



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

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

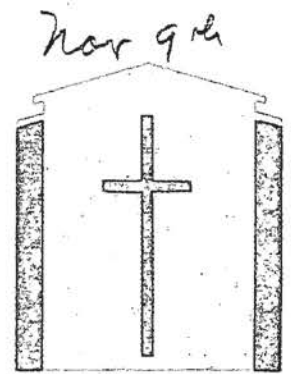
Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 97, Folder 1, General correspondence, memos & working papers, October-December 1977.

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST CONGREGATIONAL
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

W. ORIN WHITAKER
MINISTER

LORRAINE A. REVELLE
MINISTER OF MUSIC



October 5, 1977

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 65th Street
New York City, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

We are so looking forward to your visit with us in New Britain on November 9, 1977 to deliver the Second John Smalley Lecture.

I would like to remind you of the arrangements for that day. There will be a small dinner party about 6:00 p.m. and the lecture will be held in our sanctuary at 8:00. If you would let me know about your travel arrangements from New York City, I will be glad to arrange picking you up at either the railroad station in Berlin or the airport in Hartford. As I explained before, we will have a room booked for you in a nearby Holiday Inn.

In order to have the proper publicity before your lecture, it is important for me to have your subject immediately. I would also like you to send to me a black and white glossy photo of yourself as well as a copy of your personal resume. Besides the title of your lecture, I would appreciate a brief paragraph summarizing its content.

Again, let me say how very pleased we are that you will be our 1977 John Smalley Lecturer. I am sure that our entire community will be enriched by your presence here.

Sincerely,

W. Orin Whitaker

WOW/ef

10/17
Yanbi
Please send this week

October 10, 1977

Eli N. Evans
7 Lexington Avenue - Apt. 11D
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Eli:

First of all, congratulations and lots of luck in your new post! It should really be an exciting one and I know you'll feel free to call on us if we can be of any help at all to you.

I am enclosing a set of possible questions that you might direct to Morris and Vernon at our Saturday luncheon session in Atlanta (October 29th at the Omni International). As Richie Maass wrote you a few days ago, I hope you will plan to stay over and if so, bring your black tie because you will be on the Dais at our Dinner that evening. Also, we have made reservations for you at the Omni for Friday and Saturday nights and unless we hear from you to the contrary we will assume that that's okay with you.

These questions, which I am also forwarding to Morris and Vernon, are only suggestions. The three of you should perhaps try to get together in Atlanta that morning, if not before, and perhaps agree on which ones you would like to discuss. In any event, please feel free to call me about the session, which we have billed as "The South Revisited." I hope you won't take your job as moderator too seriously because we would like you to participate in the discussion as well--whenever you feel so inclined.

All the best to you.

Cordially,

Selma Hersh

SH/pcb
Encl.

P. S. Marc Tanenbaum will be in touch with you as soon as he has the text from Billy Graham, who will be speaking, as you know, at our luncheon on Friday. Any chance of your getting down there in time for that?

M.
T.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 12, 1977
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from Judith Banki
subject Re Claire Bishop

I have read Claire Bishop's tribute to Jules Isaac. It is an impressive and moving document. I am not sure it is appropriate for publication by us in its present form. On the other hand, I think the centennial of Isaac's birth is an event that should be commemorated in the United States, and I wonder why we should not be the ones to do it. Why let some other organization pick up the ball and run with it. I would like to see a kind of "Jules Isaac Remembered" volume to which contributions might be made by people like Ed Flannery, Gregory Baum, Eugene Fisher, John Pawlikowski, and appropriate Protestants (if there are any appropriate Protestants besides James Parkes). Madame Bishop's tribute would make a fitting introduction or ending for such a document, which would presumably spell out how the various contributors to the book were inspired and influenced by Isaac.

I would like to see us produce this kind of volume, because it would mark our own contribution to the field and our organizational association with the issues that Isaac raised. But it might be an expensive undertaking, and I am not sure how great a market there would be for it.

In any case you have to make a decision as to what you want to do about this paper very soon, because both the NCCJ and the World Council of Churches have expressed a desire to publish it. Also, please note two important questions raised by Claire in her Report on 1977 Summer Activities in Europe:

1. The question of a special meeting to honor Isaac (which you apparently told Claire you wished to do),
2. The question of some American funds for the ICCJ, whose only offer of assistance has come from Germany.

JB/es



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 20, 1977

to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

from Rabbi A. James Rudin

subject

I think you will find the enclosed material on the "International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences" quite interesting. A glance at the Board of Directors of the sponsoring International Cultural Foundation makes it abundantly clear that this is a Unification Church front group.

This annual conference has been going on for quite some time. Last year it was held in Washington and Danny Mann monitored a few of the sessions. Basically the conference seems to be a legitimate, if somewhat pompous scholarly affair. The participants, who will receive a stipend and travel expenses, are obviously happy to be there, and apparently no conversion efforts are made.

However, what Moon is obviously trying to achieve for his Unification Church is not recruits but respectability. In this regard, the presence of so many prominent Israeli and American Jewish scholars is most disturbing and troubling.

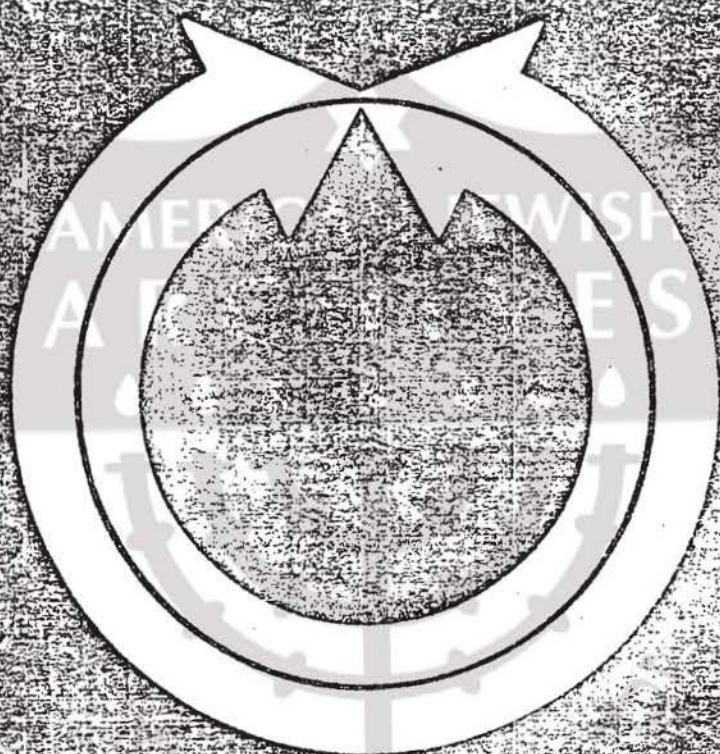
Nor can many of them plead ignorance. For some Jewish scholars this represents the second or third time they have attended an ICUS conference. I think we should consider what steps we might take in this area. The peer group pressure might be useful vis-a-vis the Jewish scholars and perhaps we should think about some other steps to inform the Jewish community just how Moon is using these scholars and for what purpose.

I am also enclosing a copy of Professor Irving Louis Horowitz's article entitled, "Science, Sin, and Sponsorship" which relates to this issue. I am most upset that so many outstanding professors are giving Moon the kind of legitimacy he simply doesn't deserve.

AJR:FM
 Encl.
 cc: Bert Gold
 Bernard Resnikoff
 Yehuda Roseman
 Ernest Weiner



THE SEARCH FOR ABSOLUTE VALUES
IN A CHANGING WORLD



ICUS

THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE
UNITY OF THE SCIENCES

NOVEMBER 25-27, 1977
Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco

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ICUS

AMERICAN JEWISH
PURPOSE
ARCHIVES
THE SIXTH
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE UNITY OF THE SCIENCES

Scholars and scientists pursue their specialized fields of study. We ask: to what extent do such pursuits help mankind? Our intellectual endeavors will solve human problems more effectively if we can agree on a standard of value to guide both the theoretical quest and the practical application of scientific knowledge. Without such agreement, our knowledge may lead to self-destruction.

The purpose of this international conference is to provide an opportunity for scholars and scientists to reflect on the nature of knowledge and to discuss the relationship of science to the standard of value. It is expected that the papers and the general discussions in the program will be of a scholarly and scientific nature.

The symbol of ICUS represents the dynamics of religious and scientific knowledge, or the subjective and the objective.

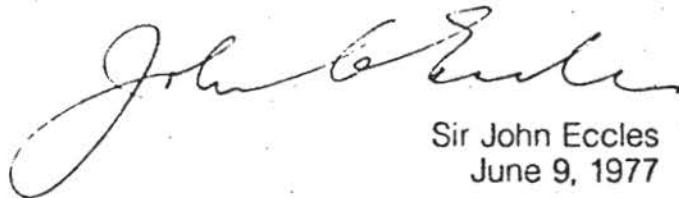
SIXTH ICUS THEME

THE SEARCH FOR ABSOLUTE VALUES IN A CHANGING WORLD

We are in the midst of the most critical period of mankind's long history of crises and revolutions. The world is changing with unprecedented speed and often in ways beyond prediction and control. In the past, crises in human history were often catastrophic in their impact, but were regional. Now they are global. The situation is exacerbated by the confrontations of great power blocks. The impending threat of nuclear annihilation compounds these problems. We feel how insignificant our efforts can be when pitted against this threat of overwhelming disaster.

Yet we have immense resources in the great cultural tradition of which we are the heirs. It is in this tradition that our conference is devoted to an analysis and evaluation of the factors responsible for our present crises and to an assessment of the many ways in which reason and sanity can eventually come to prevail. In the search for absolute values we can achieve a wise appraisal of the problem in the light of the accumulated wisdom of mankind. And hopefully we can suggest principles that can give guidance in the attempts to solve or ameliorate the grave problems of the changing world in our times.

What then are the preferred programs for the future? The exploration and development of such programs will be a large part of our creative and critical thinking at this conference. We must recognize that no one has a prerogative of truth. But we can be honest and courageous searchers. We must try to discover, in our guidance by values, the ways to ameliorate conditions in a piecemeal manner. No dogmatic pronouncements should be made of certain salvation from this or that evil. Rather should we adopt a modest position where there is continuous and critical evaluation of the proposed remedies and their continual updating in the light of this appraisal. Even the guiding principles should be continuously updated in the light of new insights into the nature of man as revealed in the search for absolute values.



Sir John Eccles
June 9, 1977

SIXTH ICUS CHAIRMAN'S BOARD



SIR JOHN ECCLES, CHAIRMAN
Locarno, Switzerland
Neuroscience

COMMITTEE I RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

COMMITTEE II THE SOCIAL SCIENCES



Richard L. Rubenstein
Florida State University
Religion



Daniel Lerner
M.I.T.
Sociology

COMMITTEE III THE LIFE SCIENCES

COMMITTEE IV THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES



Kenneth Mellanby
Institute of Terrestrial
Ecology, UK
Zoology



Eugene P. Wigner
Princeton University
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3. Sir John Eccles	Neuroscience	Locarno, Switzerland
4. Max Jammer	History of Science	Bar-Ilan University, Israel
5. R.V. Jones	Natural Philosophy	Aberdeen University, Scotland
6. Brian Josephson	Physics	University of Cambridge, UK
7. Alexander King	Chemistry	Co-Chairman, International Federation of Institutes for Advanced Study, France
8. Nicholas Kurti	Physics	University of Oxford, UK
9. T.A. Lambo	Medicine	WHO, Geneva, Switzerland
10. Hang-Nyong Lee	Philosophy of Law	President, Hong-Ik University, Korea
11. Masatoshi Matsushita	Law	President, Professors World Peace Academy of Japan
12. Kenneth Mellanby	Zoology	Institute of Terrestrial Ecology, UK
13. Yuval Ne'eman	Physics	Tel Aviv University, Israel
14. Sir Karl Popper	Philosophy	University of London, UK
15. U.S. von Euler	Medicine	Karolinska Institute, Sweden
16. Herman Wold	Statistics	University of Uppsala, Sweden
17. Antonino Zichichi	Subnuclear Physics	CERN, Geneva, Switzerland

AGENDA

24 November
Thursday

- 1:00 PM Thanksgiving Dinner for Early Arrivals
- 3:00 PM Orientation for First-Time Participants
- 4:00 PM "Magic Lantern" Presentations
- 7:30 PM General Reception

25 November
Friday

- 7:45 AM Breakfast
- 9:00 AM Opening Plenary Session
 - Founder's Address—Reverend Sun Myung Moon
 - Chairman's Address—Sir John Eccles
 - Committee I Chairman—Richard L. Rubenstein
 - Committee II Chairman—Daniel Lerner
 - Committee III Chairman—Kenneth Mellanby
 - Committee IV Chairman—Eugene P. Wigner
- 10:15 AM Break
- 11:00 AM Committees Meet—Group A Presentations (See p. 8)
- 1:00 PM Luncheon
- 3:00 PM Committees Meet—Group B Presentations (See p. 8)
- 5:00 PM Break
- 5:30 PM Committee Meetings Continued—Groups B
- 7:00 PM Dinner
- 8:15 PM Discussion—Committee Chairmen each chair a voluntary joint discussion of their respective Groups A & B after a brief report from Group A & B Chairmen.
- 9:30 PM Break

26 November
Saturday

- 7:45 AM Breakfast
- 9:00 AM Committees Meet—Group C Presentations (See p. 9)
- 10:30 AM Break

26 November
Saturday

11:15 AM Committee Meetings Continued—Groups C
12:30 PM Luncheon
2:30 PM Committees Meet—Group D Presentations (See p. 9)
4:30 PM Break
5:15 PM Committee Meetings Continued—Groups D
6:30 PM Dinner
7:45 PM Discussion—Committee Chairmen each chair a voluntary
joint discussion of their respective Groups C & D
after a brief report from Group C & D Chairmen.
9:00 PM Break

27 November
Sunday

8:45 AM Breakfast
10:00 AM Discussion Groups—Meeting of Multidisciplinary
Groups to deal with relevant problems of collective
concern (See pp. 10-11).
11:30 AM Break
12:00 PM Discussion Groups Continued
1:00 PM Luncheon
2:30 PM Concluding Plenary Session
Report—Sir John Eccles
Reports—Committee Chairmen (5 minutes each)
Three Plenary Speakers (20 minutes each)
Chairman's Statement
4:00 PM Break
4:30 PM Performance by New York City Symphony
5:30 PM Break
7:00 PM Farewell Dinner and Entertainment

28 November
Monday

7:45 AM Breakfast

THEME—COMMITTEES I & II

(Preliminary Program)

COMMITTEE I RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Richard L. Rubenstein
Florida State University, USA

GROUPS

A. Philosophies as Alternative Modes of Social Praxis.

CHAIRMAN: Arne Naess
University of Oslo, Norway

SPEAKER: John Rodman
Claremont Graduate School, USA

SPEAKER: Paul Shepard
Pitzer College, USA

SPEAKER: Joseph W. Meeker
Athabasca University, Canada

B. Comparative Religious Responses to Modernization.

CHAIRMAN: Walter Kaufmann
Princeton University, USA

SPEAKER: Ravi Ravindara
Dalhousie University, Canada

SPEAKER: Seyyed Hossein Nasr
Imperial Iranian Academy
of Philosophy, Teheran

SPEAKER: R.J. Zwi Werblowsky
Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

C. Religion and Society.

CHAIRMAN: H. Martin Rumscheidt,
Atlantic School of Theology, Canada

SPEAKER: Mary Catherine Bateson
Reza Shah Kabir University, Iran

SPEAKER: Lonnie D. Kliever,
Southern Methodist University, USA

SPEAKER: Douglas J. Hall
McGill University, Canada

D. Religion and Science.

CHAIRMAN: Frederick Ferré
Dickinson College, USA

SPEAKER: Ben-Ami Scharfstein
Tel-Aviv University, Israel

SPEAKER: Donald R. Ferrell
Doane College, USA

COMMITTEE II THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Daniel Lerner
M.I.T., USA

GROUPS

A. Intercultural Communication in a Changing World.

CHAIRMAN: To be announced

SPEAKER: Majid Teheranian
Iran Communications and
Development Institute, Teheran

SPEAKER: Y.B. Mahmud
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

B. Values, Policy and the Control of Violence.

CHAIRMAN: To be announced

SPEAKER: Selo Soemardjan
University of Indonesia, Jakarta

SPEAKER: Ratna Naidu
Indian Institute of Economics,
Hyderabad, India

SPEAKER: Serif Mardin
Bogazaci University, Istanbul, Turkey

C. Projecting a New Economic World Order.

CHAIRMAN: To be announced

SPEAKER: Oktay Yenal
World Bank, India

SPEAKER: Philip M. Hauser
University of Chicago, USA

SPEAKER: Abba P. Lerner
Queen's College, NY, USA

D. Shaping a New Political World Order.

CHAIRMAN: To be announced

SPEAKER: Georges Berthoin
Trilateral Commission, Paris, France

SPEAKER: Kasim Gulék
Ankara, Turkey

SPEAKER: Richard C. Löwenthal,
Free University,
West Berlin, Germany

COMMITTEES III & IV

(Preliminary Program)

COMMITTEE III THE LIFE SCIENCES

Kenneth Mellanby
Institute of Terrestrial Ecology, UK

GROUPS

A. The Ethics of Research on Recombinant DNA.

CHAIRMAN: Claude A. Vिलее, Jr.
Harvard University, USA

SPEAKER: Clifford Grobstein
U. of California, San Diego, USA

B. Health Care as a Global Problem - Social and Behavioral Aspects.

CHAIRMAN: Edwin W. Brown
(tent.) Indiana University, USA

C. Health Care as a Global Problem in our Changing World.

CHAIRMAN: Julian L. Ambrus,
SUNY-Buffalo, USA

SPEAKER: D. Tejada-de-Rivero
WHO, Geneva, Switzerland

D. Biological Foundation of Altruism, Dedication and Egoism.

CHAIRMAN: Albert Somit
SUNY-Buffalo, USA

SPEAKER: W.D. Hamilton
Imperial College, UK

SPEAKER: David P. Barash
University of Washington, USA

COMMITTEE IV THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Eugene P. Wigner
Princeton University, USA

GROUPS

A. Limits of Science.

CHAIRMAN: Antonino Zichichi
CERN, Geneva, Switzerland

B. A Consideration of the Universe as a Whole.

CHAIRMAN: Yuval Ne'eman
Tel-Aviv University, Israel

SPEAKER: Bernard Oliver
Hewlett-Packard Co., USA

C. The Brain-Mind Problem in Relation to the Physical Sciences.

CHAIRMAN: Karl H. Pribram
Stanford University, USA

SPEAKER: Daniel N. Robinson
Georgetown University, USA

SPEAKER: Otto Creutzfeldt
Max-Planck Institute, W. Germany

D. The Boundaries of Science and Technology.

CHAIRMAN: Max Jammer
Bar-Ilan University, Israel

SPEAKER: Dudley Shapere
University of Maryland, USA

SUNDAY DISCUSSION GROUPS

(Preliminary Program)

1. Media Freedom and Responsibility.

MODERATOR: Sir Charles Moses
Asian Broadcasting Union, Australia

SPEAKER: Reed J. Irvine
Accuracy in Media, Inc., USA

SPEAKER: Douglass Cater
Observer International, Inc., UK

2. Death and the Meaning of Life.

MODERATOR: John Hick
University of Birmingham, UK

SPEAKER: Kai Nielsen
University of Calgary, Canada

SPEAKER: Norris Clarke, S.J.
Fordham University, USA

3. The Relationship of Government and Business to the Individual in Democratic and Totalitarian Systems.

MODERATOR: To be announced

SPEAKER: Erwin K. Scheuch
University of Cologne, W. Germany

4. The Ways and Means of Multidisciplinary Studies.

MODERATOR: To be announced

SPEAKER: Herman Wold
University of Uppsala, Sweden

SPEAKER: Alexandre Marc
Centre International De
Formation Européene, France

5. Science as an Experience of the Absolute.

MODERATOR: To be announced

SPEAKER: Enrico Cantore
Fordham University, USA

6. The Future of Humanity in a World of Finite Resources.

MODERATOR: To be announced

SPEAKER: Alexander King
IFIAS, Paris, France

DISCUSSANT: René-Jean Dupuy
University of Nice, France

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

7. Scientific Research and Enquiry:
Ivory Tower or the Market Place,
Slaughterhouse or Shangri-La?

MODERATOR: To be announced

SPEAKER: Nicholas Kurti
University of Oxford, UK

8. Future of the Family: A Cross-Cultural Perspective.

MODERATOR: Marvin B. Sussman
Bowman Gray School
of Medicine, USA

SPEAKER: Kivuto Ndeti
Centre for African Family
Studies, Kenya

9. How Can Atomic Energy Help Man's Future?

MODERATOR: To be announced

SPEAKER: Bernard L. Cohen
University of Pittsburgh, USA

10. Alienation and Identification.

MODERATOR: To be announced

SPEAKER: Morton A. Kaplan
University of Chicago, USA

SPEAKER: S.N. Eisenstadt
Hebrew University, Israel

11. The Systematic Interrelation of Types of Values.

MODERATOR: Alexander Szalai
Karl Marx University
of Economic Sciences, Hungary

SPEAKER: John N. Findlay
Boston University, USA

SPEAKER: Nikki R. Keddie
UCLA, USA

12. The Role of Education in Imparting Values.

MODERATOR: To be announced

SPEAKER: Robert MacVicar
Oregon State University, USA

13. The Social Meaning of Artistic Creativity.

MODERATOR: Adam Schaff
Centre Européen des Sciences
Sociales, Vienna, Austria

SPEAKER: René Berger
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Switzerland

SPEAKER: Mikel Dufrenne
University of Paris X, France

GENERAL INFORMATION

- PARTICIPANTS:** International scientists and scholars from all fields of study throughout the world.
- LANGUAGE:** The spoken and written language will be English.
- GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION:** 225 Participants from the Americas;
100 Participants from Europe and Africa;
75 Participants from Asia and Australia.
- CATEGORY OF PARTICIPANTS:** "A" Category: All expenses covered for travel, hotel and official meals.
"A-" Category: Partial coverage of travel expenses; hotel and official meals will be covered.
"B" Category: Must pay own travel expenses, but hotel and official meals will be covered.
"C" Category: Must pay own travel and hotel expenses, but official meals will be covered.
- OBSERVERS:** No expenses will be paid. Must pay the registration fee of \$25.00 and submit curriculum vitae to observe the Conference. Tickets for official meals may be purchased.
- PROCEDURES FOR THE CONFERENCE:**
1. *Specially invited papers* (10-15 typewritten pages) on assigned lecture topics will be mailed to participants to be read in advance of the Conference.
 2. *Assigned commentators* will receive their papers for comment in advance and will prepare their remarks (maximum 5 typewritten pages) to be presented at the Conference.
 3. *Discussion* at the Conference will proceed with each author presenting the highlights of his paper (15 minutes) and each commentator responding with a brief presentation of his remarks (5 minutes). The remainder of the time will be devoted to open exchange.
 4. *In General*, participants are free to attend the formal Committee sessions and Sunday Discussion Groups of their choice. Attendance at the "Magic Lantern" presentations on Thursday afternoon and at the informal discussions on Friday and Saturday evenings is open and voluntary.

CONFERENCE SECRETARIAT:

The Sixth ICUS
The International Cultural Foundation
Post Office Box 3939, Grand Central Station
New York, New York 10017 Phone: (212) 730-5772

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Michael Young Warder
ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL: Richard R. Wojcik
PUBLICATIONS DIRECTOR: Glenn Carroll Strait



ICF

THE INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL FOUNDATION

The International Cultural Foundation, sponsor of the International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences, is a non-profit organization dedicated to promoting academic, scientific, religious and cultural exchange among the countries of the world. Founded in 1968 by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, the Foundation is now headquartered in New York with branches throughout the world.

The International Cultural Foundation is authorized to receive and is supported by contributions. Grateful appreciation is given to the Unification Church for its financial support which makes the ICUS series possible.

Activities sponsored by the International Cultural Foundation include:

- International cultural and artistic exchange involving the performing and the fine arts
- Academic exchange programs and scholarly research
- Publishing books and magazines of cultural significance
- Public welfare and general good will to all nations

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Paul Werner	W. Germany

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HISTORY

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE UNITY OF THE SCIENCES

FIRST ICUS

The First International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences was held in November, 1972 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. Under the theme "Moral Orientation of the Sciences", twenty scientists and scholars from eight nations deliberated on the possible moral orientation of science which could be provided by the model of unified science developed primarily by the Conference Chairman, Edward Haskell, also President of the co-sponsoring body, the Council for the Unified Research and Education.

SECOND ICUS

From the useful discussions and conclusions of the First Conference in New York, the Foundation sponsored the Second ICUS in November, 1973, at the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, Japan. Sixty scientists and scholars from eighteen nations focused on the theme of "Modern Science and Moral Values". The academic program, under Chairmanship of Nobusige Sawada, Professor of Philosophy at Keio University, provided a forum in which the participants could share their strivings to resolve the dilemma of the quantitative nature of science and the qualitative nature of values.

THIRD ICUS

The Third International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences was held in November, 1974 at the Royal Lancaster Hotel in London, England. In attendance were 128 participants representing 27 countries, including 17 Nobel Laureates. Lord Adrian, the Honorary Chairman, greeted the scientists and expressed his hopes for the Conference which had for its theme, "Science and Absolute Values". Co-chairman Kenneth Mellanby delivered the Keynote Address in which he stressed the necessity of the devotion to truth for the realization of scientific unity. Co-Chairman R.V. Jones' Closing Address, giving hope of meaningful results born of the Conference, stressed the need of "great good will and selflessness, and a great deal of careful thought in the future application and encouragement of science."

FOURTH ICUS

In November, 1975, the ICUS returned to New York's Waldorf-Astoria for its Fourth Annual

meeting. With 340 participants from 57 nations in attendance, including 11 Nobel Laureates, the scale and academic standards of the Conference increased significantly.

