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

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LYNNE IANNIELLO  
Director, Communications

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line: "This article is re-  
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League of B'nai B'rith.")

From Rome, New Views on Old Issues

This article is based on a report written by Rabbi Leon Klenicki, director of the Interfaith Affairs Department of the Anti-Defamation League's Intergroup Relations Division.

"The world continues to be beset with acts of terrorism and Your Holiness knows the ravages only too well. Perhaps what is needed...is a day in which we contemplate the evil of terrorism, and as the site of such prayers...where more appropriate than in the City of Peace, Jerusalem? And personally led by whom, more appropriately, than by your prophetic voice of peace."

The invitation was extended to Pope John Paul II by Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, as part of his remarks at a private audience with the Pontiff for participants in the Second International Catholic-Jewish Colloquium, sponsored by ADL and four Vatican institutions. The Colloquium was held at the Domus Mariae Conference Center in Rome.

The complete text of Mr. Perlmutter's remarks and the Pope's greetings to the ADL delegation were reprinted on the front page of L'Osservatore Romano, the official Vatican newspaper. The invitation to the Pope to go to Jerusalem also received widespread media coverage in the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and other newspapers here and abroad.

Dr. Ronald B. Sobel, chairman of ADL's National Executive Committee and senior rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in New York, headed the delegation

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and presented the Pope with a gift from ADL, an inscribed sterling silver box with a scene of the Old City of Jerusalem in bas relief on the lid. Rabbi Sobel told the Pope:

"Jerusalem and Rome: just as the prayers of the two cities rise vertically to God, so must the two cities reach out horizontally to embrace each other in fullness of love. In that act of love would we find a redemption and salvation."

The theme of the Colloquium itself was "Salvation and Redemption in Judaism and Catholicism," issues which for centuries have been the cause of confrontation with and persecution of Jews. Academics and theologians of both faiths participated in the discussions.

The sponsors, in addition to ADL, were the Holy See Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism, the School of Theology of St. Thomas Pontifical University, Centro Pro Unione-Friars of the Atonement, and SIDIC (Sisters of Zion, International Jewish-Christian Documentation Service). About 70 Italian, West German, Israeli and American academicians and theologians attended. The three branches of Judaism -- Orthodox, Conservative and Reform -- were represented.

"It was ironic," noted Rabbi Leon Klenicki, director of the Interfaith Affairs Department of ADL's Intergroup Relations Division, and one of the speakers, "that a Dominican university should be involved in the project. Centuries ago, the Dominican Fathers initiated forced confrontations with Jews."

Rabbi Klenicki went on to say: "It is a sign of a new age when the major center of Catholic intelligence and scholarship, St. Thomas University, cooperates with a Jewish organization in a friendly academic colloquium."

The theme, "Salvation and Redemption," was discussed in papers presenting the traditional Jewish and Catholic points of view. The lecturers made reference to the impact of the Holocaust, the creation of the State of Israel and the effect of Vatican II and the Nostra Aetate declaration upon Jews and Catholics.

Special attention was given to the "theology of liberation" in the Third World, a recent development within Catholic theological thought which has crystalized amidst the poverty and spirit of revolution in

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much of Latin America. This left-wing Christians for Socialism movement started in Chile in the 1970s and spread to other countries on the continent as well as to Europe.

It was noted that much liberation theology writings dwell on the Biblical Exodus while ignoring the rest of the Jewish experience: the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai, the return to the Promised Land, the Holocaust and the present-day State of Israel.

Three main points emerged from the papers and discussion: a deepening sense of common Biblical roots, a joint evaluation of both positive and negative aspects of liberation theology and recognition of the importance of the State of Israel to Jewish life and Judaism. One of the Catholic speakers said that establishment of Vatican diplomatic relations with Israel is central to the process of Christian understanding of Judaism.

At a special session during the Colloquium, the group honored Dr. Joseph Lichten, who recently retired as ADL's representative in Rome, on the occasion of his induction and investiture as Knight Commander of the Pontifical Equestrian Order of St. Gregory the Great, only the second Jew to be so honored. The papal recognition cited Dr. Lichten's "unique contribution to interfaith relations" as ADL's spokesman on Catholic-Jewish relations in the United States, at the Vatican II Council and as the agency's representative in Rome.

Before returning home, the ADL delegation went to Assisi, where they met with the Abbess of the Order of the Sisters of Clarissa who, during the Nazi occupation, had provided sanctuary in their convent for 300 Jews -- among them the parents of European ADL leader Daniel Kroppf. The Abbess, who is now 94 years old, saw the delegation from behind the bars of the convent's traditional cloistered atmosphere. In response to ADL's expressions of appreciation, she replied that she had done "so little," that there was "so much more to be done."

Participants in the program, chaired by Theodore Freedman, director of ADL's Rome office, included the Rev. Charles Angell, director, Centro Pro Unione; Rev. Dohrman Byers, Archdiocese of Cincinnati; Rev. Martin Geraghty, chairman, Brooklyn Diocese Catholic-Jewish Committee; Dr. Hans Hermann Henrix, associate director, German Bishops Conference; Rev. Edward Kaczynski, professor, St. Thomas University; Rabbi Klenicki; Rev. Michael McGarry, director, St. Paul's College, Washington, DC; Rev. Gerald O'Collins, dean, Faculty of Theology, Pontifical University of Gregory, Rome; Rabbi Pinchas Peli, professor, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel; Nathan Perlmutter; Rabbi David Rosen, ADL's director of Interfaith Relations, Jerusalem; Sister Shirley Sedawie, SIDIC coordinator; Dr. Sobel; Professor Elio Toaff, chief rabbi of the Rome Jewish community; Rev. David Tracy, professor, University of Chicago; Rabbi Gordon Tucker, dean of students, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York; Johannes Cardinal Willebrands, president, Commission of the Holy See for Religious Relations with the Jews, and Rev. Bruce Williams, professor, St. Thomas University.

Also in the ADL delegation were Ira Born, Bethlehem, PA; Mr. and Mrs. Norman Davis, Denver, CO; Mr. and Mrs. Martin Kantor, Great Neck, NY; Mr. and Mrs. Ray Leventhal, Cleveland, OH; Mrs. Nathan Perlmutter, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Shapiro, Middletown, NY; Dr. Norman Wall, Pottsville, PA, and Mr. and Mrs. Al Wood, Merion, PA.

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To: Rita Reznik  
Fr: Richard Zelin

## 'this is not a major setback'

Chi. Syn. Times 11/5/87  
Writing from Jerusalem

**A**t crucial moments the Vatican establishment goes into periods of prudent silence."

So said Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, one of the American-Jewish community's outstanding experts in the ecclesiastical and secular politics of the Roman Catholic Church.

The rabbi thinks the Holy See may be about to modify its attitude toward Israel and Israel's control of Jerusalem.

It was the Vatican's refusal to establish diplomatic relations with Israel and to drop its support for the internationalization of Jerusalem that set the stage for the latest contretemps between the Holy See and the Israeli government.

Tannenbaum was talking about the aftermath of John Cardinal O'Connor's recent visit to Israel, one of the most counterproductive events ever to occur in this country. It was meant to generate good will between Jews and Roman Catholics and, above all, to promote peace in the Middle East.

Instead, the cardinal's inability to go through with his original intention to meet Israel's political leaders in their respective offices and the comments he made while in Jordan about the Palestinians' plight irritated his Israeli hosts and upset their many friends in the United States.

Tannenbaum pinned the blame on the Vatican secretariat of state and the apostolic delegate in the Holy Land.

His conciliatory yet accusatory remarks were made in the kind of setting I always appreciate: an intimate luncheon to which only a few of my colleagues were invited.

Tannenbaum said O'Connor went to Israel "in good faith" and cited his record as an exponent of free emigration for Soviet Jewry, his homage to the 6 million Jewish victims of the Holocaust and his respect for the

symbols of Judaism shown by his pilgrimage to the Walling Wall in Jerusalem.

Just before the cardinal embarked for Lebanon last June, Tannenbaum personally urged him to include Israel on his itinerary "and he considered it seriously," the rabbi went on, "but others persuaded him to go to Lebanon only."

It was then that Cardinal O'Connor made a controversial statement about a Palestinian homeland that "caused concern" to the American Jewish Committee and other elements of American Jewry, the rabbi went on.

That incident prompted the rabbi and other American-Jewish leaders to advise the cardinal that it had become all the more important for him to go to Israel, "and get Israel's position."

By the time O'Connor crossed the River Jordan to the Israeli-held West Bank from King Hussein's Hashemite kingdom, his good intentions had become entangled in the intricacies of the Vatican's effort to co-exist with Israel and the Arab states.

"He had the rug pulled out from under him," Tannenbaum said, especially by the apostolic delegate, who canceled the cardinal's meetings with Israel's top three political leaders.

But the rabbi is not worried about any fallout in the ecumenical sphere. "Catholic-Jewish relations are so strong in the United States, Europe and Latin America and elsewhere that this episode will not work any harm," he said. "We will sit down together and figure out what went wrong. This is not a major setback."

That goal may top the agenda of next month's meeting of leading Roman Catholic and Jewish theologians due to take place in Geneva, Switzerland.

Jay Bushinsky runs the Chicago Sun-Times' Middle East Bureau.



Jay Bushinsky

# O'Connor's own views on Mideast made him an easy target for controversy

By WALTER RUBY

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — As New York's Archbishop John Cardinal O'Connor found himself embroiled in controversy over whether or not he would meet Israel's top leaders during his upcoming trip to the Jewish state, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, international affairs director of the American Jewish Committee remarked this week that O'Connor had become "the victim of Vatican foreign policy."

Tanenbaum's analysis that O'Connor had wanted his trip to be a warm and generous outreach to Israel, but that he had been reigned in by Arabists within the Vatican seemed generally accurate. O'Connor appeared to have agreed to hold meetings with Israel's top leaders, only to have the rug pulled out from under him without warning last week by the Vatican.

The official reason was that Vatican protocol forbids a cardinal to meet Israeli leaders in Jerusalem, as the Vatican does not recognize Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem. Earlier, Msgr. James Finn, the cardinal's spokesman, had contended that O'Connor would be willing to meet Israeli leaders, but only in "informal" meetings.

Nevertheless, an analysis portraying O'Connor as the "good guy" in the scenario, sabotaged by anti-Israel heavies within the Vatican, overlooks the tension in O'Connor's own role and outlook vis-a-vis Israel and the Middle East. On the one hand, ever since becoming New York's archbishop in January 1984 (he was invested by Pope John Paul II with the more exalted title of cardinal in May 1985), O'Connor has attached a high priority to outreach to New York's large and influential Jewish community. He has made appearances at rallies in support of Soviet Jewry, called on Christians to come to terms with the moral issue of the Holocaust and stressed his commitment to the right of the State of Israel to exist within safe and secure boundaries.

On the other hand, even before

his controversial visit to Lebanon last June, where he called for "a Palestinian homeland," O'Connor had spoken of the need to find a solution to the Palestinian problem, so as to alleviate the suffering of Palestinian refugees. According to a 40-year-old tradition, the archbishop of New York serves as president of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, an organization that supports and operates humanitarian and charitable foundations in 18 countries in the Middle East.

O'Connor, 66, is a native of Philadelphia, and spent much of his ecclesiastical career as a chaplain in the U.S. military, serving in the Korean War, and later as head chaplain of the U.S. Naval Academy. After brief service as bishop of Scranton, PA., O'Connor was appointed archbishop of New York in January 1984.

From the beginning of his service as archbishop, O'Connor has been seen as one of the leaders of the conservative faction among U.S. cardinals and bishops, especially on so-called "social issues."

During the 1984 election campaign, he stressed that abortion was the pre-eminent moral issue of the times, and raised the question of whether Catholics could in good conscience vote for candidates who support legalized abortion.

O'Connor has also opposed homosexuality as sinful, and headed a coalition, including some Orthodox Jewish groups, which unsuccessfully opposed a bill passed by the City Council last year outlawing discrimination against gays.

Like Pope John Paul II, with whom he enjoys a close friendship and a shared philosophical outlook, O'Connor has an informal style, and loves to mingle with crowds. Despite his rigid moral views, O'Connor has a warm personal style and a refined sense of humour.

Sharp differences with O'Connor on gay rights, notwithstanding, Mayor Ed Koch has formed a close alliance with the cardinal on many issues, and even travelled to Rome



**Cardinal John O'Connor.**

(Reuter)

last year for O'Connor's investment as cardinal. Koch has sought to sensitize the cardinal on Jewish issues, and has introduced him to Jewish community leaders here, and to resident Israeli diplomats.

In his very first sermon in ornate St. Patrick's Cathedral on Manhattan's Fifth Avenue after becoming archbishop, O'Connor said: "The lessons of the Holocaust are ignored at our peril. We owe a great debt to our friends of the Jewish faith, who do us the incalculable favour of reminding us of the significance of the Holocaust. While we can forgive, we can never forget."

O'Connor has also taken the lead in urging teachers in Catholic schools to wipe out every vestige of anti-Semitism from their teaching.

Giving speeches to Jewish groups, O'Connor has said that he believes that Israel has a right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries and to be safe from incursions. But he has declined to demand openly of the Vatican that it establish diplomatic relations with Israel.

O'Connor's position as the American Jewish community's favourite

cardinal was shaken last June when he made a three-day visit to Lebanon, during which he unsuccessfully tried to contact the Shi'ite captors of American hostages in order to win their release. After leaving Beirut for Rome, he said that he had been deeply moved by the suffering of Palestinian refugees he had seen in Lebanon, and called for the creation of a Palestinian homeland in order to alleviate their plight. O'Connor stressed in subsequent interviews that it was not up to Israel but to the whole world to solve the Palestinian problem, and that he was not necessarily referring to Israel's occupied territories as the location for the Palestinian homeland. Nevertheless, O'Connor's call for a Palestinian homeland was criticized by such Jewish leaders as Nathan Perlmutter of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, while others such as Tanenbaum defended O'Connor's position, saying that they too looked forward to a just resolution of the Palestinian problem.

It was Tanenbaum, in the wake of the Lebanon visit, who took the lead in urging O'Connor to visit Israel in order "to see the other side of the story."

Later, Mayor Koch, Israeli Ambassador to the UN Binyamin Netanyahu, and Israeli Consul-General in New York Moshe Yegar met informally with the cardinal to convince him that the government of Israel would like him to visit, and would give him red carpet treatment if he decided to come.

While no one in the Jewish community here expected O'Connor to announce his support for establishing diplomatic relations between Israel and the Vatican during his visit, Rabbi Ronald Sobel, senior rabbi of Temple Emanuel here, and a friend and confidante of O'Connor, said: "The hope was clear and evident that improvement in relations and understanding would follow the cardinal's visit." In the wake of the Vatican order to O'Connor to cancel his meetings with Israel's leaders, however, that hope appears to have dimmed considerably.

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### VIAJE A ISRAEL-TIERRA SANTA - GRUPO HISPANO JUDEO-CATOLICO

Patrocinado por el Centro Católico de Pastoral para los Hispanos del Nordeste y la Oficina Sudamericana y para Medios en Español del Comité Judío Americano.

#### ITINERARIO y. AGENDA TENTATIVOS

##### Martes

enero 27, 1987. - 6:30 p.m. salida de New York, J.F.K. airport - Sabena #548.-

##### Miércoles

enero 28, 1987. - 7:50 a.m. llegada a Bruselas.-  
11:20 a.m. salida a Tel Aviv - Sabena #203.  
4:30 p.m. llegada al aeropuerto Ben Gurion, recepción y traslado al Hotel Plaza.-

##### Jueves

enero 29, 1987. - Recorrido de la ciudad de Tel Aviv y Jaffa.  
Visita al Museo de la Diáspora (Bet Hatefuzot) y Universidad de Tel Aviv.

##### Viernes

enero 30, 1987. - Visita a la Histadrut (Confederación de Trabajadores - Depto. Latinoamericano) y a la Agencia Judía.  
Traslado a Jerusalén, Hotel Laromme. Asistencia al Servicio Religioso Sabático en el Muro de los Lamentos.

##### Sábado

enero 31, 1987. - Excursión a kibutzim latinoamericanos (Or Haner y/o Mefalsím). Regreso vía Ashdot y Ashkelon.

##### Domingo

febrero 1°, 1987. - Recorrido de la ciudad antigua de Jerusalén: esplanada del Templo, las mezquitas, Vía Dolorosa, Iglesia del Santo Sepulcro, (asistencia a la Misa en Español), Monte Sion, Tumba del Rey David, Cenáculo, Abadía de la Dormición, Ecce Homo.  
Visita a Belen, la Iglesia de la Natividad y el Campo de los Pastores.  
Encuentros con grupos interreligiosos israelíes, el Instituto Central para las Relaciones Culturales Israel-Iberoamérica, España y Portugal y recepción en la Casa Argentina en Israel-Tierra Santa.

**Lunes**

febrero 2, 1987. - Reunión con funcionarios del Departamento Latinoamericano del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Israel. Encuentros con el Ministro de Educación y ex-presidente de Israel, D. Itzjak Navón y con el Alcalde de Jerusalén, D. Teddy Kollek. Visita al Ministerio de Asuntos Religiosos. Visita a la Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalén y reunión con profesores y alumnos hispanoparlantes. Encuentro con los funcionarios de la Oficina Israelí del Comité Judío Americano (American Jewish Committee).

**Martes**

febrero 3, 1987. - Salida vía Monte Scopus hacia el Monte de los Olivos, siguiendo a Getsemani, visita a la Basílica de la Agonía, recorrido de la ciudad nueva de Jerusalén, visitas al Santuario del Libro, Museo de Israel, (donde están expuestos los manuscritos del Mar Muerto), al Yad Vashem (memorial del Holocausto), y Hadassa (murales de Chagall). Se sigue hasta Ein Karem, visita a la Iglesia de San Juan y a la Iglesia de la Visitación.

**Miércoles**

febrero 4, 1987. - Salida hacia el Valle del Jordán, Jericó, Monte de la Tentación, Mar Muerto, atravesando el Desierto de Judea, hacia Betania, visita a la Tumba de Lázaro.

**Jueves**

febrero 5, 1987. - Salida hacia el Monte de la Bienaventuranza y Cafernaum. Se sigue bordeando el Mar de Galilea hacia Tiberíades. Por la tarde a Nazaret, Afula y Jericó. Visita a la Iglesia de la Anunciación, la Fuente de la Virgen y la Carpintería de San José. Alojamiento en el kibutz Ayelet Hashahar.

**Viernes**

febrero 6, 1987. - Visitas a Tiberíades, Alturas del Golan, continuación a Haifa, Acre, Sfat y regreso a Tel Aviv. Hotel Plaza.

**Sábado**

febrero 7, 1987. - Tel Aviv. Día libre.

**Domingo**

febrero 8, 1987. - Reunión evaluativa del grupo. Encuentro con la prensa hispana israelí.

Traslado al aeropuerto Ben Gurion en Tel Aviv.  
Partida a Bruselas, Sabena #204. - 5:45 p.m.  
Llegada a Bruselas, 9:25 p.m.  
Se pernocta en Bruselas por cuenta de Sabena.

Lunes

febrero 9, 1987. - Partida a New York. Sabena #541. - 1:45 p.m.  
Arribo al aeropuerto J.F.K., New York, a las 3:45 p.m.

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**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** January 5, 1987

**to** Marc Tanenbaum

**from** Shimon Samuels

**subject** ISRAEL INTER-FAITH ASSOCIATION RECEPTION FOR  
CARDINAL O'CONNOR

SD

The reception on January 4 at Mishkenot Ha Shaananim was attended by 30 Jews and Catholics. The Cardinal arrived 1½ hours late delayed by his visit to President Herzog. Geoffrey Wigoder opened with a statement on references to the State of Israel in Papal declarations.

Marcel Dubois continued with a brief statement of the lessons that Christians can learn from the Jewish people in their own land.

O'Connor responded on 2 themes:

- a. On the Jewish-Catholic dialogue in the diocese of New York, both sides have come to terms with the mysteries underlying our respective beliefs.
- b. On Israel it is clear that the question of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Holy See is perceived to be crucial to the Jewish-Catholic dialogue.

O'Connor stated that the problems created by his trip have enunciated the position of the Vatican and its strong feelings regarding the status of Jerusalem. This was clear by the fact that he could not call on an Israeli official in his office in Jerusalem, but could call on him in his residence. He added that a journalist had just told him that the President's residence is also his Office. He hoped "that I have not been deceived".

He added "if I were a politician in Jerusalem and was told by a Cardinal that I could not visit with them in their offices, I would be insulted, but we must get beyond that..."

O'Connor reiterated the Vatican's 3 main concerns: the Palestinians, the status of Jerusalem, the protection of Catholics ("I mean Christians") in the Middle East. He said that Israeli officials have down-played the significance of these issues and that Israel must recognise them as important for the Vatican and not brush them aside.

The Cardinal closed his statement with the following: "Israel is a sacred mystery and indispensable to salvation. This land is concretizing this mystery. The Holy See is the concretizing of the Catholic mystery. As Jews do not make graven images, so words do not allow the understanding of these mysteries. If each recognises the sacred in each other's mystery, we can see where the fallout takes us... If I were an Israeli Official, I would think above all, of Israel as a mystery. For without mystery, it is only a piece of land over which people are killing each other".

Father Bruno then informed the Cardinal that there is a Hebrew Church with 4 Centres in Israel. Its congregants, as faithful Israelis, are torn when facing non-Christian Israelis, for their country is one of the few unrecognised by the Holy See. "The Church would have much more influence here if it would establish relations". O'Connor responded by saying that he understood the situation as "you are a few fish trying to survive in a sea of Judaism".

Father Bruno (the Dominican who founded the Jewish-Arab village of "Naveh-Shalom") then pointed out the impossibility of the Latin Bishop of Jerusalem serving, at the same time as the Bishop of the Arab Christians and also the Bishop of the Hebrew Christians. "There is need for change in the Latin-rite Bishopric of Jerusalem". Father Bruno was, at that point, angrily curtailed by an American clergyman in the Cardinal's party who told him that this was not the place for such statements.

Prof. Zev Falk described the Jewish mystery as one of standing alone and of rejection, despite the fact that it had no meaning to the Christian Church without a Jewish terrestrial Jerusalem.

Rabbi Jack Cohen asked the Cardinal what will happen when he returns to New York and whether his thinking had changed?

O'Connor replied: "the distinction between the Land, the State and the people as embodiments of the mystery are more clearly drawn back in New York... I have a great advantage, a number of Jews in New York like and respect me, so that I can speak to them bluntly. There were some real hurts based on unintentional mistakes, but they were carried on too far. I could have accomplished more if there would have been less sense of injustice earlier on in the game... had I left from here without the President and Prime Minister's invitation along the lines of what I could do, I don't know when I could have come back. We have re-established a reasonable sense of goodwill..."

The Cardinal continued, "I do not know that any Cardinal has ever come to the Middle East and made an apology.

When there is no response from a Government, that does not sit well with reasonable people. I am happy that there was a response".

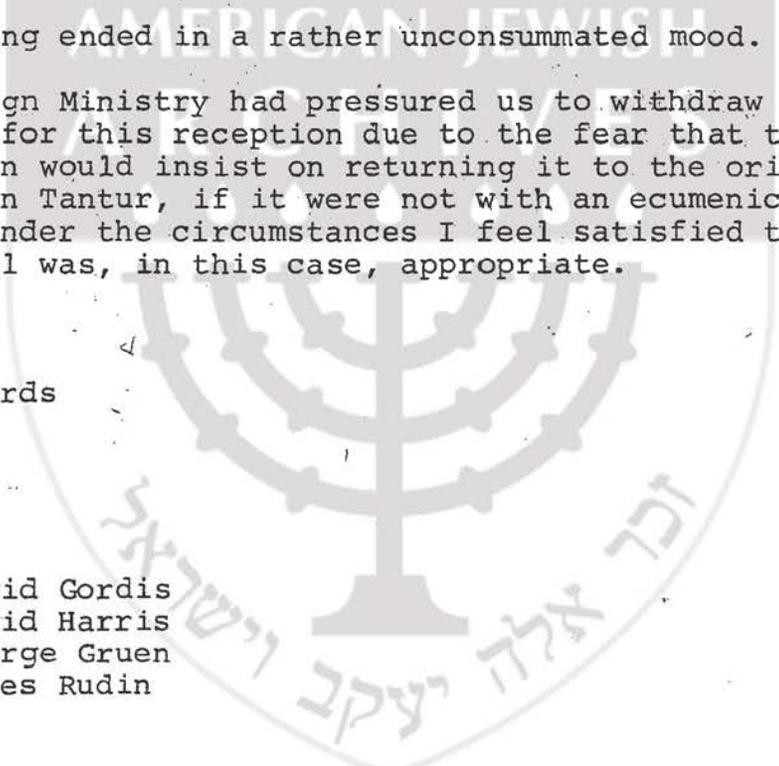
The last question came from Prof. Hava Lazarus Yaffe regarding the existence of fundamentalism in the Catholic Church in the United States. O'Connor responded that there are 2 kinds of such fundamentalism. The first displayed in their prayer, the second are "Pentecostalists" who are the equivalent of Biblical literalists.

The meeting ended in a rather unconsummated mood.

The Foreign Ministry had pressured us to withdraw from joint auspices for this reception due to the fear that the Apostolic Delegation would insist on returning it to the original plan to hold it in Tantur, if it were not with an ecumenical organisation alone. Under the circumstances I feel satisfied that our gracious withdrawal was, in this case, appropriate.

Best regards

cc: David Gordis  
David Harris  
George Gruen  
James Rudin





Memo January 7, 1987

*Marc is not distributed  
this beyond the Strategy Committee*

TO: Members, NJCRAC Israel Task Force Strategy Committee

FROM: Charney V. Bromberg, Associate Director and Director for Middle East Affairs

RE: Assessment and Strategy Recommendations of the NJCRAC Israel Task Force Strategy Committee meeting 1/7/87 on Cardinal O'Connor's Visit to Israel

This meeting was a follow-up to a series of timely and thorough confidential briefings by Consul General, Ambassador Moshe Yegar, on developments surrounding Cardinal O'Connor's visit to Israel. Participating in the meeting were Phil Baum, American Jewish Congress, Malcolm Hoenlein, President's Conference, Ken Jacobson, ADL, Harriet Mandel and Michael Miller, NJCRAC, Marc Tanenbaum, American Jewish Committee and Charney V. Bromberg, NJCRAC. The purpose of the meeting was to assess the situation according to available information, and prepare strategy recommendations for submission to the Conference of Presidents meeting later this afternoon to aid in achieving a unified communal approach.

Findings:

1. While continuing to believe in Cardinal O'Connor's good will, the Strategy Committee felt that there was on the one hand, a serious lack of symmetry, in the Cardinal's stress on the condition of the Palestinians and his call for their self-determination, while, there was, on the other hand, an apparent lack of emphasis on both those questions relating to the Arab role in failing to advance the peace process, and those issues pertaining to Vatican-Israeli relations.
2. Recognizing that these issues are complex and multi-leveled, there is reason to believe the media may have, by their insistence on the Palestinian question, distorted the Cardinal's positions. Secondly, we do not know, as yet, what transpired in conversations with Israeli figures. Similarly, we do not know, apart from press reports, what the tenor of exchanges have been in the Vatican; and, finally, we have not yet heard the Cardinal's own assessment. For these reasons, it was felt that it is essential to have a meeting with the Cardinal upon his return.

Recommendations:

1. Rather than have Jewish organizations, individually and disparately, seek meetings with the Cardinal, it was felt that the Cardinal should be encouraged to request a single meeting with a small group, representing national Jewish organizations and the New York Jewish community.

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February 15-18, 1987 • Bonaventure Hotel & Spa • Fort Lauderdale, FL

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2. That, despite recent effusively positive public statements from some Jewish leaders, the Cardinal should be informed immediately through discrete channels that, in light of media reports from Amman, Israel and Rome, we are, in fact, troubled and concerned by what we have read and heard of his statements and positions.
3. That, if the Cardinal does request a meeting with national and New York Jewish leadership, a statement reflecting our assessment and concerns be drafted now for review before the meeting takes place. A subcommittee consisting of Phil Baum of the American Jewish Congress, Kenneth Jacobson of the ADL, Harriet Mandel of the New York JCRC and Richard Cohen, public relations consultant to the Presidents Conference, would be asked to prepare the statement for possible release after the hoped-for meeting with Cardinal O'Connor.
4. The Israel Task Force Strategy Committee further recommended that there be close adherence to community discipline in carrying out this strategy in view of the potential for creating considerable and counterproductive media attention to the most negative aspects of the affair - particularly the Cardinal's emphasis on the plight of the Palestinians and his call for Palestinian self-determination.
5. In the meantime, there will be an opportunity to explore and validate reported aspects of the Cardinal's discussions in Israel which may point to positive opportunities.
6. Member agencies should cultivate in other media outlets the editorial positions of Newsday and the NY Post which emphasized that the central problem in Cardinal O'Connor's visit was the untenable Vatican policy concerning diplomatic relations with Israel and the status of Jerusalem.
7. Concurrently, all organizations were requested to inventory their contacts of important Catholic clergy and lay leadership who have been genuinely and consistently supportive of Israel and might be expected to be supportive of enhanced Vatican relations with Israel.
8. On a more long term basis, the Strategy Committee determined that it should develop a strategy to make expressions of Catholic support for Israel a central element in Catholic-Jewish relations equal to, if not greater than, their positive statements on the Holocaust, Church teachings about Jews and Judaism, and various symbolic gestures such as the Pope's visit to the Italian synagogue.

FAX TO AJC OFFICE IN ISRAEL

January 8, 1987

CAN AT LAST CONFIRM TRIP HISPANIC JEWISH-CHRISTIAN GROUP TO ISRAEL. PREVIOUS INFORMATION TENTATIVELY DISCUSSED WITH RESNIKOFF LAST JUNE AND JULY. ACCORDING BERNIE'S FAX DATED 8.12.86 JEWISH AGENCY HAS OFFERED HOSTING IN TEL AVIV, INCLUDING COVERING EXPENSES ONE NIGHT HOTEL AND DINNER WITH PARTICIPATION OF SPANISH-LANGUAGE SPEAKERS. PLEASE UPDATE BOTH REPORTS AS WELL AS MEETINGS MENTIONED THEREIN. ITINERARY, AGENDA AND PARTICIPANTS LIST WILL FOLLOW SEPARATELY. PLEASE DO NOT YET DISCLOSE PARTICIPATION MONSIGNOR DEL VALLE. ALSO IF POSSIBLE WOULD APPRECIATE ARRANGE MEETINGS WITH INTERFAITH COMMITTEE IN JERUSALEM (SHALOM ROSENBERG, MARIO ABLIN, ETC.); WITH INSTITUTE ISRAEL-IBEROAMERICA RELATIONS (AMBASSADORS LORCH AND LIBA); FOREIGN MINISTRY--LATIN AMERICAN DESK (GUR ARIE AND OLAMI); WITH HEBREW UNIVERSITY (PROFESSORS CHAIM AVNI; EDY KAUFMAN, LEO SENKMAN). OBVIOUSLY VERY IMPORTANT IS MEETING WITH YOU BRIEFING ON AJC ACTIVITIES IN ISRAEL. AM SENDING SPANISH PRESS RELEASES AND CLIPPINGS VIA EXPRESS MAIL. YOU WILL RECEIVE THEM REGULARLY IN FUTURE. APOLOGIZE FOR INVOLUNTARY DELAY AND MOST GRATEFUL YOUR COOPERATION. KINDEST REGARDS.

