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January 10, 1984

VATICAN - U.S. RELATIONS

C O M M E N T A R Y

DR. MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

One of the remarkable aspects of the recent establishment of formal diplomatic relations between the United States and the Vatican has been the muted response of most of the major Jewish organizations. The reasons for that relative silence are manifold and instructive.

On a geo-political level, American Jewry shares with most fellow Americans a profound concern over the threat of Soviet totalitarianism to democratic societies and human rights. The Vatican, particularly under the leadership of Pope John Paul II, has become a major moral force against the spread of international communism, and, therefore both the U.S. and world Jewry find benefit in such alliances.

From the point of view of church-state relations, there is ground for legitimate differences. Many Protestants joined by the American Jewish Congress view the Holy See as an integral part of the Roman Catholic Church; thus the U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Vatican is perceived as a violation of the First Amendment. But there is a substantial body of scholarship -- most notably, the study Vatican Diplomacy, which makes the case that both historically and theologically, the Holy See is a "secular" arm of the Vatican conceived as a sovereign state.

Add to that is the ^{relative} decline of anti-Catholicism in America, especially since Vatican Council II which strongly committed world Catholics to religious liberty and improved Catholic-Jewish relations.

With this breakthrough in Vatican-U.S. relations after 116 years, Jews have a right to expect now another breakthrough -- the Vatican's establishing of diplomatic relations with the sovereign state of Israel.

*Dr. Tanenbaum is director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee.

rpr

84-550-2

Protestants Speak Against Vatican Ties

United Press International

Major Protestant groups yesterday urged defeat of a Senate proposal that would allow full U.S. diplomatic relations with the Vatican, saying it would violate the constitutional ban on church-state ties.

"The central function of the Vatican is to serve as the headquarters of a church," said Forest Montgomery, spokesman for the National Association of Evangelicals. "Establishing diplomatic relations with it would give the appearance of an imprimatur of the United States upon the head of a church."

The Protestant spokesmen, who represented conservative groups as well as liberal, at the

Capitol Hill news conference said their opposition was not motivated by prejudice against Roman Catholics.

Bert Beach, a spokesman for the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, said the opposition "is based on the American tradition and is in harmony with the constitutional provision of separation of church and state."

Beach said he thought the citizenship of U.S. cardinals could become an issue if ties with the Vatican were established because cardinals elect the pope, the head of a "foreign state."

Representatives of most U.S. Baptist groups, the National Council of Churches and Americans United for Separation of Church and State also announced their opposition to the Senate amendment. The amendment would remove an 1867 prohibition on full diplomatic relations with the Vatican.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 5, 1983
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Samuel Rabinove
subject Diplomatic relations between the United States and the Vatican

You shared with us a news release to the effect that the U.S. Senate has approved legislation lifting the 100-year-old ban on appointing a U.S. ambassador to the Holy See. You invited our views on this issue. I believe the best way to approach this controversial subject is through a brief "pro/con" summary, as follows.

Arguments "pro":

1. A U.S. ambassador to the Holy See would provide us with improved communication with and access to vital information from an international center of great influence.
2. The present Pope is an extraordinary world leader who is universally respected by people of all faiths.
3. Endorsing this move would cost AJC nothing — and it would gain us important "points" with the large Catholic community in the United States, as well as abroad.
4. Endorsing this move might also help to persuade the Vatican to establish diplomatic relations with Israel.
5. More than 100 nations throughout the world have established similar diplomatic relations with the Vatican.
6. In historical terms, the underlying reason for opposition to an envoy to the Vatican has been a deep anti-Catholicism, which today is an anachronism.

Arguments "con":

1. Since the President already has a personal representative to the Vatican, there is no need for an ambassador. (Pres. John F. Kennedy declined even to name a personal representative.)
2. The U.S. has an ambassador to Italy who is posted in Rome, with a full diplomatic staff, capable of whatever relationships and communication may be necessary or desirable with the Vatican.

3. The Holy See is an ecclesiastical entity, rather than a true sovereign state, and hence does not merit an ambassador.
4. Under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and its key principle of separation of church and state, it is not a proper function of the U.S. government to establish full diplomatic relations with the head of any religious body.
5. An ambassador to the head of the Roman Catholic church would be discriminatory because other major religious groups would not receive similar status.
6. AJC endorsement of this move would put us at odds with other major Christian groups who are opposed to the move, with whom we also seek good relations (National Council of Churches of Christ, National Association of Evangelicals, Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, etc.).
7. For its own clerical/political reasons, the Vatican has not seen fit to establish diplomatic relations with Israel heretofore, and is highly unlikely to alter this policy regardless of Jewish endorsement of a U.S. ambassador to the Vatican.