Commenting on the Conference theme, "The Centrality of Science and Absolute Values", Honorary Chairman Robert S. Mulliken said, "It seems to me that within each science we have a satisfactory system of values, but much more can be done in developing the interdisciplinary areas. It is impossible for any one individual nowadays to be master of all disciplines. However, we can progress in patching together a mosaic which leads toward unification". Section Chairman Morton A. Kaplan also remarked, "I am delighted that this Conference is dedicated to the understanding that human values and science are inextricably linked."

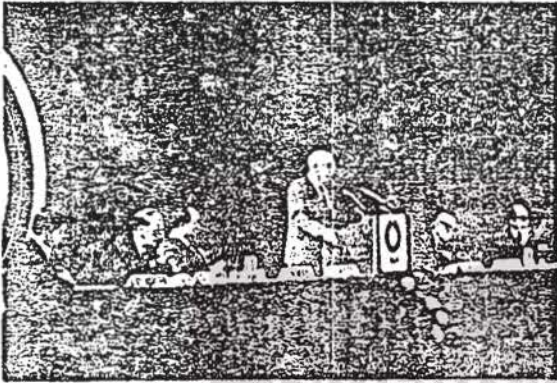
A highlight of the Fourth ICUS was Sir John Eccles' Keynote Address at the Commemorative Banquet. In it, Sir John stated, "I predict that a great scientific revolution is beginning, but the inquisitors are becoming alerted and regard this proposed extension of science as a threat to scientific orthodoxy. . . . Beyond science are the existential problems of the existence of the cosmos on the one hand, and of one's own conscious existence here and now, on the other. . . . These existential problems require a supernatural explanation to be admitted by we scientists in all humility."

Finally, the summary remarks of Paul A. Weiss underscored the future potential of the Conference: "To see a convergence, such as has taken place at this meeting, is a true phenomenon these days. It is contrary to the fragmentation of specialization. To see this is a turning point in scientific thinking."



Informal discussion of Group Topic, "Science & Values" at Fifth ICUS, Washington, D.C.

REPORT ON FIFTH ICUS



Sir John Eccles gives Chairman's Address at Fifth ICUS Opening Plenary Session.

Under the general theme of "The Search for Absolute Values: Harmony Among the Sciences", the Fifth ICUS convened on November 26-28, 1976 at the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. This historic conference drew nearly 400 leaders of the world academic community from 53 nations.

In his traditional Founder's Address at the Opening Plenary Session, Reverend Sun Myung Moon expressed his thoughts about the Fifth ICUS as follows: "I sincerely hope that this conference will contribute to providing solutions for the various problems present in human society and to straightening the path to the future. I urge all of you, no matter what your religion, nationality or academic point of view freely and fully to bring the results of your research to these meetings and discussions so that the general welfare of mankind might be better served. May your efforts become a decisive, contributing factor towards the realization of an ideal world of peace, happiness and love".

Sir John Eccles, Conference Chairman and distinguished Nobel Laureate, clarified the general theme in the following way: "The cultural achievements of mankind bear witness to *the search for absolute values* that has motivated and inspired the great creative geniuses. It can be said that, symbolically, absolute values have provided a guiding beacon light. . . . *The harmony among the sciences* derives from their common metaphysical principles: namely that creative imagination is exercised in at-

tempting to develop hypotheses that are in conformity with existing knowledge and that are challenged by new evidence that is discovered by research. Always the aim is to approach closer and closer to absolute truth. . . ."

The theme was variously expanded and evaluated in the four major committees—I. Religion and Philosophy, II. The Social Sciences and Humanities, III. The Life Sciences, and IV. The Physical Sciences—chaired respectively by Frederick Sontag, Morton A. Kaplan, Miguel R. Covian and Eugene P. Wigner.

In a widely discussed paper entitled, "A Consideration of the Philosophical Implications of the New Physics", Max Jammer underlined the relevance of the conference theme in view of the remarkable advancements in physics during this century. He stated: ". . . whereas both Aristotelian and Newtonian physics, by integration with philosophy, produced each a coherent and intellectually satisfying world picture, modern physics has not been able to do so. This is the reason, I believe, that for the first time in the history of human rational thought the physicist finds himself, in spite—or perhaps rather because—of the unprecedented extension of his horizon into the realm of both the submicroscopically small and the cosmologically large, lost in a universe which he does not comprehend. It is not likely that physics alone can change this situation. Probably only through a harmonious cooperation with other sciences and with philosophy can physics reach again a coherent picture of the world."

At the Closing Plenary Session, W.H. Thorpe alerted participants to the 'existential vacuum' of meaninglessness borne out of modern scientifically oriented society. Regarding the limitation of science in solving this modern crisis, Thorpe concluded: "Science, of course, as we all know, answers the need for 'understanding' in the more limited sense, and is opening ever enlarging vistas of the stupendous complexity and beauty of the created universe. But in general, this does not, by itself, help to assuage the need for meaning. Belief in 'meaning' in this sense, rests on religious faith or on an accepted system of myths as to the nature of the world and the relation of man to it".

COMMENTS ON ICUS

**ROGER W. SPERRY, CALIFORNIA
INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY:**

For some years I have been arguing that nothing could be of greater strategic importance at this point than to get science to unite behind a concerted effort to better understand the origins and the structure of human value systems and what the world-view of modern science could contribute to these and to man's current search for a new improved ethic and higher meaning. Probably nothing would have more profound influence on the future course of events than some corrective changes in the value systems by which man lives and governs.

**MIGUEL R. COVIAN,
UNIVERSITY OF SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL:**

I think this kind of Conference is an urgent necessity for scientists and scholars who run the risk of being isolated in their own speciality, losing in this way the knowledge of the total reality. I dare say these Conferences have already caused great impact on scientists and scholars all over the world.

**CLAUDE A. VILLEE, JR.
HARVARD UNIVERSITY, USA:**

It was a very stimulating experience to think about and discuss the broader, more far reaching implications of science in contrast to the very narrowly focused discussions in our usual national or international scientific symposia. . . . I want to congratulate you upon the superb organization of the symposium and the remarkable smoothness with which all the events occurred.

**TOR RAGNAR GERHOLM,
UNIVERSITY OF STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN:**

Having had the great pleasure of taking part in all but the very first ICUS I feel qualified to say that there has been a steady increase in scope and quality during the four years I have been a participant.

**M. RAZIUDDIN SIDDIQI,
PAKISTAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE:**

There is a very strong need for such a Conference on the Unity of the Sciences to bring together those scholars from various regions of the world who are convinced of the importance of the "one-world" concept. In the present day world which is heading towards a nuclear catastrophe because of the decline of moral and spiritual values, such assemblies of knowledgeable and thoughtful leaders of different races and creeds are most valuable for building up "the defense of peace in the minds of men".

**GERARD RADNITZKY, UNIVERSITY OF
TRIER, WEST GERMANY:**

It is a unique opportunity to meet scientists and scholars from widely different fields, many of whom belong to the best in the disciplines concerned and to discuss with them themes transcending the boundaries of any single discipline.

**SHIRLEY B. JOHNSON,
VASSAR COLLEGE, USA:**

I was very pleased by the hard work of my committee, which really tried to engage in multi-disciplinary discussions of a very difficult topic. People in the committee were most impressive because of their excellent minds, their openness to looking at problems in new ways, and their great good will. I made friends and acquaintances with whom I have since exchanged papers and thoughts. For me it was a very creative experience, and I came away surprised at how much had been stimulated in me.

**KIVUTO NDETI, CENTRE FOR AFRICAN
FAMILY STUDIES, KENYA:**

The Conference is already an important forum for the interdisciplinary approach to world problems.

SCIENCE, SIN, AND SPONSORSHIP

by Irving Louis Horowitz

Why *not* accept a fat fee, a few nights on the cuff at one of America's snappiest hotels, and a chance to rub elbows with some of America's intellectual giants? Here's why not.



As they have for the past four years, a group called the International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences (ICUS) met last November to discuss the "search for absolute values." That the conference took place in the comparative luxury of the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. (the previous year's meeting was at New York's Waldorf-Astoria) is hardly unusual. Scholarly conferences in affluent surroundings have long been viewed as a perquisite of the intellectual class. What was unusual about the Washington conference was its eclectic assortment of attending academic stars, drawn from all fields and all nations. Stranger still, the founder and keynoter at these annual gatherings is Reverend Sun Myung Moon, spiritual leader of the Unification Church, which spent more than \$500,000 drawn from several sources to bring approximately 400 scholars together for last November's conference.

The chairman of the meeting was Nobel laureate Sir John Eccles. The four section committee chairmen were Frederick Sontag, representing philosophy; Morton A. Kaplan, representing social science; Kenneth Mellanby, the biological sciences; and Eugene P. Wigner, Nobel laureate and keynoter for the physical science section. The list of group chairmen and American and international advisers reads like a Who's Who of the scholarly world—or better, one section of that world—including Sir Karl Popper, Herman Wold, Willis E. Lamb, and Frederick Seitz. Attending were such eminent figures in social science as Daniel Lerner of MIT, Harold Lasswell of Yale University, and Dan V. Segre of the Hebrew University. The philosophy talent included Richard L. Rubenstein, Archie J. Bahm, Eliseo Vivas, Michel Dufrenne, and Geoffrey Parrinder. On the international advisory board are Arthur Koestler, Paul A. Weiss from biology, U. S. Von Euler from medicine, and Gerhard Herzberg and Willis Lamb, both Nobel laureates in physics. But once beyond this stellar list of sponsors, the fall-off is striking. Participants included everyone from consciousness-raising entrepreneurs to self-styled experts on Korean history. For these people, the motive for attending was probably less ideological than fiscal. With the decline in university-supported travel funds, all-expenses-paid trips to Washington are all but irresistible.

Rev. Sun Myung Moon

However, what each participant stands for is of less concern to the sponsors than the legitimation the participants provide to the Unification Church. Legitimacy can be gained in two ways—by earning it over time or buying it in a hurry. Moon's way is the latter. More than 30,000 devoted followers of Reverend Moon, averaging twenty-four years of age, can now point with pride to people the age of their parents (but presumably brighter) who share their religious values. Thus, whatever the intent of the participants, their impact strengthens the Moon commitment.

Conference participants were divided into three categories: eminent people for whom "all expenses are paid for travel, hotel and official meals"; prominent persons holding positions of leadership outside of the academic community, who must "pay their travel expenses" but for whom "hotel expenses and official meals are paid"; and the promising neophytes who "must pay their own travel and hotel," but for whom "official meals are paid." A fourth category of people are so important—either organizationally or intellectually—that they received a considerable honorarium (reportedly as much as \$3000) for their participation.

The participation of such a distinguished group inhibits criticism, but what the sponsors clearly were not about to reveal was the number of academics like myself who were contacted but refused to participate. From an informal sample, I know that such leading scholars as Seymour Martin Lipset, Amitai Etzioni, and Elise Boulding in sociology; Ernest Nagel and Abraham Edel in philosophy; Kenneth Boulding in economics; and Saul Mendlovitz in law and international relations, declined their invitations. What *are* the ground rules for conference participation and organizational affiliations? What *is* the proper relationship between either a private or government donor and a scientific recipient, since what is often transacted is not funds but services?

In this case I can think of several powerful reasons for not participating in the activities of this conference, and for scrutinizing its sponsorship.

The Reverend Sun Myung Moon has made no effort to deny a number of crucial points. First, Reverend Moon is engaged in arms production in South Korean tool factories. A *New York Times* article claims that 10 percent of the production in his factories is dedicated to armaments. Second, this industrial conglomerate in South Korea has sales of \$15 million annually. Third, in the wake of the Watergate scandal, Reverend Moon organized a media campaign of support for the then beleaguered President Richard M. Nixon, including

full-page advertisements in American newspapers, telling Americans that "God has chosen Mr. Nixon to be President and, therefore, only God has the authority to dismiss him." Fourth, through the person of Lieutenant Colonel Pak Bo Hi, Moon's translator and closest associate, a clear line seems to run between President Park Chung Hee and the Korean CIA. Pak is also a member of the board of directors of the International Cultural Foundation. And this board and its officers represent the real ruling body of ICUS.

Reverend Moon operates much more than the Unification Church in this country. Through political mechanisms such as the Freedom Leadership Foundation, he lobbies for United States military and economic support to South Korea. His American Youth for a Just Peace was a crucial conduit aiding right-wing Republicanism during the final years of the Nixon Administration. Through Pak Bo Hi, and other Korean associates such as Park Tong Sun, Reverend Moon controls nearly half the stock in the recently formed Diplomat National Bank of Washington, D. C. It has branches in twelve Western democracies (plus Korea) with "world headquarters" at the Moon Center in Tarrytown, New York. The International Cultural Foundation represents Reverend Moon's penetration of the intellectual community. These support foundations, like the Unification Church itself, are tax exempt and are declared adjuncts to religious institutions registered as nonprofit educational organizations. In this fashion Reverend Moon has been able to control considerable assets, estimated at more than \$20 million in the United States alone. His financial resources have permitted his organization to engage in congressional lobbying and other forms of political activity that may or may not be compatible with a tax-exempt status.

Moon's ideology is organized around the theme of crude, unadorned anticommunism. Among the key points made by Reverend Moon in a rare interview given to *Newsweek* is that messianic salvationism is central: "The Unification Church is not another denomination. It is a movement to save the world." The three ills that God presumably has commanded Reverend Moon to cure are "moral corruption, division within Christianity, and communism as the primary evil force in the world."

Reverend Moon is clearheaded enough not to claim directly that he is the Messiah. He does add: "I am just following God's instructions."

In true messianic fashion, Moon claims to have been "ordered to act as were many prophets in history." Beyond that, he assures his flock that he is "in daily communication with God."

When I became aware of the sponsorship and nature of this conference I registered my unwillingness to participate with Michael Young Warder, identified as secretary-general for the Fifth International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences. Warder's primary responsibility is to serve as director of the "Moonie" training center at Tarrytown, New York. The center has been the object of many complaints by parents that authoritarian psychological techniques are employed there to gain adherence and converts.

In response to my letter bringing to his attention that the founder of ICUS is Reverend Sun Myung Moon, and asking for some clarification of Reverend Moon's role, Warder informed me that freedom of speech would be maintained and that Reverend Moon's participation would be restricted to giving an initial convocation of the gathering. Coincidentally, in the letter of invitation, the first paragraph mentions not Reverend Moon but rather Sir John Eccles, Nobel laureate, who served as chairman of the 1976 conference at the Washington Hilton Hotel. Only by the most careful perusal does one come upon the name of Reverend Moon, since it does not appear on the preliminary agenda. He is listed on one of the sheets governing the organization of the ICUS meetings, and there as founder. Interesting too, of all participants, he alone is not provided with any category of interests or any place or institution.

As a social scientist, I did take the liberty of contacting those members of the U. S. advisory board and international advisory board who were most closely linked to the social and behavioral sciences. The responses I received represent a cross section of American scholarship. Frederick Sontag, professor of philosophy at Pomona College, and currently working on a biography of Sun Myung Moon, represented the dominant thinking of those who replied:

Since I have been consulted about the formation of the Vth ICUS and the questions to be discussed, as well as those invited to participate, I can say that Rev. Moon's role is that of sponsor. Those organizing the conference have had every assistance but also every liberty to structure the conference according to the topics selected by those involved. I have myself seen no way in which the conference is as such linked to the Rev. S. M. Moon's own religious doctrine. I think perhaps the best answer I can give is that I know of no agenda except the questions and topics announced by

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the group charged with planning the conference, and I know of no formal discussions planned except those generated by the invited papers.

The Distinguished Professor of International Relations at the University of Chicago, Morton A. Kaplan, expressed a sincere appreciation for my concerns and those of others, but indicated his own experience to be as follows:

I participated last year as a Section Chairman and also as a Committee Chairman. In no respect was there any effort by Mr. Moon to control the intellectual content of the conference apart from his own ten-minute Sponsor's presentation. I see no reason to believe that this will change and hope very much that you will be able to participate.

The distinguished Nobel Prize physicist at Princeton University, Eugene P. Wigner, assured me that "Reverend Moon did not try to influence the substance of the last meeting, the one I attended." Dr. Wigner went on to say: "Reverend Moon in his opening speech said that everyone should give his opinion as clearly as he can and should not feel influenced." As if to lend weight to this, Professor Wigner, long known as a strong anticommunist, noted, "Frankly, I do not put much weight on the sponsorship of the conferences I attend. In fact, I have attended conferences sponsored by communist governments."

Paul Weiss, a biologist at the Rockefeller University, also saw the previous meeting of ICUS as being "quite constructive and wholly unprejudiced." But more, he indicated a philosophical appreciation for what this conference was about.

From a personal point of view, perhaps the most interesting letter came from a friend and colleague, Daniel Lerner, currently in residence at the East-West Center in Hawaii, who headed a sociological section of the conference. Lerner pointed out that worthy causes had been supported in the past by others, such as Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller, about whose saintliness critics were at least divided. Lerner's only insistence is that "the financial sponsor does not tamper with the product in any way," and in his four years' experience with the ICUS programs, he insists, Moon's influence has not been visible in any degree. Lerner claims that his role in past conferences has been precisely what it would have been at meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science or the American Political Science Association.

On some occasions, however, support from the Carnegie, Ford, or Rockefeller Foundation probably ought to be scrutinized. And to draw an analogy between the International Conference on the Unity

of the Sciences and participation in a session of AAAS or APSA entirely misses the point. The latter are associations of professional scientists. They are, at least in considerable measure, governed by laws and norms made by professional scientists. This is not the case in respect to the International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences. Professional leverage, beyond one's own personal predilections, seems to be the missing ingredient in Moon's ICUS conference. Advisory boards hardly qualify as more than window dressing. I doubt seriously that any of them would claim that their advisory role permits, much less encourages, a wider organizational role. Indeed, I doubt that any of these esteemed gentlemen would want such a role, given the sponsorship of this organization. Therefore, to view ICUS as one more professional association is at best a misperception, and at worst, misanthropic.

Further, and not incidentally, since when has AAAS or APSA ever offered "all expenses paid for travel, hotel and meals" to present a paper? This is, for the most part, the responsibility of the scholar, the university, or the agency wishing the results of a project to be shared collegially.

A final viewpoint on supporting the Moon conference was expressed by a dean of political science, and unquestionably one of its handful of towering innovators, Harold Lasswell, professor emeritus at Yale University. His position amounts to a demand for a "smoking gun"—or irrefutable evidence with respect to Moon's reputed involvement with agents of the Korean CIA and top government officials.

In a conversation in early autumn of 1976, Lasswell argued that no hard facts on Korean right-wing political support of Moon activities have been presented; and that as a result, the urgings to have him remove himself from the Washington conference are little more than an unwarranted rejection of new organizational forms and innovative evangelical movements. This was before the *Washington Post* published a series of articles by Scott Armstrong and Maxine Cheshire detailing the linkages between Park Tong Sun of the Korean government and Pak Bo Hi, chief aide to Sun Myung Moon, in the purchase, through conduits, of nearly half the stock in the Diplomat National Bank of Washington. Professor Lasswell's position was also expressed prior to revelations before a House subcommittee headed by Representative Donald Fraser that South Korea's central intelligence agency inspired the 1974 demonstrations by Moon's followers against the impeachment of Richard Nixon.

In a different political context, Harold Orlans noted a decade ago that the basic source of ethical problems involving research sponsors and investigators has to do with funding. "Money is not a free good, available for any scholarly purpose, and those with funds to dispense do so for purposes and under conditions of their own choosing. This is inevitable and it is fruitless to lament it." Orlans urged us not to confuse politics and morality at the risk of demeaning both. In concrete circumstances, fine-line distinctions can be easily blurred. Yet, his conclusion is hardly subject to such doubt. "If you disagree with the objectives of an agency, don't decry the morality of its staff but try to change their objectives and, in the interim, don't take their money."

I am not alone in feeling that Reverend Moon's role in this conference was, to put it mildly, carefully screened if not entirely muted. Marshall McLuhan, director of the Centre for Culture and Technology, in a communication to me, indicated that he, too, until receipt of my letter of inquiry to Mr. Warder, was unaware of the Moon sponsorship, although he is listed as a member of the international advisory board.

I am very grateful to you for revealing the sponsorship of the Fifth International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences. The "Moon" name had not surfaced in the initial invitations, so far as I can recall. In the light of the dubious Reverend Moon's activities, I shall be glad to withdraw my endorsement.

That a feeling of unease has settled in even amongst the advisory board of the Moon-sponsored ICUS meetings is reflected in a communiqué from Dr. Seymour S. Kety, chief of the department of psychiatry at Massachusetts General Hospital. His letter to Sir John Eccles makes it clear that Marshall McLuhan's reconsideration is not an isolated event.

Although I declined the invitation and honorarium to serve as a Committee Chairman for the Fifth International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences, I agreed to have my name listed as one of the American advisors. I did this because of my respect for John Eccles and others on the International and American advisory board whom I know as outstanding scientists and defenders of the dignity and political freedom of human beings. I was also motivated by the theme of the next conference, "The Search For Absolute Values: Harmony among the Sciences," and by the generally salutary recollection of my participation in a previous conference which was marked by an entirely free exchange of ideas among scientists.

Since that time I have seen a number of articles in the public press regarding the Unification Church and its founder with which the International Cultural

Foundation is associated, which have been a cause of great concern to me. Serious charges have been made regarding the motivation and policies of the church and its founder which I have neither the time, the means, nor the disposition to attempt to evaluate. Yet my continued appearance as an American advisor implies that I support the International Cultural Foundation in spite of these charges. This I cannot in good conscience do and I must therefore ask you to remove my name from the list of American advisors in subsequent mailings and publications.

The persistence of Reverend Moon's associates is well known to anyone who has been accosted on the street by his followers; but it extends to the higher reaches as well. Despite earlier refusals to participate, people such as Saul Mendlovitz, director of the Institute for World Order, continue to be plagued by invitations. Mendlovitz's response again indicates the wide scope of opposition to the conference which has been building up, and the ideological force it represents.

I must confess that I am somewhat surprised that you continue to persist in these invitations. You will recall, no doubt, that when you were organizing the 1974 conference, that despite offers of relatively high amounts of remuneration and accommodations for my family, I was unwilling to participate in that conference. My reason for not doing so was based as I then told you on my net judgment that Reverend Moon's activities represented forms of religious, social and political action which I find repugnant. In fact I shared these thoughts with Professors Richard Falk and Elise Boulding both of whom then, you will undoubtedly recall, saw fit to distribute letters on their unwillingness to participate in the conference based on their negative assessment of Reverend Moon and his organizational activities. So, once again, I would like to respectfully decline participation in this event sponsored by the International Cultural Foundation which promotes the work of Reverend Moon.

The courageous and self-critical letter from Elise Boulding, professor of sociology at the University of Colorado, reminds us all that ideas have consequences, and that people are still consequential.

When I accepted a co-convenor role with Kenneth Boulding for one of the Conference Sections, it was on the strength of the Conference purposes and other known participants. The published proceedings of the previous year's Conference and the roster of persons committed to participating in 1975 include persons for whom I have the highest respect. It seemed at the time we agreed to participate like a fine opportunity for

world-minded scholars to further the common enterprise of creating world community we are all concerned about. It did not seem inappropriate to me that an evangelical sect might choose to fund such a conference. I now have further understanding about the nature and activities of the sect, and no longer feel that it is an appropriate sponsor for an international scholars' conference. The moral purposes of the Unification Church, of the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, are obscure to say the least. I am in particular concerned over the following points:

1. At a time when a number of leading Christians of South Korea are in jail because of their opposition to the Park government. Rev. Moon not only enjoys friendly relations with the government, but apparently operates an anti-communist training school for government employees.
2. Rev. Moon publicly opposed the impeachment of President Nixon and announced that he ruled by divine right.
3. His anti-communist activities and religious activities seem to be closely intertwined and they are supported by a variety of funding operations which have triggered an Immigration Service investigation, but brought no clarity about his mode of working. The list of business, religious, scholarly and cultural organizations through which he works have no explicable relation to one another.
4. His teachings include elements of demonism and spiritual tyranny which are dangerous for the emotional and spiritual welfare of his disciples, and destructive of family values and the spirit of community service.

The need for a dialogue among scientists, social scientists, philosophers, and writers on the nature and purpose of their activities has never been greater. In this sense, the most shocking aspect of the Moon ICUS conference is its inadvertent demonstration of the failure of nerve of one professional association after another, one esteemed scientist after another, to inquire about the larger meanings of research, and what such activities signify. Ultimately, this professional failure accounts for the Moon group's success. Still, we run the risk of a failure of rationality itself; an inability, if not a downright unwillingness, to inquire as to when one ought or ought not to participate with those who rule, or those who would presume to rule, the universe. Until the scientific community as a whole, and in its parts, candidly addresses itself to its own role in contributing to authoritarian agencies and sponsors, it will not be able to lay claim to being the force for liberation that is such a constant theme in the literature of science. □

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 21, 1977

to Marc Tanenbaum

cc: J. Rudin, M. Fine, H. Bookbinder,
M. Friedman and H. Applebaum

from Brant Coopersmith

subject Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations and reaction to the U.S.-Soviet Statement on the Middle East

Enclosed is a report of the Secretariat of Catholic-Jewish Relations prepared by Eugene Fisher describing the reaction of the secretariat to the Statement on the Middle East issued by the U.S. and USSR on October 1.

You will note his comment on the meeting he and Sheerin had with Dan Polish and me on October 3, which was the subject of my memo of that date. I believe that much of the attached report grew out of Fisher's and Sheerin's positive response to my suggestions for action:

- 3) " Since they found meeting with us so helpful, and because we Jews were going to be so busy with holidays and getting ourselves together, I suggested that they contact their people in the various dioceses. I also suggested that they call their normal Jewish contacts to express concern and a desire to share with them. I also suggested that the Oesterreicher letter be circulated at the same time. I did this because they expressed some doubt that the NCCB could react quickly. Furthermore, in the absence of any NCCB statement, the Oesterreicher letter would fill a void if distributed in time. Fisher made notes and indicated that he would proceed along those lines."