JACOBO KOVADLOFF

c.c. Marc Tanenbaum

TRIP TO ISRAEL-HOLY LAND - HISPANIC JEWISH-CATHOLIC GROUP

Sponsored by the North East Regional Pastoral Committee for Hispanics and the South American Office and for Spanish Media of the American Jewish Committee.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS-AS OF JANUARY 8, 1987

MONS. RAUL DEL VALLE

Chancellor of the New York Archdiocese  
(of Cuban Origin)

JORGE COVARRUBIAS

Latin American Desk, Associated Press  
and Latin American Syndicate

P. CARLOS A. MULLINS

Editor, Revista Carismatica, Coordinator of  
Interreligious and Ecumenical Affairs, North East  
Regional Pastoral Committee for Hispanics. Pastor,  
San Gabriel Parish, New Rochelle

VERONICA GONZALEZ

Secretary, Asociación Virgen Nuestra Señora de Luján  
(Patron Saint of Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay)

MARIA NELLY MAGDALENO

Secretary, Argentine-American Chamber of Commerce

JUANITA SAROSI

Coordinator, Hispanic Apostolate, Parish of St. Cecilia,  
Kearny, N.J.

P. ABEL SUQUILVIDE

Assistant Pastor, Parish San Camilo Lellis, Los Angeles, CA  
Chaplain, University Hospital of California, Los Angeles, CA

JACOBO KOVADLOFF

Director, AJC South American Affairs and Spanish Media

Also:

CARMEN OYOLA

New York, N.Y.

LUZ RODRIGUEZ

Bronx, N.Y.

JOSE E. GOMEZ

Corona, N.Y.

JAN 8 1987 - why now / this card / this embarrassment?  
- recruitment of cardinal Caohine / Vatican -

FROM: Richard Cohen

Jan. 8, 1987

TO: 1. None 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. \_\_\_\_\_ 6. \_\_\_\_\_  
3. \_\_\_\_\_ 7. \_\_\_\_\_  
4. \_\_\_\_\_ 8. \_\_\_\_\_

Please return ( )  
Your action ( )  
Your files ( )  
For your info ( )  
Let's discuss ( )

Remarks: This draft is based upon the recommendations that came out of the NJCRAC meeting Wednesday, as presented by Charney Bromberg at the Presidents Conference meeting, and of the discussion that followed. I have read it to Phil Baum and Ken Jacobson, who initially briefed me on the NJCRAC recommendations, and they have expressed general approval of it, although they have not yet had the opportunity to read it. Ken felt that the paragraph on page 3 about Cardinal O'Connor's meeting with the pro-PLO bishop in Amman was superfluous.

This draft will be the basis for discussion Friday morning at 515 Park,

*Richard Cohen Associates*

PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL

30 East 60th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

(212) PL 8-6969

DRAFT

Cardinal O'Connor has shown himself to be a warm friend to the Jewish community of New York and a strong supporter of many of the causes to which Jews are devoted. He has spoken out for the homeless and the hungry, for the poor and the sick. He has described himself as a friend of Israel. By his personal participation in the campaign to free the Jews of the Soviet Union, he has helped draw attention to the continuing pressures under which Soviet Jews live and the ~~continuing~~ refusal of Soviet authorities to open the gates of emigration. *anti-S / Catholic-Jewish relations*

It was therefore with considerable anticipation that we learned Cardinal O'Connor had accepted an invitation from then-Prime Minister Shimon Peres to visit Israel. Regrettably, however, the news reports of that visit have filled us with disappointment and disquiet.

We recognize that Cardinal O'Connor is bound by Vatican policy concerning Israel and Jerusalem ~~and~~ *we* do not hold him responsible for the fact that he could not call officially on Israel's elected leadership in Jerusalem. Indeed, we were touched by the sincerity of his apology for the misunderstanding that developed. What distresses us most deeply is the lack of balance in the Cardinal's statements concerning the plight of the Palestinian refugees, the possibility of progress toward peace in the Middle East and the need for Palestinian "self-determination."

In his capacity as president of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, Cardinal O'Connor visited Palestinian refugee centers and found the inhabitants to be in great distress. Unfortunately, he gave the clear impression that Israel was to blame for the refugees' plight. The Cardinal was apparently unaware that the nations of the Arab world, as a matter of policy, have refused to offer resettlement assistance to the Arab refugees with whom they share a common language, culture, religion and history. Nor did he acknowledge that while the Arab refugees languish in misery as a direct result of the cold-blooded decision of their Arab brothers in the oil-rich Middle East and other states

(more)

to refuse them haven, hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees -- at least equal in number to the Palestinians -- fled the Arab lands that were their homes for centuries and were received, welcomed and integrated into the life of Israel.

The failure to acknowledge this contrast or to assign responsibility to the Arab nations for the continuing plight of the Arab refugees of the Middle East was unfortunate.

As a lover of peace, Cardinal O'Connor made numerous references to the need for a peaceful settlement of differences between Israel and her Arab neighbors. Regrettably, Cardinal O'Connor did not take note of the fact that no Arab state except Egypt has agreed to come to the negotiating table or state publicly <sup>(its)</sup> willingness to live in peace with Israel. We had hoped that Cardinal O'Connor might

make some reference to the fact that Israel has publicly stated its eagerness for face-to-face peace talks only to be rebuffed for nearly 40 years by Arab nations that have committed aggression against the Jewish state an average of once every seven years.

Again, imbalance in the Cardinal's responses was disheartening to many in the Jewish community. While he spoke movingly of Arab suffering, he did not acknowledge in any public statement that Israel has been the target of incessant terrorist attack since the very moment of its independence, attacks that have cost hundreds of lives, untold hardship and stresses and strains in daily life that we in America can hardly imagine. The Cardinal's failure even to mention the continuing policy of Arab terrorism against Israel was most unfortunate.

Similarly, while the Cardinal described himself as a non-political figure, he made continuing references to Palestinian "self-determination," a phrase that is generally acknowledged to be political shorthand for a Palestinian state. Without debating the merits of Palestinian statehood in this comment, we <sup>nonetheless</sup> observe that the use of this phrase on numerous occasions during the Cardinal's journey served to change the nature of his visit from a humanitarian to a political one. We do not believe this was Cardinal O'Connor's intention, but the public perception of such remarks was such as to place him squarely on one side of an enormously complicated issue.

Cardinal O'Connor conveyed the humanity of the Palestinians but not of the people of Israel. This disturbed and disquieted us. He appeared to endorse Arab claims and to ignore Israeli claims. This we found to be unjust.

Cardinal O'Connor has said on many occasion that he was opposed to terrorism. But in Jordan he was embraced by an Anglican Bishop who has been a member of the PLO Executive Committee since the organization's founding in 1966, a supporter and sympathizer of the terrorist movement who was expelled by Israel for his activities. If the Cardinal was placed in this embarrassing situation by his Jordanian hosts, he might have voiced some complaint upon learning of it. But he did not, thus giving the impression that he had no objection to meeting with a terrorist leader. Particularly distressing, the Cardinal was also quoted as apparently condoning if not excusing terrorist acts. "If one lives as an animal," The New York Times reported him as saying, "one is driven to animal-like acts." This disheartening statement revealed a mind-set we found to be most disturbing.

In sum, Cardinal O'Connor appeared most sympathetic to, most understanding of and indeed most deferential to <sup>extremist</sup> the Arab position. <sup>51</sup> He gave the strong impression that in his view the root of the problem lay with Israel, whom he appeared to blame for the failure to make peace, to solve the refugee problem and to grant a "homeland" and "self-determination" to the Palestinian Arabs.

Finally, and again regrettably, we must take exception to the statement by Cardinal O'Connor upon leaving the Holocaust Museum in Israel known as Yad Vashem. We have no doubt that the Cardinal was deeply affected by the horrors he had just seen document in Yad Vashem. But his comment was read with astonishment and dismay by Jews everywhere. He stated:

NY Times quote comes here

This remark was seen as a grossly insensitive comment on the agony that the Jews of Europe knew at the hands of a bestial Nazi government and a silent and acquiescing Christian world. Out of that agony came the energy and determination and courage that created and built the State of Israel. That is only one reason why Jews in America and around the world are so passionate about defending the Jewish state against those who would do it harm. And that is why we are so disappointed by the visit to Israel of a religious leader and community figure who, we had thought and hoped, had a broader understanding and a more fairminded approach to the Middle East today.

**RUSH**

FAX TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

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DATE Jan 8 1987

NO. OF PAGES 2 (not including cover)

TO: Marc Tanenbaum

LOCATION: NY

FROM: M T Rosenberg

LOCATION: DC

SPECIAL REMARKS:  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

FAX ATTENDANT SIGNATURE: \_\_\_\_\_

FAX RECEIVED BY/SIGNATURE \_\_\_\_\_

**RUSH**

Marc — this is the original.

Thanks

mj

### The Cardinal's Visit

John Cardinal O'Connor ended his nine day visit to Jordan and Israel much as he began it: surrounded by controversy. Before boarding his plane at Ben-Gurion International Airport, the prelate spoke about the plight of the Palestinians and suggested that they be accorded "the right of self-determination." He said that the Palestinians "don't have a real identity, they don't have a passport, and they don't have a piece of land they can call their own. They can hardly be called a people who have the right of self-determination."

O'Connor's statement was troubling. One does not have to be an experienced diplomat to know that the phrase "self-determination" has a precise meaning when applied to the Arab-Israeli dispute. Self-determination for the Palestinians means, quite simply, a Palestinian state. According to the PLO (which turned that phrase into a call to battle), self-determination means the replacement of Israel with a Palestinian Arab state. That is why the government of Israel--and friends of Israel abroad--reject that formulation whenever it is applied.

It's hard to understand why Cardinal O'Connor used the phrase. He is a friend of Israel (and of the Jewish people in general) and certainly does not favor Israel's elimination or any proposal that would jeopardize its security. Nevertheless, one can rest assured that the PLO and its supporters will point to the Cardinal's remarks as backing for its position. The Cardinal will have little choice but to clarify his meaning. What exactly does he mean by self-determination for the Palestinians? And does not his position on that issue conflict with his overall support for the State of Israel?

His statement on Palestinian self-determination was not the only troubling aspect of the Cardinal's visit. Most troubling was the Vatican's decision not to permit O'Connor to meet with Israeli leaders in their Jerusalem offices. The Vatican does not recognize Israeli jurisdiction over Jerusalem and favors internationalization of the Israeli capital. Accordingly, O'Connor could only meet with President Chaim Herzog and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in their Jerusalem residences. Prime Minister Shamir refused to meet with O'Connor anywhere but in his office and so there was no meeting between the two. Observers in Israel believe that the difference in the approach between Peres and Herzog, on the one hand, and Shamir, on the other, was a carefully orchestrated effort to demonstrate courtesy to an important and friendly visitor while simultaneously stating that Israel will not accept slights to its sovereignty over Jerusalem.

Of course, at this time, the Vatican's position on Jerusalem differs very little from its position on Tel Aviv or Haifa. The Vatican, despite continuing pressure from a growing cadre of pro-Israel prelates, does not recognize the State of Israel. This is disturbing for many reasons. It strongly suggests that the Church cannot come to terms with the idea of Jewish sovereignty over the Holy Land. It demonstrates insensitivity to the historic events--primarily the Holocaust--that led to the re-establishment of the Jewish state. And it shows that the Arab world's ability to

intimidate powerful states and institutions (and few are as powerful as the Vatican) has not diminished--at least in this case. It is also troubling because there is little evidence that the world's 800 million Catholics share the Vatican's distaste for Israel. In the United States, public opinion polls demonstrate strong support for Israel among Catholics. This is also true in Western Europe and in Latin America. The Vatican's position is anachronistic and out of step with Catholic opinion. Nevertheless, it is a reality--and one that must be contended with.

Cardinal O'Connor may be able to play a helpful role in this area. He is a member of the Vatican's advisory council on international affairs. He resides in a city with the largest Jewish population of any city in the world. He has repeatedly demonstrated his good will toward that community.

He could make a major contribution toward Middle East peace by working to convince the Vatican that it can play no serious role in Middle East peacemaking until and unless it recognizes Israel. Papal visits to a synagogue in Rome are significant, but they are not enough. Nor are visits to Auschwitz, as moving as the Pope's visit there was. The central issue in Jewish-Catholic relations is Rome's policy of non-recognition of Israel, a policy that is a continuing insult to the State of Israel and to the Jewish people. If Cardinal O'Connor wants to advance Middle East peace--and there is considerable evidence that he does--he must convey that message to Rome. The Cardinal is in a unique position and has a unique opportunity. Let's hope he uses it.

--M.J. Rosenberg

M.J. Rosenberg is Washington Representative of the American Jewish Committee and editor of The Washington Report.

JAN 22 1987

Conference of Presidents  
Of Major American Jewish Organizations

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

January 20, 1987

TO: PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: MORRIS B. ABRAM

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

At the invitation of Cardinal John O'Connor a small delegation met with him Monday, January 19, 1987 to discuss his recent trip to the Middle East. At this three hour long session we raised the concerns of the Jewish community regarding some of the Cardinal's statements and actions as reported in the press. We also explained the reasons for issuing our statement and his reaction to it.

The Cardinal in turn reported on his discussions in Jordan and Israel and shared observations he garnered during his trip.

It was a cordial and frank exchange following which the enclosed statement was issued.

I trust that the dialogue will continue on these vital issues.

MBA

Contact: Richard Cohen  
(212) 758-6969

Contact: Msgr. Peter G. Finn  
(212) 371-1000

JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED BY JEWISH LEADERS AND JOHN CARDINAL O'CONNOR  
FOLLOWING A MEETING HELD MONDAY, JAN. 19 IN THE CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE

This morning a group of representatives of the Jewish community conferred with John Cardinal O'Connor in his residence. The meeting was cordial and the discussion candid, and served to clarify the views of the Cardinal and the Jewish community on issues affecting the Middle East and Catholic-Jewish relations.

The meeting underscored the fundamental agreement of both the Cardinal and the Jewish representatives on Israel's right to secure and recognized boundaries, on the importance of addressing the Palestinian problem and the plight of the refugees as well as the need to move toward peace in the region. Both the Cardinal and his guests agreed that there were far more issues on which they held similar views than those on which they differed.

The Jewish representatives recognized that the Cardinal is bound by Vatican policy, and reiterated their appreciation of his sincere apology in Jerusalem for the misunderstanding that developed over his planned meetings with officials of the Israeli government. The Jewish leaders regard the Cardinal's visit as a helpful contribution toward greater understanding between the two communities.

The Jewish leaders also conveyed the purpose of their statement of January 10, emphasizing that it was not intended in an unfriendly spirit to the Cardinal but rather was directed at the issues. They voiced regret at any misunderstanding that may have been caused by the timing of the statement's release. In turn, Cardinal O'Connor elucidated the context of various statements attributed to him in the press and told of other impressions of his trip that had not been reported.

Both the Cardinal and the Jewish representatives, meeting in a spirit of mutual respect and good will, look forward to a continuing dialogue on issues of mutual concern.

1/19/87

X X X

Jewish representatives at the meeting were: Morris B. Abram, chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations; Rabbi Haskel Lookstein, president, New York Board of Rabbis; Theodore R. Mann, president, American Jewish Congress; Rabbi Henry Michelman, executive vice president, Synagogue Council of America; Nathan Perlmutter, national director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Lester Pollack, president, New York Jewish Community Relations Council; Rabbi James Rudin, director of interreligious affairs, American Jewish Committee; Rabbi Ronald B. Sobel, Temple Emanu-1

## ON MY MIND

A.M. Rosenthal

A Question  
For the  
Vatican

Everybody, a nice round of applause for John Cardinal O'Connor and the Israeli leaders. Between them they managed recently to destroy two old stereotypes about people and that of course is always healthy.

The Israelis, by getting their country deep in the muck of the Iranian arms deal, showed that not all Jews are smart. The Cardinal, by displaying strong public irritation about criticism of his Jerusalem trip, showed that not all Christians dizzy themselves turning the other cheek.

The Cardinal and the heads of the American Jewish organizations that said some unadmiring things about his pronouncements in Jerusalem and the fact that the Vatican would not let him visit Israeli officials in their offices met yesterday to try to smooth things over and that was fine. Now we can see what the spat obscured: the real issue.

It was not the Cardinal's trip or the criticism but the Vatican's policy of refusing diplomatic recognition to Israel and the rigidity with which it is enforced in Rome.

The Vatican has its reasons for refusing the diplomatic recognition that 82 countries have extended to Israel. And although the Vatican manages to have diplomatic relations with about 125 countries, including Communist Poland and assorted other tyrannies, those reasons are judged overriding in the case of Israel.

The Vatican does not recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and wants the city put under some kind of international agreement. The Israelis see this as removing their sovereignty over the city they insist on regarding as their capital, even at the price of being considered somewhat stiff-necked and stubborn.

The Vatican also backs the Palestinians' desire for a state of their own. And it feels recognition of Israel might endanger Christian people and property in Arab states.

Anyway, the Cardinal, trying to do a little good, set out on a Middle East trip that included Jerusalem and visits to Israeli officials. Weeks in advance he notified the Vatican of his precise plans but it was not until the last moment that the Vatican officials woke up, or decided to wake up, and instructed him not to visit Israeli officials in their offices. This obviously upset the Cardinal, although he took the rap for it, and it insulted Israeli officials although they played it cool.

If the Cardinal was ambushed, as some of his friends believe, it was not by criticism by some American Jews or even the fact that the statement of criticism was foolishly released before the Cardinal had a chance to see it. If there was an ambush at all it was caused by the rigidity of the Vatican bureaucrats.

Rigid officials reflect rigid policy and that seems to me to be the issue at the heart. What would have been so dreadful if the Vatican had decided to

The  
issue was  
neither  
Cardinal  
nor critics.

avoid creating embarrassment and real hurt out of its own error and had been gracious and courteous enough to allow the Cardinal to go ahead with his visits to the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Israel?

After all, the nations that have diplomatic relations with Israel do business in Jerusalem government offices every day although only a few formally acknowledge Jerusalem as the capital. It is an unappetizing charade but better than acting as if sitting in an Israeli office would be contaminating.

Did it ever cross the minds of those who canceled the Cardinal's visits that Anwar Sadat went to Jerusalem and spoke in its Parliament, forever giving hope that people really were capable of burying hatred and seeing each other fresh, an objective presumably of all religions? And that President Nixon and Mr. Kissinger changed history by visiting top men in Beijing, capital of a country then anathema to the U.S.?

Let's suppose that allowing the trip to go ahead as planned would have turned out to be a diplomatic awkwardness for the Vatican because of Arab annoyance. So what?

Israelis often grump about what they call the double standard — expecting their country to act more idealistically than the countries trying to destroy it and not to do some of the nasty things the large powers do — like sell arms to South Africa. But it is precisely that double standard that is Israel's strength, because it permits Israel to ask for world support in peace and war, and that is why much of the world does indeed respond.

Is it really asking too much to expect the same double standard, sacrifice of momentary self-interest for richer values, from the other very small state that also stands for very large beliefs?

I have a hunch that many Americans other than Jews do not believe it is too much and that among them is John Cardinal O'Connor, Archbishop of the Diocese of New York. □

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# The Cardinals' Pilgrimage Covers Something Sinister

O'Connor

January 6, 1987

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — The Jews are, it seems, Cardinal John O'Connor's cross to bear, so to speak. They do not understand how grateful they should be for how grateful he feels toward them. They did not comprehend the "tremendous compliment" — his words — he was paying them when he said that the Holocaust "may be an enormous gift that Judaism has given the world."

Jews probably feel that in that case it was better to receive than to give.

Not being steeped in what Cardinal O'Connor calls his "theology of suffering" (suffering they understand; the theological coating of it is opaque), Jews may wonder if the slaughter of six million Catholics would be interpreted as an enormous gift to the world.

Even if the cardinal's "theology of suffering" makes sense to people within the closed circle of such theorizing, the cardinal should understand how offensive it sounds to persons who are outside that circle and who once were within the barbed wire of Auschwitz.

New York's wandering cardinal has called for creation of a Palestinian homeland. He has not said where; he is not a detail man. He also says he "can't talk intelligently about diplomatic relations," but he says that making peace in the Middle East is part of his vocation.

Israel invited Cardinal O'Connor, and on the eve of his visit the Vatican ordered him to cancel appointments he had made to meet with Israeli officials in their Jerusalem offices. Instead he met the prime minister and president in their Jerusalem homes. But the president's home is in the building with his office. The cardinal said he "would be terribly disturbed if I were visiting an office."

The division of Jerusalem was an accident of the 1948 armistice in the Arab war to strangle the state of Israel in its cradle. It has now been more than 19 years since the eastern portion of Jerusalem was liberated from Jordanian occupation. During Jordanian occupation, when Jewish gravestones were used to pave roads, Christian churches were not allowed to renovate or buy property. Only since 1967 has there been free access to religious sites.

Most nations, including the United States, do not recognize Israeli sovereignty over all of Jerusalem, yet they extend full diplomatic recognition to Israel. The Vatican has never given Israel diplomatic recognition. Behind that fact, and beneath the comic casuistry

about when an office is not an office, lurks something sinister.

It is reasonable to suspect that the Vatican is discomfited by the regathering of the Jewish people in their own state. The fact of Israel, without reference to the question of Jerusalem, challenges the hoary myth of Jewish "punishment" for "rejecting" Jesus.

The Vatican favors some "internationalizing" of Jerusalem. It is not clear what that means. God may be into details; the Vatican is not into details.

Actually, Vatican preferences are simply uninteresting. The Vatican should be told that Jerusalem is none of its business. The Vatican lost whatever moral standing it had on the issue when, in 1982, the pope received Yasser Arafat, head of a terrorist organization that denies Israel's right to exist.

The fact that Pope Paul VI received Prime Minister Golda Meir and that John Paul II received Prime Minister Shimon Peres testifies only to Vatican realism: The Vatican recognizes that Israel exists. The rest of Vatican policy suggests that it resents that existence.

Cardinal O'Connor says he does not "know what the church did or did not do" during the Holocaust. He has a duty to know. The most charitable description of what the church did is damning enough: The Vatican thought it could husband its moral authority by remaining neutral, which meant keeping quiet. But Vatican power in politics inheres in words and gestures. Regarding Israel, Vatican gestures are loudly wrong.

It is an American scandal that the U.S. Embassy is not in Jerusalem. Today the U.S. government stands convicted of cringing appeasement of Iran, a nation implacably hostile to American values. Now would be a good time for the U.S. government to stop appeasing Arab opinion about Jerusalem.

It is time to move the U.S. Embassy not just to Jerusalem but to the eastern portion that was liberated in 1967 and has now been well governed by Israel longer than it was occupied by Jordan. Moving the embassy would end the pretense that the unity of Israel's capital is negotiable, and would underscore the perversity of Vatican policy.

Cardinal O'Connor said that Jewish criticism endangers the "fruits" (unspecified) of his trip and "makes it difficult for me to move further toward peace." Perhaps that was just an example of the now commonplace megalomania of the contemporary cleric who thinks that solutions to problems elude secular leaders because secular leaders lack the clerics' — what? Certainly not humility.

The main fault here is not with the cardinal but with the political policy of the church of which he is a mere prince. Israelis have heard his alibi before: He was only obeying orders.

Washington Post Writers Group.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

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# NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations  
**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

NEW YORK, Jan. 28....In commemoration of the 20th anniversary of Vatican II and in honor of the impending visit of Pope John Paul II, the Miami chapter of the American Jewish Committee has donated an important library collection to a Catholic university in Miami.

The gift of the Seymour Samet Human Relations Library to Barry University was made as part of the chapter's on-going Catholic/Jewish relations program.

The collection was named for Seymour Samet, who served as AJC Southeast Director from 1952 to 1964 and as director of AJC's National Affairs Department from 1968 until his retirement in 1985. Mr. Samet was responsible for much of AJC's work in civil rights and race relations.

The 532-volume collection contains books, papers, and studies focusing on human relations theory and practice, intergroup and interethnic relations, Judaism, the Holocaust, and anti-Semitism. Included in this library are books on Blacks and other ethnic groups; ghettos; the psychology of the minority experience; American pluralism; original research studies on Gentile attitudes toward Jews; the personal papers of a Russian Jewish immigrant, and titles on Israel, world Jewry, and Jewish leaders. In addition, there are many classic works, including Jules Isaac's "The Teaching of Contempt" and Digby Baltzell's "The Protestant Establishment."

Explaining why Barry University was chosen to receive this gift, Roger Bernstein, AJC chapter president, said, "With the establishment of a Department of Judaic Studies, an advisory board for the program, and many on-going involvements between the school and Jewish individuals and institutions, Barry has shown itself to be a leader in this field."

Hugh Ripley, Dean of Library Services at Barry University, added that the collection "supplements and complements the increasingly valuable collection of Jewish materials [at Barry]," adding that these works "give access to a facet of the world's history that must never be forgotten."

In addition to this donation, the Miami chapter of the AJC has sponsored Catholic/Jewish conferences and open dialogues in hopes of creating better understanding between the two communities.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

Theodore Ellenoff, President; Leo Nevas, Chair, Board of Governors; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, National Executive Council; Edward E. Elson, Chair, Board of Trustees;

87-960-17 (7394-PEI-I/1s)

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel  
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FEB 9 1987

BEAR  
STEARNS

Dear Mark;

I thought that  
you would enjoy the  
attached article which  
ran in the Washington  
Post.

regards,

Charlie Tenel

George F. Will

## The Cardinal's Alibi

The Jews are, it seems, John Cardinal O'Connor's cross to bear. They do not understand how grateful they should be for how grateful he feels toward them. They did not comprehend the "tremendous compliment"—his words—he was paying them when he said the Holocaust "may be an enormous gift that Judaism has given the world."

Jews probably feel that in that case it was better to receive than to give. Not being steeped in what O'Connor calls his "theology of suffering" (suffering they understand; the theological coating of it is opaque), Jews may wonder if the slaughter of six million Catholics would be interpreted as an enormous gift to the world. Even if the "theology of suffering" makes sense to people within the closed circle of such theorizing, surely the cardinal should understand how offensive it sounds to persons who are outside that circle and who once were within the barbed wire of Auschwitz.

New York's wandering cardinal has called for creation of a Palestinian

homeland. He has not said where; he is not a detail man. He says he "can't talk intelligently about diplomatic relations," but he says that making peace in the Middle East is part of his vocation.

Israel invited O'Connor, and on the eve of his visit the Vatican ordered him to cancel appointments he had made to meet with Israeli officials in their Jerusalem offices. Instead, he met the prime minister and president in their Jerusalem homes. But the president's home is in the building with his office. O'Connor said he "would be terribly disturbed if I were visiting an office."

The 19-year division of Jerusalem was an accident of the 1948 armistice in the Arab war to strangle the state of Israel in its cradle. It has now been more than 19 years since the eastern portion of Jerusalem was liberated from Jordanian occupation.

During Jordanian occupation, when Jewish gravestones were used to pave roads, Christian churches were not allowed to renovate or buy property.

Only since 1967 has there been free access to religious sites.

Most nations, including the United States, do not recognize Israeli sovereignty over all of Jerusalem, yet they extend full diplomatic recognition to Israel. The Vatican has never given Israel diplomatic recognition. Behind that fact, and beneath the comic casuistry about when-is-an-office-not-an-office, lurks something sinister.

It is reasonable to suspect that the Vatican is discomfited by the regathering of the Jewish people in their own state. The fact of Israel, without reference to the question of Jerusalem, challenges the hoary myth of Jewish "punishment" for "rejecting" Jesus.

The Vatican favors some "internationalizing" of Jerusalem. It is not clear what that means. God may be in the details; the Vatican is not into details.

Actually, Vatican preferences are simply uninteresting. The Vatican should be told that Jerusalem is none of its business. The Vatican lost whatever moral standing it had on the

issue when, in 1982, the pope received Yasser Arafat, head of a terrorist organization that denies Israel's right to exist.

The fact that Pope Paul VI received Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir and Pope John Paul II received Prime Minister Shimon Peres testifies only to Vatican realism; the Vatican recognizes that Israel exists. The rest of Vatican policy suggests that the Vatican resents that existence.

O'Connor says he does not "know what the church did or did not do" during the Holocaust. He has a duty to know. The most charitable description of what the church did is damning enough: the Vatican thought it could husband its moral authority by remaining neutral, which meant keeping quiet. But Vatican power in politics inheres in words and gestures. Regarding Israel, Vatican gestures are loudly wrong.

It is an American scandal that the U.S. Embassy is not in Jerusalem. Today the U.S. government stands convicted of cringing appeasement of Iran, a nation implacably hostile to

American values. Now would be a good time for the U.S. government to stop appeasing Arab opinion about Jerusalem. It is time to move the U.S. Embassy not just to Jerusalem but to the eastern portion that was liberated in 1967 and has now been well-governed by Israel longer than it was occupied by Jordan. Moving the embassy would end the pretense that the unity of Israel's capital is negotiable, and would underscore the perversity of Vatican policy.

O'Connor said that Jewish criticism endangers the "fruits" (unspecified) of his trip and "makes it difficult for me to move further toward peace." Perhaps that was just an example of the now commonplace megalomania of the contemporary cleric who thinks solutions to problems elude secular leaders because secular leaders lack the clerics' . . . what? Certainly not humility.

The main fault here is not with the cardinal but with the political policy of the church of which he is a mere prince. Israelis have heard his alibi before: he was only obeying orders.

1981  
O'CONNOR



April 13, 1987

34 East 39th Street  
New York, NY 10016  
(212) 213-8636

Cardinal John J. O'Connor, D.D.  
Archdiocese of New York  
1011 First Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Marc:

FYI. Not for public quotation.

Best regards.

John Pawlikowski

RESIDENT  
Rev. Edward H. Flannery

Dear Cardinal O'Connor:

RESIDENT EMERITUS  
Mr. Franklin H. Littell

VICE-PRESIDENTS  
Sister Rose Thering  
Mr. Arnold T. Olson  
James H. Doherty

We have put off writing you regarding your recent trip to the Middle East because we did not wish to become identified with all the public criticism connected with it. We did not agree with all that was said and especially how it was said on some occasions. Nonetheless we must confess that we remained concerned about certain aspects of your visit and several of the statements you made while there, especially those upon leaving Yad Vashem.

SECRETARY/TREASURER  
Mr. William H. Harter

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
Mrs. Lois Blewett  
The Rt. Rev. John Burt  
Prof. Harry James Cargas  
Mr. Paul Carlson  
Mr. Israel Carmona  
Sister Gabriela Carroll  
Prof. Alice Eckardt  
Sister Ann Gillen  
Mr. Robert Hooley  
Rev. H. Jacoba Hurst  
Mrs. Yvonne Lewerke  
Mr. David Lewis  
Mr. Hubert S. Locke  
Rev. Robert P. Patterson  
Rev. John T. Pawlikowski  
Mr. Carol Rittner, R.S.M.  
Sister Mary Rose Ryan  
Mr. Hilton Sutton  
Mr. Lawrence H. Wagner, Jr.  
Mr. David S. Wyman

Rather than discuss particulars we would like to focus on what we believe to have been a serious omission in this trip, an omission which we strongly believe you can and will correct in the future. We speak of the absence of advisors on Christian-Jewish relations in the preparation of the journey as well as in your official party. We feel many of the problems would have been overcome if you had availed yourself far more of the services of such advisors. While we recognize that you travel to the Middle East as an "ex officio" head of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, this particular trip was initiated by an invitation from Prime Minister Peres in the name of the world Jewish community. Hence it does not seem to us entirely proper to have the Association assume the central role in its preparation.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
Rev. Isaac C. Rottenberg

No doubt you will be again travelling to the Middle East. We believe that the most constructive development that can result from the recent controversy which we know was most painful for you, given your admirable record of dedication to Jewish causes, is for you to ensure that in the future people knowledgeable about Christian-Jewish relations form an integral part of the planning process and official party for such journeys.

