' Christian-Muslim Task Force and an appropriate Islamic body. Because of the central role that Lonnie Turnipseed plays in tri-faith relations, his involvement along with Bill Weiler's will be most important to insure the success of the conference.

We would give the conference a "top priority" since it could be a pioneering effort of singular importance. As you may know, the AJC has had long and successful experiences in work-

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ing cooperatively with many religious groups both here and overseas, and I am pleased to enclose several printed programs from some previous consultations. I am also enclosing a copy of Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum's remarks on "Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: Discovery of Mutual Harmonies" that were given before the Pakistani Council of the Asia Society in February, 1972.

Among the possible subjects that we might wish to consider for such a tri-faith meeting are the following:

- A. Common and differing theological perspectives on the Biblical Covenant and human rights, religion, nationalism, land, and peoplehood
- B. Religious pluralism - unity in the midst of diversity, religious liberty
- C. Religious, political and economic issues of mutual concern
Tradition and modernization
- D. Religion as a resource for promoting peace

All of us at the AJC are quite enthusiastic about the prospect of a serious Christian-Muslim-Jewish meeting. After you have had a chance to consider this proposal with your colleagues, perhaps we can set a time to discuss the conference in greater detail. I look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially yours,



Rabbi A. James Rudin
Assistant National Director
Interreligious Affairs

AJR:FM
Encls.

cc: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

Monothestic in a Religious Factor, Religiously Pluralism (Society & World Community) = Potentials and Tensions

~~Religion~~
Monothestic Factor in a Pluralistic Society -

Potentials and Tensions -
Reflections on Dawah, Islam, Religion Liberty -

- 1- M C/J
- J M/C
- C J/M

2- Spiritual Resources for Building World Community
Affirming Unity in the midst of Diversity

3-



PROSPECTUS FOR A PROPOSED
CONFERENCE

DRAFT

Oct '77
Inter review of
missions

Title: "Muslim Da'wah, Jewish Particularity, and Christian Mission:
A Study of Meanings and Praxis."

Purpose:

1. To enable scholars from each of these three religions to explore and reflect upon, in cooperation with those of other religious beliefs, their own beliefs, attitudes, and practices with respect to the propagation of their belief.
2. To facilitate understanding, in the context of friendship, trust and respect, of each others points of view. Toward that end attempts will be made to
 - a. define concepts
 - b. articulate points of difference and similarity
 - c. clarify the existing practices
 - d. discuss the implications of each for interreligious relationships in the U.S.A.

Sponsored by: National Council of Churches
American Jewish Committee
The Islamic Center of Washington, D.C. - *Council of Imams*
The Macdonald Center of Hartford Seminary Foundation

Reasons for: There is a need to anticipate any tensions and misunderstanding that might result from the following situations and to work out positive measures an relationships with respect to the matter of conversion:

- a. The growing emphasis upon propagation and conversion evidenced mainly by some Christian and Muslim groups but also to some extent by a few Jewish leaders.
- b. Practices within religious groups which foster proselytization, e.g. in the case of mixed marriages, or which limit the freedom to convert.
- c. Policies of governments overseas which pose questions for relationships here in the U.S.A.

Composition: 6 to 7 scholars of well known reputation and concern from each of the three religious communities, experienced in interreligious conversations and committed to the cause of bettering relationships. Total number of participants would be 21.

Sturcture:

1. 3 day program in fall of 1979, each religion having one day to present its own position followed by respondents and discussion.
2. 3 formal papers presented, one from each side, but otherwise nothing will be written unless the conference so requires by unanimous decision.

Cost: About \$ 400 per participant. Total at least \$ 8400

Participants: Undecided

B. L. H.
12/14/78