The results are gratifying. It indicates that we can make practical suggestions which help people like Fisher do what they want to do.

While there is no quid-pro-quo, today's luncheon which Polish and I had with Fisher and Sheerin might be interpreted by some as the quo. We discussed the recent statement "A Call to Concern" (See my F.Y.I. of October 5.) which was a forceful attack on Catholic and "Right to Live" anti-abortion forces. As I reread it today, it is even more provocative than I thought at first.

The end result of today's discussion is an agreement to have a small more or less private dialogue on the rules of the game vis-a-vis the debate over abortion. We are getting together two weeks from today with Tilden Edwards, an Episcopal group process expert, (Director of the Metropolitan Ecumenical Training Center/METC) to plan that dialogue which will involve a small group of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergy and/or functionaries who live and work in Washington.

If you have any suggestions they will be more than welcome.

Regards,



CATHOLIC REACTION TO MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS:
A Report by Eugene Fisher
October, 1977

Introduction:

The joint US/USSR statement on the Middle East and subsequent events have profoundly shaken all of us who believe strongly in the security of Israel and in a just peace. Both the seeming tilt toward the PLO and the dangers inherent in a renewed Soviet role in the area have precipitated widespread and justifiable concern.

Despite the evident sincerity of the president and the agreement worked out with Dayan, the situation remains volatile. Such uncertainty, when so much is at stake, will keep both Jews and concerned Christians in a state of anxiety for some time to come. For this is a matter, not of politics-as-usual, but of the very survival of a people. Our reaction as Christians to this crisis will very properly be seen by others as a test of our fidelity to the dialogue itself. Decisive and vocal support of Israel by Christians, then, is greatly needed in this time of crisis.

As a background, I have compiled the following report, with supporting documentation, of some of the immediate activities undertaken by members of the Advisory Committee of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations. It is to be hoped that this report will be of some assistance to you in your own outreach to and expressions of concern for the Jewish community in your own area.

Activities of Advisory Committee Members

1. Personal Contacts - October 3, 1977

At a luncheon meeting with Fr. John Sheerin and Dr. Eugene Fisher of the Secretariat, Rabbi Daniel Polish of the Synagogue Council of America and Mr. Brant Coopersmith of the AJC pointed out most clearly the anguish felt by the Jewish community in this crisis, and its implications for the Catholic-Jewish dialogue. In reaction, the Secretariat contacted various members of the Advisory Committee, urging that contact be made with Jewish leaders. Such ongoing relations, it was hoped, would enable concerned Christians both to assess developments and to express our solidarity with the Jewish community in its support of Israel during the delicate negotiation process.

The response by members was overwhelmingly positive, with each calling on Jewish leaders in their areas. A virtual network of contacts was in this way established. Hopefully, this living link of relationships will hold and will provide a continuing source of communication and feedback.

It should be emphasized that this informal network, while not

all-inclusive, does include large areas around the country such as San Francisco, New York/New Jersey, Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Washington.

In many cases, such as San Francisco, the initiatives led to formal meetings between Jewish and Christian leaders in which the issues were discussed and joint statements made. In others, the local diocesan ecumenical officers were urged to express informally the concern and support of the Catholic community. Finally, Fr. Alex Brunett, the head of the National Association of Diocesan Ecumenical Officers (NADEO), inserted an appeal in the association's official Newsletter calling on diocesan officials throughout the country to maintain close communications with the Jewish community throughout this period.

2. Letters to the President and to Jewish Leaders

On October 3, in the immediate wake of the joint US/USSR announcement, Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher of Seton Hall University's Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies sent a strongly-worded protest to the White House. Co-signing the letter were Sr. Rose Thering and Fr. John Morley, also of Seton Hall, and Fr. Edward H. Flannery, former Executive Secretary of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations. Praising the President's public stance on human rights, the letter expressed the fear of the signers that "the Administration has been swayed by Arab rhetoric and threats." Pointing to the fact that the presence of the PLO precipitated "the bloodiest battles in the Near East" first in Jordan and then in Lebanon, the letter commented:

"If we ignore this lesson of history and help establish a state ruled by the PLO we will not bring peace to the area. Instead we will create a center of unrest....Even to invite the PLO to the Geneva Conference is to reward murder..."

On October 4, Fr. John Pawlikowski of Chicago's Catholic Theological Union, sent out letters of support addressed to the Chicago Board of Rabbis, the Israeli Consulate, the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee. Its key paragraph stated:

"The Secretariat has asked members of its Advisory Council to convey to Jewish leaders throughout the country its support for Israel's strength and security as we move closer to the reconvening of the Geneva conference. The Bishops' Conference is committed to the recognition of the legitimate interests of both Israelis and Palestinians...in this critical period we want to make clear our intention to use all our influence to insure that Israel is not pressured into any peace settlement that would dangerously undermine her security... AM ISRAEL CHAI!"

Fr. Pawlikowski also noted his "serious concerns" regarding present Israeli "settlement" policies and conviction that "anything less than full diplomatic recognition" of Israel by her neighbors would be intolerable.

On October 7, a wire drafted by Gerard E. Sherry of the Advisory Committee, was approved and sent to the White House in the name of the San Francisco chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Like the Seton Hall letter, this wire also praised the President's stand on human rights and his commitment to the security of Israel. It centered on the dangers to the "brave people of Israel" following a Soviet role in the process of peace:

"Clearly the ultimate aim of the Soviet ruling hierarchy is to eventually capture for itself the total control of the Middle East....Let us be warned by what happened in Hungary and Czechoslovakia... Its (the USSR's) participation could eventually mean not only the total destruction of Israel...but ultimately the enslavement of the entire Middle East. Syria, Lebanon and Egypt could become Soviet satellites. Soviet involvement in current peace negotiations will merely encourage Arab intransigence and will inevitably undercut the concept which you have fostered of free negotiations by Israel and the Arab states."

These public statements, joined with the numerous personal phone calls and private meetings mentioned above, illustrate that concern for Israel is not just a "Jewish issue" but is widely shared in the Catholic community as well.

3. The Catholic Press

The October 13 issue of The Monitor, the newspaper of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, published a timely article by editor-manager Gerard E. Sherry. The editorial calls for peace to be built on the framework of justice. Pointing out that the PLO alone has refused to accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for negotiations, that its stated policy is the destruction of Israel, and that "it continues its terrorist tactics among innocent civilians--not only against Israeli citizens, but also its own Arab brothers living in Israel," the editorial declares that "it would be an injustice to ask Israel to sit down with its potential executioners. No self-respecting sovereign state should be pressured into accepting its demise." The article concludes:

"We cannot bargain away the human rights of the people of Israel simply to establish similar rights for the Palestinians. The rights of both

peoples can be assured--but only if all the parties involved have a genuine desire for peace. The Jewish people, throughout the ages, have suffered enough--so have the Palestinian refugees who, for the past 30 years, have been exploited as political pawns. It is time for all men of good will to join in the search for peace through justice in the Middle East."

Other members of the Advisory Committee have likewise shared their views through the medium of the Catholic press. Fr. John Sheerin, writing in his syndicated column for the NC News Service, which goes out to diocesan newspapers throughout the country, defended the "traditional American policy" of "special concern for Israel" that is founded on our moral admiration of Israel as a tiny democracy engaged in a "struggle for independence." Fr. Sheerin noted also the American sympathy for the plight of refugees, both Jewish and Palestinian, and added:

"But the U.S. cannot in good conscience help or endorse the P.L.O., which is hostile to democracy... As a democratic nation, the U.S. cannot give its blessing or financial aid toward the destruction of a democratic state... Unfortunately there have been times when some American policy planners did favor totalitarian regimes at the expense of the freedom of the peasants in foreign countries, but we are not proud of these episodes... The U.S. is giving massive aid to Israel because of our moral concern for and interest in Israel. We have a sympathetic concern for a small nation that shares our ideals of freedom and democracy."

Msgr. George Higgins, in his own syndicated column for NC News, has called on American Christians "to be increasingly sensitive to the real anguish and suffering" that current events, in which the very survival of Israel is at stake, will cause within the Jewish community. Israel, he noted, "represents a place of last refuge even to the most 'secularized' of Jews in America," since history, culminated in Auschwitz, has all too tragically proven that Judaism cannot ultimately be secure in either the Christian West or the Moslem Middle East without a land to embody its ideals.

4. General Reactions

Fr. Sheerin in his article suggested that support for Israel represents a general consensus of the American public and is thus not merely a "Jewish issue." A Louis Harris poll taken after the 1973 war, for example, showed 64% of Americans in favor of giving aid to Israel even if this would result in higher oil prices. And the outcry of many prominent Catholics in public life in

reaction to the US/USSR statement serves to bolster the conclusion of widespread Christian support for Israel. Many Christians signed the ((Remember)) statement placed in the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times by Writers and Artists for Peace in the Middle East during this period, which concluded:

"So, remember Munich, 1972
Lest we re-live Munich, 1938."

The strong responses of politicians such as Senator Daniel P. Moynihan of New York and Father Robert F. Drinan of Massachusetts also indicate the depth of Christian responsibility. Fr. Drinan, in an article published October 9 in The Miami Herald, noted the urgency of the issue for the credibility of Christian witness to the world:

"If Christians want to be honest with themselves they simply have to come to some conclusion about the enormity of that anti-Semitism which permitted, if not promoted, the death of about one-third of the entire Jewish people (under Hitler). Christians must confront the question of the meaning of the State of Israel and what Christians should do for that country in reparation or restitution for the genocide of Jews carried out in nations whose population was overwhelmingly Christian."

Fr. Drinan went on to warn that the religious attitudes toward Judaism held by Christians may "play an unconscious or indirect role in the formulation of the policies which America will adopt or continue with respect to the safety and survival of Israel." Because of this possibility, the Church's stand must be clear and unambiguous.

5. Conclusions

The Advisory Committee, in the context of widespread Christian support for Israel, has attempted to show its concern and sympathy to the American Jewish Community in this difficult period of negotiations. How well the network of communications thus built up will withstand coming events will be a real test of the strength of the dialogue between Jews and Catholics today. Hopefully, more and more Catholics will contact their Jewish counterparts. For out of this crisis can come a true deepening of the encounter between our two communities.

10/27

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

55 West 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10036

(212) 564-3450

October 25, 1977

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Marc:

I was delighted to learn of your willingness to prepare a paper analyzing the current situation with regard to Interreligious Relationships, which will be reproduced and distributed to all delegates to the 1978 NJCRAC Plenary Session (Doubletree Inn in Tucson, Ariz., on January 22-25). Your review and recommendations will provide a conceptual framework for their deliberations leading to the development of the 1978-79 Joint Program Plan.

As you know, each annual Plan attempts primarily to identify and appraise the changes in conditions and trends that have occurred during the preceding year in order to project into the year ahead the policy, strategy and programmatic accommodations that these changes demand. What should be the priorities and goals of the Jewish community relations field? What are the opportunities and problems that confront us in the coming year, based upon an evaluation of the impact of new factors in the subject area under consideration?

While you can feel free to do whatever you think may actually be required, our experience has been that an analysis of 3,000 words or less receives a more thorough reading than does a more lengthy document. In order to assist you in your early planning for your paper, I am enclosing a copy of the 1977-78 Joint Program Plan and call your attention to those sections which deal specifically with your subject area. In addition, you might like to draw upon the thinking of other national agency specialists in this area as well as NJCRAC staff.

The Executive Committee decided that the procedure this year will be a discussion period structured around the few main propositions in the analysis and recommendations developed in

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*Deceased

October 25, 1977

the various papers in each subject area. We would certainly want you to be on the platform as a member of the panel to respond to questions which will arise in the course of the Plenary Session discussion, but, unlike last year, the Session will not begin with an oral summary of the papers.

In order to process the material thoroughly, coordinate the distribution of the several papers, and set them up in a form suitable for discussion, we would appreciate receiving your copy no later than December 1.

I will be calling you during the next few days to see if there are any additional ways in which I can be helpful to you. In the interim, let me thank you again for undertaking this very important task.

Sincerely,

Joel
Joel Ollander
Program Coordinator

JO/gl
Enclosure



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY
USAF ACADEMY, COLORADO 80840



26 October 1977

on file

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
65050 Wetheroe Street, Apt 5 A
Rego Park, Queens, New York 11374

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Again I want to thank you for your presentation here at the Academy. Everyone is still talking about it.

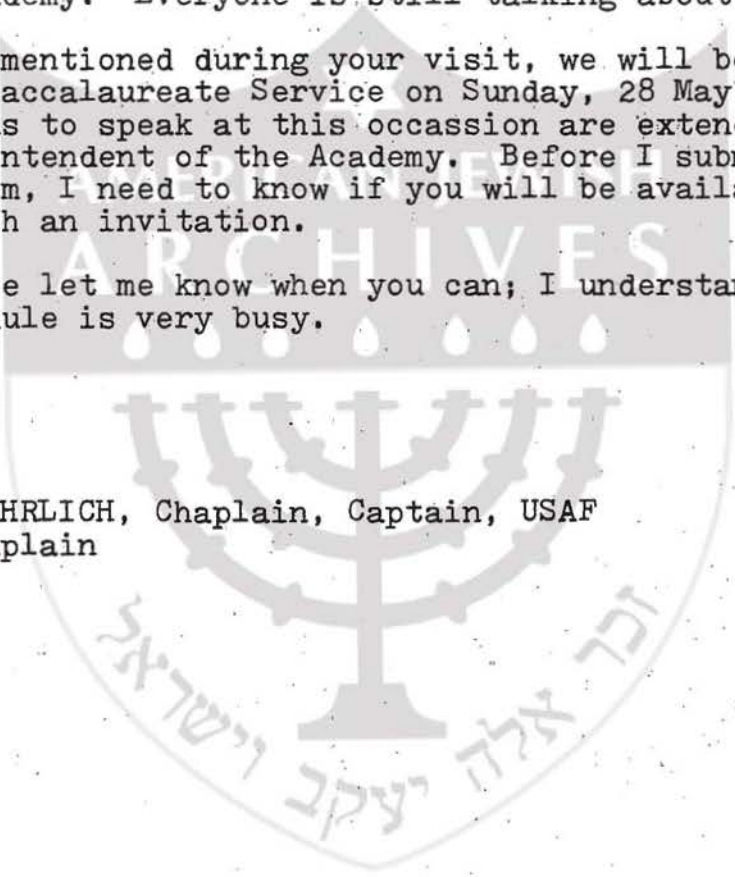
As I mentioned during your visit, we will be holding a Jewish Baccalaureate Service on Sunday, 28 May 1978. Invitations to speak at this occasion are extended by the Superintendent of the Academy. Before I submit your name to him, I need to know if you will be available to accept such an invitation.

Please let me know when you can; I understand that your schedule is very busy.

Sincerely:

Irvin

IRVIN S. EHRLICH, Chaplain, Captain, USAF
Jewish Chaplain





Archbishop's Office
756 West Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Address of: Most Reverend Thomas A. Donnellan, Archbishop of Atlanta
before the Dinner Meeting of the Interreligious Affairs Commission of the
National Executive Council, American Jewish Committee
October 27, 1977 at the Omni International Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia

ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS OF THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY HAS BEEN THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF
INTERRELIGIOUS UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION. NO ONE
CAN BE CONTENT WITH THE AMOUNT OR THE RATE OF PROGRESS
BUT IT HAS SURELY SURPASSED ANYTHING SIMILAR IN THE HISTORY
OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

TO BELIEVERS IN GOD, THIS DEVELOPMENT SEEMS OBVIOUSLY
AN ACTION CAUSED BY GOD INSPIRING MEN. ONE OF THE AFFINITIES
THAT JOINS JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY IS A BELIEF IN GOD'S PRESENCE
IN HISTORY AND I REGARD THE PROGRESS IN JEWISH-CATHOLIC
RELATIONS AS A TESTIMONY TO THE INCREASING RECOGNITION OF
GOD'S PRESENCE AND OUR OWN RESPONSIBILITIES.

IT IS FOR THESE AMONG OTHER REASONS THAT I AM PROUD
AND PLEASED TO BE INVITED TO ADDRESS THE NATIONAL INTER-
RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS COMMISSION MEETING OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH
COMMITTEE. THE COMMITTEE ITSELF IS A PIONEER IN HUMAN
RELATIONS AND I AM HONORED TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO
SPEAK TO ITS POLICY-MAKING BODY AND ITS GUESTS.

ABRAHAM HERCHEL HAS SAID IN HIS BOOK, THE INSECURITY
OF FREEDOM, "WHAT ALL RELIGIONS HAVE IN COMMON IS POWER
TO REFUTE THE FALLACY OF ABSOLUTE EXPEDIENCY, INSISTANCE
THAT THE DIGNITY OF MAN IS IN HIS POWER OF COMPASSION, IN
HIS CAPACITY FOR SACRIFICE AND SELF-DENIAL. "

THE TRUTHFULNESS OF THIS STATEMENT ESTABLISHES
AN IMMEDIATE BOND BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND JUDAISM. IN
A WORLD SEARCHING FOR BROTHERHOOD AND HUMAN RIGHTS, THE
SPIRITUAL PACT EXPRESSED BY DIGNITY, COMPASSION AND SACRIFICE
SETS THE TONE FOR A RESPECTFUL WORKING RELATIONSHIP.

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT PRIOR TO THE VATICAN COUNCIL,
THE JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONSHIP SCARCELY ROSE ABOVE A
MONOLOGUE. ALTHOUGH CHRISTIANITY SPRANG FROM JUDAISM,
TAKING CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF ITS FAITH AND DIVINE WORSHIP,
THE GAP DIVIDING THEM WAS DEEPENED TO THE POINT THAT
RECOGNITION WAS DIFFICULT.

For us
THIS CHANGED DRAMATICALLY WITH A COUNCIL OF THE
CHURCH. AND ESPECIALLY WITH A DOCUMENT OF THAT COUNCIL.
THE DOCUMENT, NOSTRA AETATE, WAS ISSUED ON OCTOBER 28,
1965. IT MARKED A MILESTONE IN THE HISTORY OF JEWISH-
CHRISTIAN RELATIONS. THERE WOULD BE NO MORE MONOLOGUE
... DIALOGUE WAS ESTABLISHED.

DIALOGUE, OR ITS PRACTICAL ESSENCE, MEANS KNOWLEDGE
OF EACH OTHER. IT MEANS MORE IN THE CONTEXT OF JUDEO-
CHRISTIAN RELATIONSHIPS. IT MEANS PROBING THE RICHES OF
EACH OTHER'S TRADITION. IT MEANS RESPECT FOR THE DEPTH

OF EACH OTHER'S FAITH. IT MEANS ADMIRATION FOR THE
LONGEVITY OF EACH OTHER'S RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS.

JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN TRADITION IS FOUNDED ON THE WORD
OF GOD. THAT TRADITION IS AWARE OF THE VALUE OF THE
HUMAN PERSON. LOVE OF THE SAME GOD MUST SHOW ITSELF
IN EFFECTIVE ACTION FOR THE GOOD OF MANKIND. THIS MEANS
A PROBING, WITH EVERY TOOL AT OUR DISPOSAL, FOR LASTING
AVENUES OF SOLID VIRTUE. THERE WILL BE NO MEETING OF
MINDS IN THE WORLD IF SOCIAL JUSTICE IS LACKING AND IF
PEACE IS LACKING AT EVERY LEVEL - LOCAL, NATIONAL AND
INTERNATIONALS. WHAT BETTER FOUNDATIONS FOR MUTUAL
UNDERSTANDING AND ESTEEM THAN THE ROCK OF SOLID VIRTUE.

I REALIZE THAT I AM SPEAKING TO AN ORGANIZATION THAT
IS VINTAGE WHEN IT COMES TO PROMOTING BROTHERHOOD AND
HUMAN RELATIONS. SEVENTY-ONE YEARS IS A LONG TIME, AND
A LONG TIME OF SERVICE, GIVING YOU QUALIFICATIONS THAT

OTHERS DO NOT HAVE. YOU HAVE BEEN IN THE FIELD OF UNITY.

YOU HAVE LESSONS TO TEACH. YOU ARE BEING HEARD. BUT

TODAY THE PRESSURE IS ON TO CONTINUE THE TASK. AROUND

THE WORLD, TROUBLE SPOTS ARE DOTTING THE MAP. VIOLENCE

HAS BECOME TOO COMPANIONABLE, RECONCILIATION IS NOT

ALWAYS A PART OF THE CONTRACT. WE MUST BE CONFIDENT

OF OUR PRIORITIES AND PATIENT FOR THEIR SUCCESS. EVIL

STILL COMES ABOUT WHEN GOOD MEN DO NOTHING. YOUR GOOD

WORKS MUST CONTINUE.

THE PROGRAM LISTS AS THE TITLE OF MY TALK "THE

VATICAN AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL". WITHOUT UNDUE MODESTY

LET ME ISSUE A DISCLAIMER. BOTH TITLE AND TOPIC ARE OUTSIDE

THE COMPASS OF MY COMPETENCE.

EVEN THE TERM VATICAN IS SUBJECT TO SOME MISUNDERSTANDING

IN OUR COUNTRY. THE UNABRIDGED DICTIONARY SAYS:

VATICAN - ALSO CALLED VATICAN PALACE 1) CHIEF RESIDENCE OF

THE POPE IN VATICAN CITY; 2) THE AUTHORITY AND GOVERNMENT

OF THE POPE

AND AGAIN

VATICAN CITY - AN INDEPENDENT STATE WITHIN THE CITY OF ROME,

ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE TIBER, RULED BY THE POPE AND

INCLUDING SAINT PETER'S CHURCH AND THE VATICAN - 109 ACRES.

IT IS NOT AROUND THOSE ENTITIES THAT I HAVE CONSTRUCTED
MY REMARKS. BUT RATHER THE GUIDELINES ISSUED IN 1975 BY THE
ROMAN COMMISSION FOR RELIGIOUS RELATIONS WITH JEWS; ALSO
THE SUBSEQUENT STATEMENT ON CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS ISSUED
BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS AS THEY OFFER
SOME GUIDANCE FOR CATHOLICS IN THE PRESENT CRITICAL SITUATION
IN WHICH THE EVER BELEAGUED STATE OF ISRAEL NOW FINDS ITSELF.

THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF THE UNITED STATES, REJOICING IN
THE NEW BEGINNING IN CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONSHIPS THAT WAS

INTRODUCED BY THE VATICAN STATEMENT ON THE JEWISH PEOPLE

"NOSTRA AETATE" WERE IMPELLED TEN YEARS LATER TO SAY

"WE MAKE OUR OWN THE STATEMENT OF 'NOSTRA AETATE'.

"... FOR THE SAKE OF HER COMMON PATRIMONY WITH THE JEWS,

THE CHURCH DECRIES HATRED, PERSECUTIONS, DISPLAYS OF ANTI-SEMITISM STAGED AGAINST THE JEWS AT WHATEVER TIME IN HISTORY

AND BY WHOMSOEVER, AND WE REAFFIRM WITH THE NEW VATICAN

GUIDELINES THAT THE SPIRITUAL BONDS AND HISTORICAL LINK

BINDING THE CHURCH TO JUDAISM CONDEMN (AS OPPOSED TO THE

VERY SPIRIT OF CHRISTIANITY) ALL FORMS OF ANTI-SEMITISM. ..."

THE BISHOPS WENT ON TO RECOMMEND THAT CHRISTIANS STRIVE TO

ACQUIRE A BETTER KNOWLEDGE OF THE BASIC COMPONENTS OF

THE RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF JUDAISM. AND ADDED THAT THEY

MUST STRIVE TO LEARN BY WHAT ESSENTIAL TRAITS THE JEWS

DEFINE THEMSELVES IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR OWN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.

THE BISHOPS STATEMENT WENT ON TO POINT OUT CLEARLY

... AND I QUOTE:

"IN DIALOGUE WITH CHRISTIANS, JEWS HAVE EXPLAINED THAT THEY DO NOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES AS A CHURCH, A SECT, OR A DENOMINATION, BUT RATHER AS A PEOPLE THAT IS NOT SOLELY RACIAL, ETHNIC OR RELIGIOUS, BUT IN A SENSE A COMPOSITE OF ALL THESE. IT IS FOR SUCH REASONS THAT AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF JEWS SEE THEMSELVES BOUND IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER TO THE LAND OF ISRAEL. MOST JEWS SEE THIS TIE TO THE LAND AS ESSENTIAL TO THEIR JEWISHNESS. WHATEVER DIFFICULTIES CHRISTIANS MAY EXPERIENCE IN SHARING THIS VIEW, THEY SHOULD STRIVE TO UNDERSTAND THIS LINK BETWEEN LAND AND PEOPLE WHICH JEWS HAVE EXPRESSED IN THEIR WRITINGS AND WORSHIP THROUGH THE TWO MILLENIUM AS A LONGING FOR THE HOMELAND. "

THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IS PART OF THE STORY OF THE JEWISH NATION. THEIR MODERN FLIGHT TO THE MIDDLE EAST IS

AKIN TO THEIR BIBLICAL FLIGHT TO THE PROMISED LAND. OPPRESSION
WAS ALWAYS ON THEIR HEELS. BETWEEN 1880 AND 1948 - THE PERIOD
OF PRE-STATE DEVELOPMENT - THEY CAME FROM THE GHASTLY
OPPRESSIONS AND GHETTOS OF EUROPE. ISRAEL BECAME, IN TRUTH,
THE MOTHERLAND, SHELTERING THE PERSECUTED WHO HAD COME
TO THE END OF A ROPE. THEY CAME, HURRYING NOT JUST FROM
THE THIRD REICH, BUT FROM THE HUNGER AND PERSECUTIONS OF
RUSSIA, POLAND AND OTHER EUROPEAN SOCIETIES. FINDING AN
INDEPENDENT STATE THAT WOULD GIVE PROMISE OF A HOMELAND
WAS THE AIM OF THIS ONE PEOPLE SEEKING JUSTICE.