Respectfully yours,

Fr. Edward H. Flannery  
President, NCLCI

P.S. The prime responsibility for writing this letter was assumed by the Catholic members of NCLCI's Executive Committee. The full committee subsequently approved its content.



NATIONAL  
CHRISTIAN  
LEADERSHIP  
CONFERENCE  
FOR  
ISRAEL



134 East 39th Street  
New York, NY 10016  
(212) 213-8636

April 13, 1987

**PRESIDENT**  
Rev. Edward H. Flannery

**PRESIDENT EMERITUS**  
Dr. Franklin H. Littell

**VICE-PRESIDENTS**  
Sister Rose Thering  
Dr. Arnold T. Olson  
James H. Doherty

**SECRETARY/TREASURER**  
Dr. William H. Harter

Most Reverend Joseph Sullivan, D.D.  
Office for Social Development and  
World Peace  
U.S. Catholic Conference  
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Bishop Sullivan:

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**  
Lois Blewett  
The Rt. Rev. John Burt  
Prof. Harry James Cargas  
Dr. Paul Carlson  
Dr. Israel Carmona  
Nancy Gabriela Carroll  
Prof. Alice Eckardt  
Sister Ann Gillen  
Dr. Robert Hooley  
Rev. H. Jacoba Hurst  
Yvonne Lewerke  
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Rev. Robert P. Patterson  
Rev. John T. Pawlikowski  
Dr. Carol Rittner, R.S.M.  
Mary Rose Ryan  
Dr. Hilton Sutton  
Clarence H. Wagner, Jr.  
Dr. David S. Wymar

**EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**  
Rev. Isaac C. Rottenberg

We write you about a matter that has concerned us for some time, but which has become particularly troubling to us in light of the controversy generated by Cardinal O'Connor's recent visit to Jordan and Israel. We speak, of course, of the general approach to Middle East policy by the USCC. Without in any way intending to endorse all the public criticisms made of the Cardinal's actions regarding the State of Israel, we do feel his difficulties brought into the open some of the basic deficiencies of this policy.

We are well aware that USCC Middle East policy is constrained by the framework laid down by the Vatican. We also recognize that the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, which Cardinal O'Connor heads, is not directly a part of the USCC. But in fact any time the Archbishop of New York travels to the Middle East in its name the trip inevitably reflects on the American church at large. Furthermore, we are aware that Msgr. Nolan of the Association has sat next to Fr. Bryan Hehir of the USCC when Fr. Hehir was giving official USCC testimony on the Middle East. So we have come to feel that the Association exercises a disproportionate influence on the formulation of Middle East policy by the USCC. Certainly the leaders of the Association should be heard on such policy. But so should those with sensitivity to Christian-Jewish Relations. Frankly, we have failed to see adequate evidence that the Association's leadership has integrated the spirit of NOSTRA AETATE's statement on the Church and the Jewish People as well as the subsequent papal and Vatican documents. A root cause of Cardinal O'Connor's difficulties in Israel in our judgment was the absence of any advisors in the planning of the trip or in the official party with a deep understanding and appreciation of Christian-Jewish relations.



April 13, 1987

Errors of judgment were made on many sides during Cardinal O'Connor's visit. They are now part of history. We are concerned, however, that such problems will continue to arise unless some basic changes are made in the USCC's approach to the Middle East. And that certainly includes greater ongoing integration of the Christian-Jewish dialogue perspective in the formulation of USCC positions relative to the Middle East. This in our mind is the most constructive development that can occur in light of the recent controversy.

Over the years we have admired your personal stance in behalf of justice and peace as well as the deepening commitment of the USCC as a whole. We trust you will want to carry this over into Middle East affairs by taking steps to broaden the formulation of policy regarding this area of tension along the lines we have suggested above. We thank you most sincerely for any consideration you may give to our recommendations. We would, of course, be pleased to discuss them with you at greater length if you so desire.

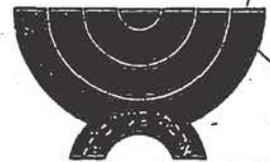
Respectfully yours,

Fr. Edward H. Flannery,  
President, NCLCI

P.S. The prime responsibility for writing this letter was assumed by the Catholic members of NCLCI's Executive Committee. Its content was approved, however, by the full membership of the Executive Committee.

cc: Archbishop John May  
Bishop Francis Mugavero  
Cardinal Joseph Bernardin

# SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA



6/12

## memorandum

**to:** Members of IJCIC  
Members of the National Planning Committee for the Pope's Visit

**from:** Leon A. Feldman

**subject:** Additional revisions suggested

**date:** June 8, 1987

**1. Please find enclosed the following:**

- a/ Comments by Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman
- b/ Revision suggested by Anette Daum - UAHC

Please review the material as the suggestions refer to the draft proposals submitted by Dr. Michael Wyschogrod and Judith H. Banki, respectively.

**2. REMINDER:**

The next meeting will take place on Friday morning, June 12, at 9/30 a/m/ in the offices of the Synagogue Council.

**PLEASE MAKE SURE TO ATTEND.**

*Memo from the desk of...*

**Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman**

RECEIVED

JUN - 1 1987 כ"ה

5/28/87

Dear Leon:

I do not agree with point 4 on p. 2 I would resent any use of rabbinic literature by the Pope to prove his point.

He should support his comments with his own sources. The Church took over the Bible and converted it to the "Old Testament."

We do not have to beg him to legitimize our texts.

It also allows him to use us for his purposes.

Best wishes

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



# MEMORANDUM

From Annette Daum, Department of Interreligious Affairs

Date 6/4/87

To Rabbi Henry Michelman, Synagogue Council of America

Copies

Subject Draft of the Pope's Address to the Jewish Community of Miami

I would suggest the following revision to Point 3 of the Wyschogrod Draft:

The Pope might wish to emphasize the importance of understanding Jews as they define themselves in order to appreciate the contributions of Jews and Judaism as a living, vibrant faith throughout the centuries. The Pope might wish to emphasize that the Church is required to remember the Holocaust, and, in context, to encourage Catholic understanding of the meaning of the Holocaust from a Jewish perspective. He might wish to note efforts that are currently underway to create materials about the Holocaust for use in Catholic teaching and liturgy.

Together with the particular suffering of Jews under the Nazi regime; the sufferings of all victims of Nazism must be remembered so that we become aware of the magnitude of the evil that results when God's eternal moral law is rejected, and strive together to prevent such evil directed against any people.

AD:jc

Enclosure

*Annette Daum*



6/11/87

*International Jewish Committee*  
*on*  
*Interreligious Consultations*

June 10, 1987

Dear IJCIC Member:

AMERICAN SECRETARIAT:  
Synagogue Council of America  
327 Lexington Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016  
Tel.: (212) 686-8670

In connection with Friday's meeting, June 12, at 9.30 a.m. (in the offices of the SCA), please find enclosed a draft of the proposed Jewish statement to the Pope (Sept. 11 in Miami), prepared by Rabbi Mordecai Waxman.

EUROPEAN SECRETARIAT:  
World Jewish Congress  
1 Rue de Varembe  
1211 Geneve 20, Switzerland  
Tel.: (022) 34 13 25

Your comments and suggestions will be welcome as this is being sent to you in advance of the meeting for your perusal. (\*)

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

Please also note: The agenda, in addition to the review of the program and related activities for Sept. 11, the agenda will include the following:

B'nai B'rith  
1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.  
Washington, DC 20036

IJCIC/Vatican Liaison Committee meeting in Washington, D.C., on December 14-17, 1987. Program, speakers to be invited, progress report of negotiations, public meeting, reception, luncheons/dinner schedule, etc.

The Israel Interfaith  
Association  
P.O.B. 7739  
Jerusalem 91.077, Israel

There are also some internal IJCIC matters which warrant attention: Admission of various European and Latin American communal bodies. Membership structure and budget for IJCIC activities. Progress report on removal of Carmelite Convent from Auschwitz site. Miscel. items.

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

**PLEASE MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ATTEND.**

World Jewish Congress  
1 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Chairman

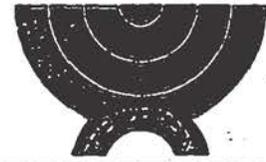
Dr. Leon A. Feldman  
Consultant

(\*) Rabbi Walter Wurzburger telephoned his suggested revision:

p. 4 - beginning line 5: Modern.... to fully. (third line from bottom of parag. to be eliminated.

p. 7 - line 2: to dialogue and -- to be eliminated

# SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA



## memorandum

**to:** National Planning Committee for the Pope's Visit  
**from:** Rabbi Henry D. Michelman  
**subject:** Meeting - Friday, June 12, 1987 - 9:30 - 11:30 a.m.  
SCA Offices  
**date:** June 9, 1987

Enclosed please find a first draft of the proposed Jewish statement to the Pope, prepared by Rabbi Mordecai Waxman. It is being sent to you in advance for your study. Your comments and suggestions will be welcome, and we will be discussing this paper and a final text for the letter to Gene Fisher regarding what we would like the Pope to address.

In addition, other technical matters regarding seating arrangements, invitees and the program itself will be reviewed.

Please make every effort to attend. Your participation is critical to this process.

AJCommittee: Judith Banki, Rabbi A. James Rudin  
AJCongress: Dr. Michael Wyschogrod  
ADL: Rabbi Leon Klenicki, Judith Muffs  
UAHC: Annette Daum, Albert Vorspan  
SCA: Rabbis Bertram Leff, Fabian Schoenfeld, Max Schreier, Mordecai Waxman, Binyamin Walfish, Gilbert Klaperman, Joseph Glaser, Wolfe Kelman, Benjamin Kreitman, Balfour Brickner, Walter Wurzbürger, Henry Michelman; Mr. Marcel Weber; Dr. Leon Feldman, Gunther Lawrence

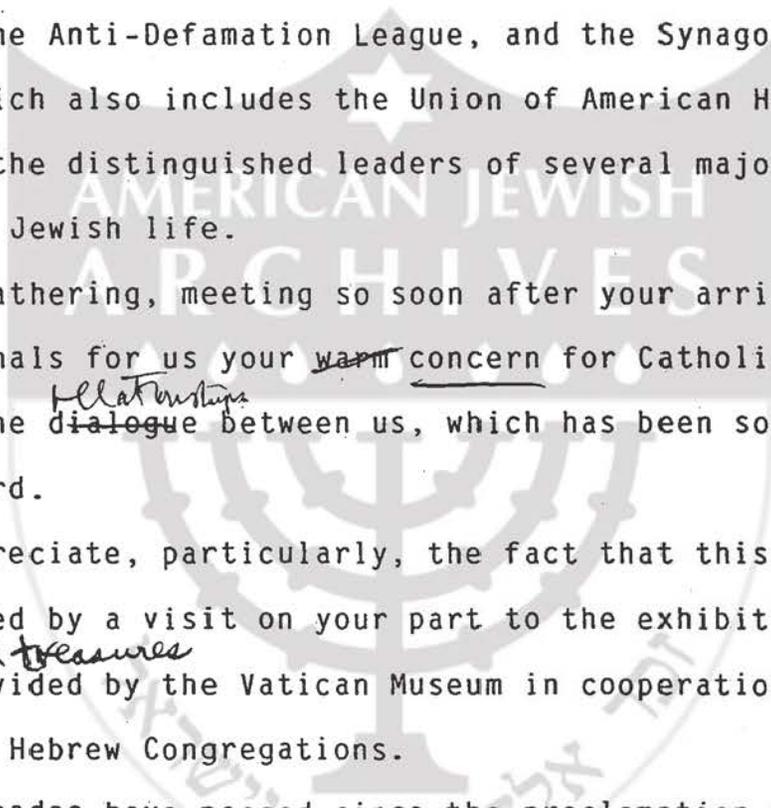
JEWISH STATEMENT: MEETING WITH THE POPE, SEPT. 11, 1987

I am happy to greet you and to extend a warm welcome to you upon your arrival in the United States. I do so in the name of the Jewish <sup>representative</sup> bodies ~~who are~~ here ~~represented and~~ who have been involved <sup>in</sup> ~~dialogue~~ <sup>consultations</sup> with the <sup>American</sup> Catholic Church <sup>in recent</sup> ~~through~~ the years. They include representatives of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Synagogue Council of America, which also includes the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the distinguished leaders of several major organizations in American Jewish life.

This gathering, meeting so soon after your arrival in the United States, signals for us your ~~warm~~ <sup>fraternal</sup> concern for Catholic-Jewish relations and helps the ~~dialogue~~ <sup>relationship</sup> between us, which has been so richly rewarding, to go forward.

We appreciate, particularly, the fact that this assembly has been preceded by a visit on your part to the exhibition of Jewish ~~ceremonial objects~~ <sup>ceremonial treasures</sup> provided by the Vatican Museum in cooperation with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Two decades have passed since the proclamation of Nostra Aetate, which ~~so radically~~ <sup>in historic</sup> reflected a ~~changed~~ <sup>in the Catholic Church's</sup> approach to Judaism and the Jewish people, ~~by the Catholic Church.~~ The <sup>broad</sup> ~~principles~~ <sup>basic</sup> laid down then have been further elaborated in formal documents of the Catholic Church, <sup>in the American</sup> in many of your own pronouncements and in statements and significant translations into action throughout the Catholic world. It is particularly gratifying that the dialogue has been



Vatican Secretariat

increasingly direct and candid and conducted with an attitude of <sup>and in an atmosphere of mutual respect</sup> open-hearted exchange. The spirit of the dialogue, we have come to feel, is no less important than its content. One central element in the dialogue, therefore, has been the recognition that Judaism must be understood as it understands itself. It is in this spirit that I undertake to set forward some considerations on the future of ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> dialogue and perhaps some elements for our future agenda. I do so in the conviction that to love your brother means to know what hurts him and what can heal ~~his~~ <sup>your</sup> relationship.

Jewish life and thought today reflect the revolution that the Jewish people have experienced in the last fifty years. The first manifestation of this revolution was the <sup>upsurge</sup> ~~state~~ of virulent anti-Semitism in the world which provided a ~~fruitful~~ setting in which the Nazis and their supporters in other countries could seek the murder of an entire people. The Holocaust not only <sup>destroyed</sup> ~~murdered~~ one-third of the Jewish people and, thus, is a signal tragedy for a people long inured to persecution, but it remains as an enduring scar upon the landscape of the human spirit and testifies to what may happen where there is an atrophy of conscience. Your own sensitive concerns and your noteworthy pronouncements on the Holocaust <sup>Nazi</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>and you repeated</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>and appreciated.</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>At the same time,</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>but</sup> we feel that we and the Catholic Church and all who are concerned with the <sup>dignity</sup> ~~nature~~ of man and <sup>a just and humane</sup> society have still to wrestle with the history and meaning of the Holocaust. <sup>to the Jewish people and mankind</sup>

The second major revolution for Jews in the last few decades has been the birth of the State of Israel. This, for us, has been not only a creative and dramatic response to the crematoria of Auschwitz, but has represented the fulfillment of prayers nineteen centuries

old, that exile would be followed by redemption in Jewish history. The full meaning of the repeated pattern of exile and redemption in Jewish history still remains to be explored. But for Jews it cannot be understood only in terms of sociology and politics; rather it belongs in the realm of sacred history.

diaspora  
and  
restoration

A third revolutionary development has been the great expansion of Jewish spiritual and scholarly creativity despite the fact that so many of the great centers of Jewish learning and so many ancient Jewish communities were wiped out.

It is against this background that we invite the Catholic Church to see our mutual agenda for future dialogue. The first need is to recognize that anti-Semitism seems to be built into the culture of the western world; we must, therefore, address the question and seek means of extirpating this virulent plague. Much has been done in recent years to overcome anti-Semitism and not least by the Catholic Church and by your holiness yourself. However, it seems to be a recurrent plague and we are seeing new manifestations of it. Anti-Semitism may affect the body of the Jew, but it assaults the soul of the Christian world and of all others who succumb to it. The need for the future, it seems to us, is to make sure that the broad principles of humanity and the condemnations of anti-Semitism which emanate from the Vatican and other sources of authority in the Church, are translated into the schools, the textbooks, <sup>the media</sup> and the attitudes and behavior of the hundreds of millions of Catholics throughout the world.

One of the most welcome results of the dialogue and of the rethinking of Judaism by the Catholic Church has been the recognition that Judaism continued its vital spiritual development and creativity after the separation of the <sup>Church</sup> ~~Church~~ from the <sup>Jews</sup> ~~Jewish~~ people. Modern scholarship and the willingness to explore other traditions are resulting in a greater understanding of the ongoing Jewish tradition by the Catholic world even as they are opening up the riches of the Catholic tradition to the Jewish world. The recognition on the part of both Christianity and the Jewish people that our common origins bring us into a close and unique relationship which is not shared with any other faith is, in itself, a notable step. The basic idea that both Jews and Christians are committed to the idea of a covenant and that each pursues this covenant in its own way has yet to be examined fully. The relationships between our two ongoing creative spiritual traditions are certainly matters for explication and clarification.

There is an equal need, from our point of view, to define the role of the State of Israel in the thinking of the Catholic Church. Its centrality in the life of the Jewish people today inevitably puts it on the agenda of mutual concerns. We have been glad to hear from many authoritative sources that the Catholic Church has no theological problems with the coming into being of the State of Israel. The reestablishment of an autonomous Jewish polity in the land of Israel after so many centuries has spiritual meaning for us, as I have indicated, and seems to us to belong in the realm of sacred history rather than in the domain of politics alone.

We are aware, of course, that there are political considerations governing the relationship of the Church to the State of Israel. Such considerations are true for many states which, nonetheless, maintain diplomatic relations with Israel. We would hope that, particularly in the case of the Catholic Church, a consideration of the spiritual meaning of the fulfillment of Jewish millennial hopes and its biblical grounding in the covenant of the land, as well as its realization on the heels of the Holocaust, may enter into the equation. For our part, let it be plain that American Jewry regards recognition of Israel and its central role in Jewish life as an essential element in any dialogue. We cannot accept any argument of expediency nor any assertions of principle as a basis for denying to the Jewish people the right enjoyed by all others to have a free sovereign state where it may live at peace, free from the persecution it has so long endured.

Our common agenda has always embraced, and our future agenda must continue to include, attention to the problems of mankind as a whole. A basic principle of Judaism is expressed in a line from the Aleinu prayer which is recited thrice daily: "L'takken olam b'malkhut Shaddai, to mend the world under the sovereignty of God." Tikkun Olam is, thus, the doing of God's work in the world. It is in this spirit that we jointly need to deal with the political, social and moral problems which beset mankind. The multiplication of armaments, the diffusion of nuclear weapons, the spread of terrorism, all threaten our world with unprecedented destruction.

They are, necessarily, our common concern. The widespread poverty, the oppression of the weak, the increasing problems of the aged, all require Tikkun Olam. The development of new areas in science, particularly the capacity of bio-medical science and genetics which may well change the nature and role of man, are matters of special concern for the future, as are the ethical and medical problems connected with the spread of diseases like AIDS. To repair the world under the sovereignty of God means to bring to bear ethical, moral and religious considerations upon these problems where the power to do needs to be regulated by the wisdom and moral perceptions of both Judaism and Christianity. The plea of the psalmist, "teach us so to number our days so that we may live with a heart of wisdom," takes on special cogency in our time.

Your presence here in the United States, where the largest Jewish community in the world resides, affords the opportunity to proclaim our joint commitment to Tikkun Olam. It affords an opportunity, as well, in the Catholic Church to proclaim, once again to attentive ears, its opposition to anti-Semitism, its concern with the meaning and implications of the Holocaust and to address the question of its relationship to Israel. Above all, a meeting such as this should make clear to the world that the principles proclaimed in *Nostra Aetate*, the guidelines and the notes and in your own statements which collectively represent a revolution in the Catholic attitude to Judaism, are central concerns of the Church and are to be implemented in the life and teachings of Catholics.

From the Jewish point of view, this meeting represents an opportunity to assert our commitment to dialogue and to deepening relations of understanding and common action with the Catholic world. Behind us are 1900 years in which we have either not talked to one another or the Church has attempted to impose its views upon the Jews or, at best, we have talked past one another. The great revolution to which our presence here is witness is the recognition that we are involved in a unique relationship, born of our common origins, sustained by our respective traditions of unceasing spiritual creativity and marked by our common dedication to biblical principles of the love of God and love of neighbor.

In an age of great challenges and great possibilities there is need, in the words of the prophet, for "Chazaon L'Moed", "a vision for the times." Let me then cite at this convocation the prayer recited at a third century convocation held at the Academy of Rabbi Ami:

May we behold our world in our lifetime,  
may our aim be fulfilled in the life of the world to come,  
our hope throughout the generations.  
Let our hearts meditate in understanding,  
our mouths utter wisdom,  
our faces shine with the radiance of heaven,  
our lips proclaim knowledge,  
our feet hasten to hear the words of the Ancient of Days.

Excellency/Eminence

On behalf of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC), I must express to you our feelings of deep concern and disappointment at your scheduled /the recently held/ reception of Kurt Waldheim, president of Austria, in an official state visit on June 25, 1987.

It is particularly regrettable that this meeting with an accused Nazi war criminal should occur /should have taken place/ after years of progress in Jewish/Vatican relations, and shortly after valuable meetings with the Commission on Religious Relations with the Jews in Rome, as well as while we are together preparing a meeting of the Liaison Committee on the "History and Ideological Implications of the Holocaust (Shoah) for Christians and Jews," to be held in Washington, D.C., December 14-17, 1987.

We consider this decision to welcome Kurt Waldheim in audience particularly offensive since the <sup>U.S.</sup> Departments of Justice and State, respectively, after concluding that there was sufficient evidence of his involvement in Nazi atrocities, put him last April on a "watch list" of persons prohibited from entering the United States. Many European countries have also declared Mr. Waldheim persona non grata.

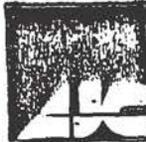
What is happening now /happened this week/ is a terrible blow to the future of Jewish/Christian /Jewish/Vatican/ relations. This is how it is perceived by the Jewish community, whatever the Vatican's intentions may have been, and whatever may have been said privately or publicly by its authorities. Perception is no less stark a reality than intention.

We are surely not misstating the facts that a formal state reception is perceived in world public opinion as a blessing bestowed by you /the Pope/ on Kurt Waldheim and cleansing him of the accusation of having committed crimes against humanity during World War II. The Vatican is surely fully aware of the exploitation that has already been and will be made in the future of this event. Here again, perception is at least as strong as intention.

We respectfully ask for a clarification of the events because we are now facing a major issue with considerable moral implications and far-reaching practical consequences for the Jewish community. You are surely well aware, there is an outcry in Jewish communities around the world asking what has the Jewish/Vatican dialogue achieved and why should it be continued. It seems unexplicable that neither your office, nor IJCIC, were consulted or even notified on the impending and previous events plans. The present experience/appear to be a breakdown in the communication process and reflect serious shortcomings in our relationship. They point out the consequences of not addressing political issues regularly and we see again that religious and political issues are profoundly interwoven, and cannot be compartmentalized as if unrelated. Our conversations must be supplemented by periodic exchanges of views and concerns on political and social matters at the highest levels.

We do not know what will be the consequences for our continued dialogue, in which sincere efforts have been expended on both sides for over twenty years. Only a truly meaningful and momentous gesture toward the Jewish people, such as the formal extension of full diplomatic relations to the State of Israel by the Vatican and a definitive statement on the Church's responsibility during the Holocaust years, might lead us out of the present crisis. You are surely aware that the Vatican's failure for almost forty years to establish diplomatic relations and also to come to face the realities of the extermination of the Jewish people in Christian lands, is considered in the Jewish community as a great injustice.

/We would be obliged to you if you would transmit this letter to the highest authorities in the Vatican/



The American Jewish  
Committee

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

**Theodora Ellenoff**  
President

**Leo Nevas**  
Chair, Board of Governors  
**Robert S. Jacobs**  
Chair, National Executive Council  
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June 19, 1987

His Excellency  
Archbishop Pio Laghi  
Apostolic Nunciature  
3339 Massachusetts Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Archbishop Laghi,

I hope this letter finds you in good health. It has been some time since we last met, and I recall with pleasure our last good conversation in Washington.

At a meeting of all the major Jewish religious and communal groups held this morning in New York, I was authorized to write to you with a view toward seeking a meeting with you, or, in your absence, with your deputy next week.

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman, chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC), and Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman, president of the Synagogue Council of America, would head a delegation of representative Jewish leaders for the purpose of discussing with you our profound concerns over the meeting between Pope John Paul II and Dr. Kurt Waldheim, president of Austria.

We wish also to apprise you of the desire of all major Jewish groups to arrange an early audience with the Holy Father in order to discuss a number of basic issues on the Catholic-Jewish agenda, including the Waldheim affair.

May we look forward to an early reply to this request?

Respectfully yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations

MHT:RPR

cc: Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman



3339 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008-3687

APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 2783/87/5

June 22, 1987

*This No. Should Be Prefixed to the Answer*

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

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

In the absence of the Apostolic Pro-Nuncio, permit me to respond to your cordial and informative letter of June 19th.

First of all, allow me to thank you for your constructive efforts to deal temperately with the regrettable controversy surrounding the upcoming visit between the Holy Father and the President of Austria. Underlying all of this tension is our hopeful prayer that the blessed and welcome progress made in understanding and friendship between Catholics and Jews over the past years will not be damaged.

Secondly, please be assured that the sentiments of the American Jewish community have the deep respect of the Holy See, and that we here at the Nunciature have given your statement careful study. While we obviously will not agree with some of your proposals and conclusions, we still revere them and appreciate their sincerity and cogency.

Specifically, Rabbi Tanenbaum, you ask for a meeting with the Apostolic Pro-Nuncio "for the purpose of discussing our profound concerns over the meeting with Pope John Paul and Dr. Kurt Waldheim . . ." Since we have nothing to add to the official position of the Holy See as expressed within the enclosed communique, and since we feel that we are already doing our best to communicate the sentiments of the American Jewish Community to the Holy See, we ask your understanding that we do not see any constructive purpose in such a meeting at this time.

You also asked us to relay to the Holy See your petition for a meeting with Pope John Paul II prior to his pastoral visit here in September. In your letter, you indicated that the purpose of such an audience would be ". . . to discuss a number of basic issues on the Catholic-Jewish agenda . . ." It would help us in our transfer of this request, Rabbi, if you would kindly elaborate in writing the precise nature of these "basic issues".

Might we suggest that, if you do feel a meeting between Catholic and Jewish leaders would be valuable, you would make such a proposal to either John Cardinal O'Connor, the Archbishop of New York, or the Most Reverend John L. May, the Archbishop of St. Louis and the President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Matters in reference to the upcoming visit of His Holiness to the United States, as well as those concerning friendship between Catholics and Jews in this country, would be much more prudently and effectively dealt with by these two leaders.

I again express my respectful gratitude to you and to the esteemed groups which you so admirably represent.

Sincerely yours,

*Celestino Migliore*

Monsignor Celestino Migliore  
Charge d'Affaires, a.i.

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

June 22, 1987

Dear IJCIC Member:

Please find enclosed items which are important:

1. Telex to Cardinal Willebrands, dated June 19, 1987, which has been confirmed by letter.
2. Translation of text, published in OSSERVATORE ROMANO, June 21, 1987.
3. Letter addressed to Cardinal Willebrands, dated June 22, and transmitted by telex; subsequently confirmed by formal copy.
4. Editorial comment in JERUSALEM POST, June 21, 1987 as well as comment in MAARIV (with cartoon) of same date.
5. Report from Lublin (Poland) entitled "Les silences du pape au camp de Majdanek."

You will receive additional press reports and other items referring to the Waldheim audience granted by the Pope, under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Chairman

Dr. Leon A. Feldman  
Consultant

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

June 22, 1987

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**His Eminence**  
**Johannes Cardinal Willebrands**  
**President**  
**Vatican Commission on Religious Relations**  
**with the Jews**  
**00120 Vatican City**

**Your Eminence:**

The following statement by IJCIC, dated June 19, 1987,  
was transmitted to your office by telex.

We are sending you herewith a formal copy thereof:

**REPRESENTATIVES OF MAJOR JEWISH AGENCIES (listed below),  
MEETING THIS MORNING, JOIN IN EXPRESSING OUR PROFOUND SHOCK  
AND DISMAY AT THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT A PAPAL AUDIENCE HAS  
BEEN GRANTED KURT WALDHEIM, AN UNREPENTANT NAZI, WHO HAS  
BEEN BARRLED FROM U.S. SHORES.**

**CLEARLY, NOW, THE PLANNED CEREMONIAL MEETING WITH THE POPE,  
SCHEDULED FOR MIAMI ON SEPTEMBER 11, IS AN INAPPROPRIATE  
FORUM TO DISCUSS THIS AND OTHER URGENT ISSUES OF CATHOLIC/  
JEWISH RELATIONS.**

**IN LIGHT OF THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE URGE THAT AN EARLY  
MEETING WITH THE POPE TAKE PLACE TO DISCUSS SUBSTANTIVE  
ISSUES OF CATHOLIC/JEWISH RELATIONS AND TO CLARIFY FOR US,  
AND ALL THOSE WHO SHARE OUR DISMAY, THE MOTIVATION FOR  
IMPARTING THE HONOR OF A PAPAL AUDIENCE TO KURT WALDHEIM.**

**THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATIONS WERE REPRESENTED AT THIS MORNING'S  
MEETING:**

**SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA and its constituent agencies:**  
**(Conservative): RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY**

**UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA**

**(Orthodox): RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA**

**UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA**

**(Reform): CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS**

**UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS**

**ALSO: THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS**

**THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF BNAI BRITH**

**WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS**

**BNAI BRITH**

**NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL**

Sincerely yours,  
Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Chairman

June 22, 1987

Attention Singer and Feldman

Text as published by 'Osservatore Romano, June 21:

1. It is profoundly surprising and painful that the news of the visit of President Kurt Waldheim to the Holy Father may induce certain people to formulate - with publicity and outcry - questions and doubts as to the consideration and respect of the Pope and of the Holy See for the Jewish people and in particular concerning their attitude with regard to the inhuman persecution which it suffered.

Less than two months ago, the international information media, during the pastoral visit of John Paul II in Germany, gave ample and justified cover to the homilies and the speeches with which the Holy Father - especially in honouring the three great figures of Edith Stein, Rupert Mayer and Card. von Galen - condemned "the folly of an inhuman racism" and reiterated the deepest execration for the extermination camps in which millions of Jews, with so many other victims, were sacrificed.

As late as Sunday June 14, speaking in Warsaw to the representatives of the Polish Jewish community, the Holy Father recalled "the terrible fact of the extermination" of their nation, and stated, textually: "The nation of Israel today, maybe more than ever before, is at the center of the attention of the nations of the world. Above all because of this terrible experience. Through it you have become a great voice of warning for all humanity, all the nations, all the powers of this world, all the systems and every man."

2. At the same time, it is evident that the Holy See has to show consideration and respect with regard to every other people or nation: in the present case, with regard to Austria, an ancient and noble Catholic country, heir to century long and cordial relations with the Holy See.

Last year the Austrian people democratically elected to the presidency of the Federal Republic Mr. Waldheim, who earlier had held in New York, during two terms, for the election to which the prior agreement of the five permanent members of the Security Council is required, the exalted position of Secretary General of the United Nations, in which he fulfilled missions of great responsibility for peace and international cooperation.

The Austrian president had officially expressed the desire to pay a State visit to the Holy Father, as head of the Federal Republic. By complying with this request, the Holy See intended to deal with it in view of its relations with that country."