These are the major points that have occurred to me. Those receiving this memo may think of additional ones, "pro" or "con". In any event, it would seem that the matter ought to be addressed at the earliest opportunity by one of our lay bodies.

SR:lk

cc: Mimi Alperin
Hyman Bookbinder
Irving Levine
James Rudin
William Trosten
Gordon Zacks

P.S. My own personal view? Not unless the first ambassador is a Jewish woman.

M.T.

Church-state issue raised by move to strengthen US ties to Vatican

By Charlotte Saikowski
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

3

10.6.83

Washington

Will the United States become the 108th country to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican?

This is a strong possibility as the US Congress moves to repeal an 1867 law that prohibits the federal government from spending money for a diplomatic mission to the Vatican. The move is in the form of an amendment to the State Department authorization bill. Virtually unnoticed, the amendment has already passed the Senate by unanimous consent. It will soon be taken up in a House-Senate conference where, according to congressional sources, it has a good chance of being approved.

President Reagan has made no public mention of the issue. The administration is not actively supporting the Senate effort to clear the way for a change of US policy. But White House officials say the President generally favors the amendment, seeing in it some foreign policy advantages.

Appointing an ambassador to the Vatican would have enormous domestic political advantages for Mr. Reagan. Assuming he runs for reelection, the President will be courting the votes of labor and Roman Catholics, and an overture to the Vatican would be one way of doing this. In fact, the wooing seems to have begun. On his way home from China, Caspar W.



Pope, Weinberger confer in Vatican City

Weinberger stopped off to meet with Pope John Paul II, becoming the first US secretary of defense to meet with a pontiff in the Vatican.

Political observers also note that Reagan feels a special affinity for the present Pope, not only because of the latter's political role in Poland, but also because the two leaders share the experience of an assassination attempt.

Protestant and Jewish church groups, however, are vigorously protesting the congressional action. They view it as a breach of the constitutional principle of separation of church and state. The National Council of Churches, Baptist Joint Committee, National Association of Evangelicals, and several other organizations held a press conference at the Senate on Wednesday to voice their opposition to the legislative amendment.

"This is not a knee-jerk anti-Catholic reaction, but a commitment to religious

freedom," commented Gary Ross of the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists in a telephone interview. "The amendment would be a great affront to religious liberty, to the First Amendment, and to the church-state separation as it has worked out in the American environment, which means government neutrality to religion."

If approved in House-Senate conference, the amendment would not automatically lead to setting up a US mission at the Vatican. The legislation is merely advisory. It would be up to the President, who constitutionally appoints ambassadors, to act or not act on the congressional recommendation. But Reagan could come under intense political pressure to follow through.

Some State Department officials also favor the move. They note that, if relations with the Vatican were formalized — and the President does have a personal envoy to the Holy See — this would not be with the Pope as a religious leader but as a chief of state. This, they say, would offer better channels for exchange of information with the Vatican, which has tremendous influence and contacts throughout the world.

Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R) of Indiana, sponsor of the amendment, has criticized the "awkward charade" of the present situation in which American presidents have maintained personal representatives to the Vatican without formal diplomatic

ties. It is only "practical" to regularize relations, he told the Senate last month.

The Polish question has loomed large in Senate thinking. Sen. Dan Quayle (R) of Indiana, one of the cosponsors of the amendment, applauded the Pope's "successful intervention with Polish leaders" on behalf of the people of Poland.

"Under the courageous leadership of Pope John Paul II," Senator Quayle said on the Senate floor, "the Vatican state has assumed its rightful place in the world as an international voice. It is only right that this country show its respect for the Vatican by diplomatically recognizing it as a world state."

More than 100 countries now have diplomatic missions at the Vatican. Britain established formal relations last year, and Nepal recently became the 107th nation to do so.