OBVIOUSLY THE BISHOPS OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE RECOGNIZED
THAT AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THEIR DIALOGUE WITH THE JEWISH
PEOPLE HAS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE PLACE THAT THE
STATE OF ISRAEL PLAYS IN THE IDENTITY OF JEWS. IN NOVEMBER 1973,
THE BISHOPS THEY STATED "THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS A COMPLEX
FUSION OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS FACTORS.

AS BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, WE
SPEAK TO THE ISSUE AS PASTORS CONCERNED FOR THE PARTIES
IMMEDIATELY INVOLVED, SEEKING TO OFFER GUIDANCE TO AMERICAN
CATHOLICS ON THIS ISSUE, AND EAGER TO DO WHAT WE CAN, EVEN FROM
THIS DISTANCE, TO CONTRIBUTE TO A JUST, PEACEFUL AND LASTING
RESOLUTION OF THIS PAINFUL TRAGEDY." THE BISHOPS IMMEDIATELY
ADDED "WE OFFER OUR REFLECTIONS WITH NO PRETENSIONS OF
FORMULATING A DEFINITIVE SOLUTION. WE SEEK INSTEAD TO HIGH-
LIGHT FACTORS WHICH WE BELIEVE POINT THE WAY TOWARD RECON-
CILIATION, PEACE AND JUSTICE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. "

TWO OF THE MAJOR FACTORS OUTLINED AT THE TIME, CONCERNED
THE RIGHTS OF THE PARTIES WHICH MUST BE RESPECTED. THEY ARE:

1) RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST AS A SOVEREIGN
STATE WITH SECURE BOUNDARIES:

2) RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIAN ARABS; "... THIS
INVOLVES IN OUR VIEW, INCLUSION OF THEM AS PARTNERS IN ANY

NEGOTIATIONS . . . "

THIS SECOND POINT DID NOT MEAN AN ALIGNMENT WITH ANY PARTICULAR SPOKESMAN FOR THE PALESTINIAN ARABS BUT SIMPLY EMPHASIZED THE BASIC HUMAN RIGHT OF ANY GROUP THAT NO SETTLEMENT WHICH AFFECTS THEM SO DIRECTLY AND INTIMATELY MAY BE IMPOSED ON THEM.

SINCE THAT STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN BISHOPS, MANY NEW ELEMENTS HAVE ENTERED THE PICTURE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE ROLE OF OIL, AND THE COMPETING PLANS FOR NEGOTIATION AND SETTLEMENT, THE CHANGE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, ITS SHAPERS OF FOREIGN POLICY, AS WELL AS A NEW ADMINISTRATION IN ISRAEL, AND ESPECIALLY, THE GROWING USE OF TERRORISM ON A WORLD-WIDE BASIS. FOR THE MOST PART, THE PROBLEM OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST SEEMS TO BECOME MORE COMPLEX RATHER THAN SIMPLER. I BELIEVE THE TWO BASIC POINTS STATED BY THE BISHOPS IN 1973 ARE STILL VALID. MY PERSONAL

Address: Interreligious Affairs Commission
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CONVICTIONS WOULD ADD A THIRD: NAMELY, THAT CONCESSIONS
TO TERRORISTS ARE SELF-DEFEATING AND IN THE LONG RUN, MORE
COSTLY TO HUMANITY.

MUCH AS ANY COMMUNITY MIGHT SEEK FROM RELIGIOUS LEADERS
A STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR SPECIFIC POLITICAL OBJECTIVES OR
POSITIONS, MY CONCEPT OF MY OWN FUNCTION WOULD BE TO SET FORTH
PRINCIPLES, TO ENCOURAGE MY PEOPLE TO DIALOGUE, TO OFFER REAL
UNDERSTANDING AND A GENUINE RESPECT FOR THE BELIEFS OF JEWS IN
THIS SINGULARLY IMPORTANT AND DIFFICULT QUESTION.

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, INsofar AS IT AFFECTS THE
FUTURE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, IS SURELY A MATTER OF SERIOUS
CONCERN. I AM GRATEFUL TO THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
FOR ITS HELP IN GIVING INFORMATION ON THE FACTS IN THE MATTER
AND ASSISTING US IN REACHING PRACTICAL JUDGMENTS.

IN ATLANTA OUR SHARED CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS HAS
HELPED TO IMPROVE OUR COMMUNITY. OUR CONTINUING COOPERATION

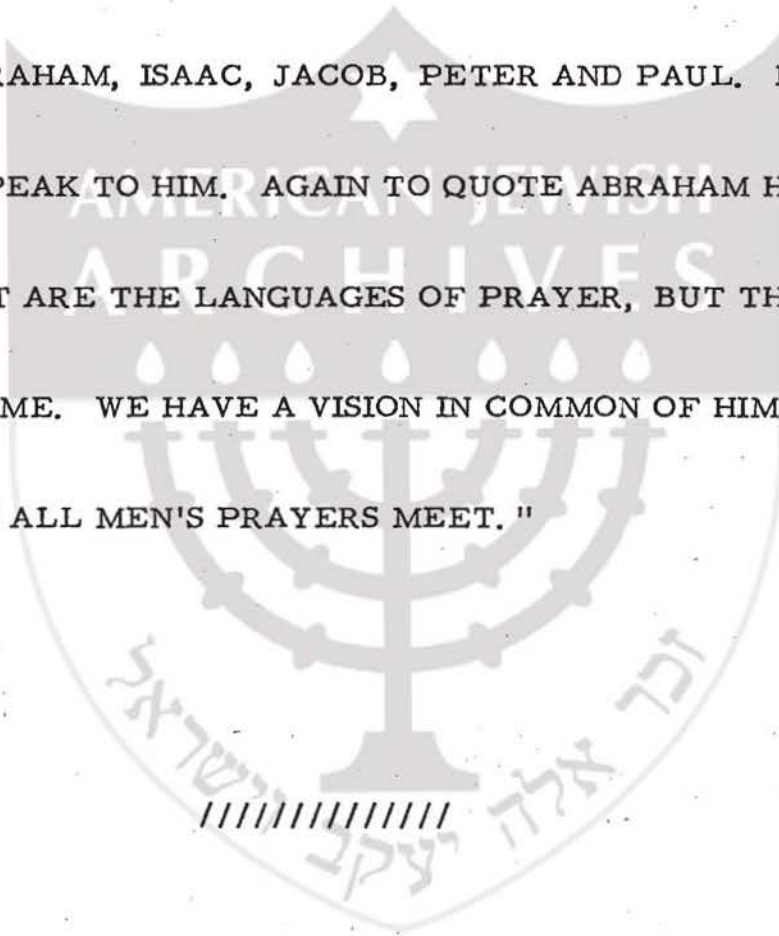
IN THIS, AS IN OTHER AREAS, PROMISES MUCH. THERE IS A LONG ROAD AHEAD AND MUCH TO BE DONE. BUT MUCH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED. WE BOTH HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE WAYS OF PEACE AND JUSTICE. WE BOTH KNOW THE INGREDIENTS INCLUDE SACRIFICE AND SUFFERING. WE HAVE STUDIED TOGETHER AND THIS PROCESS GOES ON. OUR DIALOGUES HAVE BECOME OUR BOND, BRINGING US CLOSER, BETTER TO UNDERSTAND. WE IMITATE THE OUTREACH OF EACH OTHER TO THOSE DEPRIVED OF HUMAN RIGHTS. OUR ONE GOAL IS EASILY SHARED, THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.

ON OCTOBER 22, 1974, POPE PAUL INSTITUTED FOR THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH, A COMMISSION FOR RELIGIOUS RELATIONS WITH THE JEWS. IT WAS ^{THE} A CROWNING OF THE EARLIER DOCUMENT. IT WAS CREATED TO ENCOURAGE RELIGIOUS RELATIONS BETWEEN JEWS AND CATHOLICS, AND HOPEFULLY, TO DO SO EVENTUALLY IN COLLABORATION WITH OTHER CHRISTIANS. IT WAS THE HOLY

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FATHER'S WAY OF BRINGING TO THE MIND OF ALL CATHOLICS THE
EXPRESS INTENTIONS OF THE COUNCIL.

WE ARE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE ONE GOD. HE IS THE
GOD OF ABRAHAM, ISAAC, JACOB, PETER AND PAUL. HE HEARS
US AS WE SPEAK TO HIM. AGAIN TO QUOTE ABRAHAM HER^{S/}CHEL,
"DIFFERENT ARE THE LANGUAGES OF PRAYER, BUT THE TEARS
ARE THE SAME. WE HAVE A VISION IN COMMON OF HIM IN WHOSE
COMPANION^{SS} ALL MEN'S PRAYERS MEET. "



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 27, 1977
to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
from Rabbi A. James Rudin
subject

There was an important two-day Middle East Conference held in Washington, D.C. for staff members of the National Council of Churches and other key Protestant leaders. The Conference was in two parts - the Christian participants met separately on Thursday, October 20th, and prepared the enclosed list of questions for State Department officials. The October 21st meeting was at the State Department, and I am enclosing the agenda and speakers.

My Christian sources tell me that although strong PLO sentiments were expressed by several members of the Christian delegation (Margaret Blemker - United Church of Christ, Dick Fernandez - United Church of Christ, John Buteyn - Reformed Church in America, Allan Kellum - National Council of Churches and the Editor of SWASIA), the State Department officials were firm in articulating "current US policy" regarding the PLO.

Especially forthright were William Quandt, the Middle East Advisor for the National Security Council and Assistant Secretary of State, Alfred Atherton. Both officials said that "as of now" the US Government will not recognize, negotiate with or give official status to the PLO as long as it does not accept UN Security Council Resolution 242, and as long as it still calls for the destruction of Israel.

I also learned that the State Department officials did not express great concern either over the Jewish settlements in the territories or reports of alleged Israeli torture. Most of the Christian leaders were upset with Sidney Sober's report about arms sales. Apparently Sober assumed that large scale US arms sales to the Middle East would continue, especially to Iran, Saudi Arabia and Israel. He was the one official who was questioned most closely.

Several Christian participants told me that the State Department officials all expressed a strong and deep commitment to Israel as a trusted ally of the United States. This commitment

is part of the foundation, "the bedrock" of US policy in the Middle East.

Quandt said, "One cannot expect Israel to negotiate with the PLO. After all, the PLO wants to destroy Israel."

Despite the several pro-PLO sentiments expressed at the meetings by some of the Christians, the State Department session was helpful and constructive because the anti-Israel Christians heard US policy clearly and sharply articulated, and although they will continue with their pro-PLO feelings, they do so now without any illusion regarding current US policy.

When Atherton was questioned regarding "What will happen at Geneva and does the US have any scenario for Geneva?" - his answer was a fuzzy and vague one. Several of the Christians came away with the distinct impression that the US does, in fact, have a scenario for Geneva, but it is premature to reveal it at this time.

The meetings were not the disaster that they could have been, and one of the key reasons for this was the presence of several of our Christian colleagues, including Rachel DuBois, Isaac Rottenberg, Lonnie Turnipseed and William Weiler, all of whom openly criticized the PLO and supported Quandt's position.

One ominous note, the key operative words during the entire conference were: "current policy," and "as of now."

Following the meetings Margaret Blemker, one of the leading anti-Israel Christian leaders in the country, called the State Department's policy "benighted". And so it goes....

AJR:FM

Encls.

cc: Judith Banki
Hyman Bookbinder
Morris Fine
Inge Gibel
Bert Gold
George Gruen

MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
OF CHRIST, U.S.A.

October 20, 1977

Specific concerns and questions arising from discussions of October 20
as follows:

I. Impact of Recent Social, Cultural and Religious Trends in the Middle East

1. How does the United States define its vital interests, both short and long range, in the Middle East; what is the U.S. prepared to pay to maintain those interests?

In the above context, how does the United States interpret the perceptions and reality of Soviet interests in the Middle East?

2. How are United States economic policies influenced by the Middle East crisis?

How is the Middle East crisis affected by the economic realities in the region?

3. What are the religious factors and liabilities which the State Department must deal with in carrying out United States Middle-East policy?

How does the State Department deal with those factors and liabilities?

II. U.S. Arms Sales and Policies

1. To what degree does security in the Middle East depend upon arms sales and transfers?

2. What other specific measures (non-military) does the administration seek to develop to encourage security in the area?

3. The administration has committed itself to cut back arms sales in general. What have been the specific effects of this policy during 1977 in the Middle East?

What are the implications over the next period of time (2 to 4 years)?

4. Given four Arab/Israeli wars in the past 30 years, the attempt to maintain and/or preserve a dynamic military balance between opposing parties by continued and increasing arms sales, for the sake of some future peace, seems to strain the imagination, don't you agree?

II. Continued

5. To what extent are policy and practice of arms sales to the Middle East coordinated among NATO nations?
6. Is there a possibility that United States/USSR would agree to a one year moratorium on arms shipments to the Middle East, with the possibility of extending this policy?
7. To what extent do Middle East countries have nuclear capability?
Which countries will soon develop same?

III. Human Rights Questions in the Middle East

1. How does the State Department view the concept of human rights as inclusive of socio-economic rights as enumerated in the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, Articles 22 - 27?
2. Specifically in regard to Israel, Egypt and Iran, on-going aid is not based on human rights considerations exclusively. What other strategic considerations go into the formation of such policy?
3. What does the State Department regard as valid factual data upon which to base judgements in regard to human rights violations?
4. How does the State Department regard religious freedom, and how does it influence policy?
5. What is the present view on criteria for the right of self-determination?
6. At present the State Department prepares the annual report to Congress on the state of human rights in countries receiving United States aid. Would it not lend greater credibility to the Administration's human rights posture if an independent impartial group, a special Presidential Commission, for instance, prepared this report?

IV. Palestinian Issues

1. Who are the Palestinians?

How do you see the following groups of persons fitting into a Middle East settlement?

- a. Israeli Arab Palestinians
- b. West Bank and Gaza Palestinians
- c. Palestinians in Arab countries
- d. Palestinians in countries outside the Middle East

IV. Continued

2. Define and/or clarify the meaning of the following terms, as used in United States documents:
 - a. Legitimate rights
 - b. Self determination
 - c. Homeland
 - d. Entity
 - e. Palestinian Arabs
3. What options are available for a peace settlement?
Where do you come down in reconciling two conflicting nationalisms?
4. Are we prepared to recognize the P.L. O. as representative of the Palestinians? (Three international organizations have)
5. How do you relate your efforts in these areas with your conception of the legitimate rights of the Israeli people and justice for them, also?
6. On March 20, 1977, the Palestinian National Council declared:
"The Palestine National Council has decided to work for the liberation of all the occupied Arab areas and to continue to support the Palestinian revolution in order to regain the constant national rights of the Palestinian Arab people without any conciliation (Sulh) or recognition (of Israel--translator)."
How will the United States deal with this statement?

V. Status of the Middle East Negotiations

As Christians we are inextricably involved in the Middle East, and continue to search for ways to contribute toward justice, reconciliation and peace. We speak as individuals with some concerns and convictions and many questions for the State Department.

- I. Points of information:
 - A. What has come out of recent meetings of Foreign Ministers in the United States?
 - B. What is the status of the United States-Israeli working paper? Have Arab governments responded?
- II. Peace negotiations are grouped around three major issues:
 - A. Palestinians
 - 1) In view of the United States-Israeli working paper, what options remain open for inclusion of a Palestinian delegation?

V. Continued

2) How far is the State Department prepared to go toward insisting on Palestinian representation?

B. The Question of borders

1) What is the present United States interpretation of the following aspects of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242: "Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war...";

"Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict";

"...and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or act of force";

2) As the 1975 Brookings Institute Report has appeared to be influential formulation of United States policy on the Middle East, might we assume that its recommendations on Jerusalem will provide the basis for United States policy?

C. The Nature of Peace

1) How are we to understand the differences of terminology found in earlier statements of the Carter Administration and the Text of the Soviet-American Statement on the Mideast as regards the nature of the peace?

2) What options does the United States have in maintaining the momentum toward peaceful settlement without imposing the terms of that settlement?

F O R M A T

MIDEAST CONFERENCE FOR THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

OCTOBER 21, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

In preparing for the October 21 conference at the Department of State, representatives of the National Council of Churches and the State Department agreed to divide the discussions into sessions on the following topics: Mideast negotiations; the Palestinian issue; human rights; arms sales policies; and, the political impact locally of recent social, cultural and religious trends (conservative vs. mainstream) in the Middle East. An agenda and list of U.S. Government participants is attached for your information.

In an effort to avoid repetitive statements of known positions and to move as quickly as possible to thoughtful give-and-take on these issues, we also agreed on the following approach:

At the meeting at the National Council of Churches headquarters in Washington on October 20, the conferees would consider the various subjects, and for each subject, would designate a rapporteur. These rapporteurs will provide to the Department of State by close of business on the 20th brief summaries of their previous discussions and lists of specific concerns and questions for each topic.

At the beginning of each session at the Department of State on October 21, the designated rapporteur will give a five minute wrap-up of the previous day's discussion of the issue involved. The Department officer at each session will then briefly respond to the specific concerns addressed and immediately open the session to general discussion.

To facilitate discussion and to help keep the discussion focussed, Philip Stoddard, Director of the Office of Research and Analysis for the Near East and South Asia, will serve as moderator for the discussions on October 21.

A G E N D A

MIDEAST CONFERENCE FOR THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUREAU OF NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS

OCTOBER 21, 1977

8:45 a.m.

Arrive Diplomatic Entrance
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Conferees will be met and escorted
to Room 6245. All meetings will
be held in this room.

9:00 - 9:15 a.m.

Welcome and Program Review

George F. Sherman
Public Affairs Adviser
Bureau of Near East and
South Asian Affairs

and

Moderator Philip H. Stoddard
Director, Office of Research and
Analysis for the Near East and
South Asia
Bureau of Intelligence and
Research

9:15 - 10:00 a.m.

Discussion on the Political Impact
of Recent Social, Cultural and
Religious Trends in the Middle East

Department of State Speaker:

David E. Long
Intelligence Analyst
Office of Research and Analysis
for Near East and South Asia
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

10:00 - 11:00 a.m.

Discussion on U.S. Arms Sales
Policies

Department of State Speaker:

Sidney Sober
Deputy Assistant Secretary of
State
Bureau of Near East and South
Asian Affairs

Assisted by:

Henry R. Precht
Deputy Director
Office of Regional Affairs
Bureau of Near East and South
Asian Affairs

11:00 - 11:15 a.m.

COFFEE BREAK

11:15 - 12:15 p.m.

Discussion on Human Rights
Questions in the Middle East

State Department Speaker:

Nicholas A. Veliotos
Deputy Assistant Secretary of
State
Bureau of Near East and South
Asian Affairs

Assisted by:

Gilbert D. Kulick
Political Officer
Country Directorate for
Israel/Arab Israeli Affairs

12:15 - 1:30 p.m.

Buffet Luncheon

The Library
American Foreign Service Club
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Conferees will be escorted to and from the American Foreign Service Club, which is about a block away from the State Department. Should a participant be separated from the group, please re-enter the Department via the Diplomatic Entrance on C Street.

1:30 - 2:45 p.m.

Discussion on the Palestinian Issue

U.S. Government Speaker:

William Quandt
Middle East Adviser
National Security Council

2:45 - 4:00 p.m.

Discussion on the Status of the Mideast Negotiations

Department of State Speaker:

Alfred L. Atherton
Assistant Secretary of State
for Near East and South
Asian Affairs



LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

MIDEAST CONFERENCE FOR THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

OCTOBER 21, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bishop Varjebedian Armenian Church of America	C. M. Long National Baptist Convention
Dennis Papazian Armenian Church of America	James Wood National Baptist Convention
Tartt Bell American Friends Service Committee	Syngman Rhee United Presbyterian Church
Margaret Blemker United Church of Christ	Robert Smylie United Presbyterian Church
Richard R. Fernandez United Church of Christ	Lonnie Turnipseed United Methodist Church
John Buteyn Reformed Church in America	Herman Will United Methodist Church
Isaac Rottenberg Reformed Church in America	Sloan S. Hodges
Jim Couchell Greek Orthodox Archdiocese	Alice Wimer National Council of Churches of Christ
Irving Davis Pan African Skills Project	J. Richard Butler National Council of Churches of Christ
Rachel DuBois Christian Jewish Relations Advisory Committee	William Weiler National Council of Churches of Christ
Delton Franz Mennonite Central Committee	Allan Kellum National Council of Churches of Christ
Lamar Gibble Church of the Brethren	Anne C. Strohbeck National Council of Churches of Christ
Byron Haines Duncan Black MacDonald Center for the Study of Christian- Muslim Relations	Warren Day National Council of Churches of Christ

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
POLICY STATEMENT
ON
JEWISH EDUCATION and JEWISH IDENTITY

The transmission of Jewish knowledge and Jewish values has always been central to the Jewish way of life and Jewish continuity. Indeed, being educated Jewishly is an important attribute of being Jewish. Efforts to achieve this objective in the American Jewish community have resulted in an extraordinary network of voluntary Jewish educational institutions under a variety of auspices, primarily religious. Yet, despite the fact that since World War II, Jewish education has been better financed and more firmly established than ever before, the AJC Task Force on the Future of the Jewish Community in America in near unanimity agreed that Jewish education was in need of fundamental reform.

The American Jewish Committee has long been sensitive to the serious implications of Jewish education for Jewish identity and Jewish continuity. In 1970 the National Executive Council adopted a policy statement which urged that "The AJC should, in concert with other agencies, seek to identify changing needs and required innovations in order to make Jewish education a more successful instrument for Jewish continuity."

In response to that NEC mandate and the recommendations of the Task Force on the Future of the American Jewish Community, the AJC Colloquium on Jewish Education and Jewish Identity was created in 1972. Its members, as a study group in policy research on Jewish education and Jewish identity, acted on the assumption that the time was ripe for a clarification of priorities and the introduction of new initiatives in Jewish education.

Based on the research and deliberations of the Colloquium and other recent studies of Jewish education, the American Jewish Committee regards working towards the implementation of the following recommendations as essential to strengthening Jewish identity.

Recommendations

1) We recommend an intensification of efforts to help the Jewish family to learn about, and live, a Jewish life.

Our research indicates that the home and the family continue to be the primary framework in which Jewish values are acquired and Jewish experiences internalized in the process of Jewish identity formation. Statistical studies prepared for the Colloquium show that home background is 2½ times more important than Jewish schooling in developing a personal Jewish

identity. It is clearly of vital importance to strengthen the family's capacity to perform satisfactorily in this area. Toward this end we recommend that the Jewish community, through its appropriate organizations and agencies, provide families with opportunities for formal Jewish studies and informal Jewish experiences.

Communal support should be given to parent education programs ranging from institutional adult Jewish education courses in classes and independent or group study as provided by the Academy for Jewish Studies Without Walls to the efforts by Jewish schools to involve parents actively in Jewish education parallel to that of their children. The parents should, as a minimum, master the study material covered by their children.

Special attention should be given to the support and further development of informal family Jewish experiences such as family observances, celebrations and study in the home as well as weekend retreats, family tours to Israel, and the like.

2) We recommend that a broad effort be made to increase considerably the hours of Jewish schooling.

An impressive body of research indicates that a minimum of 3,000 hours of Jewish schooling is essential if it is to have an impact on forming a positive Jewish identity.

To accomplish the foregoing, we urge the following courses of action:

- a) Extension of Jewish education through the high school years should become an educational norm in the Jewish community.
- b) Since Jewish day school education provides students with the requisite minimum hours of Jewish study and a total learning environment in which Jewish education is effectively integrated with secular education, it should be given the special consideration of Jewish parents and the support of the Jewish community as a logical and effective educational alternative.
- c) In recognition of the frequent pressures to include an overwhelming variety of subjects and activities into the relatively few hours allotted to Jewish schooling, particularly at the elementary level, schools should limit and frequently review their goals, so as to make them more realistic and achievable and to facilitate the design of curricular materials and programs geared to achieving those goals.
- d) At the elementary level, formal schooling should be buttressed by introducing pleasurable Jewish experi-

ences in a variety of settings such as camping and weekend experiences.

3) We recommend that efforts should be made to include teaching of Jewish studies, such as Hebrew language and Jewish history in the curriculum of language and social studies courses of public and non-sectarian private schools as a means of enriching the content of public and non-sectarian private education.

4) We recommend that the Jewish community support the establishment and expansion of both formal Jewish studies and informal programs at colleges and universities.

Courses and departments of Jewish studies on the college level provide significant opportunities for more intensive, sophisticated Jewish study. Since almost all Jewish young people attend college and the campus is regarded as synonymous with intellectual respectability, the availability of fully accredited college courses in Jewish studies will serve to elevate the status of Jewish learning in the eyes of young Jews. In addition we regard Jewish studies as a significant academic discipline which should be part of every liberal arts program regardless of the Jewish constituency on campus.

Although it is recognized that the intended goal of Jewish studies at the college level is primarily cognitive, we recommend that greater emphasis be placed upon informal programs which make use of Jewish volunteerism and of student involvement in programs related to the Jewish community in the United States and Israel.

5) We recommend that investment in Jewish education broadly conceived must become a top priority in the allocation of communal resources for domestic needs.

It is incumbent on Federations and other major organizations to assume more responsibility and leadership roles in implementing long-range educational planning as a service to those institutions which deal directly with the field of Jewish schooling and Jewish educational programs. Jewish communal leadership, beyond its support for current programs, must encourage and support innovative programs on every level of Jewish education with a view to effective long-range planning and future needs. Without interfering in the specific curricular content of schools sponsored by the various ideological groupings in the Jewish community, Federations and agencies can serve a major role in working toward improved coordination of Jewish educational programs sponsored by a broad spectrum of concerned institutions

- ...by exploring and encouraging school mergers and joint use of personnel where appropriate;
- ...by advocating and funding innovative efforts to create suitable curricular material;
- ...by the development of a corps of trained personnel through recruitment and the upgrading of the training and status of teachers;
- ...by founding and funding model schools that will set standards of excellence in Jewish education;
- ...by giving practical encouragement to creative informal programs for Jewish fellowship and learning such as Havurot, family cluster groups, weekend and holiday retreat programs.