# International Jewish Committee

ON

## Interreligious Consultations

June 22, 1987

His Eminence  
Johannes Cardinal Willebrands  
President  
Vatican Commission for Religious Relations  
with the Jews  
00120 Vatican City

Your Eminence:

I write this letter with a heavy heart. The dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Jewish People, which has been going on for the last twenty years, has enormous historic meaning. It represents an attempt on the part of our generation to heal the wounds of many centuries and to achieve mutual understanding and respect in place of hostility and contempt. It is sad that this historic effort is endangered by Pope John Paul II's scheduled reception of Kurt Waldheim, president of Austria, on June 25th, in an official state visit.

On behalf of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations I must express to you our feelings of deep concern and disappointment that this meeting with an accused Nazi war criminal is taking place at all. But even more, I must express the deep sense of dismay that we feel that the underlying principles of dialogue are being set aside. Dialogue, we believe, involves consideration for the feelings and attitudes of one's dialogue partners, as well as preliminary discussion of potentially troubling problems. Valued partners should not be presented with a fait accompli.

It is particularly regrettable that this meeting should occur shortly after valuable meetings with the Vatican Commission on Religious Relations with the Jews in Rome, and while we are jointly preparing a meeting of the Vatican/IJCIC Liaison Committee on the "History and Ideological Implications of the Shoah (Holocaust) for Christians and Jews," to be held in Washington, D.C., December 14-17, 1987.

We consider this decision to welcome Kurt Waldheim, an unrepentant Nazi, in audience is particularly offensive since the U.S. Departments of Justice and State, respectively, after concluding that there was sufficient evidence of his involvement in Nazi atrocities, put him last April on a "watch list" of persons prohibited from entering the United States. Many European countries have therefore refrained from receiving Mr. Waldheim as a persona non grata.

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What is happening this week is a terrible blow to the future of Vatican/Jewish relations. This is how it is perceived by the Jewish community, whatever the Vatican's intentions may have been, and whatever may have been said privately or publicly by its authorities. Perception is no less stark a reality than intention.

We are surely not misstating the facts that a formal state reception is perceived in world public opinion as a blessing bestowed by Pope John Paul II on Kurt Waldheim and cleansing him of the accusation of having committed crimes against humanity during World War II. The Vatican is surely fully aware of the exploitation that has already been and will be made in the future of this event. Here again, perception is at least as strong as intention.

We respectfully ask for a clarification of the events because we are now facing a major issue with considerable moral implications and far-reaching practical consequences for the Jewish community. You are surely well aware that there is an outcry in Jewish communities around the world asking what has the Vatican/Jewish dialogue achieved and why should it be continued. It seems inexplicable that neither your office, your Eminence, nor IJCIC, were consulted or even notified on the impending plans. The present experience and previous events appear to be a breakdown in the communication process and reflect serious shortcomings in our relationship. They point out the consequences of not addressing political issues regularly and we see again that religious and political issues are profoundly interwoven, and cannot be compartmentalized as if unrelated. Our conversations must be supplemented by periodic exchanges of views and concerns on political and social matters at the highest levels.

We do not know what will be the consequences for our continued dialogue, in which sincere efforts have been expended on both sides for over twenty years. You are surely aware that the Vatican's failure to establish full and formal diplomatic relations with the State of Israel and also to come to face the realities of the extermination of the Jewish people in Christian lands, is considered in the Jewish community as a great injustice. Only a truly meaningful and momentous gesture toward the Jewish people by the Vatican might help to advance Catholic/Jewish relations.

Yours very sincerely,

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Chairman

The constituent agencies of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations are:  
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
B'NAI B'RITH  
THE ISRAEL INTERFAITH ASSOCIATION  
SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA  
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

*International Jewish Committee*  
*on*  
*Interreligious Consultations*

6/25

June 22, 1987

Dear IJCIC Member:

**THERE WILL BE AN URGENT MEETING OF IJCIC-SCA this  
THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1987 at 9.30 a.m.**

**in the offices of the Synagogue Council of America  
(entrance at 39th Street).**

**The Agenda will include a review of the reactions to  
the press statement, letter to Johannes Cardinal  
Willebrands and, especially, a review of the audience  
granted by Pope John Paul II to Kurt Waldheim on  
Thursday, June 25, at 12 noon (6.00 a.m. N.Y. time).**

**PLEASE MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ATTEND THIS IMPORTANT  
MEETING.**

Sincerely yours,

**Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Chairman**

**Dr. Leon A. Feldman  
Consultant**

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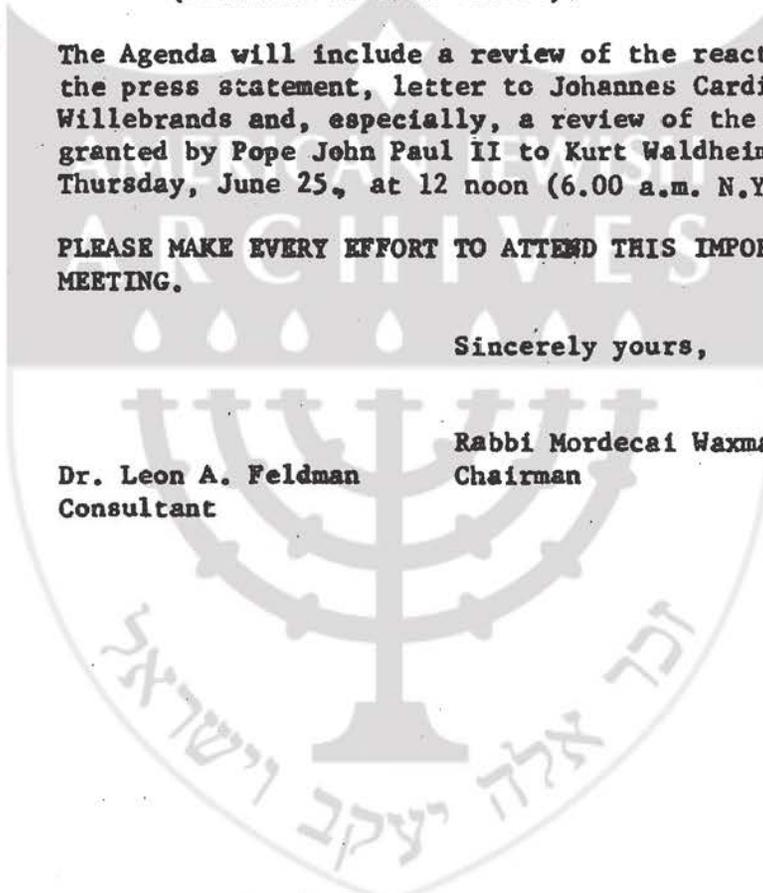
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*Confirming Conversation du Me & MT*

D R A F T

Your Eminence:

In our telegram of June 22, 1987 sent after the news that the Pope had granted an audience to Kurt Waldheim reached us, we wrote: "In light of these circumstances, we urge that an early meeting with the Pope take place to discuss substantive issues of Catholic-Jewish relations and to clarify for us, and all those who share our dismay, the motivation for imparting the honor of a Papal audience to Kurt Waldheim." We are pleased to learn that such a meeting is planned for the last week of August or the first week of September.

Our understanding is that the representatives of the Jewish organizations would first meet with representatives of the Commission for Religious Relations With the Jews and the Secretariat of State. Following these discussions, we would meet with the Pope for a 60 - 90 minute discussion. This meeting will not consist of a reading of prepared statements but of a genuine exchange of ideas at which the Jewish representatives will be free to bring up any subject they consider relevant, including the Waldheim audience. After the meeting, the Jewish participants will share their perception of the meeting with the Press.

We propose August 31 and September 1, 1987 for the meetings.

Please let us know at your earliest convenience whether the above is agreeable. We are prepared to send an advance team to Rome should these or related points require discussion.

# NEW YORK POST

## Jewish leaders, Pope's top aide in talks

By DICK RYAN

JEWISH leaders quietly met here this week with Pope John Paul II's secretary of state to ease tensions caused by the Pope's recent audience with Austrian President Kurt Waldheim.

The 90-minute talks with Agostino Cardinal Casaroli were "honest and real, but only preliminary," according to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee.

Jewish leaders have called for "substantive discussion" with the Pope before his announced Sept. 10 dialogue with U.S. Jews in Miami.

Tanenbaum said Casaroli was sympathetic to that plea. "He said: 'These are important ideas. I'll discuss them with my boss,'" Tanenbaum said.

The meeting, at the Upper East Side apartment of Archbishop Renato Martino, the Vatican's permanent observer to the United Nations, was attended by several prominent U.S. Catholic and Jewish leaders.

The meeting was prompted by the concerns of prominent U.S. bishops who met Casaroli here Wednesday night.

They included John Cardinal O'Connor; Bishop Francis Mugavero of Brooklyn; Archbishop John May of St. Louis, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops; Bishop William Keeler of Harrisburg, Pa.; and Msgr. Daniel Hoye, general secretary of the U.S. Catholic Conference.

The Jewish leaders who met with Casaroli were Tanenbaum; Rabbi Mordecai Waxman, chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations; Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman, newly elected president of the Synagogue Council of America; and Rabbi Wolfe Kelman, executive vice president of the Rabbinical Assembly.

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** July 24, 1987  
**to** Ted Ellenöff, Bert Gold, Miles Jaffe, Leo Nevas, Bill Trosten  
**from** Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
**subject** Report on Rome Meetings

This is a summary of the highlights of my meetings in Rome from July 19-22. (A separate memo on Bill Trosten's and my trip to Vienna, July 22-24, is attached.)

The purpose of the trip was two-fold:

- 1) To try to help resolve some of the problems which have arisen in the wake of the Pope-Waldheim audience on June 25th, and which continue in anticipation of the proposed meeting of Pope John Paul II with Jewish representatives on Sept 10th in Miami;
- 2) To explore AJC program opportunities in international relations with the Vatican and the Italian government.

The attached itinerary indicates the nature and extent of the meetings I held with Vatican, Italian Foreign Ministry, U.S. Government, Israeli, and Italian Jewish representatives.

VATICAN MEETINGS

The three most important meetings I had in relation to the Vatican were with (a) Roger Cardinal Etchegaray, President of the Vatican Secretariat on Justice and Peace, and his Executive Secretary, Monsignor Diarmuid Martin; (b) Archbishop Achille Sylvestrini, Pro. Secretary of the Vatican Council of Public Affairs; and (c) Ambassador Frank Shakespeare, U.S. Envoy to the Holy See.

Justice and Peace -- Cardinal Etchegaray, one of the staunchest friends of Jews in the Curia, gave me a warm embrace of welcome (recalling our first meeting in Marseilles in the late 1970s when IJCIC met in his diocese.) Msgr. Martin of Dublin, a sensitive and very intelligent priest (who succeeded Msgr. William Murphy from Boston) was also very open and cordial.

I discussed with them a proposal for joint sponsorship by their Vatican Secretariat and AJC of a conference in 1988 on "New Perspectives on Human Rights -- Catholic and Jewish Views." They asked me to send them a letter outlining the general idea so that they could have something concrete to react to. I promised to do so on my return to New York.

July 24, 1987

Page Two

The only cautions they raised were (a) working out relationships with the Vatican Secretariat on Catholic-Jewish relations which would need to be involved in some way; and (b) budget ("as you might know," said Msgr. Martin, "the Vatican has some financial difficulties.") I suggested that we could seek together a foundation grant, and they liked that. As for other Vatican Secretariats, I saw no problem in co-sponsorship.

NOTE: Once we get this conference in place, I would start laying the foundation for an audience for AJC officers with the Pope.

Secretariat of State -- Archbishop Sylvestrini changed his schedule and received me on short notice. I thanked him for that gesture of courtesy and friendship.

During our 45-minute talk, he reviewed the rationale of the Pope and the Vatican for agreeing to receive Dr. Kurt Waldheim. It was virtually a replay of what Cardinal Casaroli said to our IJCIC group on July 9th at the Papal Delegate to the UN's residence -- the Vatican did not invite Waldheim; he demanded the audience as head of state; the Vatican found no evidence in his file that he was a war criminal, etc.

Then we discussed the Pope's forthcoming trip to the U.S. -- they are very concerned about the trip and the talk of Jewish boycott. I made a strong point that it is still incomprehensible to the Jewish Community that the Pope would receive Waldheim, and not make a single public reference to the Nazi past. His only answer was that the Holy See's long, historic relationship with Catholic Austria (Hapsburg Austria) required that the audience take place.

I then proposed that something concrete and significant needs to be done by the Pope or the Holy See during August in order to make it possible for us to meet with the Pope. He agreed and invited ideas. We then discussed such possibilities as (a) an audience with PJP II and Jewish leaders in August (not likely because he is in Castel Gondolfo preparing his U.S. sermons -- like a rabbi before Rosh Hashanah); (b) a statement to be issued by the Pope declaring unambiguously his views on the Nazi holocaust, anti-Semitism, and Catholic-Jewish relations; (c) announcement of a commitment by the Pope to a "substantive" meeting with Jews either before, during, or after the Sept. 10th meeting.

Cardinal Casaroli had told us that Perez de Cuellar had invited the Pope to address the UN General Assembly around Sept 20. I then proposed to Sylvestrini that instead of meeting in Miami -- which symbolically has become such a place of controversy -- it would be wiser to hold the Jewish meeting in New York -- should he agree to address the UN, Sylvestrini reacted affirmatively to the idea and asked his aide, Msgr. Gatti (in charge of the Middle East desk) to make a note of that for discussion with Casaroli.

He said he would let me know what they decide and he thanked me for the idea and the visit. (Roberto Suro, the recently-appointed New York Times bureau chief in Rome, was Sylvestrini's next appointment. Later, Suro told me that Sylvestrini made a point of telling him about our meeting, the issues we discussed about the Pope's visit to the U.S., etc. That became the basis of the story that Suro wrote in the following Thursday's N.Y. Times -- which also appeared on the front page of the International Herald Tribune. Suro is a very bright, decent young man -- another E.J. Dionne.)

#### AMBASSADOR SHAKESPEARE

This may well turn out to be the most important meeting I had in Rome. Frank Shakespeare, former U.S. Ambassador to Portugal, was appointed as envoy to the Holy See on January 1, 1987. He is in his mid-50's, very articulate, obviously energetic, traditionalist Catholic, and conservative Republican, but affable anyway. He delivered a long speech about how Christianity and Judaism are "the indispensable foundation" of Western civilization, and that Christianity -- and the Catholic Church -- are meaningless without their roots in Judaism.

"Frank" (we came to first names quickly) then walloped me with this -- a way has got to be found to render permanent and public that Jewish-Christian linkage and there is one dramatic way to do that -- the Vatican must be brought to establish full de jure diplomatic relations with Israel. He then said that "The American Government now wants that to happen, and we want to help make that happen."

I reacted with appropriate enthusiasms, and said, "Frank, if you bring that off, you and Ronald Reagan will earn an esteemed and permanent place in every history book that is written." He liked that.

Frank then said that the most serious obstacle to full normalization of relations was the Vatican's fear of Arab-Muslim reprisals against Christians in their countries -- such as Indonesia, Pakistan, Sudan, etc. He said he believed the fear was either exaggerated or a pretext for anti-Israel elements in the Holy See. We both agree that Spain's firm rejection of Arab-Muslim threats of boycott and reprisals, and the fact that nothing happened after Spain established diplomatic relations with Israel, was a convincing argument that the Vatican had to be helped to accept.

Then, Shakespeare said, "Marc, I need your help. I need documentation on the situation of Christian communities in every Arab-Muslim country. I want to present documentation to the Holy See, country by country, that will persuade them that they are exaggerating the problem of possible reprisals. If we can do that, we can then move on to the next step of beginning normalization of relations."

First, I told him that I did see such a "sub secreto" document in the Vatican about five years ago. I suggested he try to get it and see if it is updated. Also, the State Department obviously must have such research facilities. Then, some years ago, I recalled, I did precisely that kind of backgrounder and will try to retrieve it and send it to him. In any case, I will start an AJC project with American and Israeli experts on

July 24, 1987

Page Four

on Islam, and see if I can get something solid to him as soon as possible.

I am persuaded that Shakespeare plans to make this his "big project" at the Vatican, and whether or not it works, I think you will agree we ought to do everything possible to help him.

NOT INCIDENTALLY HE INSISTS THIS MUST BE KEPT ABSOLUTELY CONFIDENTIAL. PREMATURE LEAKAGE WILL LEAD TO ARAB-MUSLIM PRESSURE AND WILL SURELY ABORT HIS EFFORTS.

We agreed to stay in close touch with each other.

-- This meeting which took place at a 3-hour long luncheon on Monday, July 20, was preceded by a brief courtesy visit at 11:45 a.m. with Ambassador Max Rabb. He was friendly and gracious but nothing much was said or done.

#### ISRAELI AMBASSADOR MICHAEL PELED

He is Israel's new Minister to the Vatican, one of the shrewdest, most experienced I have known in that post. He said Vatican-Israeli relations are "static" and he did not believe they were going to change. He sees anybody he needs to at the Holy See. "They have everything they want from Israel, so why should they risk Arab anger and reprisals?" Peled said.

He indicated that it is now Israeli policy to stop pressing the Holy See on the Israel diplomatic relations issue, and they would like Jewish organizations to do the same. He indicated that in quiet ways, Israel will get tougher with the Vatican -- paying taxes, and fewer indulgences.

At the same time, he volunteered that there is no purpose served in boycotting the Pope in Miami during his September visit. He thinks that positive Catholic-Jewish relations are good for Jews and for Israel and should be nurtured.

#### AMBASSADOR SERGIO MINERBA

Director General of Economic Affairs in Israel's Foreign Ministry, this delightful, brilliant, Italian-born diplomat is the author of the landmark Hebrew study, "The Vatican and the Holy Land." Independently, he advocated almost the identical views of Peled.

#### ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY

On Tuesday, July 21, I met with Ambassador Katani, Undersecretary of the Italian Foreign Ministry. The Italian Ambassador to the U.S., Rinaldo Petrignani, with whom we have a warm friendship, cabled the Foreign Ministry to meet with me. In the absence of Foreign Minister Andreotti, who was attending the UN Security Council meeting in New York, Katani received me with a delegation of four other ministers -- Social Affairs, Political, Cultural, Immigration (?) -- and we proceeded to a swift-paced, constructive discussion.

I told them that Ambassador Petrignani had discussed several times the convening of a conference on the Italian and Jewish Contributions to Civilization (or some such theme) and Katani and his people were completely affirmative. He offered at once to put up a budget for it and lend the full assistance of his ministry. He also welcomed AJC's cooperation with the October '87 Italy on Stage projects in New York.

They were also positive about the idea of an Italian-AJC exchange program, similar to the German program.

It was a good meeting. Now we've got to put together a program in the context of a carefully-worked out schedule for 1987-88. (It is not clear what effect the new Italian government will have on these commitments, but we'll see.)

#### ITALIAN JEWRY

I had two warm and friendly meetings with Tullia Zevi, one a dinner party at her apartment in the Roman Ghetto. Nothing focussed -- random insights: (a) the European Jewish Congress adopted recently a resolution demanding that the World Jewish Congress take no future actions similar to the Waldheim case without prior consultation and approval of affected Jewish communities; (b) she doesn't like or trust this "Polish Pope" who keeps dropping anti-Jewish sermons side by side with his pro-Jewish declarations ('he is schizophrenic'); (c) Ted Freedman of the ADL is very active in Rome and Europe generally, and he is "very right-wing" (Tullia has quite left-wing tendencies); (d) Raffaello Fellah, who wears the title of President of the Association of Libyan Jews, is a "loner, an outsider, but very effective in what he does. He has little support in the Sephardic community and needs to be brought closer to the Italian Jewish community."

On Sunday night, July 19, I had dinner with Raffaello Fellah (and Ambassador Minerba) in the Jewish Quarter. It is clear there is great strain between him and Tullia Zevi, and AJC's support of the Libyan Conference is very important leverage for Fellah. We need to be careful about getting used and sucked into this internal Italian snake-pit.

#### AJC REPRESENTATIVE IN ROME

I asked everyone I met in the Jewish community in Rome for names of possible candidates for AJC's representative in Rome. I was given 4 or 5 names; I met two -- Prof. Zvi Geller, expert on the Jewish Catacombs, and Marcello Ancelli (?). Geller is inexperienced in our kind of work; Ancelli wrote reports on Italy for Nives Fox, but he is working full-time with the Unione.

I'll keep trying by letters and telephone with my growing number of Jewish contacts. This has got to be worked on as a conscious undertaking since Rome requires an especially competent person.

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS IN ROME FOR MARC TANENBAUM

SUNDAY, JULY 19, 1987

- 4:30 p.m. - Ms. Tullia Zevi, President, Italian Jewish Communities
- 6:30 p.m. Raffaello Fellah, President, Association of Libyan Jews
- 8:30 p.m. - Dinner - Ambassador Sergio Minerba, Israel Foreign Ministry (Author of "The Vatican and the Holy Land"), R. Fellah, Dov Shechter

MONDAY, JULY 20, 1987

- 10:00 a.m. - Roger Cardinal Etchegaray, President, Vatican Secretariat or Justice and Peace  
Msgr. Diarmuid Martin, Executive Secretary to Cardinal Etchegaray
- 11:45 a.m. - U.S. Ambassador Maxwell Rabb, U.S. Embassy
- 1:00 p.m. to  
3:45 p.m. - Ambassador Frank Shakespeare, U.S. Envoy to the Holy See

TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1987

- 9:30 a.m. - Prof. Zvi Geller
- 10:15 a.m. - Archbishop Achille Sylvestrini, Msgr. Gatti
- 11:30 a.m. - Ambassador Katani, Undersecretary, Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry,  
Ambassador Lorenzo, Director General, Social Affairs & Immigration  
Cultural and Political counselors, Interpreter
- 1:00 p.m. - Ambassador Michael Peled, Minister to Vatican, Israel Embassy, Rome
- 3:30 p.m. - Roberto Suro, N.Y. Time bureau, Rome
- 5:30 p.m. - Prof. Zvi Geller
- 8:30 p.m. - Dinner -- Tullia Zevi, Joan Rosenbaum, director Jewish Museum,  
Anna Sacerdoti, author, Guide to Italian Jewry

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1987

- 9:10 a.m. - Leave Rome for Vienna

MHT:RPR

JUL 29 1987



קק רומא יערא

COMUNITÀ ISRAELITICA  
DI  
ROMA

הרבנות הראשית  
IL RABBINO CAPO

VATICAN  
POPE  
WALDHEIM ביה

12 Tamuz ..... 57.47  
Roma, 9 Luglio ..... 19.87  
Lungotevere Cenci - Tel. 6875051/2/3

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 565 Street  
New York N.Y. 12022

Enclosed I have the pleasure to send you the speech that gave from New York Mr. A. Marescalchi for the Italian TV broadcasting on 25/6/87 during the visit of President Waldheim to the Pope.

Enclosed I send you some interesting material.

Sincerely Yours

The Chief Rabbi  
(Dr. Prof. Elvio Toaff)



Non ha presenziato nè l'Ambasciatore americano, nè il suo numero due, soltanto l'addetto stampa Frank Lattanzi. La potente lobby ebraica degli Stati Uniti è riuscita anche in questo dopo aver ottenuto di far dichiarare il Presidente dell'Austria persona non grata.

Mentre su tutti gli schermi d'America il Rabbino Tenenbaum grida allo scandalo e si chiede con retorica agghiacciante, anche se grottesca, se il Papa sarebbe disposto a ricevere in nome del perdono anche Adolf Hitler.

Una visita, quella di Waldheim che sta provocando una serie di contestazioni, abbiamo visto anche le immagini delle proteste a Roma.

Di Kurt Waldheim si sa soltanto che forse è una figura un po' ambigua, non adamantina, non esattamente adatta a reggere posizioni come quella di Segretario Generale delle Nazioni Unite prima, e di Presidente della Repubblica Austriaca poi.

Ma di sue partecipazioni ad atti di violenza o di deportazioni durante il suo periodo militare, - classicamente definibile da imboscato in un comodo comando -, non sono mai stati pubblicati i documenti e allora, secondo molti, la Lobby ebraica potrebbe voler far pagare, scontare a Waldheim le sue simpatie filoarabe quando del suo passato militare non circolavano ancora.

Secondo le Comunità ebraiche in tutto il mondo c'è il timore che proprio il reinserimento di persone o personaggi come Waldheim nella vita normale possa fare dimenticare la campagna antisemita, la persecuzione antisemita, un periodo breve, di pochi anni se ci pensiamo, di cui si parla come di un'era. Storia di ieri che potrebbe facilmente diventare passato remoto ed è quello che le Comunità ebraiche non vogliono.

[start]

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Venerdì - 18 ottobre 1968

### Polonia: scoperti i resti di 40.000 prigionieri

VARSAVIA, 17 ottobre

Fosse comuni, contenenti i resti di 40.000 prigionieri di guerra, sono state scoperte presso il villaggio di Czarna, a 80 chilometri da Koszalin, in Pomerania.

Durante l'ultima guerra mondiale, presso questo villaggio si trovava il campo di concentramento «2 B. Hammerstein Nord Und Ost», dove erano internati prigionieri sovietici, polacchi, francesi, belgi ed olandesi.

### A proposito delle salme di Hammerstein

FERRARA, ottobre

Leggo a pagina 9 sul «Giorno» del 18 corrente la notizia da Varsavia che nel campo II B di Hammerstein sono state ritrovate le salme di 40.000 prigionieri di guerra sovietici, polacchi, francesi, belgi ed olandesi. Per ristabilire la verità storica e soprattutto per rendere onore

anche a chi ha sofferto in quel «bestiale» campo, mi corre l'obbligo di informarvi che laggiù c'era anche qualche migliaio di ufficiali e soldati italiani e fra questi un nostro caro amico, il sottotenente degli alpini Renato Sclarandi, barbaramente assassinato dai tedeschi e sepolto in Pomerania.

Ogni anno in maggio, l'allora comandante (più parafurmini che altro) di quel campo e nostro rappresentante, dottor Giacomo Capelli (via Petrella 8, Milano) fa una riunione dei superstiti di quel campo che si ritrovano nella chiesa di San Sebastiano, dove il cappellano che era con noi celebra la Messa in ricordo di tutti i morti che abbiamo lasciato là e di quelli che sono finiti (e finiscono ancor oggi per i patimenti sofferti) dopo il rimpatrio.

GIAN PAOLO ZACCARIA  
ex-internato di Hammerstein  
n. 113974 di matricola

«TO MY

«A MES C,



Kurt Waldheim, tenente della Wehrmacht (è il secondo da sinistra) all'aeroporto di Podgorica, ora Titograd, in Jugoslavia, nel maggio del '43. Sono con lui il generale Ercole Roncaglia, comandante della divisione «Pusteria», e due alti ufficiali tedeschi.

## «Era uno degli ufficiali del gulag di Hammerstein. Non ho dubbi»

FIDENZA — «Sì, è proprio lui, quel nasone a cetriolo non l'ho mai dimenticato». È il barista Benvenuto Bianchi, 66 anni, di Fidenza, che si confida dopo che giornali e televisioni hanno mostrato le foto di Kurt Waldheim nell'attuale posizione di premier austriaco, ma anche in formato 1943, quando era tenente della Wehrmacht.

Il barista fidentino, che già rese testimonianza sul presunto eccidio di Leopoli, militava nell'Aeronautica e con i commilitoni tedeschi aveva spesso rapporti tanto che qualche parola germanica l'aveva imparata. L'8 settembre lo coglieva in servizio, al «Pall» di Parma, a pochi chilometri da casa, ma non riusciva ad eludere la morsa dei soldati tedeschi. Finiva così in una delle lunghe e angosciose tratte dirette verso il Nord.

«Eravamo in 75 nel carro merci e quando finalmente il 29 settembre arrivammo al centro di smistamento di Hammerstein, in Pomerania, cinque compagni di sventura erano deceduti», dice. «Waldheim continua «alto, magrissimo, con quel nasone ciranesco, comandava un piccolo drappello di graduati. Ritengo fosse il «ragioniere» del campo, perché annotava, vagone per vagone, il numero dei prigionieri. Avevo freddo e ad un graduato, esprimevo i miei desideri in tedesco, chiesi un cappotto o almeno una coperta: per risposta ricevetti una pedana. Ma quando arrivai davanti al

ufficiale, chiesi nuovamente l'indumento. «Questi, freddo, quasi staccato, con un gesto del capo annui e poco dopo un militare mi consegnò un logoro cappotto e una coperta».

Lei ritiene che quell'ufficiale fosse veramente Waldheim? «Lo ripeto che non ho dubbi di sorta. Certo con me è stato umano, ma con i campi di concentramento ci aveva a che fare e ritengo non potesse ignorare cosa realmente accadeva».

Benvenuto Bianchi, per il lungo periodo di prigionia, è in «guerra» con la burocrazia statale, che gli ha respinto la richiesta dell'assegno vitalizio spettante ai superstiti dei campi di sterminio, una rivendicazione che porta avanti con un ex compagno di prigionia, Giuseppe Fabretti di Pordenone. Il campo di Hammerstein, targato stalg 2-B, non è stato classificato come «KZ», spiega questa che indicava i campi di sterminio. L'assegno vitalizio spetta solo agli ex internati di questi autentici gironi infernali.

Lo stalg della Pomerania era un semplice punto di smistamento, anche se la morte vi era presente in ogni minuto della giornata. L'ex internato fidentino dice: «Per cinque mesi ne morirono 200.000. In quel periodo in cui fu internato, non c'era differenza tra un campo «KZ» e un altro». [Wajner Pellegrini]

Fe. 29-6-1988

Prof. 80 aff.

Ho avuto il suo indirizzo dal Carlino di  
Ferrara Prof. Simone sacerdoti per molti anni  
collega a scuola nelle Medie "F. Farabaldi"  
di Ferrara della quale sono attualmente il  
Prende - Le scrivo perché ieri mattina su "Fe-  
Risto del Carlino" è apparso l'articolo che le  
compreso in copia. È riportate la testimonianza  
re di un ex militare il quale afferma di  
aver riconosciuto Waldheim nell'ufficiale  
che lui incontrò nel Paper II B di Hall-  
mersheim in Germania - Questo l'antefatto  
io sono uno dei seipensivi di quel Paper  
maledetto e non mi di tempo nelle sofferte  
e che dovetti patire - Lei brevemente il 5 gennaio  
1944 partiva da Berlino - Trema un condoglio  
di poco più di un centinaio di ufficiali rei  
deportati e processati da Palermo - Albert  
sebbene rifiutò di collaborare con i fascisti  
e furono dirottati di quelle forteresse a sud di  
Verona, ad Hammersheim dove giungemmo  
alla settimana dopo. Ad Hammersheim di

pentiti e patimenti ed anche assassinio di un  
Maresciallo anathius per uno eroe di guerra  
litar. - Se a Lei interessere o se interesse al  
Governo d'Israele sono in grado di fornire  
re indicazioni utili per rintracciare qualche  
personaggio italiano a contatto con il Comando  
secreto del campo e i jurati d'ipotesi a parlare,  
fornire all'identificazione del Walof. Le  
Io non sono cattolico e quindi non ho pro-  
blemi di natura religiose; quando venne eletto  
il Papa Wojtyla guardo con simpatia a  
quell'uomo pensando alle generosità e bontà  
del popolo polacco, ma la sua disseminate condotta  
politica mi fa pensare che se fosse un governante  
polacco gli impedirei di essere in Polonia  
fatto alla fine dei suoi giorni considerando  
milioni di morti polacchi e la distruzione  
del ghetto di Varsavia ad opera del Generale  
Strop - fradica Professore Sen della uniz  
skawa.