Historically, the US has maintained formal diplomatic ties for only a brief period: 1848 to 1867. The prohibition against funding of a "legation in Rome" was passed at a time when the Vatican began losing its papal states to the Republic of Italy. In the recent period, Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan chose to have personal envoys to the Holy See, mindful of the domestic political benefits of such a policy. In 1951, Mr. Truman tried to establish formal ties but was blocked by a public outcry. A similar congressional move in 1977 also failed.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 24, 1983
to Marc Tanenbaum
from James Rudin
subject Diplomatic relations between the United States and the Vatican

Sam Rabinove's October 5th memo succinctly summed up all the basic pro and con arguments regarding U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Vatican. During my recent visit to Washington, I discussed the matter at some length with several Catholic officials including Dr. Eugene Fisher, the Executive Director for Catholic-Jewish Relations and Father Jack Hotchkin, the Executive Director of Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. They both said that U.S. recognition of the Vatican is not a high priority issue among Catholics at this time, and they felt it would not become a critical issue until and unless the question stirred up public anti-Catholic sentiment in this country.

My own sense is that we should neither endorse nor oppose U.S. recognition of the Vatican, rather we should stand ready to counter any outbreak of anti-Catholic feeling in this country. If such anti-Catholic feeling erupts, we can be sure that such diverse Catholics as Michael Novak, Andrew Greeley, Theodore Hesburgh and a host of others will react sharply. We need to anticipate the anti-Catholic feeling and join with our Catholic friends in countering it.

As a follow-up to Sam's "con" point #6, I am enclosing a copy of a press release that was issued earlier this month in Washington. It is interesting that the National Council of Churches, the National Association of Evangelicals and the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs all took part in the news conference. Because of the importance of this issue, I think it should be discussed by our appropriate lay bodies.

AJR:FM
 Enclosure

cc: Mimi Alperin
 Hyman Bookbinder
 Samuel Rabinove
 William Trosten
 Gordon Zacks



Press Release
10/5/83

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs is a national agency serving nine Baptist denominations in the United States and Canada with over 27,000,000 members in the cooperating churches. The cooperating denominations are American Baptist Churches in U.S.A., Baptist Federation of Canada, Baptist General Conference, National Baptist Convention of America, National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., North American Baptist Conference, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., Seventh Day Baptist General Conference and the Southern Baptist Convention. James M. Dunn is the Executive Director.

AMBASSADOR TO THE VATICAN

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs has consistently opposed the appointment of a Presidential envoy or ambassador to the Vatican.

Opposition to such an appointment has been based on our country's traditional adherence to the principle of separation of church and state. Any attempt to show preferential treatment to one particular church or religious body is a violation of this principle.

In light of the H.J. Res. 316 introduced by Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Clement Zablocki (D-Wis) which would permit the legal establishment of U.S. diplomatic ties to the Vatican, the Executive Committee of the Baptist Joint Committee reaffirms its opposition to such an establishment.

The Executive Committee of the Baptist Joint Committee also reaffirms its opposition to the U.S. Government giving preferential treatment to any church body. Such action is a threat to the principle of religious liberty for all persons.

Passed by the Executive Committee of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, October 4, 1983.

MEMO from Gene Fisher

To Marc Tenenbaum

Date 1/12/84

☒ For your information

☐ For necessary action

☐ For your comment

☐ Please return

☐ As per your request

Remarks Good statement!

Can I get the full
text?

16-1-10-84

ADD (520)

To 16-1-10-84, (Undated) — Vatican-U.S. ties...ADD the following:

The Rev. Jerry Falwell, a fundamentalist preacher and leader of the Moral Majority movement, who supported Reagan in the 1980 election campaign, also opposed the move, saying it set "a precedent which we will regret later." He asked how long it would be before Mecca, the chief holy city of Islam, makes a similar request for diplomatic recognition.

Dean Kelly, church-state specialist for the National Council of Churches, reiterated the NCC's official policy since 1951, which he said "maintains it is improper for the United States government to send an ambassador to any church." The NCC is an umbrella organization for U.S. Protestant and Orthodox churches with a combined membership of 40 million.

Not all non-Catholic reaction was negative, however. While a number of American Jewish organizations are on record opposing Vatican-U.S. ties on grounds of church-state separation, their response to the move was described as generally "muted"

(MORE)

by Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, director of Christian-Jewish relations of the American Jewish Committee.

One reason for this, he suggested, was the shared concern of American and world Jewry over the Soviet threat and recognition that the Holy See is an important force against that threat.

While noting the church-state concern of Jews, he also cited an argument that in terms of Vatican diplomacy, the Holy See can legitimately be considered "a 'secular' arm of the church, conceived as a sovereign state."

One thing remains, Rabbi Tanenbaum added, and that is for the Vatican to establish diplomatic relations with the state of Israel.