* * * *

We call upon American Jewish Committee chapters to play a leadership role in the local communities by publicizing and helping to implement the above recommendations.

Adopted by the National Executive Council
Atlanta, Georgia
October 28, 1977

JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE AREAS ADMINISTERED BY ISRAEL

THE CONTINUITY OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT

Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel dates back to biblical times. Throughout the ages, the Jewish People has steadfastly adhered to its historic right to live in and settle its ancestral homeland, even when conditions in the land made such activity extremely difficult. To the Jewish People, therefore, settlement is a permanent and natural feature of its existence in its homeland.

AN INTEGRAL PART OF ISRAEL'S SECURITY

The establishment of settlements is determined primarily by security needs. Army bases are in need of considerable assistance from civilian localities. Among these needs are: supplies, medical assistance and dwellings for the families of career soldiers, even within the "green line" (the 1948-1967 armistice line between Israel and its neighbours). It is an accepted practice that army bases are located near civilian localities.

NOT AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE

There is no connection between the progress towards a Middle East peace agreement and the establishment of settlements. The Arabs refused to negotiate peace with Israel even when there were no settlements or, for that matter, even when Judaea and Samaria were under Arab control. The settlement issue is simply a device to cover up for the Arabs' stubborn refusal to negotiate with Israel, whose destruction they seek. The recent course of events in the Middle East proves that the settlements have in no way hindered progress towards agreements. The disengagement agreements with Egypt and Syria were reached without the settlements representing a stumbling block. The present issues delaying the reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference are not related to the settlements. They concern such questions as that of Palestinian representation, the number of delegations, etc. These problems would have to be discussed even if there were not a single Jewish settlement in the areas administered by Israel. The settlements are merely a tool of Arab propaganda. As observed by Professor Fred Gottheil of the University of Illinois, at the House of Representative hearings, on 12 September 1977: *"Jewish settlements are an issue because the existence of the State of Israel is an issue."*

NOT A MEANS OF IMPOSING SOVEREIGNTY

Should the Arabs - after three decades of unremitting military, economic and political warfare against Israel - show a willingness, now, to reach a genuine peace with Israel, there is no reason why Jews and Arabs should not be able to live together in one region. Just as the Israeli Arabs - half a million live in Israel today - are a bridge to understanding between Arab and Jew, so can Jews living in an Arab area play a similar role. The notion that Judaea-Samaria should be the one place in the world today where Jews would be barred from living is reminiscent of the racist "Judenrein" notion developed forty years ago by the Nazis. Certainly, Israel cannot accept such a notion.

Moreover, the settlements, as such, do not create political facts. The Prime Minister has made it clear, from the rostrum of the Knesset, that so long as negotiations are being held with the Arab states, Israeli law will not be applied to the territories. Besides, facts - important facts - can be established not only by action but also by inaction. We know, from bitter experience, that physical absence from places to which we have an historical and emotional attachment will lead to the loss of access to these places.

In 1948, for example, the Jordanian army captured the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem and drove out its inhabitants. The Armistice Agreement later concluded between Jordan and Israel affirmed the right of Jews to visit the Western Wall, Jewry's holiest shrine, though it was now under Jordan's control and no Jews lived in the area. However, the Jordanians never honoured that clause and from 1948 until Jerusalem was reunified in 1967, Jews were denied access to this most revered of their holy places.

In any case, Israel has repeatedly made it clear that it cannot and will not return to the fragile and indefensible pre-1967 armistice lines. The location of the future borders between Israel and the neighbouring Arab states, therefore, will be determined by negotiated agreements, rather than by the Jewish settlements beyond the armistice lines.

THE LEGAL ASPECT

It has been charged that Jewish settlement in the areas administered by Israel is illegal under the Fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilians in Time of War. Article 49 of the Convention entitled "Deportations, Transfers, Evacuations;" prohibits "individual or mass forcible transfers as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country..." The article also states that it is forbidden to "deport" or "transfer" parts of its own civilian population into the occupied territory.

From an overall reading of Article 49, it is evident that its purpose is to protect the local population from deportation and displacement. It thus becomes apparent that such deportations and transfers are prohibited only if they involve the displacement of the local population.

This conclusion is also reflected in the Oppenheim-Lauterpacht Treatise "International Law" (Vol II-7th Edition, Page 452):

"The Occupying Power must not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory occupied by it - a prohibition intended to cover cases of the occupant bringing in its nationals for the purpose of displacing the population of the occupied territory."

Since no Arab inhabitants have been displaced by Jewish settlements, it is clear that the situation envisaged in Article 49 of the Geneva Convention does not apply to the Jewish settlements in question.

Incidentally, Jews constitute only $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent of the population of Judaea and Samaria. In all the areas administered by Israel, there are less than 7,000 Jews - among a population of over a million Arabs.

THE ISSUE OF LAND EXPROPRIATIONS

It has been claimed that the settlements are being established at the expense of expropriated Arab lands. The overwhelming majority of settlements have been set up on government and public land. In the few instances where private land was involved, it was acquired for public purposes in accordance with Jordanian law and against full compensation. Similar laws providing for acquisition of land for public purposes exist in Israel and in most other countries.

In all cases of such land acquisition, any owner who feels aggrieved or feels that the compensation was not sufficient has right of access to the Supreme Court sitting as the High Court of Justice. This court can and does issue writs against the government or the military authorities whenever it feels that any person, including residents of the territories, have a legitimate grievance. In a number of instances, the court has found against the authorities.

RETURNING HOME

It should be emphasized that Jewish settlement is often a return to lands and homes illegally seized by the Arabs. Gush Etzion, for instance, was settled by Jews before the War of Independence. In 1948, it was occupied by the invading Arab forces, which brutally slaughtered the Jewish civilian population. Following the Six-Day War, the survivors of Gush Etzion returned

to their villages, which had remained abandoned through the years, and began the task of reconstruction. Similarly, the 1929 massacre of the Jewish community in Hebron brought about a temporary halt to a centuries-old presence in the city where the Jewish Patriarchs are buried. Failure to return to Hebron following the 1967 War might have implied acquiescence to a reality imposed by Arab aggression. Nevertheless, Israel has gone out of its way not to encroach on land or homes presently owned or inhabited by Arabs. In Hebron, for example, Israel did not reclaim the homes taken by the Arabs in 1929 but contented themselves with constructing a new quarter outside the city.

Hebron and Gush Etzion are only two examples of settlements destroyed by the Arabs. The Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, for example, was systematically demolished by the Jordanian occupation forces.

ARAB WATER NOT DIVERTED TO SETTLERS

It is totally untrue that water supplies are taken from the Arabs and given to the Jews. The fact is that in June 1967, Judaea and Samaria did not possess the infrastructure necessary for drinking-water plants. This task was undertaken by the military administration, which began digging and drilling wells near Hebron, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Nablus, Jenin and Tulkarm. Since then, the quantity of water supplied to these villages and towns has increased more than five-fold. The water-related projects put into operation by the administration have been of benefit primarily to the Arabs, who constitute more than 99% of the area's population.

CONTRIBUTION TO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The settlement policy is an extension of the "Open Bridges" policy. During the 1920's and 30's, there was substantial economic growth in the area as a result of Arab-Jewish cooperation. The Jews introduced modern methods of agriculture and marketing which made Palestine the envy of the entire Middle East. The Arabs benefitted from this prosperity no less than the Jews. In fact, thousands of Arabs from the neighbouring countries came to settle in Palestine during those years, drawn by higher wages, better living conditions and greater economic opportunity.

• Current Arab-Jewish economic cooperation has again led to substantial gains for both sides and a general reduction of tension in the area. Clearly, the creation and maintenance of economic and social ties between Arab and Jew is no less important to the breaking down of the walls of hostile Arab propaganda, than it is to continued prosperity.

We believe that the agreement concerning Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip should be based on our living together with the Palestinian Arabs in those areas, and not on partition of the territory.

October 1977

→ ~~HA~~ → MARC TONENBAUM

✓ 10. Katz

(Selma
Hirsch)

Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlanta, Inc.

Lifting High the Cross of Reconciliation and Service Over the Atlanta Area.

846 PEACHTREE STREET, N.E. / ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30306 / TELEPHONE 881-9890

NOV 03 1977

November 1, 1977

Mr. Edward M. Abrams, Atlanta Chairman
National Executive Council
American Jewish Committee
5825 Glenridge Drive, N.E.
Building 2
Suite 202
Atlanta, Georgia 30328

Dear Edward:

I wish to express to you and to all the members of the Atlanta Chapter of the American Jewish Committee the gratitude of the Christian Council leaders who were privileged to attend the three marvelous occasions during the National Executive Council meeting in Atlanta October 27-30.

The three occasions which I was privileged to attend were certainly high experiences for me. The Thursday evening meeting with the Ecumenical Relations Committee with the Archbishop Thomas A. Donnellan speaking was an enriching experience for all in attendance.

The Friday luncheon, at which you presented a significant award to Dr. Billy Graham and at which he gave his moving address, proved to be one of the high water marks in better relations between the Jewish and Christian communities. Everyone was moved by the spirit and the addresses given at that luncheon meeting.

The Saturday evening banquet was a beautiful, inspiring, and informative occasion. The Christians there were informed of the work of the outstanding services being rendered by the National Executive Council; and the ambassador's address on the Panama Canal Treaty was enlightening to all in attendance.

ALVIN L. DOPSON, D.D., President
ALBERT E. LOVE, Director of Programs

HARMON D. MOORE, D.D., Executive Director
EUGENE M. GRIER, Director of Operations

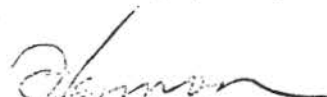
page two

Mr. Abrams

Your hospitality and generosity toward the Christian community will mean much to our increased understanding and cooperation in the days ahead.

Be assured of our continued love, prayers, and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,


Harmon D. Moore

HDM:mgk

cc/ Mr. William Gralnick
Mr. Ted V. Fisher
Dr. Alvin L. Dopson
Mr. Willis Johnson, Jr.





A Recent Press Release

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

November 8, 1977

On Thursday, November 10, 1977, Evangelicals United for Zion will sponsor a ceremony honoring Dr. John F. Walvoord, President of Dallas Theological Seminary. Dr. Walvoord will receive a framed facsimile of the Proclamation of Support for Israel of which he was an original signer. The presentation will be made at a special chapel service at Dallas Theological Seminary by Mr. Michael Pragai, Consul Adviser on Church Relations of the Israeli Government, on behalf of the people of Israel.

Evangelicals United for Zion, founded by concerned evangelical leaders to unite Christian support for Israel, has sponsored several such events. On September 18, 1977, Dr. W. A. Criswell, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Dallas, Texas, received a framed facsimile of this important document at what might well be termed the "launching" of EUZ. Dr. Douglas B. MacCorkle was honored in a similar manner on October 6, 1977, at a special chapel service of Philadelphia College of Bible, of which he is Chancellor.

Evangelicals United for Zion had its root beginning on July 3, 1976, at a great Bicentennial Conference on Prophecy in Philadelphia. At that time the Proclamation of Support for the rights of Jewish people to their homeland was signed as a gesture of love and solidarity by leading evangelicals.

Several months later, the Proclamation was presented to Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz by its signers at a luncheon in Washington, D. C.

-more-

Directors

Criswell, Dr. W. A.
Pastor, First Baptist Church of Dallas, TX
Fickett, Dr. Harold L. Jr.
President, Barrington College, Barrington, RI
Kubach, Mr. John J.
Bank Vice President, Retired

Samson, Mr. George
Communications Consultant
Straub, Mr. James W.
Management Consultant
Walvoord, Dr. John F.
President, Dallas Theological Seminary
Ward, Dr. Larry
President, Food for the Hungry, Inc.,
Los Angeles, CA

Leonard, Mr. Isaac J.
Businessman, Retired
MacCorkle, Dr. Douglas B.
Chancellor, Philadelphia College of Bible
Melhorn, Mr. John E.
Bank President
Radmacher, Dr. Earl D.
President, Western Conservative
Baptist Seminary, Portland, OR

Pg. 2

Today the Proclamation rests in Israel's Archival History Building.

According to EUZ President, Mr. George Samson, EUZ is already at work on several significant projects. EUZ will soon sponsor the distribution of Scripture cards published by the American Bible Society especially for EUZ. These cards, beautifully illustrated promises from God to His ancient people, Israel, will be dispersed throughout the Jewish and the evangelical communities as a reminder of God's divine plan for His people.

In 1978, EUZ will sponsor working visits for evangelical college students to kibbutzim in Israel. Leading Christian colleges will be involved in this program which will demonstrate evangelical involvement in a tangible way.

-30-

Directors

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Samson, Mr. George
Communications Consultant
Straub, Mr. James W.
Management Consultant
Walvoord, Dr. John F.
President, Dallas Theological Seminary
Ward, Dr. Larry
President, Food for the Hungry, Inc.,
Los Angeles, CA

Leonard, Mr. Isaac J.
Businessman, Retired
MacCorkle, Dr. Douglas B.
Chancellor, Philadelphia College of Bible
Melhorn, Mr. John E.
Bank President
Radmacher, Dr. Earl D.
President, Western Conservative
Baptist Seminary, Portland, OR

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 23, 1977
to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
from Rabbi A. James Rudin
subject NCC Governing Board Meeting, New York City,
November 9-11

The most important development from our perspective at the semi-annual NCC Governing Board Meeting was the unanimous adoption of the enclosed Middle East resolution. This resolution went through four separate revisions. I was intimately involved in almost every step of the process that culminated with the final passage of the resolution on November 11th.

The first draft (I) was written by Richard Butler, the NCC's Middle East Director, and is very hostile to Israel. It nowhere speaks about the recognition of the State of Israel, is highly sympathetic to the PLO, and is critical of Israel on the question of settlements. It urges President Carter to support a change of UN Security Resolution 242 recognizing the right of self-determination of Palestinian Arabs. It calls for an investigation of Israeli prison conditions on the West Bank and Gaza. All in all, it would have been an unmitigated disaster of the first order if this resolution had passed.

After some intensive meetings and negotiations with Dr. William Weiler, Executive Director of the Office on Christian-Jewish Relations of the NCC, and Dr. Robert Turnipseed, the Chairman of the NCC's Christian-Jewish Advisory Committee, a second draft developed (II). This draft was only slightly better than the first with specific references to the PLO removed, but it still attacks Israel on the question of human rights violations and alleged torture on the West Bank and Gaza, and it still calls for an investigation of such charges. This draft also urged the US Government to "carefully scrutinize" the sale of weapons to the Middle East and it still lacked any call for the security or recognition of the State of Israel.

Once again I expressed my deep concerns, disappointments and anxieties about this resolution. Finally in late October, after many telephone conversations and personal meetings, the third draft emerged (III). It should be noted that this resolution came from "the establishment" of the NCC; that is to say, it was being offered by four commissions:

- a. the Middle East Working Group
- b. The Office on Christian-Jewish Relations
- c. The Division of Church and Society
- d. The Commission on Justice, Liberation and Human Fulfillment (the American Indian, Puerto Rican, Chicano group)

The NCC officials wanted very much to present a united front on this resolution, and they did not want any floor fight or divisive debate at the Governing Board Meeting. The fourth revision was a great improvement over the other three. All references to the PLO, Jewish settlements, alleged Israeli torture are out of this resolution. It is extremely bland, but the four supporting documents are quite good including UN Security Resolutions 242 and 338.

When Richard Butler, the Director of the Middle East office of the National Council of Churches, returned in early November from the Middle East, he was very upset with the proposed resolution and another long series of meetings and consultations took place. I insisted that some specific reference be made regarding the question of the recognition of the State of Israel. This suggestion was accepted. I also urged that the paragraph from the NCC's December 1974 statement be included which specifically speaks about the "right of Israel to exist as a free nation within secure borders" be included. Butler was, however, able to include a reference to the "Israeli establishment of civilian and military settlements to the West Bank and Gaza" and he also included UN General Assembly Resolution 3236 of 1974, the PLO document that emerged after Arafat's visit to the UN. Butler also had included as supporting documents the joint Soviet-American statement of October 1977, and the Carter-Dayan working paper.

The final resolution as passed (IV) is "balanced". It does make some specific references to our concerns. The PLO is totally absent from the document, as is any reference to alleged Israeli torture. There were some last minute attempts to include these items in the document along with a condemnation of Israel for "stealing" US uranium. None of this appears in the document.

Given the makeup of the National Council of Churches Governing Board and the inclinations of many of its professional staff, I feel this document is a "victory" for us. It has become clear to me in the past few years that there is greater and greater reluctance to pass any hostile anti-Israel resolutions. In addition, Frank Maria, the chief anti-Israel delegate to the Governing Board, has less and less credibility since he is clearly seen as a "one issue person."

I am personally pleased since many of my specific concerns and suggestions were adopted by the drafters of the resolution. The evolution of this resolution is a textbook case of how a one-sided unbalanced

statement needs to be watched and paid attention to within the National Council of Churches. Bill Weiler and Lonnie Turnipseed were most helpful in the process.

AJR:FM

Encl.

Ima

cc: Judith Banki
Morris Fine
Inge Gibel
Bert Gold
George Gruen
Bernard Resnikoff
Ira Silverman



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A POLICY STATEMENT *of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America*

ON THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Adopted by the General Board
May 2, 1969

I THE FOCUS OF CHRISTIAN CONCERN

This statement, addressed to the constituency of the National Council of Churches, suggests that Christian concern for the conflict in the Middle East is properly focused upon fundamental human needs and rights. Political, military and national rivalries in the area are of critical importance, but Christian attention to them arises out of the deeper concern, which the Gospel enjoins upon all who follow Christ, for the human person, his society, and for peace in the world. The most urgent needs of the peoples of the region may be discerned as follows:

1. Two Specific Needs

In the situation of the past twenty years and more, two specific human needs have arisen, continued and remained unsolved.

- a) One is the need of the Palestinian Arabs affected by the establishment of Israel, of whom now approximately 1,500,000 are refugees, for a home that is acceptable to them, and for a future in which they may discern justice, security and hope. What will constitute "a home acceptable to them" must now be a matter of negotiation in which generosity will be required of many, and compromise by all who are directly involved.
- b) The other specific need is security for the Jews in the area. The Jews in the Arab countries of the Middle East and the Jews of Israel must be assured of safety and of their rights. Without this assurance, there will be no justice or peace in the Middle East.

2. Justice Among Peoples

Christian ideas of justice and righteousness derive from God's nature as revealed in the Scriptures and fulfilled in Jesus Christ. It is within the context of God's love for man that justice is of prime importance to Christians. In

fact, in Christian moral theology justice must be kept in the perspective of the love of God and man, if it is to remain true.

Consequently, in seeking justice Christians must try to apply the principle that each individual person has inalienable rights and that, in love, he must be treated as an end in himself and not merely as a means to something else. Attempts must be made constantly to secure more just relations among men and peoples than those which presently exist. In the Middle East, it is fundamental that a solid concern be demonstrated for the achievement of a greater justice among all the peoples there. Righteousness among men is prior to their security and peace, for these latter depend ultimately upon relationships which men recognize to be at least tolerably just.

Therefore, a Christian view holds that the measure of justice in the Middle East is not the vindication and triumph of any single, limited claim or interest, but the degree to which human need in the area is met. Essential to the achievement of a minimum of justice among Arabs and Israelis is the meeting of the specific needs of Palestinian refugees and of Jews in Israel and elsewhere, as indicated above, but also progress in the economic, political and social development of the whole of the Middle East.

3. Peace Among Nations

Human needs in the Middle East cannot be met without peace in the minimal sense of an end to violence and the establishment of security. Each nation must live in security. No nation has a right to commit aggression. Furthermore, acts of violence, whether sporadic or sustained, whether committed by individuals or by organized groups tolerated if not sponsored by governments, must be both condemned and stopped. Continued violence by Arab guerrilla groups and by Israel carries the threat of expansion into disastrous war. A Christian view requires an end to this violence in the interests of peace. Yet the cessation of these hostilities should not mean

that the status quo is frozen: it should mean that, with shooting and raids stopped, an atmosphere is created for a settlement that makes it possible to reverse the arms race and to advance toward permanent security based upon justice in the relationships among nations.

A Christian concern focused upon broad areas of human need cannot be imprisoned by any particular political doctrine that may be institutionalized in the states of the Middle East. Neither justice nor peace is set forward by being simply "pro-Arab" or "pro-Israel." Indeed, it is important to go even further than the achievement of a humanitarian non-alignment in respect of political ideologies.

The Middle East conflict is the scene today of deepening and dangerous intransigence. Any claim that contains or suggests genocide must be denied and opposed. The idea is abroad that Arabs desire to "push Israel into the sea." Many Arabs deny that this is policy. Even if it represents only the assertion of irresponsible extremists, Christians must oppose it. Nationalisms exist, in Israel and elsewhere, which stem in part from religious roots and which contain, in the present situation, powerful political implications. One form of such nationalism connects the promise of God to the Jewish people with the land of Palestine, holding that the will of God and the future of the Jewish people require that the Jews possess Palestine as a homeland. The result is to make an ultimate value of Palestinian land, particularly Jerusalem, and the relation of that land to the Jewish people. An Arab religious nationalism also exists, among both Muslims and Christians, which regards Palestine and Jerusalem as part of its sacred ancestral lands. We affirm our respect for and fellowship with those who hold these religious faiths, and ask them to understand that our concern is because of the tragic political consequences of all religious nationalisms.

Extreme and ultimate claims on both sides are unacceptable to us as Christians. Judaism, Christianity and Islam owe obedience to the God of all, whose relation to the particulars of history is viewed differently by men of differing faith. In that obedience we register our Christian convictions and ask for continued, prayerful dialogue with our brethren on these matters of great moment.

To too great an extent, the Christian community in the United States--and perhaps elsewhere as well--is itself a part of the problem, offering sympathy and advocacy too exclusively "pro-Arab" or "pro-Israel." The "victory" of one side over the other, or the satisfaction of one side to the neglect or at the expense of the other, is not a worthy objective for Christian or humanitarian support. Christian theology holds that no particular place (including "holy places"), nation, people, ideology, philosophy, theology, or institution (including ecclesiastical organizations) is absolute, but all are relative to God's universal mercy and judgment. They are all subject to God and, as such, find their meaning not in their own supposed absolute value, but only as they are judged and redeemed by God

and serve the broad interests of humanity. For this reason, Christian theology has its deepest conflict with any attempts, whether Israeli, Arab or American, to elevate particular factors of history or culture into absolute values.

II

DANGERS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

The following appear to be the principal dangers in the present situation:

1. Failure to achieve a security for Israel that is acceptable to her and her neighbors will, almost certainly, lead to increased warfare. If hatred and open hostility continue, the vastly larger Arab population increasingly will threaten Israel, in spite of her social and technological advance. Guarantees of the security of Israel are essential, but the present situation holds little likelihood of achieving such guarantees save as Israel and her neighbors--after 25 years of struggle--reach agreement as to final determination of Israel's borders and as to the settlement of the refugee problem.
2. The continued dislocation of Palestinian Arabs seriously exacerbates present tensions and difficulties in the Middle East. The refugee problem is a major acute human need in the region; it is heightened by the growing sense of identity among Palestinian Arabs. Both a just peace and the upholding of human rights depend upon safeguarding the lives of these refugees and finding means for constructively channeling their energies.
3. One of the tragedies of the situation is that in spite of some notable achievements, warfare and tension have prevented Arab nations from achieving an adequate rate of development. Many domestic and international factors have contributed to this situation, which breeds new dangers for the future.
4. There is little or no communication between Israel and the Arab states or their peoples. If all hope of communication were to disappear, and the emotional, ideological and political positions of the opposing sides hardened still more, the menace to world peace would be extremely grave.
5. A fifth danger is that, in spite of present efforts to the contrary, conflicting interests of the great powers in the Middle East exacerbate and enlarge the internal conflicts in the area. If the great powers, United Kingdom, France, the United States and the USSR, conceive and pursue their interests in a narrow and exclusive fashion, the danger is extreme. This becomes more true if the great powers seek domination of the Mediterranean, solicit clients in the region, or if they yield to the desires of nations there to secure exclusive military, economic and political allies. On

the other hand, the present trend toward broadly conceived interests by the United States and the USSR, resulting in further detente and cooperation to secure peace, is needed in order to lessen materially the danger of the present explosive situation.

III

TASKS OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

1. It is essential that the Christian community transcend partial sympathies with the Israeli or Arab sides and concentrate its attention upon the great elements of human need in the area. (Section I) Christians should themselves seek and support all those who search for solutions that are practical rather than partisan and doctrinaire. The prime objective must be to meet the needs of the conflicting populations--those of the refugee camps, of Israel, of Arab states--for a reasonable security and a relative justice.
2. The Christian community should use every available means to help develop meaningful communication among the parties involved. United States Christians have a unique responsibility to promote understanding, because of their longstanding associations through missions, relief and interchurch relationships in the Middle East, and because of their close fellowship with the United States Jewish community. The primary task is to create situations in which persons of the different groups can listen to and communicate with one another.
3. The Christian community urgently should encourage strong United Nations action in the area, as the best promise of restraining the pursuit of narrow interests by the great powers, of helping the great powers to broaden their interests toward the objective of securing peace, and of providing impartiality and equity for the Middle Eastern nations. United Nations action should strive not to impose a solution, but to secure

direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States concerned. It is of particular importance that the supply of armaments to the Middle Eastern states and the deployment of great-power military forces in the region should be restrained and reviewed to the end of achieving security in the region rather than an explosive arms race. The possibility of effective UN action depends to a large extent upon the will of the great powers to merge their interests in order to secure peace.