Gian Paolo Zaccaria

Via Vito Spica 5

44100 Ferrarese

(0532) tel. 29548

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*International Jewish Committee*

*ON*

*Interreligious Consultations*

WJCIC

AUG 3 1987

July 24, 1987

AMERICAN SECRETARIAT:  
Synagogue Council of America  
327 Lexington Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016  
Tel.: (212) 686-8670

EUROPEAN SECRETARIAT:  
World Jewish Congress  
1 Rue de Varembe  
1211 Geneve 20, Switzerland  
Tel.: (022) 34 13 25

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

B'nai B'rith  
1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.  
Washington, DC 20036

The Israel Interfaith  
Association  
P.O.B. 7739  
Jerusalem 91.077, Israel

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

World Jewish Congress  
1 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

Dear IJCIC Member:

We are sending you for the record the following items which are self-explanatory:

1. IJCIC communication, dated June 22, 1987, addressed to Johannes Cardinal Willebrands.
2. Reply received from Cardinal Willebrands, via Apostolic Nunciature in Washington, D.C. dates July 2, 1987.
3. Under separate cover, you will receive press reactions and items concerning Vatican efforts to bring about better understanding between the Pope and the Jewish people.

Thank you for your continued interest.

Sincerely yours,

*Mordecai Waxman*  
Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Chairman

Dr. Leon A. Feldman  
Consultant

ON  
*Interreligious Consultations*

June 22, 1987

His Eminence  
Johannes Cardinal Willebrands  
President  
Vatican Commission for Religious Relations  
with the Jews  
00120 Vatican City

AMERICAN SECRETARIAT:  
Synagogue Council of America  
327 Lexington Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016  
Tel.: (212) 686-8670

EUROPEAN SECRETARIAT:  
World Jewish Congress  
1 Rue de Varembe  
1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland  
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1 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

Your Eminence:

I write this letter with a heavy heart. The dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Jewish People, which has been going on for the last twenty years, has enormous historic meaning. It represents an attempt on the part of our generation to heal the wounds of many centuries and to achieve mutual understanding and respect in place of hostility and contempt. It is sad that this historic effort is endangered by Pope John Paul II's scheduled reception of Kurt Waldheim, president of Austria, on June 25th, in an official state visit.

On behalf of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations I must express to you our feelings of deep concern and disappointment that this meeting with an accused Nazi war criminal is taking place at all. But even more, I must express the deep sense of dismay that we feel that the underlying principles of dialogue are being set aside. Dialogue, we believe, involves consideration for the feelings and attitudes of one's dialogue partners, as well as preliminary discussion of potentially troubling problems. Valued partners should not be presented with a fait accompli.

It is particularly regrettable that this meeting should occur shortly after valuable meetings with the Vatican Commission on Religious Relations with the Jews in Rome, and while we are jointly preparing a meeting of the Vatican/LJCIC Liaison Committee on the "History and Ideological Implications of the Shoah (Holocaust) for Christians and Jews," to be held in Washington, D.C., December 14-17, 1987.

We consider this decision to welcome Kurt Waldheim, an unrepentant Nazi, in audience is particularly offensive since the U.S. Departments of Justice and State, respectively, after concluding that there was sufficient evidence of his involvement in Nazi atrocities, put him last April on a "watch list" of persons prohibited from entering the United States. Many European countries have therefore refrained from receiving Mr. Waldheim as a persona non grata.

-Over-

What is happening this week is a terrible blow to the future of Vatican/Jewish relations. This is how it is perceived by the Jewish community, whatever the Vatican's intentions may have been, and whatever may have been said privately or publicly by its authorities. Perception is no less stark a reality than intention.

We are surely not misstating the facts that a formal state reception is perceived in world public opinion as a blessing bestowed by Pope John Paul II on Kurt Waldheim and cleansing him of the accusation of having committed crimes against humanity during World War II. The Vatican is surely fully aware of the exploitation that has already been and will be made in the future of this event. Here again, perception is at least as strong as intention.

We respectfully ask for a clarification of the events because we are now facing a major issue with considerable moral implications and far-reaching practical consequences for the Jewish community. You are surely well aware that there is an outcry in Jewish communities around the world asking what has the Vatican/Jewish dialogue achieved and why should it be continued. It seems unexplicable that neither your office, your Eminence, nor IJCIC, were consulted or even notified on the impending plans. The present experience and previous events appear to be a breakdown in the communication process and reflect serious shortcomings in our relationship. They point out the consequences of not addressing political issues regularly and we see again that religious and political issues are profoundly interwoven, and cannot be compartmentalized as if unrelated. Our conversations must be supplemented by periodic exchanges of views and concerns on political and social matters at the highest levels.

We do not know what will be the consequences for our continued dialogue, in which sincere efforts have been expended on both sides for over twenty years. You are surely aware that the Vatican's failure to establish full and formal diplomatic relations with the State of Israel and also to come to face the realities of the extermination of the Jewish people in Christian lands, is considered in the Jewish community as a great injustice. Only a truly meaningful and momentous gesture toward the Jewish people by the Vatican might help to advance Catholic/Jewish relations.

Yours very sincerely,

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Chairman

LAF/mw

The constituent agencies of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations are:  
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
B'NAI B'RITH  
THE ISRAEL INTERFAITH ASSOCIATION  
SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA  
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS



3339 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008-3687

APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. ...2983/87/6..

July 2, 1987

*This No. Should Be Prefixed to the Answer*

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Chairman, International Jewish Committee  
on Interreligious Consultations  
Synagogue Council of America  
327 Lexington Avenue  
New York, NY 10016

Dear Rabbi Waxman:

At the request of His Eminence Johannes Cardinal Willebrands, President of the Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism, I am pleased to forward the enclosed correspondence which arrived at this Apostolic Nunciature today by way of telex.

With every good wish and kindest regards, I am

Prayerfully yours,

*Celestino Migliore*

Monsignor Celestino Migliore  
Charge d'Affaires, a.i.

Enclosure

Vatican City, June 30, 1987

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Chairman, International Jewish Committee  
On Interreligious Consultations  
Synagogue Council of America  
327 Lexington Avenue  
New York, NY 10016 USA

Dear Rabbi Waxman:

I have received your telegram-letter, in which you express your deep feelings about the State Visit of Mr. Waldheim, President of Austria, to the Vatican.

First of all you express your appreciation for the dialogue between the Catholic Church and representatives of the Jewish people. You call this a dialogue of enormous historic meaning. I share this appreciation. I share this not only in regard to the past, compared to which it signifies without any doubt a new development, and as an official dialogue on the side of the Church, a turning point in our relations. But also and even more I share it in regard to the future. It is a starting point, a new approach, which has already shown its importance but has still a great task before it. This dialogue is concerned with the field of religious relations between the Church and the Jewish people. As such it should be continued, deepened and extended. It has its own method and scope, which should be more clearly defined. Its historical context is different from that of the first centuries of Christianity, from that of the Middle Ages or from later periods, when there was persecution against the Jews. Its religious content and scope has new possibilities, especially because of the solemn declaration of the Second Vatican Council concerning the Church's relationship to the Jewish people, but also because of declared principles on religious liberty, and the principles against proselytism.

For the application and practical consequences of this declaration, the Church has created a special commission in the Roman Curia, which has published further official documents in order to assure and to foster the implementation of the thoughts given by the Second Vatican Council. It will take a longer time and a continuous effort to overcome deeply-rooted prejudices and feelings and to convert those who hold them, so that understanding, esteem and love may reign in the hearts of Christians and in society instead of prejudice, contempt and hatred.

With absolute certainty I say to you, Dear Rabbi, that these convictions, fostered by the Council, are alive in the heart of the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II. On many occasions he

has given expression to this conviction and these feelings, whether addressing himself to the Jewish people, or speaking of them. A collection of his words and gestures related to this subject would even now comprise a long list. It is a specific part of his pastoral guidance and magisterial teaching. Catholic learning in the field of history and theology concerning our relations with the Jewish people is considerable and growing. Allow me to say that I have dedicated to it a great deal of my heart and of my activity. But you know even better than myself that the field is large and still a great deal unexplored. All this indicates how serious and important the dialogue is which we have conducted now for 17 years. I am convinced that in the historical context of today, religious understanding and relations of a specific ecumenical quality are of basic importance for all kinds of relations between Christians and Jews.

Besides religious relations, we have social, cultural, political relations. All kinds of relations are linked with each other in some way. The strengthening of relations in one field has a bearing or influence on all of them. At the same time, each of them has its own problems, its own laws and customs. They should not be confused and one cannot decide over the other, although progress in one field can be of decisive importance for the other. Politics, to which belong also diplomatic activities, have their own principles, laws and customs. They are, of course, submitted to moral criteria. Often the political and diplomatic activities of the Holy See demonstrate and claim the maintenance of moral principles as for instance in the field of human rights, especially in regard to religious freedom, the maintenance of peace, the sacredness of human life, etc. Nevertheless, political science and moral philosophy are different disciplines.

In your letter you mention two matters of a political nature. First of all, the question of the State visit of the President of Austria, Mr. Waldheim, and, secondly, the question of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the State of Israel.

Concerning the visit of Mr. Waldheim, you rightly call it in your letter a State visit. This means that the visit regards not the person but the State which he represents. The development of the visit and the talks exchanged between the Holy Father and the President give ample proof of this nature of the visit. It is therefore unwarranted to say that this visit means that a blessing has been bestowed by the Pope on Mr. Waldheim, cleansing him of the accusations. In our time we have seen persons, highly ranked in government, who have been convicted of crime or immoral behavior and have for that reason been obliged to resign. You call Mr. Waldheim an "accused Nazi war criminal." In the present case these are still alleged crimes of which we have no proof. We must be very careful in this matter to avoid considering and treating persons as criminals because of

alleged crimes. Mr. Waldheim has held delicate and highly responsible functions in the service of the United Nations and has never been formally accused or convicted as a criminal. He has the right to be treated with full consideration for his human rights and his official position.

You express your disappointment that the commission of the Holy See for religious relations with the Jews and our liaison committee for dialogue have not been consulted. In this way the underlying principles of dialogue would have been put aside. To this point I shall say that neither the commission of the Holy See nor the committee for dialogue have ever been mandated to discuss or handle political affairs such as inter-State relations. We cannot fill in the absence of diplomatic relations between the State of Israel and the Holy See or take over this function. This is not our task or function. We are not the partners in these affairs. However, we can consider the religious aspects that might be involved in all kinds of relations. We can discuss this question in our meetings.

You make the point of the importance of perception or interpretation of facts as distinct from and consequent to intention. This is a good point and I would apply it also to certain manifestations that have taken place on the occasion of the State visit. They can easily be received and interpreted by our people as an expression of feelings on the Jewish side against the Holy See and against the person of the Holy Father himself. Things that happened in a history of centuries, and especially the Shoah, can explain all this to a great extent. We have a great task and responsibility towards each other to overcome and to heal wounds mutually inflicted and to build new relations of confidence, peace and love. In this I come back again to what I have said in the first part of this letter. I still believe that our dialogue has, as you described it, "an enormous historic meaning." In a spirit of faith and hope I desire to continue the dialogue and I invite you sincerely to share this desire so that we can seek together how to fulfill this obligation. God will be with us.

Yours sincerely,

Johannes Cardinal Willebrands  
President of the Commission  
for Religious Relations  
with Judaism

P. S. In regard to the request that you make in your letter of June 22 (referring to the statement of June 19), to have a meeting with the Pope before the Miami event, I could try to contact Bishop Keeler if you think that my present letter still gives rise to important points in Jewish/Christian relations which would need further discussion and clarification."

PJ P 4

1987

memorandum

FO/SFB

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** August 4, 1987

**to** James Rudin

**from** Ernest H. Weiner

**subject** Papal visit to San Francisco and related episodes (6th report)  
Archbishop Quinn's letter to the religious of the Archdiocese

One of my friends in the Archdiocese shared this with me yesterday. It is disappointing in its defensive tone, but clearly designed, even as an apologia, to ease the tension.

You will note that at the bottom of the middle paragraph on page 3 Quinn quotes Marc Tanenbaum from the New York Times story.

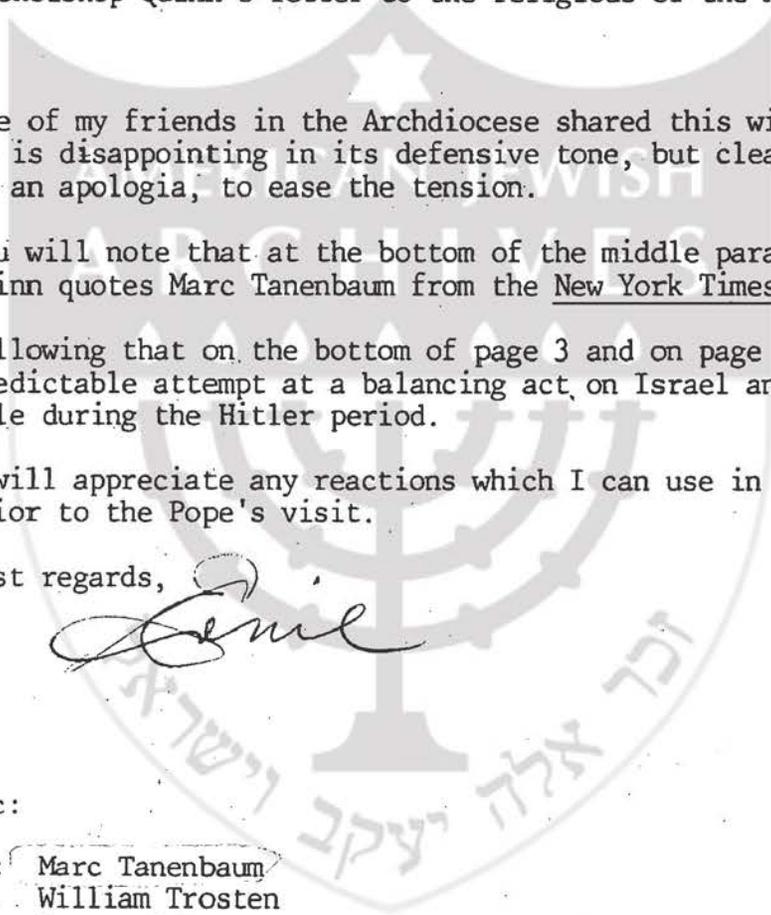
Following that on the bottom of page 3 and on page 4 Quinn does the predictable attempt at a balancing act, on Israel and the Vatican's role during the Hitler period.

I will appreciate any reactions which I can use in the weeks ahead prior to the Pope's visit.

Best regards,  
*Ernie*

enc:

- cc: Marc Tanenbaum
- William Trosten
- Eugene DuBow
- Geri Rozanski
- Mort Yarmon





July 29, 1987

To the Priests, Deacons, Religious and People of the Archdiocese of San Francisco:

In view of the continuing publicity surrounding the visit of President Waldheim to the Holy Father in June, I feel I should make some observations which I hope will be constructive and serve to place the event in perspective.

First, Doctor Waldheim is the democratically elected Head of State of Austria, a largely Catholic country, which the Holy Father visited several years ago and is scheduled, I believe, to visit next year. News reports have indicated that President Waldheim requested the audience several times. Prior to granting the audience, the Holy See consulted with the Austrian Episcopate and with Catholic lay representatives and organizations in Austria all of whom urged the granting of an audience.

Furthermore, Austria is a country with which the Holy See has and has had diplomatic relations for centuries. President Waldheim was received in his formal capacity as Head of State, not as a private individual as was underlined by the fact that the visit was carried out with the ceremonial for State visits.

Pope John Paul II clearly stated his understanding of such visits in an address to the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See on October 20, 1978, in which he said,

Diplomatic relations mean stable, reciprocal relations, under the sign of politeness, discretion and loyalty. Without confusing competences, they do not necessarily manifest on my side, approval of such and such a regime - that is not my business. Obviously, neither do they manifest approval of all its acts in the conduct of public affairs.

Since diplomatic relations are not meant to be understood as an endorsement of individual regimes or of all their acts, still less can the fact of an audience granted to an individual government official be understood in this sense nor could such an audience possibly be understood as an endorsement for the acts of government officials taken prior to their election to office.

Before his election as President of Austria, Doctor Waldheim served as Secretary-General of the United Nations for two full mandates and carried out this task with the full agreement of the five permanent members of the Security Council. While Secretary-General, he undertook missions of the highest responsibility in the service of peace and international cooperation. Also, Doctor Waldheim was Secretary-General of the United Nations in 1979 and issued the invitation, accepted by the Holy Father, to speak before that body during the papal visit of 1979.

The combination of these factors would make it difficult for the Holy Father to decline the request of President Waldheim for an audience.

If one raises the issue of President Waldheim's alleged activities during the Nazi regime, it must be noted that the Pope cannot be placed in the position of making judgments about the commission of crimes by individuals. That is the function of secular authorities. To date, Doctor Waldheim has not been formally accused, tried or convicted of these alleged crimes by legitimately constituted secular authorities. The Pope and the Holy See cannot be placed in the position of treating persons as criminals when the secular authority has not brought forward formal accusations.

Hence, the audience granted by the Holy Father to the President of Austria cannot objectively be interpreted as an expression of lack of esteem and respect of the Pope and the Holy See for the Jewish people nor can it be interpreted as a lack of sensitivity for their position regarding the Holocaust. Pope John Paul II has spoken more often and more strongly in support of respect for Jews, against anti-semitism, in condemnation of the Holocaust than any other Pope. Indeed, only two months before the visit of President Waldheim, while the Pope was in Germany, the international media gave extensive coverage to his many speeches and homilies among which were those in which he condemned "the folly of inhuman racism" and expressed his profound indignation at the way millions of Jews were sacrificed in the concentration camps. Even more recently, on June 14, when he spoke in Warsaw to the Polish Jewish community, the Holy Father spoke of the "terrible reality of the extermination" and said, "Today, the nation of Israel, perhaps more than ever, is at the center of attention of the nations of the world, above all because of this horrible experience. Through this you have become a major voice of warning for all humanity, all nations, all powers of this world, all systems and every people." I would also recall the warm and cordial visit of the Holy Father to the Synagogue of Rome where he expressed his own personal esteem and love for the Jewish people.

The attitude of the Holy See should also be interpreted in light of the fact that, following the courageous and imaginative action of the Second Vatican Council in its decree Nostra Aetate, the Holy See - and I might add, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops of the United States - created a special entity to pursue the dialog with the Jews and to foster constructive and positive relationships.

Following the visit of the President of Austria to the Holy Father, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of State, was in the United States for engagements to which he had been committed for some time. During his visit, which took place during the first part of this month, he also met with the President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, with Cardinal John O'Connor of New York and with several other American Bishops at their request to discuss the concerns of American Jews about the visit of President Waldheim. The Cardinal listened attentively to the bishops and met the following day with several American Jewish leaders. He listened to their views and assured them that he would convey these views to the Holy Father. He also indicated that the concerns which they expressed only served to underline the importance of the meeting with the Holy Father and Jewish representatives in Miami in September. There was discussion of a possible visit by Jewish representatives to Rome following the papal visit in the United States. Thus, the Pope and the Holy See are making every effort to hear the concerns of American Jews. From what I have been able to determine, the Jewish leaders who met with Cardinal Casaroli regarded the meeting as constructive and significant. In addition, The New York Times on July 22 carried a report that Rabbi Marc Tannebaum of the American Jewish Committee has been in Rome during the past week meeting with officials of the Holy See and is quoted as saying, "I have the impression that they are actively considering some kind of gesture or statement that would improve the situation."

Regarding the question of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Israel, this, of course, is an area outside my competence. Nevertheless, I believe I could make some helpful observations. Often, it is stated that "the Holy See does not recognize Israel." This seems to imply that the Holy See does not accept the existence of Israel as a State. And if this is meant, it is not true. After all, the Pope has several times received in Rome the Prime Ministers of Israel as well as other government officials. Pope Paul VI himself visited Israel during the Second Vatican Council. In fact, the Holy See has the same relationship to Israel as it had with the United States until 1983 when diplomatic relations were established, the same relationship it has to Poland or Russia. Surely, it could not be said that the Holy See recognized the United States only in 1983, or that it does not recognize Poland or Russia.

Page Four

While it is true that the Holy See does not have diplomatic relations with Israel, it should not be forgotten that it does not have diplomatic relations with Jordan either. It is a matter of record that the Holy See recognizes the right of Israel to secure borders. But it is also concerned about stable borders and about a just settlement of the Palestinian question.

From time to time accusations are made against the Pope and the Holy See for alleged failures during the Nazi regime and specifically in regard to the extermination of the Jews carried out by Hitler. In this connection, of course, it is important not to judge past eras in the light of our own. Granting the complexity of the situation, it is also true that more and more information about this matter is coming to light. And such respected non-Catholic historians as Anthony Rhodes in his work The Vatican in an Age of Dictators as well as another work by Owen Chadwick entitled Britain and the Vatican During the Second World War show that the activity of the Pope and of the Holy See in regard to the Jews was significant.

Catholics and Jews in San Francisco have enjoyed warm and cordial relationships. I am greatly enriched by my friendship with several Rabbis and other Jewish people here. Jews have been outstanding in supporting Catholic institutions and projects in our Archdiocese for decades. Our spirit of mutual trust, friendship, collaboration and respect must continue. While this moment may pose certain difficulties, it cannot diminish the far greater bonds that unite us in so very many ways.

With all good wishes, then, I remain,

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Archbishop of San Francisco

August 5, 1987

Summary of tel. conversation with Dr. Riegner late Tuesday night, Aug. 4.

1. Dr. Riegner received a tel. call from Willebrands.
2. W. tried to contact Waxman but without success.
3. W. gave R. the following information:
  - a. Vatican decided to invite an IJOIC delegation (or representatives) to Rome; suggested second half of August.

W. explained that this meeting is in response to request for substantive meeting, expressed both in a previous communication and repeated in meeting with Casaroli, USBC etc. in Wash./N.Y.

- b. Discussions with Com. for Relig. Relations with the Jews and the Secretariat of State are planned.
- c. Subsequently a reception/audience with Pope is planned at the conclusion of the discussions.

W. was not clear whether the reception/audience was for the entire group or just for the Jews.

R. raised the question whether this is just a formality or would there be opportunity for a give-and-take discussion with the Pope.

W. replied that it would be possible to arrange but it would not be too easy. It must be well prepared in advance, but that the Pope would be agreeable to set aside 1-1½ hr. for that purpose.

4. W. said that the USBC proposed a delegation to consist of three rabbis with whom they met in Wash/NY, i.e., Waxman, Tanenbaum and Klaperman (? - R. did not catch the name). However, W. insisted that Riegner and Feldman be included.
5. W. stated the following: During the talk with the Pope and/or in the subsequent communiqué (if one is to be issued) or press leak, "no public reference may be made to the KW matter." The Pope does not want to discuss this issue and should be avoided by all means during the discussions.

R. retorted that the KW reception was the primary cause for the present difficulties in the relations and that it would be very difficult to avoid it, W. said that it was a matter for the Secretariat of State and should be raised there.

6. R. asked whether an Encyclical is being considered, because such a strong statement would go a long way in improving our relations, W. explained that he knew of the request but it would take a long time for its preparation.

R. repeated again that if the papal statement would not be a strong one and would not satisfy the Jewish position, then we would have nothing accomplished with our proposed meeting and some efforts would only be counterproductive, even endangering the Jewish presence in Miami and/or the Wash. meeting in Dec.

W. said that he was fully aware of all of the implications and difficulties involved. In the meantime, however, Eugene Fisher and Klenicki have issued a pamphlet (USBC/ADL) dealing with the addresses etc. and attitude of the Pope to Jews and Judaism. He added that if we prepare a reply, he would be willing to issue it.

7. R. asked whether the proposed meeting was a confidential one and the discussions of a similar nature. W. replied that such a meeting was asked in a letter to him and subsequently repeated or suggested in a meeting with Casaroli.
8. W. mentioned that the KW file available to the Vatican is not convincing enough and does not contain sufficient evidence to the claim of being a Nazi criminal or War criminal. Similar unconvincing cases can be made and have been made about other Nazis. Furthermore, the Vatican does not see eye-to-eye with the US Dept. of Justice's procedure in excluding KW from the US.
9. W. indicated that he was leaving for a brief vacation and that in the meantime matters will be handled by Dupres and Fumagalli.
10. R. again raised the question as to what the Vatican is trying to accomplish and if the results would not be satisfactory, the Jewish reaction could be easily anticipated.

Both W. and R. agreed that, if nothing else would be accomplished, the main item to discuss is a definitive clarification of the Vatican's position on anti-semitism, Shoah, and the State of Israel. The other item should be prevention of repeat occurrences which affect the sensibilities of the Jews.

W. admitted, however, that this is very difficult to achieve as such repeat occurrences are quite familiar to them and are difficult to prevent; they also appear in other areas.

-----  
LAF/R in our discussions we both agreed that it was a mistake to repeat the request for a meeting when with Casaroli, and now that our "request" has been agreed to, it would be very difficult to decline our attendance. We should reply quite forcefully that the dialogue will go on and set several conditions as to face-to-face discussion with the Pope and also the topics on the agenda. Furthermore, we should point out that the Miami meeting is by far not assured, as our attendance will depend on the outcome of the discussions. In addition, there cannot be a 3-man delegation plus F. and I. IJWIC should be broadly represented, in balance with those from the Vatican side, and also some European communities to be in the group. It is not only an American Jewish matter, it involves Jewry and Judaism. The 'order' not to mention KW makes the agenda very difficult. Also we must be sure as to our agenda and everything must be well prepared in advance. We must be clear as to our goals and stand united.

The schedule for our people must be clarified. Riegner has several commitments and suggests the week of August 24.

-----  
I also learned that Fumagalli has been asked to prepare all kinds of background papers and hopes that the end results will be positive.

I will advise further when info is available.

Text of IJCIC Statement on Vatican Meeting -- August 5, 1987

His Eminence Johannes Cardinal Willebrands, President of the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, has issued an invitation to the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations, representing the Jewish community world-wide, to meet with his Commission with the participation of the Vatican Secretariat of State, and to be followed by a meeting with Pope John Paul II.

The invitation proposes that these meetings take place at the end of August or beginning of September in Vatican City. Cardinal Willebrands extended this invitation to Rabbi Mordecai Waxman, Great Neck, NY, Chairman of IJCIC. Since 1972, IJCIC has represented the World Jewish Community in discussions with the Vatican on Catholic/Jewish relations.

At a meeting today, at the offices of the Synagogue Council of America, August 5, 1987, representatives of IJCIC agencies accepted the invitation.

The invitation follows both a written communication by Rabbi Waxman to Cardinal Willebrands and a consultation held in New York City on July 9 with Cardinal Augstino Casseroli in New York City during which Rabbi Waxman and three colleagues \* expressed the deep concern of the Jewish community over the serious implications of the June 25 meeting between Pope John Paul II and Kurt Waldheim, President of Austria. At that meeting the implications of this issue and other matters affecting Catholic/Jewish relations were discussed.

The International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations agencies are: The Synagogue Council of America, World Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, B'nai B'rith, The Israel Interfaith Association.

\* Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman, president, Synagogue Council of America  
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Director, International Relations of the American Jewish Committee  
Rabbi Wolfe Kelman, chairman, World Jewish Congress, American Section

FOR YOUR INFORMATION



From Sidney Liskofsky

The Jacob Blaustein Institute  
for the Advancement of Human Rights



The Jacob Blaustein Institute  
for the Advancement of Human Rights

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

165 EAST 56 STREET NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 2746 CABLE WISHCOM, NEW YORK • 212 751 4000

August 6, 1987

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Coordinator  
Selma Hirsh  
Special Assistant

Professor Ann Freedman  
Rutgers School of Law  
Fifth and Penn Streets  
Camden, New Jersey 08102

Dear Professor Freedman:

Dean Singer invited my suggestion of nominees for Rutgers University's annual William J. Brennan, Jr. Human Rights Award, to go to a foreign lawyer or judge "who has made a notable contribution toward establishing or defending human rights and the rule of law in his or her country."

I think an outstanding choice would be Justice Haim Cohen, retired from Israel's Supreme Court. He is notable for the Libertarian thrust of his judicial opinions, his service years ago as Israel's representative on the UN Commission on Human Rights, his important scholarly writing on human rights in biblical and rabbinic sources, and his post-retirement activities which include his ongoing role as President of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel and of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists.

I am seeking more particularized information about Justice Cohen's contributions, which I will forward to you as soon as I receive it, hopefully before the August 29 deadline--or soon thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

  
Sidney Liskofsky

SL:tm

36 Tchernichovsky St.  
Jerusalem, Israel  
August 16, 1987

Dear Mr. Liskofsky:

I just received your letter of August 5 and am very touched by your gracious courtesy to propose my candidature for the Brennan Award of Rutgers.

As you know, I was for many years Attorney-General of Israel and for some time Minister of Justice (non-party), and sat from 1960 to 1981 on the Supreme Court of Israel. I am now Honorary President of the Israel Civil Rights Association, of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East, and of "Hemdat," the Israeli roof organization for the Freedom of Science, Religion and Culture. I am President of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists, and a member of the Board of the International Institute of Human Rights (Strasbourg), of the International Commission of Jurists, and of the International Association of Penal Law. I hold honorary doctorates from Georgetown University, the City University of New York, Aberdeen University (Scotland), the Weizmann Institute, and Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati). There has been established a Haim Cohn Chair of Human Rights at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, whose present incumbent is Professor Ruth Gavison.

My (many) writings in the field of Human Rights include a book entitled Glaube and Glaubensfreiheit (Hannover 1967) and a book on Human Rights in Jewish Law (New York 1984).

There have been three Festschrifts in my honor, all on human rights subjects: Of Law and Man (Tel Aviv 1971), Civil Rights in Israel (Jerusalem 1982), and the Relations Between Religion and State (Jerusalem 1987). A fourth was devoted to Jewish law.

I hope this will do for the moment.

I regret that you will not be able to attend our Congress, but I hope there will be some other opportunity soon to welcome you to Jerusalem again.

Sincerely,

Chaim Cohen

P.S. Now don't you think I was honored more than enough?



**The Jacob Blaustein Institute  
for the Advancement of Human Rights**

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

165 EAST 56 STREET NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022-2746 CABLE WISHCOM, NEW YORK • 212 751-4000

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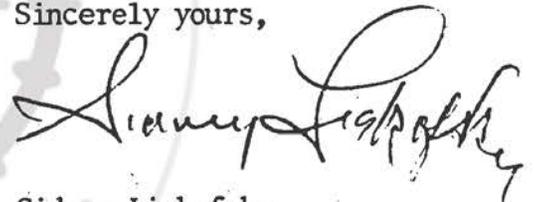
September 1, 1987

Professor Ann Freedman  
Rutgers School of Law  
Fifth and Penn Streets  
Camden, New Jersey 08102

Dear Professor Freedman:

In my letter of August 6, 1987 (enclosed) suggesting Justice Haim Cohen of Israel for Rutgers University's Justice Brennan Award, I indicated that I would send you in the near future a fuller account of his accomplishments. This is enclosed.