Manhattan-based Rabbi Arthur Schneier, president of the Interfaith Appeal of Conscience Foundation, welcomed the new diplomatic link as "a positive step."

It "carries with it the potential for more effective cooperation on issues of deep concern to American people and all humankind — issues of poverty, hunger, interfaith harmony, religious freedom and world peace," the rabbi said.

Catholic bishops who commented expressed similar hopes.

Cardinal Joseph Bernardin of Chicago said he believed that the diplomatic link "will strengthen communications between our government and the Holy See and will assist them both in their efforts to promote justice and peace throughout the world."

Archbishop Hickey said that Americans "recognize that the pope speaks of highest moral realities so important for us all."

His ability to communicate directly to the offices of so important a world power must necessarily result in reducing the fear of war and enhancing the prospects of peace," the Washington archbishop added. "His efforts to promote peace, to lessen tensions and to resolve disputes are activities that have long received the appreciation and generous cooperation of nations and peoples."

Cardinal Krol called the presidential envoy arrangement of recent years a "diplomatic anomaly, permitted by the Holy See out of special consideration to this nation and its chief executives."

"It is not the Catholic Church but the government of the United States which stands to benefit most from full diplomatic status in one of the most respected forums for peace in the world today," the Philadelphia cardinal said.

(Also contributing to this story were Marjorie Donohue in Miami and Chris Gunty in Chicago.)

END

19-1-10-84

ECUMENISM HELPED FORMAL U.S. TIES WITH HOLY SEE, VATICAN PAPER SAYS (310)

By John Thavis

VATICAN CITY (NC) — The resumption of U.S.-Vatican diplomatic relations was due partly to ecumenical dialogue between Christian churches and to the Holy See's increased prestige in international forums, the Vatican daily newspaper said Jan. 10.

"No one can escape the importance of today's event, which, as President Reagan recently said, is destined 'to correct an anomaly of history,'" said the newspaper, L'Osservatore Romano, in a front-page editorial.

The editorial, signed by one of the newspaper's editors, Paolo Befani, said the U.S. constitutional guarantee of the separation of church and state should not present an obstacle to its renewed diplomatic ties with the Vatican. Diplomatic recognition had existed during the 19th Century, ending in 1867, when a U.S. law was passed forbidding diplomatic relations with the Holy See. That law was rescinded last November, paving the way for the Jan. 10 announcement of mutual diplomatic recognition.

"A rule like this, which in substance aims at guaranteeing that the state does not favor any religion, should not affect relations with other organizations of international law, even if they are by nature of an ethical-religious character," the editorial said.

(MORE)

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Arthur M. Klebanoff

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

November 15, 1984

His Holiness Pope John Paul II
Vatican City
Rome, Italy

Your Holiness:

We are encouraged by reports that the Vatican is considering official recognition of the State of Israel. As Catholic and Jewish members of the United States Congress, we strongly favor mutual diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel and urge the prompt establishment of such relations.

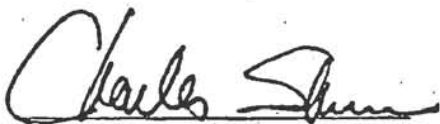
Because of Your Holiness's unswerving commitment to religious toleration, we seek Your Holiness's personal intervention to bring about this monumental affirmation of the kinship between the world's Catholics and Jews. The exchange of ambassadors between Israel and the Vatican would be a watershed in the history of Jewish-Catholic relations equivalent only to the Second Vatican Council.

The world has been moved by Your Holiness's repeated support for the national aspirations of all people. Recognition of Israel would be a manifest reaffirmation of that principle.

Please be assured that the favorable impact of this development would not only foster improved relations between Jews and Catholics but also strengthen the ties and friendship between the United States and the Holy See.

We entreat Your Holiness to proceed with this historic step to reinforce and enlarge our shared Judeo-Christian heritage, so fundamental to Western values.