4. The Christian community in the United States should encourage urgently the United States Government:
 - a) To use United States influence to keep the great-power conflict in the Middle East to a minimum.
 - b) To use United States influence to discourage violence by any party to the conflict.
 - c) To use United States influence to strengthen and set forward efforts, whether by the United Nations, or within the context of the United Nations, to secure compromise, and thus to accomplish the purposes of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. (The text of the United Nations Resolution is below.)
 - d) To use United States resources to increase the rate of development throughout the area, particularly through United Nations or other multilateral agencies.

It is recognized that the first three of the above suggestions (namely, a, b, and c above) are generally within the policy of the United States Government. The fourth, concerning development aid, should be pressed upon the Government with particular vigor.

72 FOR; 18 AGAINST; 0 ABSTENTION.

Text of the United Nations Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East;

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security;

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken to act in accordance with Article 2 of

the Charter;

1. Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

- (i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political

independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. Affirms further the necessity

- (a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;
- (b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;
- (c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area,

through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

- 3. Requests the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;
- 4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.



An Affirmation of Hope for Peace in the Middle East

The Executive Committee of the National Council of Churches, meeting in New York during the second week in Advent 1974, observes with grave concern the recent developments affecting the life and destiny of the peoples of the Middle East. As the crisis deepens, we note the following disquieting developments:

- (a) increasing acceptance of the idea of an inevitable Mid-East war during the coming months;
- (b) acknowledgement of nuclear capability in the Middle East, and veiled threats of its use in future hostilities;
- (c) an escalating arms race;
- (d) continuation of attacks and reprisals in the on-going hostilities between Israel and the Palestinians.

The love of Christ constrains us to speak from the depth of our Christian conscience. We call upon the Arab nations, Israel, and the Palestinians to renounce their use of violence, and to engage actively in negotiation to achieve an equitable and lasting peace. In the crucial months ahead, when the balance between war and peace is so delicate, we feel strongly that movement toward meaningful negotiation between Israel and the Palestinians could provide a constructive alternative to war.

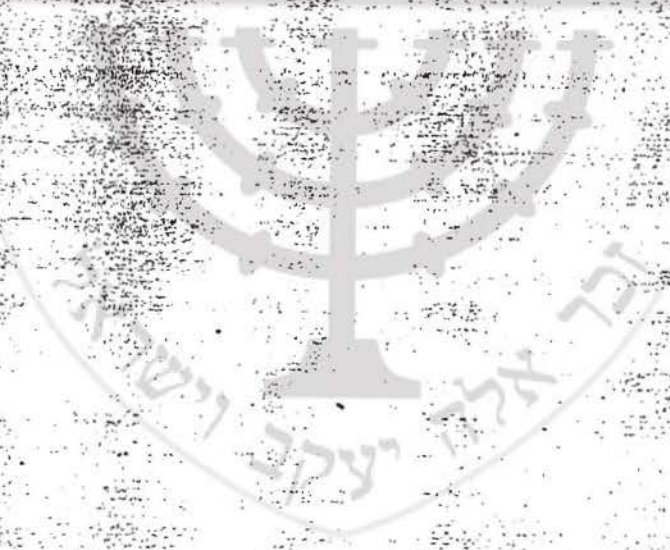
We call upon Israel and the Palestinians to recognize mutually the right of the other party to the same self-determination which each desires for itself. We affirm the right of Israel to exist as a free nation within secure borders. We equally affirm the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a national entity.

We urge our own government and the government of the Soviet Union to serve as partners on the path of peace, maintaining a posture from which they can carry on meaningful dialogue with Israel and the Arab states. Furthermore, we call upon the United States to develop more open contacts with the leadership of the Palestinians including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as a means of furthering prospects for peace.

As evidence of our deep concern, we ask our General Secretary to convene a forum, in which all Middle East concerns of the NCC and member communions may be discussed within a total strategy, to work toward the objectives mentioned above.

As we celebrate the coming of the Prince of Peace, we invite our member Churches and all Christians to pray for a just peace in the Middle East, so that the hope of Advent may become a reality for that troubled part of the world.

A resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the National Council of Churches on December 13, 1974. The resolution is based on the Policy Statement, ON THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, of May 2, 1969.



TEXT OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION
of OCTOBER, (1973)

Resolution 338

The Security Council:

1. Calls upon all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than twelve hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision in the positions they now occupy;
2. Calls upon the parties concerned to start immediately after the ceasefire the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) in all of its points;
3. Decides that, immediately, and concurrently with the ceasefire, negotiations start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices, aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East

For presentation to
NCCC Governing Board
(Dates of meeting)

DATA SHEET

Proposed Resolution on (subject/title)

MIDDLE EAST PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

Why resolution
is being submitted
late:

On October 20-21, 1977, a group of church representatives from NCCCUSA member communions and NCCC staff coming from the Middle East Committee, Division of Overseas Ministries; the Christian-Jewish Relations Advisory Committee; the Christian-Muslim Relations Task Force; the International Affairs Inter-Unit Working Group; and the Fifth Commission met in Washington, D.C. to discuss Middle East Peace negotiations together and with officials of the U.S. Department of State. The preparation of this resolution was continued following that meeting. Final drafting was delayed in order to include any last minute developments in the fast-changing Middle East situation.

To Whom the Resolution
is addressed:

President Carter and other appropriate persons and organizations; Member communions of the NCCCUSA.

Content Outline:

Commends President Carter for initiatives taken on Middle East peace negotiation; encourages him to continue these efforts; calls on member communions of NCCCUSA to register their support of President Carter's policies with the White House and Congress as possible.

Nature of
Action Requested:

Requests the General Secretary to communicate this statement to President Carter and other appropriate persons and organizations and requests the member communions of NCCCUSA to circulate this resolution within their membership.

Policy Base:

Statement on the Crisis in the Middle East, adopted May 2, 1969.

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I

Recent developments in the quest for peace in the Middle East have dampened hopes for an early reconvening of the Geneva Convention and the beginning of serious negotiation toward an overall settlement of the conflict. Conciliatory sounds, faint as they were, have been replaced by the more strident tones of hardening recalcitrant positions.

Observers note, particularly, statements by Israeli leaders that, under no circumstances, will they deal with the Palestine Liberation Organization; PLO leaders have again rejected even an implied recognition of Israel in refusing to endorse U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 (1976), even with a reservation noted on the clause identifying Palestinians only as refugees. In addition, the creation and official encouragement by the Government of Israel of new Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza areas are regarded by many as an obstacle to peace. Continued reports of alleged human rights violations, and even torture in the occupied West Bank and Gaza areas appear with increased frequency. However, it should be noted that, in recent days, Israel has announced its willingness to cooperate with UNESCO in allowing a U.N. mission to investigate "cultural freedom" in the West Bank and Gaza.

Therefore, acting in the belief that our role as churches is to speak for peace, justice and reconciliation, the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., meeting November 9-10, 1977:

1. REAFFIRMS its belief that a just and real peace in the Middle East is dependent upon the principle of mutual recognition by the major contestants, Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs. We urgently reiterate the call made by our NCCC Executive Committee in December, 1974:

"We call upon Israel and the Palestinians to recognize the right of the other party to the same self-determination which they desire for themselves."

2. COMMENDS President Carter for his efforts to find ways of overcoming the procedural impediments to reconvening the Geneva Conference. In this regard, we note particularly the initiatives of the President in encouraging the Palestine Liberation Organization to endorse U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) with reservation on the clause identifying Palestinians only as refugees. We regret that the PLO has not yet taken this action. Nevertheless, we encourage President Carter to continue to find a way in which the Palestinian Arabs can have authentic representation at Geneva. Such action might include U.S. support in the U.N. Security Council of an addendum to S.C. Rstn. 242 (1967) recognizing the right of self-determination for Palestinian Arabs.

3. BELIEVES that an independent, international human rights organization, such as the International Commission of Jurists, should be permitted to investigate prison conditions and prisoner treatment, including interrogation techniques, in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, in order to provide authoritative documentation on these situations.

4. INSTRUCTS the President and General Secretary of the NCCCUSA to communicate by letter this statement of our concerns and affirmations.

5. ENCOURAGES the member-communions of the NCCCUSA to circulate this resolution and accompanying background material to local churches and judicatories to help them understand the issues at stake in the Middle East.



DRAFT RESOLUTION - for NCCC Exec. Bd.

Nov 9-10-1977

LEGITIMATE or

Israel

II

Whereas the National Council of Churches believes that conflict in the Middle East is properly focused upon fundamental human needs and rights of both Israelis and Palestinians.

Whereas the National Council of Churches recognizes the need of the Palestinians for a home acceptable to them and for a future in which they may discern justice, security and hope.

Whereas the National Council of Churches believes that the Christian community should encourage strong United Nations action in the Middle East as a way of providing impartiality and equity.

Whereas the National Council of Churches believes it is fundamental that a solid concern be demonstrated for the achievement of greater justice among all people in the Middle East.

Whereas the National Council of Churches believes that human needs cannot be met without peace in the minimal sense of an end to violence and the establishment of security.

Therefore, acting in the belief that our role as churches is to speak for peace, justice, and reconciliation, the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches meeting November 9, 1977:

Reiterates with urgency the call made by our NCCC Executive Committee in December 1974: "We call upon Israel and the Palestinians to recognize the right of the other party to the same self-determination which they desire themselves".

Commends President Carter for his efforts to find ways of overcoming procedural impediments to reconvening the Geneva Conference.

Supports President Carter in his efforts to find ways in which the Palestinians in the middle east can have authentic representation at any peace talks.

as a major P. in the middle east

reports of
Expresses concern over continued human rights violations in the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

calls for
Believes that an independent, international human rights organization, such as the International Commission of Jurists, should be permitted to investigate alleged violations of human rights, including prisoner treatment, interrogation techniques, and administrative detention, in the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

+ status
Calls upon President Carter to carefully scrutinize U.S. involvement in the arms buildup *in the Middle East* and the sale of sophisticated weaponry to Middle East nations.

Recalls the action of this governing Board meeting on May 6, 1977, when a resolution on human rights was adopted stating that:

"Whereas President Carter is committed to the application of human rights in U.S. foreign policy and particularly with regard to countries receiving US aid;

Whereas the NCCC has been committed to the pursuit of human rights for all peoples and has called for the rescinding of aid to any country which violates human rights;

Therefore, we urge President Carter to apply the same test of human rights equally to all countries in the world."

Instructs the President and the General Secretary of the NCCCUSA to communicate the statement of our concerns and affirmations, *to?*

Requests the member communions of the NCCCUSA to circulate this resolution and accompanying background material to local churches and judicatories to help them understand the critical issues at stake in the Middle East.

(Based on Public Statement on "Crisis in the Middle East", adopted by the General Board May 2, 1969.)

For the first time in many years, parties to the Middle East conflict are moving in the direction of a peace conference which may resolve some of the basic issues which have kept the Middle East in turmoil for thirty years. [It still remains to be seen a) ^{is} the Geneva Conference will convene, b) when it would do so, c) who would be involved in discussing the complex issues at stake, and d) what issues would in fact be negotiated.] Diplomatic movement is in evidence as ~~each party, including~~ the Arab States, the Palestinians, Israel, the United States and ~~Russia~~ ^{USSR} maneuver to define their position on these issues. At the same time, the issue of human rights in the occupied West Bank and Gaza and continued instability in Lebanon are topics of mounting concern for those interested in reconciliation in the Middle East.

Attached to this resolution are documents relevant to the issues raised in the resolution. This background material will be supplemented by a more detailed text to be presented when the Governing Board convenes. This will ensure that the Governing Board has the most recent material and analysis before it when it considers the following Middle East resolution.

~~SECRET~~ III

RESOLUTION ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE NEGOTIATIONS
(Proposed)

1 For the first time in thirty years, parties to the Middle East
2 conflict seem to be moving in the direction of a peace conference which
3 may resolve some of the basic issues which have kept the Middle East
4 in turmoil for so long. We recognize our inextricable involvement as
5 Christians in the Middle East, and will continue to search for ways to
6 contribute toward justice, reconciliation and peace.

7 Therefore, the Governing Board of the NCCCUSA:

8 Commends President Carter for his efforts

9 -to assure recognition of the legitimate rights of
10 both the Palestinians and the Israelis,

11 -to create a movement toward peace by bringing together
12 all parties, including the Palestinians, for negotiations, and by initi-
13 ating specific actions toward reconvening the Geneva Conference,

14 -to secure strong United Nations action for peace
15 based on U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338;

16 Expresses new hope that these negotiations will bring security and peace
17 with justice for all people in the Middle East;

18 Requests the General Secretary of the NCCCUSA to communicate this statement
19 of concern and hope to President Carter and other appropriate persons and
20 organizations;

21 Requests the member churches of the NCCCUSA to circulate this resolution
22 and the supporting documents* within their communions, asking their membership
23 to communicate their support regularly to President Carter and members of
24 Congress.

* Supporting documents: NCCCUSA Policy Statement on the Middle East, 1969
NCCCUSA Executive Committee Resolution on the M.E., 1974
United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, 1967
United Nations Security Council Resolution 338, 1973

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IV

RESOLUTION ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE NEGOTIATIONS
(Proposed)

1 For the first time in thirty years, parties to the Middle East
2 conflict seem to be moving in the direction of a peace conference which
3 may resolve some of the basic issues which have kept the Middle East in
4 turmoil for so long. The history of the Middle East conflict is a
5 tragedy of missed opportunities for peace. We hope that the direct
6 participants to the conflict will not allow the present opportunity to
7 escape them. The alternatives to peace have become increasingly ominous
8 for the whole world. We, as Christians, recognize our inextricable
9 involvement in the Middle East, and will continue to search for ways to
10 contribute toward justice, reconciliation and peace.

11 Therefore, the Governing Board of the NCCCUSA:
12 Reiterates, with urgency, the following portion of the action of our
13 NCCCUSA Executive Committee of December, 1974, which we continue to see
14 as the prerequisite for peace:

15 "We call upon Israel and the Palestinians to recognize
mutually the right of the other party to the same self-
determination which each desires for itself. We affirm
the right of Israel to exist as a free nation within
secure borders. We equally affirm the right of the
Palestinian people to self-determination and a national
entity.";

16 Commends President Carter for his efforts

17 -to assure recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians
18 as well as recognition of the State of Israel,

19 -to initiate specific actions towards reconvening the Geneva

20 Conference, including the issuance of the Joint Soviet-American Statement

21 (October 1, 1977) and the Working Paper on the Resumption of the
22 Geneva Peace Conference (October 5, 1977),
23 -to address obstacles to peace negotiations, such as the
24 issues of mutual recognition, Israeli establishment of civilian and
25 military settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, and the continued
26 reliance on violent means by all parties to achieve their ends;
27 Encourages President Carter in his efforts
28 -to continue a movement toward peace by bringing together for
29 negotiation the recognized representatives of all parties, including
30 the Palestinians,
31 -to secure strong United Nations action for peace based on the
32 United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,
33 and those United Nations Resolutions which insure the existence of
34 the State of Israel [Security Council Resolution 242(1967)] the main-
35 tenance of peace [Security Council Resolution 338(1973)], and the
36 legitimate rights of the Palestinians [e.g. General Assembly Resolution
37 3236(1974)] ;
38 Expresses new hope that these negotiations will bring security and
39 peace with justice for all people in the Middle East;
40 Requests the General Secretary of the NCCUSA to communicate this
41 statement of concern and hope to President Carter and other appropriate
42 persons and organizations; and
43 Requests the member churches of the NCCUSA to circulate this reso-
44 lution and the supporting documents within their communions, asking
45 their membership to communicate regularly to President Carter and members

46 of Congress statements of support of the Administration's Middle
47 East policy and initiatives as these are consistent with the above
48 guidelines.

*Supporting Documents:

- A. NCCUSA Policy Statement on the Middle East, 1969
- B. NCCUSA Executive Committee Resolution on the Middle East, 1974
- C. United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, 1967
- D. United Nations Security Council Resolution 338, 1973
- E. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3236, 1974
- F. Joint Soviet-American Statement, October, 1977
- G. Working Paper on Resumption of the Geneva Conference, October, 1977

Text of the United Nations General Assembly Resolution
of November, 1974

Resolution 3236

The General Assembly,

- Having considered the question of Palestine,
Having heard the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization,
the representative of the people of Palestine,
Having also heard other statements made during the debate,
Deeply concerned that no just solution to the problem of Palestine
has yet been achieved and recognizing that the problem of Palestine
continues to endanger international peace and security,
Recognizing that the Palestinian people is entitled to self-determina-
tion in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,
Expressing its grave concern that the Palestinian people has been pre-
vented from enjoying its inalienable rights, and in particular its
right to self-determination,
Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter,
Recalling its relevant resolutions which affirm the right of the
Palestinian people to self-determination,
1. Reaffirms the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people
in Palestine, including:
 - a. The right to self-determination without external interference;
 - b. The right to national independence and sovereignty;
 2. Reaffirms also the inalienable right of the Palestinians to
return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced
and uprooted, and calls for their return;
 3. Emphasizes that full respect for and realization of these inali-
enable rights of the Palestinian people are indispensable for the solution
of the question of Palestine;
 4. Recognizes that the Palestinian people is a principal party in
the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East;
 5. Further recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to regain
its rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of
the Charter of the United Nations;
 6. Appeals to all states and international organizations to extend
their support to the Palestinian people in its struggle to restore its
rights, in accordance with the Charter;
 7. Requests the Secretary General to establish contacts with the
Palestine Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question
of Palestine;
 8. Requests the Secretary General to report to the General Assembly
at its 30th session on the implementation of the present resolution;
 9. Decides to include the item entitled "Question of Palestine" in
the provisional agenda of the 30th session.

Supporting Document F.

Resolution on Middle East Peace Negotiations

The New York Times, October 2, 1977

Text of Soviet-American Statement on the Mideast

Following is the text of a Soviet-American statement on the Middle East released yesterday.

Having exchanged views regarding the unsafe situation which remains in the Middle East, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance of the United States and Andrei A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., have the following statement to make on behalf of their countries, which are the co-chairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East:

1. Both Governments are convinced that vital interests of the peoples of this area as well as the interests of strengthening peace and international security in general urgently dictate the necessity of achieving as soon as possible a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This settlement should be comprehensive, incorporating all parties concerned and all questions.

The United States and the Soviet Union believe that, within the framework of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem, all specific questions of the settlement should be resolved, including such key issues as

withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict; the resolution of the Palestinian question, including insuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; termination of the state of war and establishment of normal peaceful relations on the basis of mutual recognition of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence.

The two Governments believe that, in addition to such measures for insuring the security of the borders between Israel and the neighboring Arab states as the establishment of demilitarized zones and the agreed stationing in them of United Nations troops or observers, international guarantees of such borders as well as of the observance of the terms of the settlement can also be established, should the contracting parties so desire. The United States and the Soviet Union are ready to participate in these guarantees, subject to their constitutional processes.

2. The United States and the Soviet Union believe that the only right and effective way for achieving a fundamental solution to all aspects of the Middle East problem in its entirety is negotiations within the framework of

the Geneva Peace Conference, specially convened for these purposes, with participation in its work of the representatives of all the parties involved in the conflict, including those of the Palestinian people, and legal and contractual formalization of the decisions reached at the conference.

In their capacity as co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. affirm their intention through joint efforts and in their contacts with the parties concerned to facilitate in every way the resumption of the work of the Conference not later than December 1977. The co-chairmen note that there still exist several questions of a procedural and organizational nature which remain to be agreed upon by the participants to the Conference.

3. Guided by the goal of achieving a just political settlement in the Middle East and of eliminating the explosive situation in this area of the world, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. appeal to all the parties in the conflict to understand the necessity for careful consideration of each other's legitimate rights and interests and to demonstrate mutual readiness to act accordingly.

Supporting Document G.

Resolution on Middle East Peace Negotiations

The New York Times, October 13, 1977

Text of the Working Paper

Working paper on suggestion for the resumption of the Geneva peace conference:

1. The Arab parties will be represented by a unified Arab delegation, which will include Palestinian Arabs. After the opening sessions, the conference will split into working groups.

2. The working groups for the negotiation and conclusion of peace treaties will be formed as follows:

A. Egypt-Israel.

B. Jordan-Israel.

C. Syria-Israel.

D. Lebanon-Israel. (All the parties agree that Lebanon may join the conference when it so requests.)

3. The West Bank and Gaza Issues will be discussed in a working group to consist of Israel, Jordan, Egypt, and the Palestinian Arabs.

4. The solution of the problem of the Arab refugees and of the Jewish refugees will be discussed in accordance with terms to be agreed upon.

5. The agreed bases for the negotiations at the Geneva peace conference on the Middle East are U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

6. All the initial terms of reference of the Geneva peace conference remain in force, except as may be agreed by the parties.

[end]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible





הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו-יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

November 28, 1977

MP/1233/77
108.2

Rabbi Dr. Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Dear Marc,

After re-reading Jim Wall's editorial, "Israel and the Evangelicals", I felt that it may be proper, possibly even useful, to react.

My first draft was long beyond reasonable measure. After drastic cuts the enclosed is the version that went out. (The xerox of the editorial itself should be with you by now; I mailed it the day we spoke about it).

Although I don't think Jim Wall will particularly delight in the reference to Billy Graham, I thought it is relevant, and therefore fitting-in.

With cordial Regards,

Michael Pragai
Advisor on Church Relations in North America

Enclosure: One



הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו-יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

MP/1227/77
25 November 1977
108.2

Dr. James Wall, Editor
The Christian Century
407 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Jim:

Please permit me to make some observations on your thought-provoking editorial "Israel and the Evangelicals" in the November 23rd issue of Christian Century.

As it happened, I learned of the planned full-page ad in the New York Times and the Washington Post about a week before it was to appear. When the gist of the ad was related to me, I felt it was constructive and relevant.

If I read your editorial correctly, you, too, feel that there is in the Evangelicals' Statement much that is positive, but you warn of the "use of religious validation to settle secular conflicts" and you reject the notion that "Israel's claim to the 1967 borders"...should "rest"... "on Scripture", and you conclude by sharply differentiating between "religious argument" and the delineating of "national boundaries".

I think there is some misunderstanding here: As an Israeli, I felt the thrust of the ad, rather than being aimed at boundaries as such, was directed to the very core of the matter, namely that the RETURN in our time is in keeping with the WORD of SCRIPTURE and that Christians should beware of seeing the WORD whittled down.

In recent weeks I encountered numerous American Christians, of diverse religious backgrounds, and they all, invariably, read the ad in this, general, sense.

In a number of talks I gave recently to predominantly Christian audiences I focused on this general aspect and in this context I made two specific historic references:

- a. The 6th Zionist Congress in 1903 had before it a British proposal to set up a Jewish Homeland - an urgent necessity at the time in the light of the infamous Kishinev pogroms - in Uganda. This proposal was finally rejected by the Zionist Movement two years later, mainly because of the fierce opposition of the Russian contingent, for whom an immediate territorial shelter would have been of the utmost concrete import precisely because it would have meant straying away from Zion. (Other "territorial solutions" to Jewish homelessness either totally failed or just faded away, e.g., Argentina and Birobidja)
- b. The British Mandate over Palestine, endorsed by the League of Nations in the early 'twenties, explicitly recognised the historic connection between the Jewish people and "Palestine", the latter being defined in the Mandate as the lands between the Mediterranean and the Arabian desert. Some years later, Great Britain cut off 80% of this territory by bestowing it on the Emir Abdallah (grandfather of the present King Hussein). The 1947 U.N. decision to "partition Palestine" related, therefore, only to the remaining 20% of the original Mandatory lands. In other words, the U.N. Partition plan already was the outflow of the earlier, overwhelming, first partition of Palestine.

These two references to the historic context should be seen in the light of the incredibly successful national aspirations of the Arabs. They now have no less than 21 sovereign states, as against the one and only tiny and vulnerable Jewish State. The Arab wealth in territory, resources, wherewithal and manpower is of such staggering proportions as to be mind boggling. And they now wield frightening power which is a very real, ever-present, menace.

Seen on this background, the Evangilecals' Concern was fair, responsible and reassuring. They re-stated the case for the modern RETURN to the Ancestral Land, as envisaged by biblical prophesy and as prayed for, dreamed about and struggled for by Jews for twenty centuries.

On October 28th, Billy Graham responded in Atlanta, Georgia, to the National Interreligious Award by the American Jewish Committee by declaring, inter alia: "In biblical history and secular history Israel has every right to exist as Syria, or Egypt, or Russia, or the United States. The Palestinians also have a right to exist under legitimate leadership committed to the peace of the Middle East." (I enclose a copy of the full relevant passage of the statement). This, too, is a strong Evangelical Pronouncement.

You are, of course, right in saying that "political differences" cannot be "settled via biblical quotations". However, a firm stance vis-a-vis the Jewish State in the Bible Land, and the one and only locale on earth where it could have been realized, is, in fact, as well as in concept, re-inforced by a Scriptural basis. The American Evangelicals who came out and stood up for such a stance did exactly that.

We of Israel are grateful that they did and that they did so at the present juncture.

With sincere personal regards,

Michael

Michael Pragai
Advisor on Church Relations
in North America

Enclosure: One



1. We can work and pray together for the "peace of Jerusalem"

Two years ago I gave my wife a gold pendant on one side of which is inscribed in Hebrew, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem" and the same thing on the other side in English.

My elder son has been to the Middle East twenty-seven times. My eldest daughter and her husband went to Hebrew University and lived in Jerusalem for a year. My eldest son-in-law's grandmother is buried in Jerusalem. Thus we, as a family, have a very personal interest in that great city apart from its biblical and political significance.

The Middle East is the most dangerous and the most thrilling spot in the world. The Bible teaches that history began there and will end there--when the Messiah comes to "create a new social order and the "new humanity."

The capital of the world then will be Jerusalem. Then will the prophecy be fulfilled spoken by Isaiah the prophet in the 19th chapter and the 25th verse: "Whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance." In that future day God will recognize and bless Syria, Egypt and Israel. They will live together in permanent peace! This and other

over....