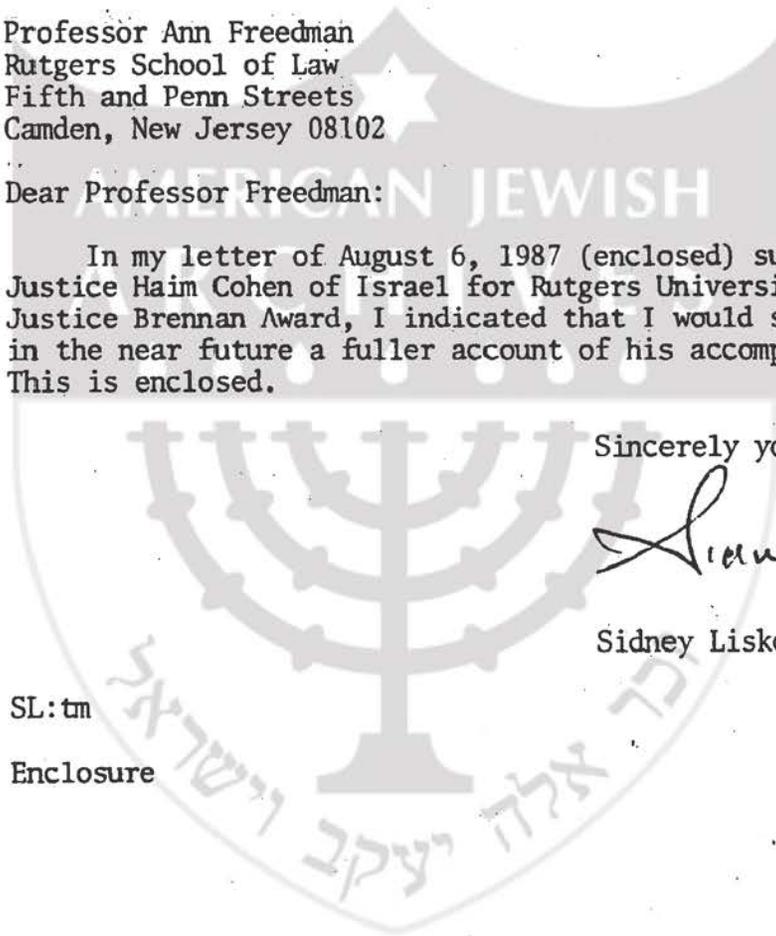
Sincerely yours,



Sidney Liskofsky

SL:tm

Enclosure



CHAIM COHEN

Current

Honorary President, Israel Civil Rights Association  
Honorary President, International Center for Peace in the Middle East  
Honorary President, "Hemdat" (Israeli umbrella organization for the Freedom of Science, Religion and Culture)  
President, International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists  
Board Member, International Institute of Human Rights (Strasbourg)  
Board Member, International Commission of Jurists (Geneva)  
Board Member, International Association of Penal Law

Past Offices

Attorney-General of Israel (many years)  
Minister of Justice of Israel (non-party)  
Supreme Court of Israel (1960-1981)

Honorary Degrees (Doctorates)

Georgetown University (Washington, D.C.)  
The City University of New York  
Aberdeen University (Scotland)  
Weizmann Institute (Israel)  
Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati)

Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Chaim Cohen Chair of Human Rights - present incumbent, Professor Ruth Gavison

Books

Glaube and Glaubensfreiheit (Hannover 1967)  
Human Rights in Jewish Law (New York 1984)

Festschrift in His Honor

Of Law and Man (Tel Aviv, 1971)  
Civil Rights in Israel (Jerusalem, 1982)  
Relations Between Religion and State (Jerusalem, 1987)  
Jewish Law (exact title and publication date not known to me)

Sidney Liskofsky  
September 1, 1987

ANG 61-11987  
1987

Thomas J. Bernstein

40 Longmeadow Road  
Winnetka, IL 60093  
312-939-2524 — Office  
312-441-5755 — Home

August 6, 1987

PUP

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

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

I have been informed that your organization will be represented at a ceremonial meeting with Pope John Paul II this coming September in Miami, Florida.

As a Jew and an American, I am appalled by your attending such a meeting.

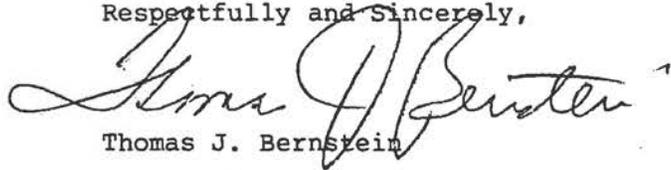
The Pope has recently demonstrated a serious disregard for Jewish feelings and opinion. His meeting with the President of Austria, Kurt Waldheim, has cast a pall over Jews throughout the world. The Pope attended this meeting despite the outrage expressed by Jewish communities throughout the world, which outrage has been recognized and respected by over 100 countries whose governments, including our own, will not meet with Mr. Waldheim. Mr. Waldheim has failed in one of the first tenants of our religion -- REPENTANCE. He has shown none. Nor, under his religion, has he sought redemption. Meeting with such a man constitutes a sacrilege. Nor is this the first time the Pope has shown a lack of concern for Jewish views, witness his meeting with Arafat.

Many Jewish leaders use the excuse that we need more dialogue with the Catholic Church. The beginning of such dialogue should be no meeting. This would demonstrate that we care and would make an eloquent statement to the world. Thereafter a dialogue can begin.

We Jews have been placating our enemies for centuries. We need to demonstrate in a meaningful way that our views matter. We must not be insulted by a Pope who happens to be the only person to have accepted Waldheim to the Vatican.

If you attend this meeting, you will be abrogating your responsibilities and will cause your organization to lose its support in the Jewish community.

Respectfully and Sincerely,

  
Thomas J. Bernstein

**FAX TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET**

\*\*\*\*\*

DATE August 13, 1987

NO. OF PAGES 1 (not including cover)

TO: Rev. Duprey, Vatican Secretariat on Christian Unity,

LOCATION: Vatican City, Italy Fax No. +3966985378

FROM: Rabbi Mordecai Waxman, Chairman, IJCIC

LOCATION: American Jewish Committee, 165 E. 56th Street, NY 10022

SPECIAL REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

FAX ATTENDANT SIGNATURE: \_\_\_\_\_

FAX RECEIVED BY/SIGNATURE \_\_\_\_\_

FINAL DRAFT - August 13, 1987

## PROPOSED AGENDA FOR IJCIC-VATICAN MEETING, ROME, AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 1, 1987

The following topics cover areas of difficulty in current Jewish-Catholic relations. We are vitally interested in questions such as human rights, Soviet Jewry, and religious freedom in which a large measure of agreement exists but we wish to concentrate on the following:

1. Anti-Semitism

A rise in anti-semitism in Austria and elsewhere in Europe and Latin America is a cause for serious concern. We are interested in discussing whether the Catholic Church's rejection of anti-semitism can be deepened theologically and practically by a greater focus on the Christian roots of anti-semitism.

2. Holocaust

We observe a recent tendency to deny the centrality of Jewish suffering in the Holocaust and to universalize and even Christianize it. The audience granted Kurt Waldheim and the absence of any critical comment in the Pope's remarks on the occasion have, in our view, strengthened the hand of those who see little value in the obligation to remember. We need to hear from our Catholic friends their perception of these developments.

3. Contradictory Vatican Statements About Jews and Judaism

While speaking very positively about Jews and Judaism in pronouncements addressed to Jewish audiences, we observe that the Pope, when speaking to Catholic audiences, often reverts to formulations drawn from pre-Vatican II theology. We would document this and wish to elicit a response from the Catholic side.

4. Vatican-Israel Relations

The continuing absence of full diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel has an increasingly harmful effect on Jewish-Catholic relations worldwide. We would like to explore what steps could be taken to prevent this issue from eroding progress that has been made.

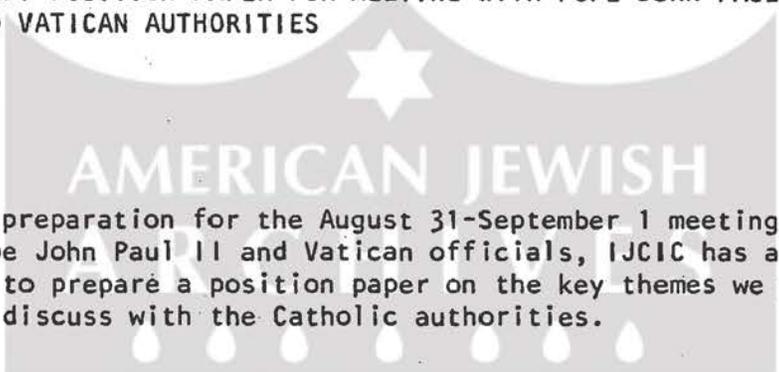
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** August 14, 1987

**to** AJC Officers - see below

**from** Marc Tanenbaum

**subject** DRAFT POSITION PAPER FOR MEETING WITH POPE JOHN PAUL II AND VATICAN AUTHORITIES



In preparation for the August 31-September 1 meetings with Pope John Paul II and Vatican officials, IJCIC has asked me to prepare a position paper on the key themes we plan to discuss with the Catholic authorities.

I am enclosing a copy of that draft paper with the request that you please let me have your reactions, comments, suggestions, etc. -- preferably in writing.

Since I have been asked by IJCIC to go to Rome on or about August 24th as part of a three-man-group to prepare with the Vatican for the meetings, I would appreciate having your views before Friday, August 21st, if possible.

This paper and its contents are confidential and are for your eyes only.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and helpfulness.

MHT:RPR

Enclosures

Sent to: Theodore Ellenoff, Leo Nevas, Rabert Jacobs, Edward Elson, Sholom Comay, Robert Rifkind, David Peirez, Mimi Alperin, Bertram Gold, William Trosten, Miles Jaffe

CONFIDENTIAL

PROPOSED AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH POPE JOHN PAUL II,  
VATICAN SECRETARIATS OF STATE AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONS  
WITH THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL JEWISH  
COMMITTEE FOR INTERRELIGIOUS CONSULTATIONS

**BACKGROUND:** The worldwide spontaneous controversy that emerged in the wake of the June 25th audience between Pope John Paul II and Dr. Kurt Waldheim, former Nazi army officer and now president of Austria, has focused dramatic attention on at least five critical issues that will affect the future unfolding of Catholic-Jewish relations throughout the world:

I - REVISIONISM AND THE NAZI HOLOCAUST - Pope John Paul II has made several moving statements reflecting his deep understanding of the uniqueness and the magnitude of the tragedy suffered by the Jewish people who were singled out by Hitler and his Nazi regime for total extermination. While millions of Christians and other human beings tragically were destroyed by the Nazis, only the Jewish people were targeted for the "Final Solution."

In his pilgrimage to Auschwitz in 1979, the Pope movingly declared: "I pause with you before the inscription in Hebrew. This inscription awakens the memory of a people whose sons and daughters were intended for total extermination...It is not permissible for anyone to pass by

this inscription with indifference."

It is difficult to reconcile these sentiments with the reality that when Pope John Paul II visited Majdanek in Poland last May, he mentioned fourteen nationalities but made not a single reference to the murder of several hundred thousand Jews in that place of killing.

Earlier in April, when the Pontiff visited the Federal Republic of Germany, he began the process of beatification of three German Catholics who were upheld as martyrs or as resisters to Nazism. It is self-evident that such beatification rites are internal Catholic matters and no one would presume to judge those spiritual actions. The issue is not what was said, but what was left unsaid.

To speak of German Catholics only in terms of martyrs and victims of Nazism, and to avoid acknowledging the role of the German Catholic hierarchy in mobilizing total obedience and loyalty to Hitler and the Nazi regime between 1930 and 1933 (see the text of the Vatican Concordat with Hitler, July 1933) suggests a form of revisionism of the truth of history. What moral lessons can the next generation of young German Catholics (and Christians) learn if that history is denied or repressed?

In 1975, the Catholic Bishops of the Federal Republic of Germany promulgated a statement of profound moral and spiritual importance in which they declared:

"Our country's recent political history is darkened by the systematic attempt to wipe out the Jewish people. Apart from some admirable efforts by individuals and groups, most of us during the time of National Socialism formed a church community preoccupied with the threat to our own institutions. We turned our backs to this persecuted Jewish people and were silent about the crimes perpetrated on Jews and Judaism. Many became guilty from sheer fear for their lives. We feel particularly distressed about the fact that Christians even took active part in these persecutions. The honesty of our intention to renew ourselves depends on the admission of guilt, incurred by our country and our church...On our church falls the special obligation of improving the tainted relationship between the Church as a whole and the Jewish people and its religion."

The erection of Catholic churches and convents on Nazi concentration camps - such as, in Sobibor and Auschwitz (subsequently removed) - appear to be tendencies to minimize or obscure Jewish martyrdom in these chambers of hell and torment, while transforming them as sites primarily of Christian memorial. These actions would contradict the penitential spirit of the German Catholic hierarchy as articulated in the above statement.

The audience granted Kurt Waldheim on June 25, 1987, elicited such widespread horror among Jews, as well as among many Christians, in part because it appeared to be the capstone of such revisionist tendencies. How was it possible to receive with honors a former Nazi officer, who

lied about and denied his Nazi involvement, and not make a single reference to that horrific past? Is it not possible that such silence <sup>may be taken as</sup> is a message to the world that the Nazi holocaust - is so trivial and irrelevant that it was not worthy even of a mention?

Inevitably, Waldheim appeared to be absolved of sin without ever confessing a single evil deed against human life.

Our first issue, then, is to raise a profound concern about such recent tendencies toward apparent revisionism of Nazi history in the Catholic church and to curtail its development before it becomes truly destructive of truth and justice. It is more than onerous for the Jewish people to have to struggle against revisionist tendencies carried forward today by neo-Nazis as well as by the atheist forces in the Soviet Union and the East European countries.

Given Pope John Paul II's magnificent affirmations of respect and friendship for the Jewish people and his awareness of their history of suffering, prejudice, and anti-Semitism in the Christian West, we have every reason to trust that he will make clear his unambiguous understanding of the terrors of the Final Solution, and his unequivocal rejection of any efforts toward revisionism or trivializing of that frightful historical record.

II - CONTEMPORARY ANTI-SEMITISM - Since the promulgation of Nostra Aetate on October 28, 1965, Pope John XXIII, Pope Paul VI, Pope John

Paul I, and especially Pope John Paul II, have been in the forefront of repudiating anti-Semitism throughout the world. Much progress has been made in uprooting the sources of the "teachings of contempt" in Catholic textbooks, homilies, liturgy, and generally in Christian culture. These achievements have been warmly welcomed by Jewish religious and communal leadership <sup>throughout</sup> ~~in many parts~~ of the world.

The purification of Catholic teaching and preaching about Jews and Judaism has resulted in genuine mutual respect and a growing pattern of friendships and fraternal dialogue between Catholics and Jews in major cities of the Western world, in Latin America, Israel, and especially in the United States and Canada.

Yet, as one historian has testified, "the bacillus of anti-Semitism resides in the subconscious of a great many Christians" to be activated particularly in times of social stress and economic crisis. Thus, we have witnessed that political and economic crises, for example, in Panama and Mexico, have led to scapegoating of Jewish people with anti-Semitic threats. Following the Waldheim audience and the ensuing turmoil, polls in Austria revealed a doubling in the public expressions of anti-Semitic attitudes. In Germany, observers reported a heightening in anti-Jewish manifestations. Even in the United States, where Catholic-Jewish solidarity is probably the most advanced in the world today, there was an increase of ~~Catholic~~ <sup>among some Catholics</sup> hostility toward the Jewish people.

(Without entering into the question of moral responsibility for the anti-Jewish consequences of the Waldheim audience.) It is evident that the important leadership given by the Pope and the Catholic Church during the past two decades in proclaiming anti-Semitism and Christianity as incompatible requires a fundamental and dramatic reaffirmation in our times.

Beyond such an immediate proclamation by Pope John Paul II, the idea of a Papal Encyclical on the relationship of the Catholic Church towards Jews and Judaism in which anti-Semitism is stigmatized as permanently unacceptable to the Church would constitute an historic contribution to the future improvement of Catholic-Jewish relations.

**III - CATHOLIC THEOLOGY OF JEWS AND JUDAISM** - Pope John Paul II has made significant contributions in a number of declarations regarding the permanent validity of Judaism. In his October 29, 1985, audience with IJCIC, he affirmed that "God does not reject His people." He advocated "the freeing of our catechetical and religious teaching of a negative or inaccurate presentation of Jews and Judaism" that will "help to promote respect, appreciation and indeed love for one and the other."

There have been other homilies which have contradicted these crucial affirmations. There have been references to Jews as having killed Christ; of the Church as the "new Israel" having succeeded the "old Israel."

Such lapses create great confusion, and tend to undermine the power and integrity of the other Papal declarations made to numerous Jewish groups in many parts of the world.

We respectfully submit that it is critical to the future stability of Catholic-Jewish relations that these confusions and contradictions be resolved in a fundamental way that will never allow bigots or anti-Semites to select or manipulate phrases from Papal homilies for their anti-Jewish purposes. We sincerely believe that the vast majority of our Catholic friends and neighbors in many parts of the world would welcome such clarity and unambiguity on these central theological issues today.

IV - ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST - We sincerely believe that the greatest single obstacle to the establishment of peace and justice in the Middle East for all its inhabitants is the illusions harbored among extremist, rejectionist Arab states that Israel is only an "entity" that is destined to disappear. The singular contribution that the Pope and the Holy See could make to the promotion of peace and coexistence between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Middle East is to help undermine that dangerous illusion which inhibits nations from coming to the negotiating table.

While de facto diplomatic relations have been developing quietly between the Holy See and the State of Israel, the absence of full de jure diplomatic relations continues to feed the extremists' illusions

and fantasy that Israel is a chimera that will not survive. A morally courageous act, undertaken with due discretions and adequate preparations, that would result in the normalization of relations between the Holy See and Israel would constitute an historic Vatican contribution to world peace.

*Certainly*  
~~We are fully aware of the legitimate~~ *must be* <sup>ed</sup> Vatican concern for the safety and security of Christians in the Arab-Muslim world and the fear of possible reprisals should that diplomatic action be taken. We believe, however, that the example of Spain is worthy of study and emulation. The Arab League and its member nations threatened Spain with a whole arsenal of reprisals against persons and property should the Gonzalez government establish diplomatic ties with Israel.

Spain informed the Arab nations in the Middle East, with whom it has extensive commercial, trade and cultural ties, that it was going to establish diplomatic relations with Israel and would not tolerate having anyone dictate its foreign policy. The diplomatic ties were established and there were no reprisals of any kind of any Arab nation.

We believe that the time is past due for the Holy See to separate bluster and blackmail from reality, take the necessary moves to protect Arab Christians and Christians in the Muslim world, while asserting the autonomy and independence of its own foreign policy.

V - HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOVIET JEWRY - Pope John Paul II is undoubtedly one of the most forceful advocates and champions of human rights in the world today. We share with him the profound biblical and humanistic affirmations of the sacredness of every human life, of every child created in the sacred image of God.

We pledge our cooperation to join with the Pope and the Catholic Church in the struggle to uphold the dignity of every human life and to seek to realize the human rights of every member of God's human family. We feel particular anguish over the special suffering of our Jewish brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union who have been denied the elemental right to leave, as well as the rights of religious liberty and the freedom to nurture their Jewish religion and culture.

We appreciate greatly the moral support and solidarity of many leaders of the Catholic Church in the United States, Western Europe and Latin America who have stood by our side in the struggle to liberate our co-religionists in the Soviet Union. We sincerely welcome the augmentation of that support from the Holy See.

At the same time, we wish to affirm our support of many Catholic believers who suffer from discriminations and denials of religious liberty and their God-given human rights. We stand ready to be of assistance to them in their struggle to be free peoples.

**CONCLUSION** - While we believe these five central issues are vital to the future flowering of Catholic-Jewish relations, we are convinced there is need for us to face together in the most fraternal spirit the overriding need for improving our methods of communication between the Holy See and the world Jewish community as represented through IJCIC.

~~While~~ We deeply appreciate the inspired and dedicated leadership of Johannes Cardinal Willebrands, President of the Vatican Secretariat on Religious Relations with the Jewish People. <sup>however, that</sup> ~~We~~ <sup>feel</sup> that the great strides forward in Catholic-Jewish relations that he and the gifted members of his secretariat have helped make possible are compromised <sup>from time to time</sup> ~~from time to time~~ by "surprise" events. The Waldheim audience and the earlier Arafat audience are the most troublesome of such episodes. They occurred without any advance notice to any of the Jewish partners in our Catholic-Jewish relationship, and distressed that relationship in many parts of the world for months on end. These unfortunate episodes, if repeated, can lead to <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ ~~mocking and~~ distrust of the entire development of Catholic-Jewish relations.

It is essential that we seek to learn a ~~deep~~ <sup>difficulty</sup> lesson from this present ~~tumult~~ <sup>turn of events</sup> and find ways to seek to prevent its repetition. As a first suggestion, we urge that a process be set up for the regular joint consultation between key personalities in the Vatican Secretariat on Religious Relations with the Jews, the Vatican Secretariat of State, and IJCIC.

The present consultation involving Cardinal Willebrands, Cardinal Casaroli, and IJCIC leaders suggests an appropriate model for consultation at least once or twice a year during which views could be exchanged that would help sensitize each other to our respective situations. Clearly, no one wishes to have the power of veto or censorship over the other, but being conscious more fully of each other's sensibilities, problems, and hopes could help forestall unnecessary strains.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
American Jewish Committee  
August 12, 1987



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August 13, 1987/smm

AUGUST 20, 1987

VATICAN SECRETARIAT ON CHRISTIAN UNITY  
MSGR. PIER FRANCESCO FUMAGALLI

YOUR TELETYPE OF AUGUST 17TH RECEIVED. WE TAKE IT YOU AGREE TO  
THE CATEGORIES OF CONCERN WE PROPOSED AS THE BASIS FOR OUR  
DISCUSSIONS. SECOND SENTENCE OF POINT TWO IS ESSENTIAL  
ELEMENT OF OUR AGENDA. WE LOOK FORWARD TO OUR FRANK AND  
CORDIAL MEETINGS.

SINCERELY,

RABBI MORDECAI WAXMAN, CHAIRMAN, IJCIC



**Lolly Bram**

Marc Tanenbaum

Re: Pope & Israel



- Lolly



**The American Jewish  
Committee**

**OFFICE OF 1 .SHINGTON BENTATIVE,**

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NY Times

ESSAY | William Safire

# The Pope, Waldheim and Israel

WASHINGTON  
The Pope wears two hats: the religious cap of moral authority, which causes him to be taken seriously when he speaks of peace, and the secular cap of expediency, which sometimes requires him to do business with dictators to maintain the church presence. Sometimes those roles conflict.

For Pope John Paul II, the decision to receive Kurt Waldheim — to praise as a man of peace a liar associated with atrocities — was not ennobled by any need to protect priests from persecution. The maneuver may have strengthened the Catholic Church in largely Catholic Austria, but the Pope's political absolution of an unrepentant Nazi collaborator cost the Vatican much moral capital.

To recoup, the Pope is writing friendly statements about Jews and scheduling audiences with Jewish leaders. These visitors will tell him that soothing words are no substitute for a deed too long left undone: the time has come for the Vatican to establish diplomatic relations with the state of Israel.

Is the Pope's refusal to let the phrase "Government of Israel" pass his lips a moral shortfall? Yes, I think so; but it would be a mistake to address the Pope with a moral argument when he is wearing his realpolitik hat. Nor is it seemly for proud Israelis to plead for the Holy See's "recognition." The way to get diplomatic movement is to show the Vatican that its present position works against practical Catholic interests.

It will help to sweep aside the phony excuses. If you ask the Apostolic Nunciature in Washington why the Vatican snubs Israel, you get a vapid document put out by the Library of Congress's Congressional Research Service summarizing the 1984 position of the Pope.

The first excuse is the absence of a peace settlement and of internation-

ally recognized boundaries defining Israel and Jordan. But the Vatican has diplomatic relations with Taiwan, which not even the U.S. now recognizes, and with Iran and Iraq, who have a border dispute going.

Then there is the "unresolved status of the Palestinians." Does the Vatican really expect that issue to be resolved as a precondition to its naming of an official nuncio to Israel? No.

Supposedly the third main issue: "The Holy See has called for some form of *corpus separatum* guaranteed by international statute to assure protection of the shrines, unimpeded access and a secure and

would be likely to have upon the Church and its members in Lebanon and other Arab countries..." That's the nub of it: the Vatican has allowed its policy to be determined by the fear of Arab reaction.

But that Vatican foreign policy resisting Israel's legitimacy has been a failure for generations. For the first half of the century, popes sought the internationalization of Palestine; that flopped. After Israel established itself in 1948, popes fell back to calling for the internationalization of the city of Jerusalem; the Arabs of Jordan would have none of that.

After 1967, the Vatican position fell back to the internationalization of the holy places; that did not happen. In recent years, that has been fuzzed to a hope that no religion will predominate, and *corpus separatum* is stressed less than the call for some "international statute" to insure Israeli respect for Christian interests, but no progress can be made without diplomatic relations.

The worst failure in the Pope's too-little-too-late policy has been in Lebanon. In the last decade, 100,000 Maronite Christians have been killed. The Vatican policy to appease the Arab world has failed to prevent horrendous loss of life among the people it wants most to protect.

Realpolitik suggests that the Pope change the failed policy. The archaic meaning of "see" is "seat"; if the Holy See will not take its seat at the diplomatic table, it cannot play in the game of peacemaking. (The realists in the Kremlin are coming to understand that, too.)

To further the interests of Christians, the Vatican should establish normal relations with Israel. Not to make up for the Waldheim abomination; not to put moral considerations above all; but simply to give the voice of the Vatican some resonance in the Middle East. [1]

Soothing words won't help if the Vatican still refuses diplomatic relations.

continuing Christian presence." But the only way to move toward its goals is to negotiate; the church's desires should be a reason for establishing relations, not a reason for continued isolation.

One basic reason is never mentioned: it must stick in the Vatican's craw that non-Christians should predominate in the land of Christ. Setting aside such crusader nostalgia, another real reason for the Vatican aloofness is mentioned in passing: "the effect that de jure recognition

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Congressional Research Service  
The Library of Congress



Charles H. Whittier  
Specialist in Religion and Public Policy  
Government Division  
October 10, 1986

## THE HOLY SEE AND RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL

Questions are often raised regarding the policy of the Holy See with reference to full--that is, de jure--diplomatic recognition of the state of Israel.

The reasons that such recognition has not been extended (to both Israel and Jordan) touch upon unresolved issues in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and related matters cited in the Apostolic Letter "Redemptionis Anno" of Pope John Paul II, published in connection with the Jubilee year (1984).<sup>1/</sup>

The Holy See does not appear to have changed its position since 1984. The issues in question are:

1. The absence of any peace settlement among the contending parties and the consequent lack of internationally recognized boundaries defining the states of Israel and Jordan.

2. The unresolved status of the Palestinians in the occupied territories and elsewhere and the absence of a Palestinian homeland, as called for in "Redemptionis Anno" and other Papal statements.

3. The unresolved status of Jerusalem in international law and the status of the holy sites. The Holy See has called for some form of corpus separatum

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<sup>1/</sup>See full text in: Catholic Almanac. Huntington, Indiana. Our Sunday Visitor. 1985. p. 64-65. The Apostolic Letter reiterates the position the Holy See has taken since 1948-49 and the Encyclicals of Pope Pius XII, "In Multiplicibus curi" and "Redemptoris nostri."

guaranteed by international statute to assure protection of the shrines, unimpeded access, and a secure and continuing Christian presence.<sup>2/</sup>

Moreover, it is not customary for the Holy See to initiate diplomatic relations with any state. The state of Israel has not requested de jure recognition. Other reasons often cited for the Holy See's policy include the continuing Israeli-Palestinian involvement in the conflict in Lebanon and concern for the effect that de jure recognition would be likely to have upon the Church and its members in Lebanon and other Arab countries and in the larger Islamic world,<sup>3/</sup> particularly with reference to the Israeli capture and annexation of the Old City of Jerusalem in 1967 and the "Jerusalem Law" of 1980 extending capital city status--first proclaimed in 1949 and partially effected in 1950--to the whole city.<sup>4/</sup>

<sup>2/</sup>The reference is to the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations endorsing the Majority Report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, November 22, 1947: "the City of Jerusalem shall be established as a corpus separatum under a special international regime . . ." See: U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Jerusalem: The Future of the Holy City: for Three Monotheisms. Subcommittee on the Near East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Hearing, 92nd Congress, 1st Session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. p. xii.

<sup>3/</sup>For a more detailed study, see: Irani, George E. The Papacy and the Middle East. Notre Dame, Indiana. University of Notre Dame Press. 1986. (Not available in the Library at this time.)

<sup>4/</sup>Repatriation of Palestinian refugees, including the Arab Christian communities, a continuing concern of the Holy See, was linked to the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the Holy Places in talks between Israel and Vatican representatives as early as 1948-49. See: Ferrari, Silvio. The Holy See and the postwar Palestine issue: the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the Holy Places. International Affairs. Vol. 60, Spring 1981. p. 261-283.

# Bridging Parochialism's Troubled Waters

8-31 AM. Tanenbaum

Newsday 45

**Q.** During your 20 years as a leader of the American Jewish Committee, you have had dealings with the Vatican, including three meetings with Pope John Paul II. Were you surprised that he met with Austrian President Kurt Waldheim last June, despite evidence that Waldheim was attached to a Nazi military unit that committed war crimes?

**A.** Not only was I stunned and shocked, but when I was in Rome meeting with people in the Vatican Curia, [I found] they were shocked. I think it has to be known that the Pope did not seek this audience. [In Vienna in July] I learned that Waldheim had sought an audience with the Pope on three different occasions. He was turned down three times. Finally, people in the Austrian government came to the Vatican and demanded the audience on the basis of the Holy See's declared principle that the Pope will receive any head of state who is democratically elected. And part of the argument was that 87 percent of the Austrian population is Catholic. [The Austrian government] decided to ask for an audience because the Social Democrats had begun attacking the People's Party, which ran Waldheim as its candidate, for bringing shame and humiliation to Austria. So this was an effort to pole-vault the country out of its isolation. Still, the question remains: Having received [Waldheim], how was it possible for the Pope not to make a single reference to his Nazi past? Not having done so, [he] allowed Waldheim to hijack the Pope and the Vatican. [Waldheim] spoke of the Pope as "the international conscience of mankind," and the clear implication was that Waldheim is now Mr. Clean, because the conscience of mankind has absolved him of all his sin, without his having to acknowledge a single evil deed.

**Q.** What do you plan to tell the Pope during your private meeting tomorrow in Rome?

**A.** The audience with Waldheim, of course, has had a very negative fallout for Catholic-Jewish relations. For the Pope to receive Waldheim — who was



Photo by Tom Kitz

## UNQUIET DIPLOMAT

*Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is director of international affairs for the American Jewish Committee. David Berreby spoke with him for New York Newsday.*

a Nazi army officer, who participated in actions that led to the deportation of thousands of Jews in Georgia and Greece to Auschwitz — could well be a message to millions of young Catholics, especially in those countries where the Nazi Holocaust took place, that the Holocaust is trivial, isn't even worth a mention. The Pope has committed himself to a 90-minute discussion, with no canned speeches, no monologues. And we hope out of that will come a clearing of the air. That, I hope, will relieve the

atmosphere of strain that now attends plans for the meeting [of the Pope and American Jewish leaders] in Miami [on Sept. 11].

**Q.** What about anti-Semitism in Austria?

**A.** We think that Waldheim, having lied about his history, is a morally despicable person. Austria deserves better than him. [However,] the majority of Austrians today had nothing whatsoever to do with Austria's terrible and tragic involvement with the Nazi Holocaust. Something fundamental's got to be done to help this younger generation of Austrians face the past. The American Jewish Committee is co-sponsoring a conference in Vienna next year to look [at the past] and at [post-war Austria]. We recognize that a quarter of a million Jews from the Soviet Union and Iran have passed through Austria, and that has to be acknowledged and appreciated. It's not enough simply to curse Waldheim and condemn Austria.