Sincerely,



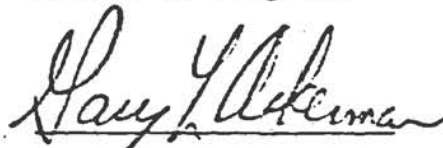
CHARLES E. SCHUMER
Member of Congress



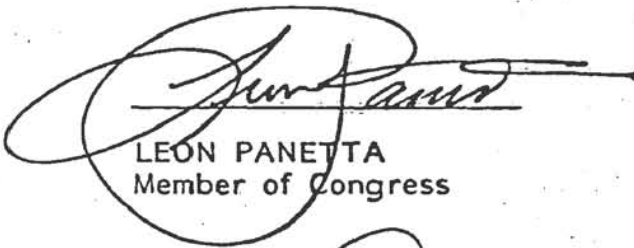
RICHARD J. DURBIN
Member of Congress




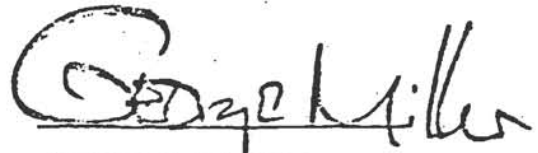
BARBARA B. KENNELLY
Member of Congress

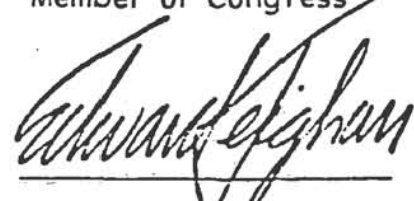


GARY L. ACKERMAN
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LEON PANETTA
Member of Congress


TED WEISS
Member of Congress



GEORGE MILLER
Member of Congress

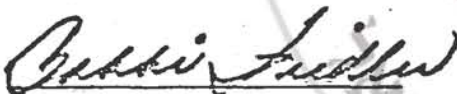

EDWARD F. FEIGHAN
Member of Congress



MEL LEVINE
Member of Congress

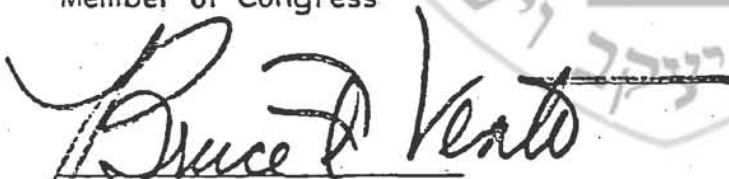

BILL GREEN
Member of Congress



GERRY SIKORSKI
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Member of Congress

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



Lois Gottesman
Jan. 27, 1983

Marc
Phx. Jewish News

Diplomatic relations established between United States, Vatican

NEW YORK (JTA) — Jewish spokesmen who have been involved in Vatican-Jewish relations have offered different views over the Jan. 10 announcement in Washington and at the Vatican that full diplomatic relations have been established between the U.S. and the Vatican for the first time in 117 years.

Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, said the action violated the constitutional principle of separation between church and state. But Dr. Marc Tanenbaum, director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee, and Rabbi Arthur Schneier, president of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, hailed the U.S. action.

Siegman said that while the AJCongress shared the Reagan Administration's respect for the espousal by Pope John Paul II of human rights and social justice, "It is our position that formal diplomatic relations with the Vatican violates that (church-state separation) constitutional principle."

Tanenbaum, former director of the AJCommittee's inter-religious affairs department, a post in which he was deeply associated with Vatican-Jewish relations, declared that from the

viewpoint of church-state separation, "many Protestants, joined by the American Jewish Congress, view the Holy See as an integral part of the Roman Catholic Church" and "thus the United States diplomatic recognition of the Vatican is perceived as a violation of the First Amendment."

However, Tanenbaum added, "there is a substantial body of scholarship" which makes a case "that both historically and theologically, the Holy See is a 'secular' arm of the Vatican conceived as a sovereign state."

After the announcement of U.S.-Vatican relations, both White House spokesman Larry Speakes and State Department spokesman John Hughes said there was no violation of church-state separation because the U.S. is recognizing the Holy See, rather than the Catholic Church itself.

Administration officials, in defending the action noted that 106 other countries have full diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

Tanenbaum used the news of the event to declare that "with this breakthrough" Jews have the right "to expect now another breakthrough — the Vatican's establishing of diplomatic relations with the sovereign state of Israel."

Vatican publication features rabbi's essay

VATICAN CITY — L'Osservatore Romano, the official newspaper of the Vatican, has published a special supplement in Italian on "The Jubilee Year and the Bible," featuring as its lead essay "Holy Year and Its Origins in the Jewish Jubilee Year" by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee.

Rabbi Tanenbaum, now AJC director of international relations, wrote the article at the re-

quest of Vatican authorities while he served as director of interreligious affairs of the American Jewish Committee.

This is believed to be the first time that the Vatican daily has featured such a full-length Jewish historical and theological essay by a Jewish author. When first published, the article was distributed by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to all the American Catholic bishops and Catholic seminaries as a resource document.