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS
BISHOPS' COMMITTEE FOR ECUMENICAL AND INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
SECRETARIAT FOR CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS
1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • 202-659-6857

MEMORANDUM

TO: Diocesan Ecumenical Officers
FROM: Eugene J. Fisher
RE: Middle East Negotiations and Reaction of the
Catholic Community
DATE: November 1977

COMPLIMENTS OF
AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE

The enclosed report is designed as background material for you in understanding the reaction of the American Jewish community to this latest crisis in the Middle East and in your outreach to the Jewish community concerning it.

The actual statements and letters excerpted for this report reflect the wide range of opinion within the Advisory Committee of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations. The one thing all have in common is a deep concern for the anguish of the Jewish community in this country during the present period of uncertainty over the future security of Israel.

I trust this will be of some help to you.

Shalom!

enc. -1

CATHOLIC REACTION TO MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS:

A Report by Eugene Fisher

October, 1977

Introduction:

The joint US/USSR statement on the Middle East and subsequent events have profoundly shaken all of us who believe strongly in the security of Israel and in a just peace. Both the seeming tilt toward the PLO and the dangers inherent in a renewed Soviet role in the area have precipitated widespread and justifiable concern.

Despite the evident sincerity of the president and the agreement worked out with Dayan, the situation remains volatile. Such uncertainty, when so much is at stake, will keep both Jews and concerned Christians in a state of anxiety for some time to come. For this is a matter, not of politics-as-usual, but of the very survival of a people. Our reaction as Christians to this crisis will very properly be seen by others as a test of our fidelity to the dialogue itself. Decisive and vocal support of Israel by Christians, then, is greatly needed in this time of crisis.

As a background, I have compiled the following report, with supporting documentation, of some of the immediate activities undertaken by members of the Advisory Committee of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations. It is to be hoped that this report will be of some assistance to you in your own outreach to and expressions of concern for the Jewish community in your own area.

Activities of Advisory Committee Members

1. Personal Contacts - October 3, 1977

At a luncheon meeting with Fr. John Sheerin and Dr. Eugene Fisher of the Secretariat, Rabbi Daniel Polish of the Synagogue Council of America and Mr. Brant Coopersmith of the AJC pointed out most clearly the anguish felt by the Jewish community in this crisis, and its implications for the Catholic-Jewish dialogue. In reaction, the Secretariat contacted various members of the Advisory Committee, urging that contact be made with Jewish leaders. Such ongoing relations, it was hoped, would enable concerned Christians both to assess developments and to express our solidarity with the Jewish community in its support of Israel during the delicate negotiation process.

The response by members was overwhelmingly positive, with each calling on Jewish leaders in their areas. A virtual network of contacts was in this way established. Hopefully, this living link of relationships will hold and will provide a continuing source of communication and feedback.

It should be emphasized that this informal network, while not

all-inclusive, does include large areas around the country such as San Francisco, New York/New Jersey, Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Washington.

In many cases, such as San Francisco, the initiatives led to formal meetings between Jewish and Christian leaders in which the issues were discussed and joint statements made. In others, the local diocesan ecumenical officers were urged to express informally the concern and support of the Catholic community. Finally, Fr. Alex Brunett, the head of the National Association of Diocesan Ecumenical Officers (NADEO), inserted an appeal in the association's official Newsletter calling on diocesan officials throughout the country to maintain close communications with the Jewish community throughout this period.

2. Letters to the President and to Jewish Leaders

On October 3, in the immediate wake of the joint US/USSR announcement, Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher of Seton Hall University's Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies sent a strongly-worded protest to the White House. Co-signing the letter were Sr. Rose Thering and Fr. John Morley, also of Seton Hall, and Fr. Edward H. Flannery, former Executive Secretary of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations. Praising the President's public stance on human rights, the letter expressed the fear of the signers that "the Administration has been swayed by Arab rhetoric and threats." Pointing to the fact that the presence of the PLO precipitated "the bloodiest battles in the Near East" first in Jordan and then in Lebanon, the letter commented:

"If we ignore this lesson of history and help establish a state ruled by the PLO we will not bring peace to the area. Instead we will create a center of unrest....Even to invite the PLO to the Geneva Conference is to reward murder..."

On October 4, Fr. John Pawlikowski of Chicago's Catholic Theological Union, sent out letters of support addressed to the Chicago Board of Rabbis, the Israeli Consulate, the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee. Its key paragraph stated:

"The Secretariat has asked members of its Advisory Council to convey to Jewish leaders throughout the country its support for Israel's strength and security as we move closer to the reconvening of the Geneva conference. The Bishops' Conference is committed to the recognition of the legitimate interests of both Israelis and Palestinians...in this critical period we want to make clear our intention to use all our influence to insure that Israel is not pressured into any peace settlement that would dangerously undermine her security... AM ISRAEL CHAI!"

Fr. Pawlikowski also noted his "serious concerns" regarding present Israeli "settlement" policies and conviction that "anything less than full diplomatic recognition" of Israel by her neighbors would be intolerable.

On October 7, a wire drafted by Gerard E. Sherry of the Advisory Committee, was approved and sent to the White House in the name of the San Francisco chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Like the Seton Hall letter, this wire also praised the President's stand on human rights and his commitment to the security of Israel. It centered on the dangers to the "brave people of Israel" following a Soviet role in the process of peace:

"Clearly the ultimate aim of the Soviet ruling hierarchy is to eventually capture for itself the total control of the Middle East....Let us be warned by what happened in Hungary and Czechoslovakia... Its (the USSR's) participation could eventually mean not only the total destruction of Israel...but ultimately the enslavement of the entire Middle East. Syria, Lebanon and Egypt could become Soviet satellites. Soviet involvement in current peace negotiations will merely encourage Arab intransigence and will inevitably undercut the concept which you have fostered of free negotiations by Israel and the Arab states."

These public statements, joined with the numerous personal phone calls and private meetings mentioned above, illustrate that concern for Israel is not just a "Jewish issue" but is widely shared in the Catholic community as well.

3. The Catholic Press

The October 13 issue of The Monitor, the newspaper of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, published a timely article by editor-manager Gerard E. Sherry. The editorial calls for peace to be built on the framework of justice. Pointing out that the PLO alone has refused to accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for negotiations, that its stated policy is the destruction of Israel, and that "it continues its terrorist tactics among innocent civilians--not only against Israeli citizens, but also its own Arab brothers living in Israel," the editorial declares that "it would be an injustice to ask Israel to sit down with its potential executioners. No self-respecting sovereign state should be pressured into accepting its demise." The article concludes:

"We cannot bargain away the human rights of the people of Israel simply to establish similar rights for the Palestinians. The rights of both

peoples can be assured--but only if all the parties involved have a genuine desire for peace. The Jewish people, throughout the ages, have suffered enough--so have the Palestinian refugees who, for the past 30 years, have been exploited as political pawns. It is time for all men of good will to join in the search for peace through justice in the Middle East."

Other members of the Advisory Committee have likewise shared their views through the medium of the Catholic press. Fr. John Sheerin, writing in his syndicated column for the NC News Service, which goes out to diocesan newspapers throughout the country, defended the "traditional American policy" of "special concern for Israel" that is founded on our moral admiration of Israel as a tiny democracy engaged in a "struggle for independence." Fr. Sheerin noted also the American sympathy for the plight of refugees, both Jewish and Palestinian, and added:

"But the U.S. cannot in good conscience help or endorse the P.L.O., which is hostile to democracy... As a democratic nation, the U.S. cannot give its blessing or financial aid toward the destruction of a democratic state... Unfortunately there have been times when some American policy planners did favor totalitarian regimes at the expense of the freedom of the peasants in foreign countries, but we are not proud of these episodes... The U.S. is giving massive aid to Israel because of our moral concern for and interest in Israel. We have a sympathetic concern for a small nation that shares our ideals of freedom and democracy."

Msgr. George Higgins, in his own syndicated column for NC News, has called on American Christians "to be increasingly sensitive to the real anguish and suffering" that current events, in which the very survival of Israel is at stake, will cause within the Jewish community. Israel, he noted, "represents a place of last refuge even to the most 'secularized' of Jews in America," since history, culminated in Auschwitz, has all too tragically proven that Judaism cannot ultimately be secure in either the Christian West or the Moslem Middle East without a land to embody its ideals.

4. General Reactions

Fr. Sheerin in his article suggested that support for Israel represents a general consensus of the American public and is thus not merely a "Jewish issue." A Louis Harris poll taken after the 1973 war, for example, showed 64% of Americans in favor of giving aid to Israel even if this would result in higher oil prices. And the outcry of many prominent Catholics in public life in

reaction to the US/USSR statement serves to bolster the conclusion of widespread Christian support for Israel. Many Christians signed the ((Remember)) statement placed in the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times by Writers and Artists for Peace in the Middle East during this period, which concluded:

"So, remember Munich, 1972
Lest we re-live Munich, 1938."

The strong responses of politicians such as Senator Daniel P. Moynihan of New York and Father Robert F. Drinan of Massachusetts also indicate the depth of Christian responsibility. Fr. Drinan, in an article published October 9 in The Miami Herald, noted the urgency of the issue for the credibility of Christian witness to the world:


"If Christians want to be honest with themselves they simply have to come to some conclusion about the enormity of that anti-Semitism which permitted, if not promoted, the death of about one-third of the entire Jewish people (under Hitler). Christians must confront the question of the meaning of the State of Israel and what Christians should do for that country in reparation or restitution for the genocide of Jews carried out in nations whose population was overwhelmingly Christian."

Fr. Drinan went on to warn that the religious attitudes toward Judaism held by Christians may "play an unconscious or indirect role in the formulation of the policies which America will adopt or continue with respect to the safety and survival of Israel." Because of this possibility, the Church's stand must be clear and unambiguous.

5. Conclusions

The Advisory Committee, in the context of widespread Christian support for Israel, has attempted to show its concern and sympathy to the American Jewish Community in this difficult period of negotiations. How well the network of communications thus built up will withstand coming events will be a real test of the strength of the dialogue between Jews and Catholics today. Hopefully, more and more Catholics will contact their Jewish counterparts. For out of this crisis can come a true deepening of the encounter between our two communities.

Respectfully submitted


Dr. Eugene J. Fisher
Executive Secretary

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
AIR FORCE CHAPLAIN SCHOOL (AU)
MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE, ALABAMA 36112



13 December 1977

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
National Interreligious Affairs
The American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York NY 10022

Dear Marc

Thank you for consenting to come to the Air Force Chaplain School on Wednesday, 18 January 1978 to address the Career Chaplain Class 78-A. There will be approximately 30 students in attendance with 5-11 years active duty experience.

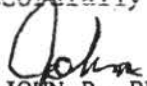
You will be speaking, as before, under the same title "Ministry Within a Pluralistic Society." Your time of presentation will be between the hours of 0745-1035. As you did before, also, please allow time for the students to enter into dialogue with you on the subject addressed.

Please make all of your travel arrangements prior to your coming. Also please keep a record of all of your expenditures. We will be paying you the same honorarium as before along with transportation, housing, and food expenses.

Again, thank you for coming. It will be good to renew our acquaintance and to spend some time informally in non-academic concerns.

Please let me know your itinerary just as soon as you have determined the same.

Cordially Yours


JOHN R. PEARSON, Chaplain, Major, USAF
Texts and Research Officer
Air Force Chaplain School

~~COPY~~

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations
165 EAST 56 TH STREET NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

PARIS OFFICE

30, rue La Boétie
Paris VIII*

NOV 20 1977

Tanaka
FO-Eur
December 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM

To: Morris Fine
From: A. S. Karlikow
Subj: Memorandum on Spain

Enclosed please find a report on the situation in Spain done after my trip to the opening of the new Madrid Jewish school. I had no time to write a short memo, so I did a long one.

As you can see from the enclosed, there presently is an opportunity to push for full Jewish religious equality. In this regard:

--- I intervened with the U.S. Ambassador to Spain, Mr. Wells Stabler, to point out our interest. He is fully aware of the problem, says that the government wants to do the right thing, and that the U.S. government position certainly is in harmony with the concept of full equality. I sent you the other day copies of my letter to him and to the Embassy's Political Counselor, Mr. Marshall Brement, following our meeting. I do not think there is any point in seeing the State Department about this, given the existing position; but of course the subject might be mentioned in passing should there be contact with the appropriate people in State for some other reason.

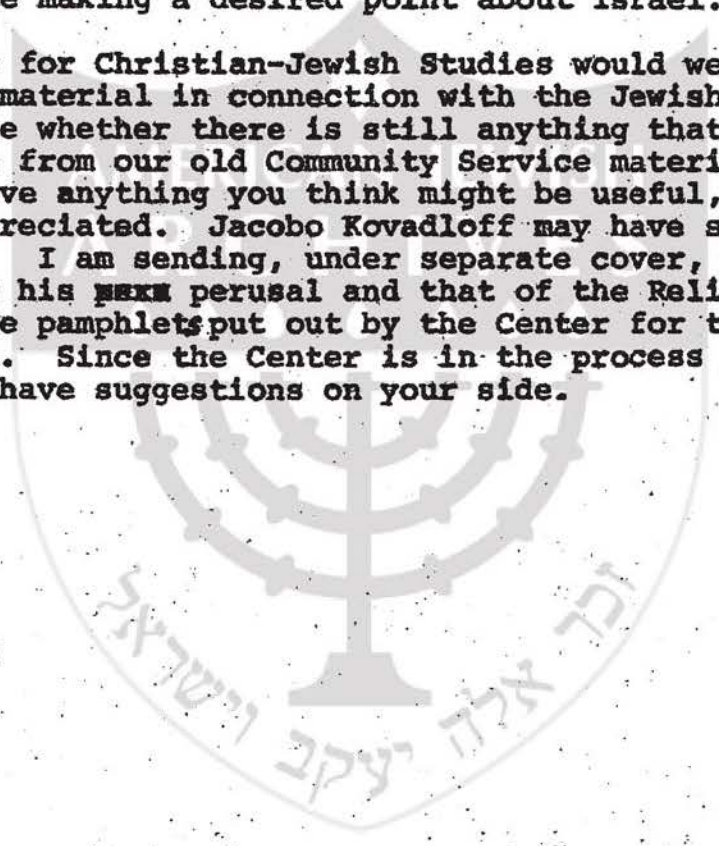
--- The community does not have the legal expertise to take advantage of the opportunity being offered to it now -- a first in Spain -- to consult with the government as to legislation to be adopted. I have arranged for Dr. Giorgio Sacerdoti, a leading Italian international jurist and member of the Italian Jewish community who helped write the community brief that went to the government re constitutional changes in Italy, to go to Spain and discuss with communal leaders there. The situation in both countries is not identical by any means, but there are many important similarities.

--- The situation as regards Israel is a negative one in Spain and nobody seems to be doing very much about it. I do not think that a visit with the Spanish Ambassador to the United States would produce any significant results, but I do think it useful that we

express our disappointment on the way things have been going, especially in view of the hopes aroused by the meeting of the AJC delegation with the King and Queen when they were in the U.S. Since one could say something positive about the new Spanish Constitution and the trend to full religious equality at the same time, the meeting would not be a completely negative one, while making a desired point about Israel.

--- The Center for Christian-Jewish Studies would welcome visual aid and other material in connection with the Jewish holidays. I will see here whether there is still anything that might be made available from our old Community Service material. If you in the U.S. have anything you think might be useful, I am sure it will be appreciated. Jacobo Kovadloff may have some ideas on this score. I am sending, under separate cover, airmail printed matter, for his ~~perusal~~ perusal and that of the Religious Affairs Department, the pamphlets put out by the Center for the three year Catholic cycle. Since the Center is in the process of revising this, you may have suggestions on your side.

cc: Gold
Geller
Tanenbaum





THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

PARIS OFFICE • 30, Rue La Boetie Paris 75008, France • Elysees 69-11, 83-63 • Cable: Wishcom, Paris

Abraham Karlikow, European Director

December 22, 1977.

Memorandum

To: Morris Fine
From: Abraham Karlikow
Subject: Spain

The opening of a new Jewish school in Madrid gave me the opportunity to get a fresh view on the situation in what is perhaps Europe's most interesting country today, Spain, seeking to find its way to effective democracy after some 40 years of life under Franco's leadership.

Most interesting from a Jewish point of view is that the small Jewish community in the country, about 11,000 strong in all, may soon have equality with Catholicism, as part of the Spanish move toward democracy. To anyone who remembers how Jews in Spain virtually had to hide to hold religious services three decades ago, such equality will be nothing short of a minor miracle. One must be careful, though, as will be seen, that this equality become effective equality and not just theoretical.

While in Madrid I had the opportunity to meet with both the U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Wells Stabler, a most capable career diplomat, as well as with the Political Counselor to the Embassy, Mr. Marshall Bremont, just arrived in Spain but who had served in Moscow not long ago, so there was opportunity for discussion of the situation of Jews in the USSR.

The Jewish community in Spain no longer appears to be growing as it has in the last 20 years even though more Jews are coming into Spain. The paradox is easily explained. The last couple of years have seen a number of Jews arrive from Argentina and other South American countries. Nobody knows their number and guesses range widely. These are not Jews, however, who get in touch with the Jewish community institutions. Most of them, obviously, are not inclined to religion; their intellectual and ideological interests differ from those of the community people, and they seem to stick together with other Argentinians rather than coming into the Jewish orbit at all.

RICHARD MAASS, President ■ / . . . ■ BERTRAM H. GOLD, Executive Vice-President
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Putting together the various guesses I heard as to their number, I would put this at about 1000-1500, but this is no more than a guess, too.

Jews in Spain are a relatively well to do, middle class group and have no major special problems today. There are those, deriving, of course, from the general situation. Spain is today a land of great inflation, and business is quite bad. Economic issues -- postponed or ignored in the attempt to get political problems resolved -- increasingly are coming to the fore. Change is taking place with astounding rapidity -- use of Contraception, for example, was approved the week I was there -- and this is understandably disconcerting to many.

Signs of disorder are growing, in terms of political assassination and also in terms of some greater insecurity in the streets which may be nowhere near the New York level but is something to which the Spaniards were never accustomed at all. The government and the major political parties of virtually all shades are, however, working together in a somewhat unusual arrangement known as the Moncoia accord, and do appear to be tackling their way to greater democracy.

In this sense, I think we of AJC can be glad that shortly after Franco's death we urged people in Congress and the State Department immediately to act as if post Franco's Spain were going to be a democracy, in order to encourage the democratic forces in that country rather than wait until the new Spain "proved itself," the line taken, for example, by the Dutch Socialists and others. Actually, it is fair to say that the Suarez government backed by King Juan Carlos has done a rather remarkable job of keeping the many different forces in the country in balance and making progress at the same time.

The one area where the last year has seen a worsening of the situation from a Jewish point of view is that of Spanish relations with Israel. Spain has no diplomatic relations with Israel (although Spain's oldest diplomatic post, its Consulate General in Jerusalem, continues to function normally). The Franco government always had the idea that it might act as a bridge between the Arab world and the West, a diplomatic delusion that never had any practical effect. There were some hopes that the situation might improve after Franco's death, and some encouragement given during the visit of the King and Queen to the U.S. when they met with an AJC delegation headed by Mr. Goldberg, in June 1976. There were, too, early in the post Franco regime, a number of increased contacts between Israelis and Spain. The last year, though, saw cold water thrown on these burgeoning hopes. Both the King and Spanish Foreign Office officials have publicly insisted time and again that Spain will not have any official diplomatic relations with Israel until such time as "legitimate" Arab demands are met.

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The Spanish position, obviously, arises out of the belief that this stand will favor its commercial relations with the Arab states like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, etc. Actually, however, the Spaniards have gotten nothing at all from the Arabs for this, nor is there any sign that they will. Still, as local observers see it, they are fearful that things might be worse should they adopt a normal stand with regard to Israel. While I was in Madrid there were reports that the Sadat government was seeking to push the Spaniards to express support for its latest political moves, but there has been no sign of such Spanish reaction that I can see until now. It is not the Egyptians who have the money in the Middle East.

Neither the Israelis, nor local Jewish leaders, appear to be doing anything toward moving the Spanish in a more favorable direction. The Israelis are too busy elsewhere, and their main effort in the last year has been directed toward the information media, but with no great persistency or success. In fact, by general agreement, the press and other media appear to have become more pro-Arab in the last year. The local leadership, disappointed in the turn of events after the first favorable results of initiatives in which it took part, now appears to be standing upon its dignity rather than seeking new ways to influence events regarding Israel.

The community's most active present concern is to seek effective full equality in the religious sphere. Presently, as you know, the status of Jewish communities in the country is governed by the 1967 law, rightly hailed as a significant advance in its time but by no means granting full equality. The new Spanish draft constitution gives great reason to believe that this can indeed be achieved. Its Article 2 declares that the Spanish state is non-confessional. Its Article 15 asserts that all citizens are equal before the law without discrimination because of race, birth, religion, opinion or whatsoever other personal or social condition. Its Article 17, # I, declares that the religious liberty of all cults is guaranteed as well as philosophical or ideological expressions. The only limitation, this goes on, is that of public order, protected by the laws. Article 17, # II, asserts that nobody may be compelled to reveal his religious beliefs. Still another article asserts that civil law will regulate matrimonial affairs and the dissolution of marriage.

Since the appearance of this draft constitution the Catholic Bishops publicly have made the point that Spain is an overwhelmingly Catholic country and that the Church was not being consulted about texts dealing with such matters as divorce and education. Political leaders like Felipe Gonzalez, head of that Socialist party which took 30% of the popular vote, the PSOE, retorted that just as others had not told the Bishops how to run their Synod, so they should not be meddling in constitutional matters. Catholic authorities affirm that they were not opposed to separation of Church and State but wanted safeguards on their rights to teach and preach.

One can guess that where the issue really will be joined will be over the nature and extent of support for Catholic institutions by the Spanish government under the new constitution.

It is clear that there will be such support and that it will be substantial. The situation in Spain, after all, is not that of a United States insofar as separation of Church and state are concerned and one cannot expect reversal of long tradition overnight. From the Jewish point of view, as communal leaders see it, what is important is that, first, full religious equality be recognized in principle and practice; and that Jewish institutions should be given the same benefits and treatments as the Catholic religion.

They are unhappy, for instance, that a law granting social security coverage to religious functionaries and employees, which appeared in the Boletín Oficial, last September 19, in effect makes this coverage available for Catholic functionaries only, even though there are indications in the measure that other religions eventually may be covered. Similarly, there are various provisions in the 1967 Spanish law governing religion that they should like to see altered. For instance, and even though this never has been applied, the Minister of Justice can call for a review of Jewish communal lists and records in a way that he cannot of Catholic documentation. Or, to take another facet, the 1967 law's potential for the Jewish community to take direct control of its assets never has been realized, and it would want to be able to do this now. (Not being recognized before 1967, Jewish communities held property under the guise of private corporations as it were, and this is still the case since no satisfactory arrangement was found for getting direct control over these properties without incurring heavy tax losses.) And there are other disabilities as well.

It should be noted that only last week the Spanish government authorized the Minister of Justice, under whose aegis falls the Jewish and Protestant religious minorities, to bring both the Jews and the Protestants into consultation along with the Catholics on the drawing up of further measures to give effect to the clauses on religious liberty and other related clauses in the constitution. Such consultation is a historic first. The first such meeting will take place on January 9.

As can be seen the kind of problems faced by the Jewish community in Spain are not very different from those being met by the Italian Jewish community where there is also a process of legal revision going on. In both countries, too, there is a question as to what should be contained in Concordats being discussed between the Vatican and the two governments. Whereas, however, the Jewish community in Italy has several lawyers versed in this sphere who have drawn up proposals on behalf of the

community that have gone to the Italian government, the much smaller Jewish community in Spain has no such experts. We are seeking to have an Italian expert meet with the Spanish Jewish leadership for a discussion on these matters.

The opening of the new community school may mark an important cultural turning point in Jewish life in Spain, at least insofar as Madrid is concerned. When a private Jewish "school" first was opened in Madrid back in the sixties -- it originally only had two pupils -- a very conscious decision was made that the language of instruction should be French. Jews really saw themselves as people passing "through" Spain. Even today most of them hold some other nationality. In the new school, the language of instruction probably will shift over to Spanish, with the French influence doubtless still being strong since both the headmaster and the teachers come from the Alliance Israelite Universelle. The new school is about 13 miles from the center of the city in a newly created suburb. It is a ~~newly~~ ~~erected~~ handsome building with facilities for over 300 youngsters (it goes through the 10th grade) but with a present enrollment of about 120, of whom about a sixth are not Jews. Cost of the school was about \$800,000, with one local Jewish family contributing \$120,000, and the Jewish Agency \$100,000, among the big givers; but there is still a heavy sum to be paid off. The school will be a heavy charge on the regular budget, too; according to the local leadership their budget would be in balance but for the cost of running the school. It is, of course, however, an affirmation of their faith in the future of the community.

Chief Rabbi of Israel, Joseph Obadia, came in for the opening ceremony and, also, the next day, met with the Cardinal of Toledo in that city in what, I am told, was a warm and courteous exchange.

Intense personal disagreement between the former community president Mr. Max Mazin and the present leadership team persists as vigorously as ever, alas. Mr. Mazin has taken the initiative of forming a Bnai B'rith Lodge in Spain, another first for that country. Mazin's position as a head of the Spanish equivalent of the National Association of Manufacturers, and his long standing relations with top government people make him a factor very much to be reckoned with although he long ago lost control of the community "establishment," presently headed by Mr. Philippe Halious and with Mr. Sam Toledano playing a key role. Thus, for example, both the community and Mazin recently made applications to the Madrid City government for plots of land, the first for a cemetery and Mazin for a cultural center. Mazin got his request, but not so the community. Another conflict in recent years has centered around the AMISTAD for Jewish-Christian friendship, of which Mazin was co-President. His supporters sued in the courts when others in the AMISTAD sought to continue to use that name, while pursuing ~~the~~ ~~the~~ the same sort of work, and won, retaining title..

For all practical purposes, the AMISTAD as an organization is now dead, though still legally existing.