**Q.** Are you worried about the groups that claim the Holocaust never happened?

**A.** There's no profit in becoming hysterical and overstating it, but there are sources who are systematically seeking to undermine our understanding of the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust. First and foremost among them are networks of neo-Nazis in Germany and the United States whose central message is: The Holocaust is a hoax. In addition to that you have had the Soviet Union and certain eastern European countries — especially Poland — denying the fact that Jews suffered massively and singularly from the Final Solution. In the Warsaw Ghetto, the Polish government has signs saying, "Here Polish citizens rose up against the Fascists." Only the Jews were kept in the Warsaw Ghetto. The uprising was an act of Jewish heroism. That's not chauvinism; it's simply a matter of historical accuracy.

**Q.** But surely acknowledgement must be made that non-Jews were also killed by the Nazis.

**A.** I think it's altogether appropriate, provided that it's not a distortion of historic reality. . . . It's precisely because I am Jewish and [was alive during] the Holocaust that I feel especially equipped to understand the suffering of other people. Some Jews . . . want to talk only about our Holocaust — nobody else's — keep out of fear of revisionism and being relativized out of existence. Elie Wiesel once said to me: "You will never understand what one day in Auschwitz was like." I stand silent before that. But I find myself reinforced by sharing with other peoples who've suffered.

**Q.** In both this country and Israel, Jews seem very much divided. Does this concern you?

**A.** Part of the problem is that for the first time in probably 2,000 years, Orthodox Jews have access to real political power in Israel. They're using that power to impose their particular sectarian ideology on the entire society. Now, I have very great affection and respect for Orthodox Jews. I come out of an Orthodox background. But I think there is a certain recklessness and irresponsibility in the way some ultraright-wing fanatic elements are abusing that power at the expense of the common interests of the Jewish people. You need only to read some of the columns in some of the Orthodox newspapers to realize how much hatred goes on. We simply can't afford that kind of undermining of the morale and solidarity of Jews. If the Arabs were smart, they would declare peace with Israel tomorrow. Because given the present pattern of fanaticism and hatred, the Jews will destroy each other.

**POPE JOHN PAUL II**

**Cultural Center -  
Meeting with Jewish Leadership**

Miami, Florida

Friday, September 11, 1987

**A 1 2**

Section Row Seat



**Cultural Center**  
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Doors open \_\_\_\_\_ 6:30 a.m.  
Guests must be seated by \_\_\_\_\_ 7:00 a.m.  
Event begins \_\_\_\_\_ 8:15 a.m.

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## NORMALIZATION OF VATICAN-ISRAELI RELATIONS

SECOND Draft 8/26/87

The vatican should establish full and normal diplomatic relations with the State of Israel.

Jews regard the relationship between the Vatican and the State of Israel as a crucial litmus test and the ultimate gauge of the health and progress of Jewish-Catholic relations. Accordingly, the absence of diplomatic normalization between Israel and the Vatican is a constant source of distress to the Jewish people and a major impediment to the worldwide effort to promote harmony and brotherhood among Jews, Catholics, and, indeed, Christians of all denominations.

The Vatican has extended de facto recognition to Israel and there has been frequent contact between its representatives. The relationship appears to improve with the passage of time. These are positive developments but they are not enough. The time is now ripe for the Vatican to normalize its diplomatic relations with the Jewish State.

The promise of a return to the Holy Land appears in the Torah, and Judaism's most sacred text, and throughout history, the identification by the Jewish people with the Land of Israel, Eretz Yisrael, has been the bedrock of Jewish faith. Zionism is a reflection of this profound theme in Jewish life and modern history has made it an increasingly dominant, powerful force in Jewish affairs. Jews can no more separate Judaism from concern over Israel than Catholics can make a clear distinction between the Vatican and the Holy See.

The trauma of the Holocaust remains a searing nightmare for all Jews.

No effort to erase the memory of this suffering was more meaningful or profound for the Jewish people than the establishment of a Jewish state, a home for the

surviving remnant of World Jewry and a haven for the oppressed. The State of Israel was, and is, the ultimate symbol of the initiative to overcome the consequences of anti-semitic genocide.

In his homily at Otranto, Italy on October 5, 1980 John Paul II recognized the connection. "The Jewish people," he said, "after tragic experiences connected with the extermination of so many sons and daughters, driven by the desire for security, set up the State of Israel." Also, in his letter of August 12, 1987 to Archbishop John L. May of St. Louis, the Pope expressed great sensitivity on this point by stating that "we Christians approach with immense respect the terrifying experience of the extermination, the Shoah, suffered by the Jews during the Second World War, and we seek to grasp its most authentic, specific and universal meaning."

For the Six Day War (1967), when in the first days of the invasion the very existence of the State of Israel was imperiled, Jews around the world rallied to the defense of their homeland. Zionism was also reinforced by the adoption by the United Nations on November 10, 1965 of the scandalous and libelous resolution which equated Zionism with racism. Jews throughout the world reacted with outrage and drew together to repudiate with passion the concept that Jews or Zionists are racists.

The greatest single obstacle to the establishment of peace in the Middle East is the illusion, harbored by Arab extremists, that the State of Israel is a mere "entity", destined to disappear. These who adhere to this misguided belief are blind to the essential truths of Jewish life, Jewish faith and Jewish history.

The lack of full and normal diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Israel is perceived by Jews as a refusal by the Catholic Church to acknowledge the essence of this identity. For His Holiness to undertake now to normalize relations

between the Vatican and Israel would be a morally courageous act and would constitute a historic contribution to world peace.

The State of Israel does not require normalization of relations with the Vatican to ensure its survival. Rather, it is the mission of the Catholic Church, to promote peace, hope and justice that compels the Vatican to lift itself to the highest of moral considerations and bring about its stated aim of achieving peace in the Middle East. Anwar Sadat went to Jerusalem and spoke to its Parliament. His Holiness would be welcomed in Jerusalem and his visit would fulfill the highest goals of the Church. Normalization of relations would make that historic trip possible.

By agreeing to full and normal, de jure, diplomatic relations with Israel the Holy See can express its respect for the past sufferings of the Jews. The lack of full de jure relations continues to feed the illusions of fanatics and extremists who view Israel as a chimera that will not survive. These bigots in perceiving Israel as a transient, alien entity cannot but be encouraged by the failure of the Holy See to establish full diplomatic ties with the State of Israel. The singular contribution which the Pope can make to the promotion of peace and coexistence among Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Middle East is to help remove a dangerous illusion of Israel's transient character which still deters some governments of the region from approaching the negotiating table.

A variety of arguments are relied upon by those who oppose normal relations. They are all without merit. For example, it is sometimes argued that relations should not be normalized until disputes over Israel's borders have not resolved. But these unresolved disputes have not deterred other states from enjoying formal relations with Israel, nor has the Holy See refrained from establishing normal relations with states that are parties to these disputes. Why discriminate against Israel?

Similarly, it is argued that normalization must be deferred until issues involving the Palestinian Arabs have been resolved. But the Vatican's refusal to establish normal relations will not help to settle these complex issues. On the contrary, the presence of formal diplomatic channels would foster open dialogue so essential for the removal of tensions and the promotion of peace. It is well known that Israel is ready to take even further steps to alleviate the situation of Arab refugees in cooperation with other countries and other international bodies or organizations. The failure to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel impedes the quest for peace.

It is also argued that normalization would have a backlash effect that would threaten Christian minorities in Arab lands. History proves that this concern is groundless. Countries that have resisted Arab pressures and blackmail, have not suffered in their relations with Arab states. Germany and Spain are obvious examples. Here we must sadly report that there are minorities already persecuted in several Arab nations. In contrast, the one country in the Middle East that has achieved an unblemished record in protecting the rights of its Christian minorities is Israel.

Finally, opponents of normalization express concern over the future status of Jerusalem. However, Israel has given the strongest assurances of its obligation to protect and respect the holy places of all religions and, its record is exemplary. Moreover, while various states, including the United States of America, hold views on the status of Jerusalem that differ from those of Israel. These differences have never threatened normal diplomatic ties.

We who are profoundly committed to the Catholic-Jewish relationship hope to see, at long last, the creation of such ties, of normal diplomacy and friendship between Israel and the Holy See. The realization of this hope would be a historic event, a cause

for great rejoicing, and would deepen and enrich dialogue among Christians and Jews throughout the world.

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



## NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE VATICAN AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL

Third Draft 8/26/87

The Vatican should establish full and normal diplomatic relations with the State of Israel.

Jews regard the relationship between the Vatican and the State of Israel as a crucial litmus test and the ultimate gauge of the health and progress of Jewish-Catholic relations. Accordingly, the absence of diplomatic normalization between Israel and the Vatican is a constant source of distress to the Jewish people and a major impediment to the worldwide effort to promote harmony and brotherhood among Jews, Catholics, and, indeed, Christians of all denominations.

The Vatican has extended de facto recognition to Israel and there has been frequent contact between their representatives. The relationship appears to have improved with the passage of time. Although these are positive developments, they are not enough. This is a propitious time for the Vatican to normalize its diplomatic relations with the Jewish State.

The promise of a return to the Holy Land appears in the Torah, Judaism's most sacred text, and throughout history the identification of the Jewish people with the Land of Israel, Eretz Yisrael, has been the bedrock of Jewish faith. Zionism is a reflection of this profound theme in Jewish life and modern history has made it an increasingly powerful force in Jewish affairs. Jews can no more separate Judaism from concern for Israel than Catholics can make a clear distinction between the Vatican and the Holy See.

The trauma of the Holocaust remains a searing nightmare for all Jews. The State of Israel was, and is, the ultimate symbol of all the efforts to overcome the consequences of anti-Semitic genocide.

In his homily at Otranto, Italy on October 5, 1980 John Paul II recognized this connection. "The Jewish people," he said, "after tragic experiences connected with the extermination of so many sons and daughters, driven by the desire for security, set up the State of Israel."

At the time of the Six Day War (1967), when in the first days of the war the very existence of the State of Israel was imperiled, Jews around the world rallied to the defense of their homeland. All Jews became Zionists.

The greatest single obstacle to the establishment of peace in the Middle East is the illusion, perpetuated by Arab extremists, that the State of Israel is a mere geographical "entity", destined to disappear. These who adhere to this misguided belief are blind to the essential truths of Jewish life, Jewish faith and Jewish history.

The lack of full and normal diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Israel is perceived by Jews as a refusal by the Catholic Church to acknowledge the essence of their identity. For His Holiness to undertake now to normalize relations between the Vatican and Israel would be a moral act and would constitute a historic contribution to world peace.

The State of Israel does not require normalization of relations with the Vatican to ensure its survival. If it is the proclaimed mission of the Catholic Church, to promote peace, hope and justice then the Vatican should feel compelled to promulgate the highest of moral considerations and bring about its stated aim of achieving peace in the Middle East.

By establishing full and normal, de jure, diplomatic relations with Israel the Holy See can express convincingly its respect for the past sufferings of the Jews. The lack of full de jure relations continues to feed the illusions of fanatics and extremists who

view Israel as a chimera that will not survive. These bigots, in perceiving Israel as a transient, alien entity, cannot but be encouraged by the failure of the Holy See to establish full diplomatic ties with the State of Israel. The singular contribution which the Pope can make to the promotion of peace and coexistence among Jews, Christians, and Moslems in the Middle East is to help remove slanderous characterization of Israel as a transient nation which still deters some governments of the region from approaching the negotiating table.

A variety of arguments are relied upon by those who oppose normal relations. They are all without merit. For example, it is sometimes argued that relations should not be normalized until disputes over Israel's borders have been resolved. But these unresolved disputes have not deterred other states from enjoying formal relations with Israel, nor has the Holy See refrained from establishing normal relations with states that are parties to disputes. Why discriminate against Israel?

Similarly, it is argued that normalization must be deferred until all issues involving the Palestinian Arabs have been resolved. But the Vatican's refusal to establish normal relations will not help to settle these complex issues. On the contrary, the presence of formal diplomatic channels would foster the open dialogue so essential for the removal of tensions and the promotion of peace. It is well known that Israel is ready to take even further steps to alleviate the situation of Arab refugees in cooperation with other countries and other international bodies or organizations. The failure to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel impedes the quest for peace.

It is also argued that normalization could have a backlash effect that might threaten Christian minorities in Moslem lands. History proves this concern groundless. Countries that have resisted Arab pressures and blackmail have not suffered in their

relations with Arab states. Germany and Spain are obvious examples. Here we must sadly report that even now minorities suffer persecution in several Arab nations. In contrast, the one country in the Middle East that has achieved an unblemished record in protecting the rights of its Christian minorities is Israel.

Finally, opponents of normalization express concern over the future status of Jerusalem. Israel has given the strongest assurances of its obligation to protect and respect the holy places of all religions and its record is exemplary. Moreover, while various states, including the United States of America, hold views on the status of Jerusalem that differ from those of Israel, these differences have never threatened normal diplomatic ties.

We who are profoundly committed to strengthening the Catholic-Jewish relationship hope to see, at last, the inception of normal diplomacy between Israel and the Holy See. The realization of this hope would be a historic event, a cause for great rejoicing. It would promote peace and deepen and enrich dialogue among Christians and Jews throughout the world.

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

Preamble - The past two decades - progress  
social justice & human rights

- Events inhibit progress

Agenda for IJCIC-Vatican Meeting, Rome, August 31-Sept 1, 1987

1. Vatican-Israel Relations

The continuing absence of full diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel has an increasingly harmful effect on Jewish-Catholic relations worldwide. Many Jews interpret the refusal of the Vatican to exchange ambassadors with Israel as rooted in the discredited Christian teaching that the Jewish diaspora is God's punishment for the Jewish rejection of Jesus as the Messiah while others interpret it as the result of a pervasive pro-Arab orientation in the Vatican. We would like to discuss measures to prevent this issue from causing an erosion of the progress in Jewish-Catholic relations that has taken place in recent years.

Israel-identity  
-  
Especially  
contrast to  
J identity  
?

*clarification*  
- continued absence of full de jure diplomatic relations and normalization of ties between Holy See and Israel

2. Anti-Semitism

An <sup>rise</sup> ~~upsurge~~ of anti-semitism in Austria, is ~~now an established~~ <sup>a cause for</sup> ~~fact~~. We are eager to exchange perceptions about the Austrian situation with our Catholic friends. While the Catholic Church and the Pope have made strong statements condemning anti-semitism, these statements have not come to terms with the Christian roots of anti-semitism through the "teaching of contempt" of Judaism in Christian supersessionist theology. We ~~are therefore interested in discussing~~ <sup>therefore wish to</sup> whether the Catholic Church's rejection of anti-semitism can be deepened theologically and whether the Catholic Church is sufficiently sensitive to developments in Catholic countries.

Alertness  
Concern.

and elsewhere in Europe and Latin America,

Minimizing the singular destruction of  
the Final Solution, attempt  
1) primary target - minimization  
2) accomplices - complicity  
The ~~Final~~

3. Holocaust

We are deeply

The Jewish perception is that a certain de-Judaization of the Holocaust combined with a general attempt to relativize it is in the process of occurring. We believe that the Catholic Church has not sufficiently distanced itself from these tendencies, at times even participating in the process. The audience granted Kurt Waldheim and the absence of any critical note in the Pope's remarks on the occasion have had a devastating effect on Jewish public opinion. We need to hear from our Catholic friends their perception of these developments.

4. Regressive Papal Statements

Contradictory /  
Conflicting Vatican Statements  
About Jews and Judaism

While speaking very positively about Jews and Judaism in pronouncements addressed to Jewish audiences, we have noticed that the Pope, when speaking to Catholic audiences, often reverts to formulations drawn from a ~~far less~~ <sup>pre-conciliar</sup> friendly theology. We would like to document this and elicit a response from the Catholic side.

J. - Human Rights

1. Communication

PROPOSED AGENDA FOR IJCIC-VATICAN MEETING, ROME, AUG. 31-  
SEPT. 1, 1987

The following topics cover areas of difficulty in current Jewish-Catholic relations. We ~~exclude~~ <sup>are vitally interested in</sup> questions such as human rights, Soviet Jewry, and religious freedom in which a large measure of agreement exists, <sup>but we wish to concentrate on the following:</sup>

4. Vatican-Israel Relations

The continuing absence of full diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel has an increasingly harmful effect on Jewish-Catholic relations worldwide. We would like to explore what steps could be taken to prevent this issue from eroding progress that has been made.

1. Anti-Semitism

A rise in anti-semitism in Austria and elsewhere in Europe and Latin America is a cause for serious concern. We are interested in discussing whether the Catholic Church's rejection of anti-semitism can be deepened theologically and <sup>practically</sup> ~~pragmatically~~ by a greater focus on the Christian roots of anti-semitism.

2. Holocaust

We observe a recent tendency to deny the centrality of Jewish suffering in the Holocaust and to universalize and even Christianize it. The audience granted Kurt Waldheim <sup>comment</sup> and the absence of any critical ~~note~~ in the Pope's remarks on the occasion have, in our view, strengthened the hand of those who see little value in the obligation to remember. We need to hear from our Catholic friends their perception of these developments.

3.

4. Contradictory Vatican Statements About Jews and Judaism

While speaking very positively about Jews and Judaism in pronouncements addressed to Jewish audiences, we ~~have~~ <sup>observe</sup> ~~noticed~~ that the Pope, when speaking to Catholic audiences, often reverts to formulations drawn from pre-Vatican II theology. We <sup>would</sup> ~~would like to~~ document this and <sup>wish to</sup> elicit a response from the Catholic side.



SEP 3 1987

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** September 1, 1987  
**to** Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, Rabbi Jim Rudin  
**from** Rosalyn Borg  
**subject** Visit with Portland Archbishop Levada and Gresham Kiwanis Club regarding Pope and Waldheim meeting.

The purpose of my visit with Archbishop William J. Levada was to deliver a long delayed copy of the 1987 Jewish Year Book. As it coincided with the forthcoming meeting of Jewish leaders with the Pope, I took advantage of the meeting to express appreciation for the constructive and cooperative spirit of the Vatican and in particular the meeting with the Pope on September 1.

I conveyed our gratitude for the intervention and assistance of the American Catholic hierarchy, especially Archbishop May, in bringing about this unprecedented meeting with the Pope and Jewish leaders.

The Archbishop was cordial and receptive. He presented me with a copy of Archbishop May's June 22, 1987 statement and a statement issued by Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher, The Institute of Judeo-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University. We discussed having a Jewish-Catholic dialogue in Portland, and offered to have Father Sirriani contact me. The meeting was pleasant, but not earth-shaking. The Archbishop leans toward the conservative side. During his assignment to Los Angeles he had extensive and very good relations with AJC through Neil Sandburg and asked that I convey his good wishes to Neil.

I had the propitious opportunity to address the Gresham Kiwanis Club this afternoon on the subject of the Waldheim visit and also Israel's detention of American Arabs and American Blacks. I thought the meeting went well. I was able to bring results of the meeting with the Pope and used that as a positive starting point for discussion.

There were thirty men, one woman, in the audience, all white, middle class, Protestant, professional, shopkeepers, or retirees. My sense was they left the meeting with an understanding of the reasons behind the distress expressed by the American Jewish community.

cc: Geri Rozanski



# REPORT

*West 200 pages 1/10/87*

From the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee

Rehov Ethiopia 9, Jerusalem 95 149 Tel. 228862, 233551 Cable: Wishorn, Jerusalem

*Presbyterian  
for*

SEPTEMBER 7, 1987

## THE POPE AND THE JEWS

LAST week's meeting between a number of American Jewish leaders and Pope John Paul II in Rome, in preparation for the Pope's visit to the U.S., received relatively little media coverage in Israel. It was a week that was dominated by the protests of the Israel Aircraft Industries workers against the cabinet's decision to terminate the Lavi project and by the growing intensity of the ultra-Orthodox-secular confrontation in Jerusalem. What little commentary there was on the meeting in the Vatican, was nearly entirely negative.

SHLOMO SHAFIR writes in DAVAR (Sept. 3): " One should recall that the present crisis between the Jewish organizations and the Vatican, originated with the invitation to Austrian president Kurt Waldheim to meet with the pope, and the pope's rejection of any demand that he express regret over that meeting. The reception for Waldheim in Rome was, of course, not intended to anger the World Jewish Congress or the State of Israel, or to absolve the millions of Austrian and German soldiers who served the "Fuehrer" in World War II. It was merely another expression of the Vatican's realpolitik, which is seeking to strengthen the status of the church, and conservative political trends, in a Catholic country like Austria. The progressive line in internal and foreign affairs which was adopted by the former head of the Austrian Catholic Church, Cardinal Koenig, for 30 years, was anathema to the conservatives in the Vatican. Following the retirement of Koenig--who favored an agreement with the Socialists and supported the international peace movement--the pope appointed conservative priests and bishops to positions of importance, who were identified with the People's

Party which had put up Waldheim for the presidency. The Vatican also hoped that its support of the People's Party would help put a stop to the erosion in the membership in the Austrian church, which is estimated at about 30,000 a year. For all of Pope John Paul's desire to prevent a confrontation with U.S. Jewry, the fate of the church in Austria has a higher priority in his eyes. One should also consider that, as opposed to Rumanian president Nicolai Ceaucescu and many others, the head of the strongest Christian church in the world and his advisers, are not inclined to exaggerate the 'omnipotence' of world Jewry.

"AS for the Vatican's attitude towards Israel; besides the theological arguments against recognition--which certainly continue to exist--there are also realpolitik ones. The Vatican sees no special advantage in a speedy establishment of relations with Israel. To the contrary, it is very alive to the dangers inherent in such a step to its relations with the Arab and Moslem worlds. One can still recall the warm welcome extended to the PLO's Yasser Arafat during his 1982 visit to the Vatican and the pope's gesture in support of the Moslem stand on Jerusalem during his visit to Morocco.

"NONE of this should denigrate from the importance attached to a Catholic-Jewish dialogue, which is important to a number of Jewish communities in the Diaspora. But one should refrain from the illusion of the possibility of an imminent breakthrough in those relations. It will continue to be important to counter negative influences in the Curia and to foster contacts with local bishops in the U.S. and some European countries, whose attitude is often much more sympathetic than that of the Holy See."

SHMUEL SCHNITZER writes in MA'ARIV (Sept. 4): " IT would be hard to assert that those Jewish communal activists who met this week with the

pope in his summer residence at Castel Gondolfo, did a wise or honorable thing. They got nothing from the head of the Catholic church; but they themselves took a step which could be seen as a form of Jewish legitimation of the pope's refusal to recognize the reality of the existence of Israel, and of his meeting with that little Nazi, Kurt Waldheim, who is now president of Austria...A dialogue has meaning when there is a modicum of symmetry to it. The trouble is that while the Catholic church is a highly structured hierarchy, in which it is absolutely clear who is subservient to whom, and who represents whom, the Jews have nothing that even comes close to it: no representative organization, and no one who is authorized to speak in the name of the Jewish people and of Judaism. The Jewish delegation to the meeting with the pope, in effect, nominated itself, and no one can answer the question, as to whom and what they represent. Even American Jewry did not entirely support their initiative.

"WHAT the pope got from the meeting is clear: his visit to the U.S. will not be marred by hostile Jewish demonstrations, since a number of Jewish dignitaries held formal conciliatory talks with him. What the Jews are supposed to gain from that meeting is more questionable. The pope's legitimation of Waldheim, continues to stand. Anyone who attaches any importance to the pope's declaration that Israel is a vital value, and that some day he would want to visit Jerusalem, purposely ignores the point that this empty statement does not commit the pope to any action, and that its true worth can only be judged by the absence of relations between the Vatican and the Jewish State.

"THE formula for such meetings is very simple: any Jewish leader who is ready to forgo Israel's honor and to conduct a friendly dialogue with anyone who refuses to recognize the State of Israel will always be a welcome guest

in Rome. The most important Cardinals will join him in staging "an unprecedented" meeting with the Holy Father, and will plan the details of the pointless conversation, in which not a new word will be said, and no obstacle to understanding between Jews and Christians will be removed. It will be clear to both sides--both before and after the meeting--that the Holocaust, which saddened the Catholic Church, could possibly serve as a basis for the issuing of declarations of condolence. What it cannot change is the basic attitude of the church to the Jews as a people, who have now organized their own political framework. The church is ready to forgive individual Jews who survived; it is not ready to forgive the Jews as a people and as a state.

"IN THE past, when life in the galut was dark and foreboding, and constant fear served as a goad to the Jews' natural sense of survival, Jewish delegations, with their rabbis, Tora scrolls and flags, would go out to welcome a new pope on his coronation. Here and there, special prayers for his well-being were even included in the Jewish prayer book. We had thought that those days were gone, and that that sort of galut was fading away. It turns out that we were mistaken. That sort of galut still lives in the hearts of a small number of fawning pleaders (shtadlanim)."

DAN MARGALIT writes in HA'ARETZ (Sept. 4): "IT IS under the pope's leadership that the Vatican continues not to recognize Israel. When Israeli diplomats asked when such recognition would be accorded, the Holy See replied that Israel's final borders had not yet been set. As if the pope extends recognition only to states who have already settled their border disputes. The Vatican has also adopted a discriminatory stance in regard to the question of Jerusalem. During the 19 years in which the city was

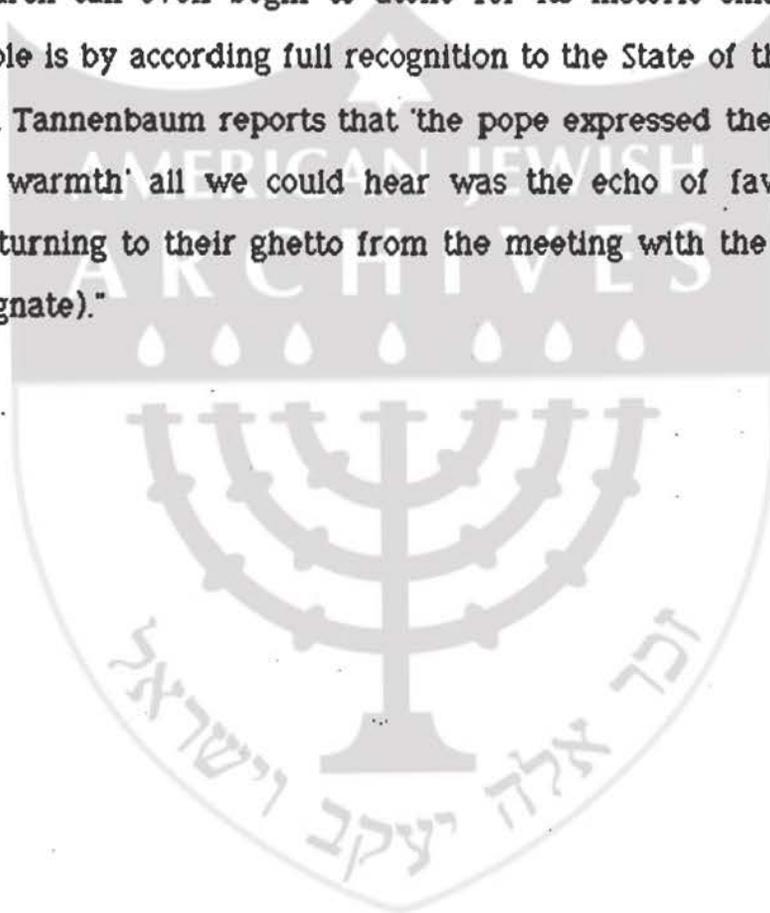
administered by Jordan, the Vatican accorded it unstinting recognition. Not so with Israel. In private conversations, leaders of the church will often praise the attitude of the Israel government towards the church and the modus vivendi in the city. But in the open, the relationship is one-sided and expresses itself in an unwillingness to recognize Israel and its sovereignty, even in Western Jerusalem.

"AMERICAN Jewry , which lives in a country with a large Catholic minority, obviously has a legitimate interest in maintaining contacts with the Holy See. But such contacts require a revamping of its leadership and its rejuvenation, a sense of its own dignity and of its institutional power. Above all, what is needed is a perspicacious perception of what the Jews want from the pope and what it is feasible to get from him. In that light, one should ask who do Rabbi Mordechai Waxman and Henry Siegman represent? Who, even in American Jewry, knows who they are, whom they represent, and who is prepared to be represented by them towards the Holy See?

"AMERICAN politics has invented the term 'photo opportunity'. That is exactly what the Jewish leaders who bothered to come to Rome for a dialogue between the deaf were engaging in. The pope got his photos and smiles, to ease his way on his visit to the U.S. Perhaps, the Jews at that meeting got what they had wanted, too. ' a photo opportunity'?"

MA'ARIV writes in its editorial (Sept. 3): "IN the classic world when one wanted to say that something was progressing at a snail's pace, one said 'On the wings of Jesus' apostles'. The Jews who met the Vicar of Christ on earth this week discovered that if any progress was being made in winning Vatican recognition of Israel it was advancing on the wings of Jesus' apostles. The leaders of American Jewry should have made their meeting with the

pope conditional on an advance commitment that the pope would say something binding on the need to establish relations with Israel. A mere hint that the pope was considering issuing an important statement on the relations of the church with the Jews was not enough. The only way the Catholic church can even begin to atone for its historic sins against the Jewish people is by according full recognition to the State of the Jews. But when Rabbi Tannenbaum reports that 'the pope expressed the name Israel with great warmth' all we could hear was the echo of fawning Jewish pleaders returning to their ghetto from the meeting with the Polish poritz (landed magnate)."



SEP 8 1987



ONE CNN CENTER, BOX 105366, Atlanta, GA 30348-5366  
(404) 827-1500

September 2, 1987

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

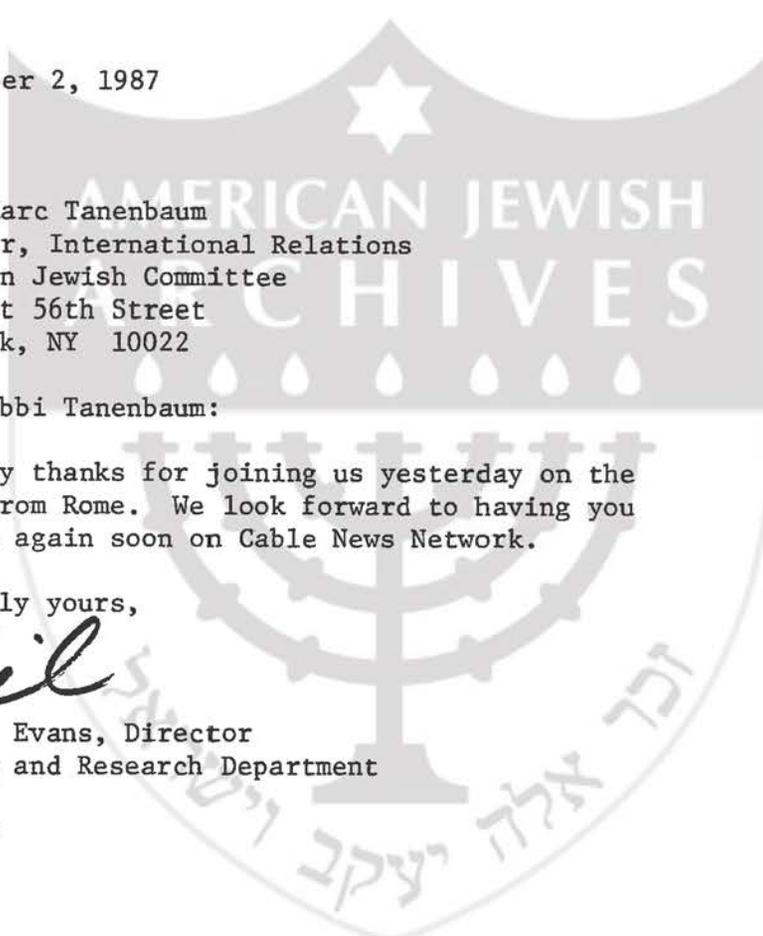
Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Our many thanks for joining us yesterday on the phone from Rome. We look forward to having you with us again soon on Cable News Network.

Sincerely yours,

Gail H. Evans, Director  
Booking and Research Department

GHE:slw



SEP 8 1987

Mrs. Ivor M. Mills  
1660 Gulf Boulevard, Apt. 1101  
Clearwater, Florida ~~88515~~ 34630

September 5, 1987

The American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56 Street  
New York City, N Y 10022-2746

Gentlemen:

On September 1st, on television I watched the visit of the nine Jewish delegates with the Pope in Rome. I was not disappointed. It turned out exactly as I had expected. The Jewish delegates got nothing and the Pope got exactly what he wanted. The delegates had stated beforehand to reporters from the press, radio and television that they expected to sit down and talk to the Pope for 90 minutes about his meeting with Waldheim, about the Holocaust and about his failure to recognize the State of Israel. They met for 70 minutes. The delegates accomplished nothing at all, but the Pope got exactly what he set out to get. He talked a lot of gobblegook, but got the delegates to agree to attend at Miami when he will be there, so there will be no disturbances. I feel ashamed!

The Catholic Church has been doing this throughout the centuries, and the Jews, always hopeful, walk right into the same situation each time. They have never learned! They grovel so why should the Pope do anything they want? For shame!

I therefore have decided to withdraw my support of your organization. In a small way I believed I was helping but the purposes for which you use my money shames me. So hereafter do not send me any bills for money. I will not support your organization any more.

Very truly yours,

*Josie P. Mills*

SPM

SEP 8 1987

CONFIDENTIAL

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**Israel Office**

**date** August 31, 1987  
**to** James Rudin  
**from** M. Bernard Resnikoff

**subject**

I am enclosing, without permission, an advance copy of an article that the Rev. Van Der Hoeven submitted for publication in The Jerusalem Post.

The paper may not accept it. Jan Willem thinks it won't. But even if not, Jan Willem would like to see the point he makes disseminated, which is why I am passing the article on to you.

I compared it to the statements your department put out following the pronouncements of the Presbyterian and United Church of Christ denominations. And it turns out, as R. Levi Yitzchak once said, "he is right and he is wrong."

I told Jan Willem that even though I might not agree with the gravamen of his article, he might go further in convincing the karass of his readers if he were to acknowledge that, from a historical perspective, both denominations took a giant step forward. But I got, as you already expected, nowhere.

cc: ~~Marc Tanenbaum~~ George Gruen  
Shimon Samuels



## DIALOGUE WITH JEWS AT THE EXPENSE OF ISRAEL?

The United Church of Christ made the following statement:

"We in the United Church of Christ acknowledge that the Christian Church has, throughout much of its history, denied God's continuing covental relationship with the Jewish people expressed in the faith of Judaism..."

The declaration emphasized the continuing validity of the Jewish covenant with God, quoting Romans 11:29, "The gifts and the promise of God are irrevocable."

Today it is not so much the Jews as a people but the Israelis that are being targeted as the main target of hatred, discrimination politically, economically and culturally and if there were no Israel Defence Force the present-day enemies of the Jewish people, would readily serve Israel with another holocaust.

It is therefore shocking to see how Jewish leaders all over the world are thankful for expressions of respect for a dialogue with representatives of their people and faith, while at the same time swallowing the fact that the Christian institutions these leaders represent have often failed to express themselves in any positive way in regard to the ancient biblical dream of the Jews to be again a free people in Eretz Israel.

By not making the acceptance of and respect for this age-long dream a sin-qua-non for a better relationship with the Jewish people, these Jewish leaders have done their Israeli brethren a tremendous disservice at a time when the whole Church of Christ should hear, loud and clear, that without a positive reference to this Jewish biblical aspiration there cannot be a lasting improvement between the Church and the Jewish people.

Yes, it is true that the Pope visited the chief Jewish synagogue in Rome, but was that a move to persuade the Jewish world not to be too upset concerning the fact that the Vatican, after Israel's 39 years of nationhood, has not yet officially recognized her? In other words, do these kind words and gestures of respect come instead of a visit of the Pope to Israel, instead of official Vatican recognition?

Will the Church only issue a statement of regret about present-day Israel after the enemies of Israel have, God forbid, achieved the destruction of the State of Israel, just as now we admit our responsibility for failing to speak up for the Jews 45 years ago, when they lived within our nations of Europe.

How can we, as Christians, continue our dialogue with the Jews as a people while denying them the recognition of their historic and biblical link with their land?

What kind of honesty do the hierarchy of the United Church of Christ and other churches believe they can offer in their official statements claiming the special covenant relationship that the Jewish people still have with God, if that Church refuses to admit and state that this covenant relationship with the Jewish people was, from the beginning, linked with their land!

No, it is easier to make statements about Jews and Judaism without narrowing it down to the eternal destiny of the Jewish people, bound up with the return to their land. In this harsh world of ours it is not so much the Jew in New York, Los Angeles, London or Amsterdam that is hated today, but the Jew living in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa or Ariel that is discriminated against and maligned in the forums of the United Nations, Islamic conferences and many other world bodies.

The sad thing is that in praising these neat theological statements and handouts to the Jewish people the Jewish leaders have become party to a betrayal of the best interests of their own people, living in the land that was promised them as an everlasting possession.

How can Christians, alarmed by this trend, be taken seriously when the Jews themselves often seem to be content with a little more respect for them and their Judaism, while at the same time the nation of Israel is denied such respect?

How can Christians who bemoan the injustice and hypocrisy of this attitude be taken seriously when our Jewish friends seem to be more or less content

to continue to have dialogue after this new-found theological respect, when the institutions of these theological leaders continue to issue biased anti-Israel statements in the forums of the World Council of Churches, National Council of Churches and the Vatican.

It should not be forgotten that the special covenant relationship of the Jewish people with their God, as upheld by this official Church of Christ document, links the Jewish people unmistakably clearly to the land of Israel, as the Bible states: "In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram saying unto they seed have I given this land" (Gen.15:18). And again to Jacob: "I am the Lord, the God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest to thee will I give it and to thy seed (Gen.28:13).

Will Jewish and Christian people enjoy the new-found mutual respect afforded them in this dialogue and official Church statements while at the same time the Church again fails to speak up for Israel, increasingly surrounded by the same hatred once embodied in the Nazis and now spreading over the whole world, as seen continually in the biased condemnations of the United Nations?

Thus, as long as Jewish and Christian theologians consent to meet together without making the inclusion of Israel a condition for participation in such encounters, the very statements issued from such meetings will, in all likelihood, be used to offset the need to be more forthcoming in regard to the mortally threatened nation of Israel.

Geger

RELIGIOUS REFLECTIONS ON THE SHOAH

We are gathered here for a serious reflection on a spiritual theme: the meaning of the Shoah for the life of Jewish and Christian communities. Our religious reflection will not be an abstract theology, but a very concrete one based on two principles taken from the Hebrew Bible itself: 1) the God we honour is the ruler of the universe, eretz washama'im; 2) this God has elected (bahâr) a community (qahal or edah), which he loves with an eternal love, according to Jer 31:3. The Christian event does not change the biblical assertion because, according to Paul in Rom 11:29, "the gifts and the call of God are irrevocable". The Christian community, called Church of Christ, does not substitute for the Jewish community<sup>(1)</sup>. There is a religious problem that two independent communities, both admitting the Torah as a Word of God, are to be articulated one to the other, the first recognizing the Torah as a definitive gift of God to his people, the other believing that the Torah receives its full light by the gift of the Holy Spirit. This last problem is not the one we have to discuss today. Here we are to try to understand (in the light of Bible and history) why the "unique and powerful" Lord of the universe, as he is proclaimed in the Psalms, let a considerable part of the people he has formed and chosen be destroyed (Is 43:1; 44:1). It is more than an ethical problem, it is a cosmological problem, a reflection - as John Paul II indicated in Miami - of the "history in the light of the principles of faith in God". It transcends the present German discussion between Habermas, Nolte, Fest and others, which is more centered on German history.

(During Bible times)

The awful Shoah, decided and perpetrated by the Nazi regime, has made the question more incisive. But it already arose in 722, when Samaria and the Israelite State had been destroyed by the Assyrians. The major part of the people of the Lord had been submitted to the domination of the Assyrian gods; ten tribes out of twelve. Theologically speaking, it was still more acute in 587 with the destruction of

(1) cf. G.J. Geger, The Origin of Antisemitism, Oxford, New York, 1980

the Davidic state and of the Temple, the place chosen by the Lord. It was renewed after the destruction of the Second Temple and the expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem and Judaea after the Bar Koziba revolt.

An answer had been given after the fall of Samaria by the Prophets of the VIIIth century BC and the deuteronomic movement: the cause of the drama was the unfaithfulness of Jeroboam, his successors and their subjects. The same theological reason was no longer valid after Josia's Reform, and Jeremiah's preaching failed. The second part of the Book of Isaiah (whose author was often called the Great Unknown of the Exile) proposed another solution. If the God of Israel had let the Covenant be broken (Jer 11:10) and the goyim prevail against his people, it was to reveal the glory of the Torah they had been given, to the nations where this people with its laws and customs was scattered, the mishpat, which was its rule of life. Unknown by the nations, this revealed way of life would appear to them as a light and as the unique hope (Is 51:4-5; 42:3-4). Synonymous to torah, mishpat is here to be understood less as a judgment than as the Justice, glory of Israel (Is 49:4-5). Scattered and humiliated, Israel, servant of the Lord who will vanquish Bel and Nabu (45:1) will see kings prostrating themselves (49:7). Truly, in this poem, as in Is 53, the Servant is sharply individualized. He is in Israel but not Israel, since he has "to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel" (49:6). As I explained in my communication to the Vth World Congress of Jewish Studies, held in Jerusalem in 1969, I still believe that the royal figure of the young Yoyakin, who had shared the captivity and the humiliations of his people, lies behind the expressions of the prophet. As his predecessor Solomon, he has the royal and priestly function of intercessor (Is 53:12; cf. 1 Reg 8).

During the return home, the problem of the sufferings of the people rose again. Instead of glory, the men of the return found opposition and harassment. Israel was then no more the unfaithful Israel of Deuteronomy, nor the sinful Israel of Is 43:22-28. It was a faithful

— Israel, obedient to the Torah in spite of the seductions of the nations and their wisdom. It went as far as resisting the proposals of an 'am haarets, who wished to help in the rebuilding of the Temple, but who were impure and contaminated. The people recognized their God as a God of justice. Why did such a just and un-capricious God act as badly with his faithful people, as did the pagan gods? In the time of Nehemiah it became the problem of Job, in the time of the Greek persecution the problem of Daniel and of the Maccabees Books, and finally the problem of r. Aqiba, of Johanan ben Zakkai and the school of Jamnia under the Roman domination.

Through those crises the Torah remained the basis of the Jewish community, despite the adepts of the foolish woman (Prov 9), the apostasy of number of Jews who joined the high-priests Jason and Menelas, the minim of Shemoneh Esreh. After Deut 4:5-6, Ben Sira had identified Torah and the true divine Wisdom. In his eschatology Daniel admitted for pagan princes, not their conversion, but an acknowledgement of the God of Israel. The pharisaic IInd Book of Maccabees, not only proposed a theology of martyrdom as salvation of the people (7:38; 8:4-5), but interpreted the Torah as an Ethic, Ioudaismos (2:21), the way of life of a community living by its own way in an Empire:

(Under Roman and Byzantine Rule)

After the short but bloody Greek persecution, during which the Temple had been desecrated, till the Roman repression, when it had been destroyed, all Jewish groups (aireseis in Greek) recognised the divine validity of the Torah, but diverged in its interpretation. Against Pharisees and Sadducees, Zealots did not admit political submission to a foreign rule. Pharisees did not admit the new asmonaeon dynasty, where kingship and priesthood were united. Esseniens not only contested the new priestly dynasties, but seem to have rejected the legitimacy of the reconstructed and reconsecrated Temple at Hanukkah. Protected by Rabbi Gamaliel the 1st, the Nazōreans (called Christians after 45 AD in Antioch; Act 5:34-39) proclaimed that not a single dot of the Torah would pass away before its purpose was accomplished (Mt 5:18) and that

the Gospel did not overthrow (Rom 3:31) but upheld the Law (Rom 7:12: holy). But their master, the Son of man, had another interpretation of the Torah than the Pharisees. He was the master (ba'al) of the sabbatical Law. What is rejected by the Epistle to the Ephesians is a nomos tōn entolōn en dogmasin (2:15; cf. Col 2:14), which means a Torah interpreted as a series of decrees on the pattern of the imperial decrees (Lk 2:1; Ac 17:7).

However faithful to the Torah, the Christian Jerusalemite community may have been according to the Acts and Gamaliel, it suffered from a change of politics under Agrippa Ist, as the Jewish Eastern community had been threatened formerly and saved by political changes, according to the Book of Esther (notwithstanding the literary genre of the Book), severely damaged in Alexandria under Ptolemaeus IVth (3rd Book of Maccabees), persecuted in Jerusalem and Judaea under Antiochus IVth, and once more threatened under Caligula (Philo: Legatio ad Gaium). Against the Christians, after two years peace in Rome, according to Acts 28:31, there broke out in 64 the terrible persecution of Nero which provoked the pity of Tacitus himself; but, in Judaea, under Gessius Florus, dreadful times had started, which ended with the 66-70 war. After the lull of the last years of Titus, during which Josephus could write peacefully on Jewish history and groups in a Graeco-Roman presentation, came Domitian who persecuted not only Jews and Christians, but philosophers, so much he was imbued by the old imperial ideology: unity and safety of the Empire in virtue of the divine character of the imperial decisions, - a principle never admitted by the Torah. The Byzantines gave up the divinity of the political ruler, subordinating him to the Christocrator, but they kept the idea that the unity and the peace in the Empire required unity of faith and doctrine. They harassed not only the Jews, the Mandram Baptists, the heretics, arian, nestorian or monophysites, but orthodox bishops as Hilarius or Athanasius, and popes as Libère, John and Martin (both died in prison), if there was a change in the doctrine of the Constantinople kings. Those groups had to leave the Empire and it is by them that Muhammed became acquainted with Bible;

Jewish and Christian traditions. He gave to his community a new Torah, the Shari'ah. It was no longer the tawra.

As you know, under the impulse of Johanān ben Zakkāi, the Tannaïtes and the Amoraïtes were able to keep the Torah as a living Law for a living community. Interpreting, often, boldly, the texts of the Torah (for instance the case of the Prosbol), they succeeded in adapting the Torah to the new social and economic conditions of the Jewish communities. Those conditions were no longer the historical conditions for which the laws had been written. Recently, Howard Elberg-Schwartz could summarize what he calls "tensions between the Torah and the Mishnah" (History of Religions 26, 4, 1987, pp. 357-381). We must admire the ethical shrewdness of the solutions they proposed, often divergent, and recognize the legitimacy of their work, in the etymological sense of the word. Instead of following the path of the Epistle to the Hebrews which kept the sacrificial symbolism of the Leviticus, discovering in the Melkisedek Priesthood and a new altar (13:10) what was said of Aaronide priesthood and Jerusalem Temple, Judaism studied deeply the juridical and moral interpretation of the Torah and explained its rationality to the courts of Byzance or of Babylonia. Acknowledged as divine revelation by the Jewish communities, sephardi or ashkenazi, it could be respected by the States as rational.

But it could be seen as excluding the Christian interpretation of the Torah, and you know the anti-Talmudic reactions of the Church authorities. The distinction between political and religious authorities, the Cult and the State, was practised by the Jewish communities, but not clearly established. Christian States and Muslim States kept on the principle of unity of State by unity of Faith. In France, St Louis decreed expulsion (1253) for all Jews who did not exercise mechanical arts. In 1290 expulsion from England, 1440 expulsion from the German cities and, last but not least, 1492 expulsion from Spain by the Catholic kings. The old principle remained valid even in the 17th century: cuius regio eius religio.

In the same line, we can recall the canon of the IVth Lateran Council (1215), imposing the "signum" distinctive to the Jews; another negative event was the papal Bull "Cum nimis absurdum" (1555) which established that Jews must live in Christian countries in a separate quarter (after called the "ghetto"). Such ecclesiastical statements through the centuries undoubtedly contributed to creating a very negative image of Jews and Judaism, nevertheless, from a theoretical point of view, none of this action against the Jews is necessarily connected with the true spirit of Christianity, so we can - and we must - repudiate them sincerely. Also, we must reflect seriously on the other cultural, economical, social or political reasons which strongly influenced those statements of the Roman Church in that same period. Another vehicle for diffusion of stereotypes, negative of the Jews, was popular preaching, particularly of the Friars, during the Holy Week.

It seems the ground for repeated tensions between the Holy See: Sacerdotium et Imperium ("I loved justice and hated iniquity, that's why I die in exile", said after Canossa the dying Gregorius VII in Salerno) in the 12th and 13th centuries. Conflicts between Innocent XVI and Louis XIV, Pius VII and Napoleon. Rabbi Avigdor must be admired for the discourse he held during the great Sanhedrin (5th February, 1807) celebrating the merits of the Popes in front of Napoleon's delegates.

(18th Century: New problems and new ways for the Torah)

However, since the 18th century, the political ideology was moving, and at the same time new aspects of Bible study emerged. The problem was no more Talmud and Anti-Talmud. The conflict of interpretation between Catholics and Protestants turned out to open critical ways, favoured by humanism and the renewed knowledge of classical literature. The time of a Bossuet's "Politics drawn from the Holy Scripture" had passed away, but the critical method was still in its infancy. Spinoza and Richard Simon could only make the first steps and it appeared immediately that there was an underlying problem of ideology to be solved, so as to make the critical methods be acceptable by the religious commu-

nities. Even if irreligious and irreverent to the Torah (Voltaire), the 18th c. ideology was liberal, tolerant and critical. In the United States of America, the Jewish community will have its place and will not bear the memory of having been persecuted in the name of Christ as in Europe. The danger would be more the loss of identity and the assimilation, even if Moses Mendelssohn did not accept it. In Europe another ideology loomed as the guarantee of a new type of State. To the Christian State of the Bourbon succeeded in France the anti-Catholic civil constitution of the clergy and the persecutor jacobite State to the great disappointment of Washington. Only in 1830 the union between throne and altar vanished, not without setbacks as the Dreyfus affair. In the name of the national State, the politic waded between a clerical State and an anticlerical liberal State in France and, in Prussia, between the hegelian right wing and the left hegelian from which the socialist State was to develop. From a conjunction between a national ideology and a socialist ideology came out the national-socialist State and the strong, ruthless persecution of the Jews, culminated in the Shoah. The Nazi antisemitic ideology found easily in the anti-Jewish Christian stereotypes the material for popular propaganda, and we could here recall what the Pope affirmed in his letter to Archbishop John May, on August 8, 1987: "There is no doubt that the sufferings endured by the Jews are also for the Catholic Church a motive of sincere sorrow, especially when one thinks of the indifference and sometimes resentment which, in particular historical circumstances, have divided Jews and Christians. Indeed this evokes in us still firmer resolutions to cooperate for justice and true peace".

On a parallel line things waded between a so-called conservative interpretation of the Bible and a so-called leftist or negative critical interpretation. The so-called scientific socialism saw the Bible as a superseded stage of the culture and Nazism as antistate and vicious document which had to be eliminated.

(Torah and social history)

Both were tributaries of the first essays in critical and archaeological analysis. The critical analysis of the Torah seemed to be disastrous when under the impact of a hegelian philosophy the last stage of the Torah, instead of being the support of the Jewish identity, was seen as a decline from life to nomism. And, worst, could the Torah be a divine revelation when archaeological discoveries proved that this Torah was not the most ancient literary monument of humanity, but that Israel, formed during the second half of the IIInd millenium BC had made use of the previous cultures.

But since Wellhausen and Harnack the archaeological and literary studies, to which American and Israeli universities have contributed so much, those studies greatly improved. The circumstances how Israel has formed itself, or was formed by God, amidst the nations (Deut 32: 8-9) are enlightened. The four codes of the Torah (Ex 34:20-23; Deut 12:26; Law of Holiness and Priestly Code) are no more a chaotic juxtaposition but reveal a dynamic in the legal structures of Israel with eternal ethical laws as basis. The works of Moshe Weinfeld underline the humanism of Deuteronomy and of the Deuteronomic School. Those of Menahem Haran analyse with perspicacity the symbolism of the cult in Exodus and Leviticus. Recently, Haïr Hoffmann exploited the doctrine of the Exodus according to the redactional sources of the Torah or Pentateuch (Tel Aviv, 1983). I myself analysed the successive structures of the Berit and dedicated to the late Yadin an article on the broken Berit according to the Prophets, according to which the Berit hadashah started with the Return of Exile withoug being achieved, even if the Torah was achieved; before his death he wrote to me his support.

It seems that a very positive biblical critique is now possible by which the Jewish identity is comforted. The Christian Church had received Tanakh from Judaism and never contested the authority of the Torah, only some marginals as Marcion. But, theologians, trained in the Greek rationality and the Roman law, were rather bewildered by such

a witness. For our theme it is very important to work on what we may call the political doctrine of the Torah. For instance, the distinction of the functions of the priest and the functions of the princes (Eze- chiel 44-46) applied in Num 27:27; 15-23 (Eleazar and Joshua). In the Book of Daniel we have a doctrine of the Community of the Saints distinct from the Empires. Those Empires are pagan; they can be persecu- tors, but can also recognize the justice of the God of Daniel (4:36).

We are now able to discuss about the Torah not only on juridical points, the halakah of the Tannaïtes, on ethics as did the Amoraïtes, but to complete their work by a sociological approach, the Bible being a witness of the birth and the growth of a structured Israel in the world. After the great expansion of industrialization, socialism set the problem of the State no longer in terms of law and ethic, but in terms of social justice. It is possible to establish how, living in the radiance of prestigious and oppressive cultures, the Bible is wit- ness of the life of communities taking care of mishpat and sedaqah. Those communities could get through crises where those cultures disap- peared. As strange as they sound to Western ears, the formulations of the priestly code which gives to the Torah its structure, shape the identity of the Jewish people for ever, even if, as a Levi Covenant (Mal 2:8), it can be corrupted (sht). Tanakh and the Torah itself testi- fy for an expectation of another gift of God. The Torah is definitive, but the texture itself of the Torah testify not to a static, but to a dynamic power in the adaptation of eternal values: promises to the Patriarchs and mosaic principles. Mishnah and Talmuds were able to keep them alive in post-biblical conditions of life. According to the dis- tinction of Joshua and Eleazar, of the civil and the religious, it must be studied if the new conditions created by the Shoah do not ask for new necessary interpretations, the civil ones pronounced by a Supreme Court and the religious one by rabbinic authorities. A similar situation is to be found in the Christian communities; they have their own ca- non laws as application of the biblical principles, for believers who as citizens are submitted to the laws of the State where they live.

(Mishpat and Sedaqah in the States)

But are the State laws always just ones? Bible and historical experience answer by the negative. It seems that the State cannot function without an ideology. Jewish and Christian communities can be threatened by national or international changes in ideology. Now that the States have dropped their biblical basis, the danger is that the State ideology is no more an ideology based on rational justice, but constitute themselves as totalitarian States which do not recognize norms or, else, the decisions of a party are considered as the incarnation of the nation. No Torah, no natural law, neither the Greek one, nor the 18th century one of Grotius.

It has been my experience, as I studied in Bonn in 1934/5 for my PHD dissertation in civil law, on the relations between State and Church in Germany from Weimar to the first years of the Third Reich. Strangely enough, now, after the Shoah, the Christian communities seemed to be more threatened than the Jewish. In the Paris Law Faculty, I had good Jewish friends, one of my grandfathers belonged to the circle of the Jewish banker May, whose portrait can be seen on some of the Manet paintings. My father had been as student for the revision of the Dreyfus process. One of my uncles was a friend of Rector Magnes and Martin Buber. But I had read but once the entire Bible and knew nothing of its historical approach. My knowledge of medieval history was very poor, of canon law zero. I discovered that the controverted Concordat of 1933 was radically ruined by the Nazi interpretation, as I explained in my pp. 244-255. The sons of Pr Hermann Platz had to choose between party enrolment or giving up university studies. Pr Shmitmann disappeared some months after my visit and I have been told that he had been killed. The traditional procession of Fronleichnamstag was whistled at the door of the Münster by the Hitlerjugend, whose Horst-wessellied covered the Christian songs. In Xanten, the meeting for the Centennial of St Norbert, presided over by Bishop von Galen, was confined to the precincts of the cathedral, circled by the police, and some young people were arrested. It was worst for the Protestant churches.

K. Barth, after his Theologische Existenz heute, had to leave his university chair and flee to Basel. The Bekenntniskirche was founded at the Barmen Synod and was under the pressure of the Deutsche Christen. Let us hear one of them, Dr. Krause: "The Church of the Empire must... worship only a German god... We need to dismiss the Old Testament radically from our religious books, and purify the New from the passages which spoil it... The holy places are not to be looked for in Palestine, but in our own country" (id. p. 267 footnote). Those harassments are but niceties compared with the atrocity of the Shoah. The president of the young Christians of the Zentrum, my friend Hieronimus, was let aside after the dissolution of the group, but had not to hide himself as my friend Raphael Givon, in charge of the Jewish youth, who had later to hide himself during the days of the Crystal Night. Nevertheless it is easy to see that, in case of a Hitler victory, a Christian Shoah, suspended during the necessities of the war, would have followed the Jewish Shoah. A test has been in 1944 the execution of M. Callo and his companions, as leaders of the Young Christian Workers, dangerous for the Third Reich <sup>(1)</sup>. As it has been said by the Pope to the representatives of the Warsaw Jewish community (L'Oss. Rom. 15.6.1987, p.15), the Hitlerian totalitarianism disclosed the profound solidarity between Jewish and Christian communities. You will easier understand my reserves when I read under the pen of Elie Wiesel: "But we have been struck by a harsh truth: in Auschwitz all the Jews were victims, all the killers were Christians" (A Jew Today, NY 1979, p.13). Is that historical? Were Nazis really Christians? I am so fond of his hassidic portraits! He seems to have understood so lucidly the hassidic mystical approach of the Torah, much more appropriate to my taste than the former mystical approach, the Kabbalah, with the subtle concepts of zimzum and Sephirot. Maybe because I feel closer to the rational inquiries of Maimonides and Thomas Aquinas than to Gerone or Safed (even if I love the gentle tone of Safed) or because the hassidic Love of God in misery and distress expanded in this Eastern Europe where the Shoah was to consume later the ashes in a frightening light!

(1) Cf. C. Molette. A propos de quelques cas chez les jeunes du STO de résistance spirituelle jusqu'au martyre, Angers, 1987.

Instead of discussing debatable assertions, it is better to face the future, "Hopes", says also John Paul II, hopes, but not without seriousness and discernment, the biblical bīnah. There are no more Catholic States, said Card. Ratzinger to Msgr Lefebvre, still opposed to Vatican II and religious liberty. But the State remains a sociological reality, essential for the management of public services in a civilized society, even if it is hard to manage! Notwithstanding what K. Marx said, we do not see any sign of withering in modern States. The members of the Jewish and Christian communities have to leave in without controlling them. The Law State, where Roman lawyers and great Rabbis as Hillel and Shammaī (Roman lawyers who gave their models to the medieval canonists) met together, such a State can avoid the birth of totalitarian States, based on racism or materialism for which human mind is nothing more than an epiphenomen instead of the faculty of discernment.

(Torah, Prophets and mishpat)

Our common and modern work is to analyze the relations between the written Law and the economic necessities for social justice. You know how harsh have been the complaints of the prophets against the States of Samaria and Jerusalem: Amos, Mica, Isaīah. It seems to me that the connections between their claims and the development of the codes of the Torah give us more light for the rules of adaptation of mosaic principles to the vicissitudes of concrete history. Modern studies have proved that detailed concrete laws are not an expression of an absolute, even if they express a divino-human absolute. It seems that already the pre-prophetic code of Ex 34 counterbalances the arbitrary power of an elected king (it was the ideology of the foreign states, and the model Israelites asked Samuel to inaugurate for them) by a pre-monarchy Covenant between God and Moses. Connections between the Book of the Covenant in its Torah edition has connections with the prophets of the 9th and 8th centuries BC. There is no doubt on the connections between Deuteronomy and the Book of Jeremiah, even if modern commentators think Jeremiah was an opponent to the deuteronomic reform.

The connections between the Book of Ezechiel and the Law of Holiness (Lev 17-26 in the Priestly Code) is commonly accepted. A great work has to be done now that, since the 18th century, the study of the Torah has to face sociological problems. A series of studies has been published under the direction of Sarah Japhet in the Scripta Hierosolomitana 31 (Jerusalem 1986). In this publication I do find great progress in our field. Naturally, disagreements are unavoidable. I am more inclined to adopt A. Rofe's positions on The History of the Cities of Refuge in biblical Law (pp. 205-240), and of Schwartz, than the ones of Sarah Japhet or Weinfeld. For the former, Deuteronomy precedes Priestly Code instead of following. It is also the position of Menahem Haran who, in his Temple Services established scientifically the significance of Temple symbolisms. There are certain archaic features in the Priestly Code but it precludes totally monarchic problems, the pre-exilic period. In post-exilic times the prince is in charge of the community even if something better is hoped for. We will have to study this mediated Kingship of God through liturgical ways.

(How to help a mishpat State)

Those aspects of the Torah have to be discussed because they are to give us guidelines for a research on a concrete understanding of a divine Law which is not an abstract evolutive conception, but a gift to a people who has to live under worldly powers. For instance, it is sometimes said that, according to the Torah, the High-Priest had an absolute power during the post-exilic period. But when we read in Josephus how difficult it was for Onias II to protect Judaeans against the Ptolemies taxations, and Zeno traffic of slaves, such an absolute power proves to be rather weak! We understand better his compromises with the Tobiads, the Seleucides and the Herodes. Even in cultic matters he was tightly controlled by the Pharisees. In the 3rd century BC he was the symbol of Jewish identity. But according to Mal 2:8, Levi Covenant was already damaged and the asmonean crisis shook severely the faith in his representativity. In the Pirqey Aboth we see whose authority was now to be recognized: the pairs of great Rabbis after Anti-

gonos of Soco, Jose ben Joezer, Jose ben Johanan, heirs of the religious authority of Simon.

As those Sages practised the binah, the discernment, our communities have to practise discernment between just and arbitrary ideologies, and, more difficult, between Statesmen at the service of the civil community, and Statesmen caught by a party or an ideology. It is not an easy task but it is necessary, so as to help the State in his search of mishpat and sedaqah. Called kittu and misharu by the Babylonian State, sdq and mishor by the Phenicians, maat in Egypt, mishpat and sedaqah in Israel, it was the basis of the Judaeen State according to Jer 22:3; it was said to have been practised by David (I Sam 8:15), but not by his successors. The weaknesses of David are known, the weaknesses of Christian princes too. We have to look at the future after the disaster of the Shoah, hearing the voices of the biblical Prophets. It has been the teaching of Gaudium et Spes. Asked by Cardinal Etchegaray what was the function of his office "Iustitia et Pax", John Paul II answered: "It is the Church outside the Church", her activity in a field which is not her own. You know how fruitful has been the cooperation of Jews and Christians in the Welfare Commission of the United States. It is not only in this country that Jewish and Christian communities work together to realize mishpat and sedaqah of the Torah outside their own confessions!

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(November 12, 1987)