Christian-Jewish work between the Jewish community/ and Catholics in relation with the Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianos headed by Father Vicente Serrano, working together with a Sister of Zion, Maria Ionel Mihalovici. The Center seeks to acquaint Catholic priests and others in Spain with knowledge about Judaism, in the spirit of Vatican II. It has issued a series of booklets on subjects like Basis of Jewish Thoughts and a Christian Theology about Judaism as well as a series of pamphlets timed to the Catholic preaching cycles. This last collection, which has been appearing for the last three years, is now undergoing updating as the preaching cycle recommences.

Father Serrano and Sister Ionel, it will be remembered, cooperated some years ago in the AJC-sponsored study of teaching about Jews in Spanish religious textbooks, helping to eliminate numerous negative stereotypes at that time. Queried about the present situation they said that one no longer finds negative stereotypes -- one finds almost nothing at all about Judaism. This, as you know, is a phenomenon that has been noted in other countries as well and poses the problem of how to get positive knowledge about Judaism into Catholic curricula.

More generally, as noted above with regard to the press, there seems to be some slight shift for the worse with regard to the popular attitude concerning Israel, Zionism and (one must presume) regarding Jews as something connected both with Zionism and Israel. The one public opinion poll we know about taken four or five years ago concerning popular attitude towards Israel in Spain shows an attitude quite different from that in most European countries. Spain was the one land where there were more people favorable to Arabs than to Israel, by about 16% to 12%; but where, as can be seen, the great mass declared themselves indifferent. Since that time, however, Jewish community leaders are aware, Arab students in the universities (there are some 5000 of them) have been working vigorously and probably to some effect in influencing student opinion. There is sympathy for Israel among the older faculty members, as a rule, but the younger ones are more inclined to a general ideological position of a kind favoring movements like the Polisario, the Palestinians, etc.

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Nor is the situation overly favorable inside the Spanish political structure. There are Democratic Center elements favorable to Israel, but they are not the ones influential in government. According to reliable sources the PSOR (which is in contact with Israel through the Socialist International) is strongly pro-Israel; but others point out that the situation inside that party, where there is a wide spectrum of views, is not that simple and that the more leftist elements in it are unfavorable. The other quite small Socialist party, headed by Galvan, gets its money from Libya and its views are in consequence.

When one moves further to the right one comes to the case of Manuel Frago Iribarne, head of the Popular Alliance. Jewish communal leaders always have looked upon Frago as a friend. In the attempt to gather votes, however, he allied himself with a number of forces on the extreme-right of a kind hardly sympathetic to Jews. Among the more extreme-right forces are the Fuerza Nueva and the Warriors of Christ-King. The feeling among competent observers in Spain is that the government is managing to keep extremists on both the right and the left in check; basically but there is always an undercurrent of concern that should matters deteriorate or get out of control such rightist groups together with those who regret the Franco regime may come together as a dangerous force. That political force which attracts some of the greatest outside attention in Spain is, of course, the Communist party headed by Santiago Carrillo, the most ardent advocate of Eurocommunism. In Spain itself, curiously enough the most common reaction is that nobody seems to know exactly what Carrillo and his party wants -- except to be sure that there is a democratic system so that the communists can try to make progress. In many ways, the Socialist party platform is more radical, it is pointed out, than is Carrillo's. But Eurocommunism as it may be, in foreign affairs regarding the Middle East one finds little or no difference between Carrillo and other Communist parties elsewhere.

Virtually all political parties in Spain are, however, cooperating today in the move toward a more democratic and open regime in a system described as "Convivencia" living together, a system of inter-party discussion and agreement, to avoid too open conflict. Memories of civil war, fears of the Portuguese experience, are still powerful. In this frame and atmosphere, the move toward democracy goes on purposefully if sometimes erratically. While Spanish attitudes toward the Middle East have been moving on favorably, one should not exaggerate this: internal, not foreign matters, are what concern the Spaniards today and the Middle East plays little role really in Spanish thinking. And, in the changing Spanish situation, the small Jewish community has fresh opportunity to move toward practical full religious equality.

cc: B. Gold - D. Geller - M. Tanenbaum



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

23 December 1977

TO: Members of the Foreign Affairs Commission

FROM: Morris Fine

I enclose herewith three interesting items. One is the text of of a cable sent last week by Richard Maass to the President of Argentina regarding Mr. Jacobo Timerman. It is, I believe, self-explanatory, but additional information is contained in our latest Foreign Affairs Bulletin a copy of which should have reached you by now. If not, please let your area director or this office know and a copy will be mailed to you.

A second item is the article by Dr. George Gruen of our department in the Jerusalem Post, December 9th. It is based on a paper that he delivered at the New Outlook symposium held last month in Tel Aviv.

The third is our background, "Israel and the Need for Secure Borders," together with an explanatory map. If you should want additional copies, please let us know.

As always, your comments on this material will be appreciated.

Best regards.

MF/jr
Encs.

cc: Area Directors
SAC

77-550-105

TEXT OF TELEGRAM
SENT BY RICHARD MAASS
PRESIDENT
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

16 December 1977

The Honorable
General Jorge R. Videla, President
Republic of Argentina
Rivadavia y Balcarce
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dear Mr. President:

It has been several weeks since I and several of my colleagues had the honor of meeting with you in New York City. Since that time, as you can well imagine, we have followed the events in your country with interest and concern.

We were gratified that your Government, in accordance with what you had informed us, had re-instituted the right of a detainee who had not as yet been tried, to leave your country for voluntary exile. We hope that many of the currently held detainees will have this option made available to them. We also consider as a most positive step your proposal to the Legislative Advisory Committee regarding a law which would provide prison sentences for incitement to acts of violence and/or any discriminatory actions against people because of their race, religion, ethnic origin or color. We hope that the Legislative Advisory Committee will act on this proposal affirmatively.

On another matter, Mr. President, we were greatly concerned about the case of Mr. Jacobo Timerman. It is difficult for us to understand why Mr. Timerman is still under detention with no formal charges ever being brought against him. Indeed it is our understanding that he has been cleared by the military court of your country of any charges of activities against the State, or of having any connection with terrorist activities. We were shocked that your Government has also seen fit to deprive Mr. Timerman of his civil rights and place his property in State custody.

As you know, Mr. Timerman has become a symbol in our country and in many others, of a journalist suffering because the Government wishes to stifle freedom of the press, and of a Jew suffering because of his espousal of the cause of Zionism and Israel.

Mr. President, the continued detention of this man can only harm further the image of Argentina and reenforce the obstacles to the continued close relationship that has traditionally existed between our two countries.

(over)

In accordance with your words that Argentina will observe this Christmas in peace, I urge you to use the power and prestige of your office to grant amnesty to Mr. Timerman and to allow him and his family to leave the country. Such a gesture would have most positive repercussions and assuage the concern of the many people in our country who wish well for Argentina.

My best wishes for a joyous Holiday and a happy New Year.

RICHARD MAASS
PRESIDENT

bsf

77-560-22



The fight for American public opinion

Israel is more likely to retain the widespread public support it enjoys in the U.S., writes **GEORGE GRUEN**, if it endorses Palestinian aspirations in principle but explains why a PLO-run state would threaten its existence.

AT HIS press conference in Jerusalem, President Anwar Sadat declared that one of the main motives behind his visit to Israel was "to give the peace process new momentum and to get rid of the psychological barrier" that he felt constituted "more than 70 per cent of the whole conflict."

While he was obviously seeking to change Israeli attitudes, it was quite clear by his actions that his bold and dramatic gesture was equally intended to influence American public opinion.

Starting with his interviews with Walter Cronkite and Barbara Walters, the superstars of American TV news, President Sadat skilfully exploited mass media interest in this historic event to project a favourable image to the U.S. and the world at large.

He was surely aware of public opinion surveys, such as the comprehensive poll conducted in March this year by Yankelovich, Skelly and White, which found that 73 per cent of the American public interviewed cited Arab refusal to recognize Israel as a major obstacle to peace. Sadat's visit was thus also calculated to alter this stereotype and break through this psychological barrier in the U.S.

At such a fateful moment in history, the current trends and potential shifts in American public opinion should be of special concern to all who seek continued American support for Israel and lasting peace in the Middle East.

There is still widespread public sympathy for Israel in the U.S. Professors Scymour Martin Lipset and William Schneider in their article "Carter vs. Israel: What the Polls Reveal" (*Commentary*, November 1977), found that in 27 national polls conducted during the past decade, pro-Israel sympathy ranged between 35 and 56 per cent, as against pro-Arab sympathy of only 1 to 9 per cent.

The latest Gallup poll, released on November 13, found 46 per cent pro-Israel but an increase in pro-Arab sympathy to 11 per cent. Nevertheless, this is still a better than 4 to 1 ratio in Israel's favour.

However, this should not lead to complacency, for the polls also show that between one-third and one-half of the general public is not committed at all, either through ignorance, indifference or a sense that neither side is completely in the right.

This latter factor seems to be growing. In the Yankelovich study a clear majority of 59 per cent said "there is some truth on both sides." The even-handed view was shared by nearly three-quarters of all college graduates and persons earning over \$25,000, a fact that is potentially significant since these groups tend to be better informed and more involved in attempting to influence foreign policy than the general public.

They have also been the most supportive of Israel. Thus, Yankelovich found that while two-thirds of the public agreed that "continuation of Israel as a Jewish state is important," nearly three-quarters of college graduates and four-fifth of the upper-income group supported the Jewish state. Yet there is a growing sophistication among Israel's traditional supporters in the U.S., and an increasing tendency among the foreign policy elites to distinguish between strong support for the sovereign state of Israel and endorsement of specific policies by a particular government in Israel. This parallels a greater readiness by Americans today to question the actions of their own government.

WHILE a majority (56 per cent) of the American public surveyed by Yankelovich in March still believed that "the Arab nations" want to destroy Israel, and fewer than one out of five were convinced the Arabs were really interested in peace with Israel, individual Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Egypt have improved their image.

Among Americans who said they were familiar with the country, Egypt was already in March considered "moderate" by nearly as high a percentage (57) as Israel (62).

Sadat's courageous visit to Israel and his emphasis on peace could only strengthen Egypt's image as a moderate country with which the

U.S. can get along. Sadat's renewed criticism of the Soviet Union will also help him among the American public. The improvement in Egypt's image need not be at Israel's expense, however, if the Begin government plays its cards well. The honour and dignity with which the Egyptian President was received by all the leading personalities in Israeli political life, and the genuine warmth and spontaneous outpouring of friendship displayed by the Israeli public also had a favourable impact on American television viewers. How long this will last will depend on how the Israeli and Egyptian responses are perceived when future discussions move from ceremony to substance.

In March, Yankelovich found that only 39 per cent of the American public believed that "the Israelis are doing everything possible to achieve a peace settlement," while 29 per cent felt that Israeli "attitudes and demands are unreasonable." The remaining third were not sure, leading Yankelovich to conclude that 61 per cent of Americans were doubtful that Israel was doing all it could for peace.

In the same poll, slightly less than half of the informed public regarded Israel as "peace-loving," with this figure dropping to 38 per cent of the total sample, as against 37 per cent who regarded Israel as "militaristic." Israel's response to the challenge posed by Sadat presents a crucial opportunity to affect these attitudes.

HOW THE Israel government handles the Palestinian question will have a significant effect on U.S. public support for Israel's policies. All the polls show that while there is strong opposition to the Palestine Liberation Organization, there is considerable sympathy for the Palestinians.

The PLO's image has further deteriorated in the past three years as the number of Americans who had heard of the PLO grew from half the population in January, 1975, to more than 60 per cent this year. Fully 88 per cent of informed Americans now regard the PLO as terrorists, and similarly overwhelming majorities

consider the PLO undemocratic and anti-American.

PLO involvement in the Lebanese civil war, and Palestinian terrorist acts, such as the hijacking to Entebbe, in addition to the attack on the Sadat peace initiative by Arafat and Habash, further increased the PLO's hostile, warlike image in the U.S.

This was confirmed by a Louis Harris poll, published November 15, in which Americans by a margin of 53 to 9 per cent saw the PLO as an enemy of the U.S. The PLO was also singled out for blame as the factor most impeding peace by that half of the American public which told an October CBS/*New York Times* national poll that they followed Middle East news. One-fourth blamed the PLO, a nearly similar number blamed the Soviet Union, 16 per cent blamed the Arabs and only 8 per cent placed the primary onus on Israel.

Despite the overwhelming distrust of the PLO, there is widespread support for Palestinian aspirations, especially when couched in humanitarian terms. Thus a majority of 52 per cent agreed in March that "the Palestinians have a right to a homeland as much as the Jews do," and an additional 9 per cent considered this an interesting new idea — President Carter had just made his Clinton, Massachusetts speech advocating such a homeland. Nearly three-quarters of all college graduates shared these views.

In the same poll, Israel's refusal to negotiate with the PLO was accepted by a plurality of two to one, while a majority of 55 per cent regarded Israel's refusal to negotiate with the Palestinians a major obstacle to peace. Among college graduates a majority (54 per cent) opposed talks with the PLO, but at the same time nearly two-thirds criticized Israel's

refusal to negotiate with the Palestinians.

Israel's agreed readiness, stated in the U.S.-Israel "working paper," to have Palestinian Arabs participate in discussions on the future of the West Bank and Gaza, and the rumoured agreement between Egypt and Israel on this issue, may also improve Israel's image, assuming that the PLO continues to refuse to participate in the forthcoming Cairo talks and moderate Palestinians emerge to accept Sadat's offer.

PLO demands for a separate Palestinian state were opposed by a majority of 55 per cent in the Yankelovich poll. But the public was much more divided when the idea of a Palestinian state on the West Bank was tied to "United States guarantees" of Israel's security. Israeli opposition was considered reasonable by 37 per cent, unreasonable by 28 per cent, while 35 per cent said they were not sure.

Sadat shrewdly dealt with this issue when he repeatedly stated that he accepted Israel's need for security and did not oppose U.S. or other guarantees. The Yankelovich poll question did not spell out what was meant by American guarantees.

HOWEVER, all opinion polls over the years reflect two contradictory trends — strong public support for continuation of an active U.S. mediatory role to bring peace to the Middle East, but also strong opposition to direct American military involvement with U.S. forces, even if Israel's survival is at stake. (Only in case of an attack on Canada is there majority popular support for U.S. intervention.)

This dichotomy was reflected in the latest CBS News/*New York Times* poll. Those who were optimistic about the prospects for

peace approved the current U.S. policy by an overwhelming majority of 69 to 18 per cent, while those who foresaw a future war disapproved of the U.S. policy 48 to 35 per cent.

There is thus substantial American support for a policy that will enable Israel to defend itself by itself. When asked by Yankelovich in March whether Israeli fears that they would not be able to protect their borders with Syria without holding the Golan Heights were reasonable, a majority of 51 per cent agreed; only 19 per cent considered them unreasonable.

A series of Roper polls similarly found that Americans agreed that Israel should not relinquish territory unless a satisfactory agreement — that guarantees Israel's existence — is concluded with the Arabs.

The conclusion that emerges from all these data is that the Israel government will alienate American public opinion if it engages in ideological arguments denying the existence of a Palestinian people and their aspirations for a homeland. If Israel endorses Palestinian aspirations in principle, but explains why it believes an independent, PLO-run state would threaten Israel's existence, it is more likely to maintain American support.

If Israel constantly appears to be reasonable, flexible and conciliatory in its efforts for peace, then Americans are more likely to reject proposals for an imposed solution from outside and to accept Israel's argument that it has the right to be the final judge of what concessions would present intolerable risks to its survival as a sovereign, democratic Jewish state.

Dr. Gruen is director of Israel and Middle East Affairs in the American Jewish Committee's Foreign Affairs Department.

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ISRAEL AND THE NEED FOR SECURE BORDERS

As negotiations for a Middle East peace settlement proceed, Israeli leaders will face the difficult and burdensome question of what borders will provide it with the essential minimum for its security.

The Arabs have insisted that even before negotiations begin, Israel must commit itself to total withdrawal from all the territories taken in the 1967 Six-Day War. Israel, on the other hand, has been prepared to make large-scale territorial concessions within the context of a peace settlement, while insisting on modifications of the pre-1967 armistice lines. The Israeli Government has consistently expressed a readiness to concede territory that is not absolutely essential for its security.

Even United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 unanimously adopted in November 1967, while calling for Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied during the war, avoided the demand that she withdraw from all such territories, and stressed the need to provide Israel with "secure and recognized boundaries."

The reason for Israel's insistence on defensible borders is to correct the inherent weakness of the pre-1967 armistice lines and to assure itself a measure of strategic depth in the event of renewed conflict. A look at a map of Israel clearly indicates the vulnerability of Israel if a withdrawal to the pre-1967 lines were to occur.

Along Israel's narrow central coastline where 80 percent of Israel's population, its international airport and most of its industry is concentrated, the distance between the old armistice

line and the Mediterranean Sea ranges between 9 and 15 miles or less than half the width of New York City. Until 1967, all of Israel's towns and cities were within the range of medium Arab artillery. Tel Aviv, one of Israel's major urban centers, was only 15 miles distance from the old border line.

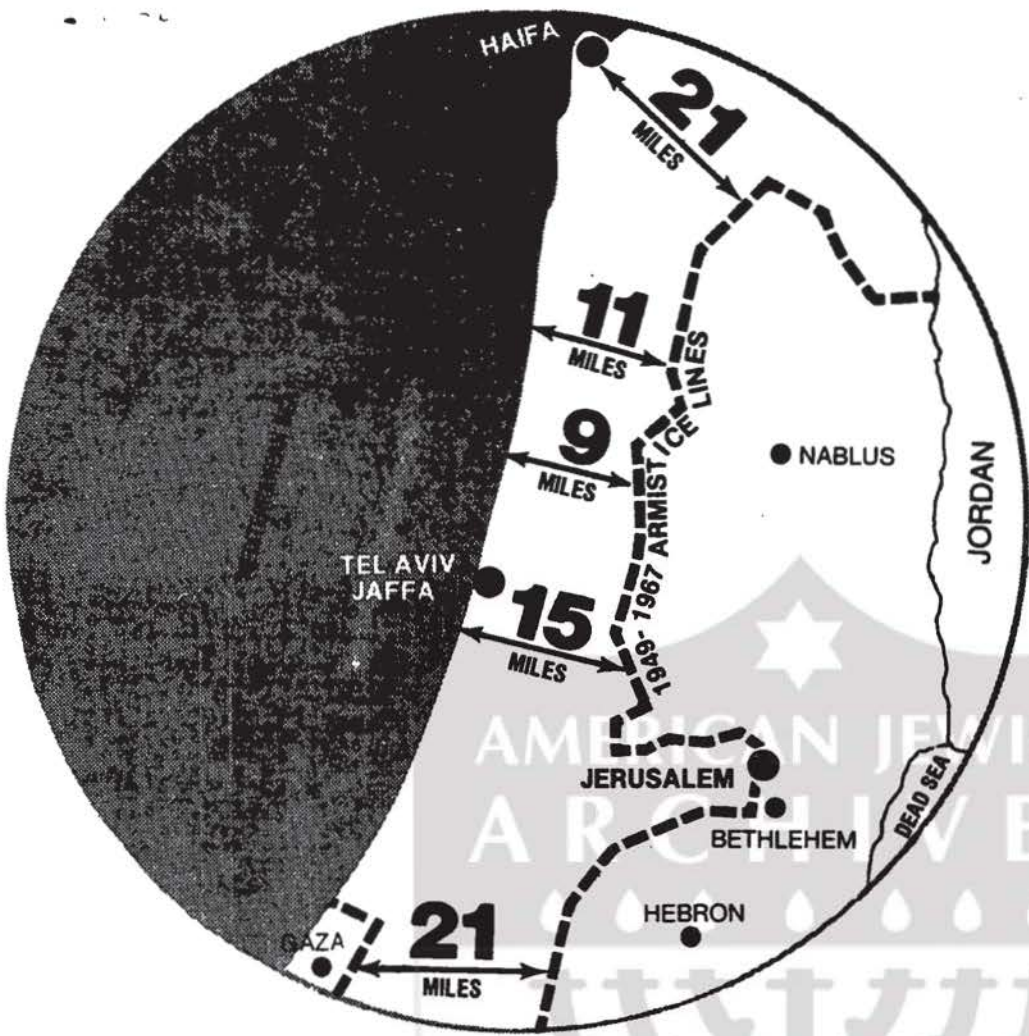
In Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, all of Israel's Government buildings including the Knesset, Israel's Parliament, were within light mortar range of Arab forces before 1967. An analogous situation would be the placement of enemy artillery in the suburbs of Washington, D.C. capable of bombarding the U.S. Government facilities including the White House and Capitol.




Some have argued that rather than insisting on secure and recognized boundaries Israel should be satisfied with guarantees from outside powers or from an international body to ensure its security. Yet it was clearly demonstrated in 1956, 1967 and again in 1973, that diplomatic assurances, demilitarized zones, and even UN peacekeeping forces are devoid of real deterrent value should Israel's enemies decide to go to war. It was only thanks to the strategic depth Israel had gained as a result of the Six-Day War that it found itself in October 1973 with the time and space to repel the coordinated surprise attack launched by Egypt and Syria. Moreover, Israel's leaders have wisely insisted on bearing the burden of the country's defense with its own citizen army rather than relying on assistance of foreign troops to protect it from Arab attack.

A return now to the untenable 1949-1967 armistice lines could only serve to recreate the old temptations, heighten the danger of war, and in general prove counterproductive for a stable and peaceful Middle East.

1949-1967 ARMISTICE LINES

WITH DETAILED VIEW OF DISTANCE FACTORS FOR DEFENSE PURPOSES



-  UNITED NATIONS BUFFER ZONE
-  1949-1967 ARMISTICE LINES
-  ISRAEL-ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES

POPULATION FIGURES AS OF JANUARY 1976

bc: Harold Applebaum, Brenda Shapiro, Marc Tanenbaum (all w/enc)

December 27, 1977

Mr. Nathan Shulman
Jewish Welfare Fund
1645 Millbrook Dr.
Charleston, SC 29407

Dear Nat:

Thanks for the ad from the Trading Post. Attached is our local effort. Note the minor word changes and local signatures. This required permission from Dr. Olson which was easily obtained.

We are now planning to distribute the ad to several thousand Evangelical churches for insertion into their church bulletins. It will be off-set and used as a stuffer - a process that removes the financial printing burden from the churches. You may wish to consider this approach.

For your information, Goyim for Israel had a rally in Greenville, South Carolina several weeks ago. Their speaker was Consul General Arnon and their local contact person was Mrs. Shirley Ellis.

Happy New Year!

Cordially,

William A. Gralnick

WAG/lm

enc

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MEMO

from

December 2, 1977

Re - Evangelicals' Concern For Israel
Trading Post - Page 15

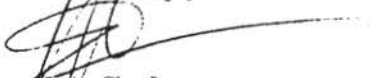
Dear Bill:

The enclosed is to you for your information.

The above weekly is delivered to approximately 15,000 homes in the North Charleston area. The publisher is a member of the Jewish community.

Our Community Relations Committee will meet shortly to discuss mailing the statement to the entire Ministerial Association in our area; approximately 400 Ministers.

Sincerely,


Nat Shulman

Harold - This is an excellent approach. Many such publications are much needed.



The Greater Charleston

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Published Weekly

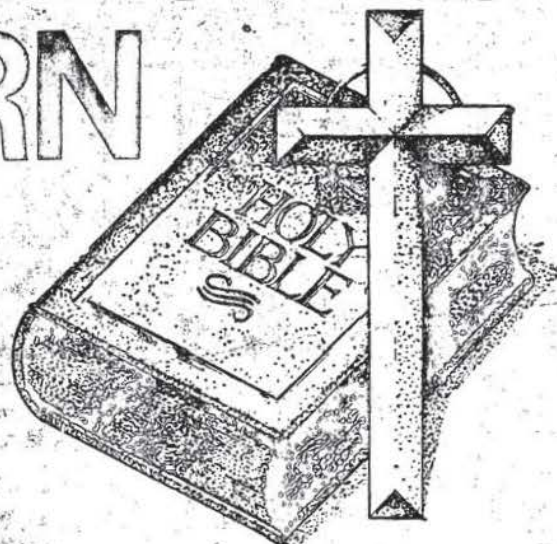
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VOL. VI NO. 47

P.O. BOX 10021 NORTH CHARLESTON, S.C. 29411

NOVEMBER 23, 1977

EVANGELICALS' CONCERN FOR ISRAEL



We the undersigned *Evangelical Christians* affirm our belief in the right of Israel to exist as a free and independent nation and in this light we voice our grave apprehension concerning the recent direction of American foreign policy vis a vis the Middle East.

We are particularly troubled by the erosion of American governmental support for Israel evident in the joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. statement.

While we are sympathetic to the human needs of all the peoples of the Middle East, mindful that promises were made to the other descendants of Abraham and concerned about the welfare of Christians in all the countries of the Middle East, we affirm as Evangelicals our belief in the promise of the land to the Jewish people—a promise first made to Abraham and repeated throughout Scripture, a promise which has never been abrogated.

We believe the rebirth of Israel as a nation and the return of her people to the land is clearly foretold in the Bible and this fulfillment in our time is one of the most momentous events in all human history.

While the exact boundaries of the land of promise are open to discussion, we, along with most evangelicals, understand the Jewish homeland generally to include the territory west of the Jordan River.

It should be remembered that from the time of Joshua, this land mass has been the exclusive homeland for the Jewish nation. Jerusalem has never been the capital for any other people since the time of David.

We pray for peace in the Middle East and we pledge ourselves to work for justice for all of the peoples involved yet we also declare our belief that lasting peace cannot be achieved until the international community accepts the inalienable right of the Jewish people to live and create a nation within the boundaries of their ancient homeland.

Further, from the perspective of Israel's security requirements as well as from our understanding of her legacy, we would view with grave concern any effort to carve out of the historic Jewish homeland another nation or political entity, particularly one which would be governed by terrorists whose stated goal is the destruction of the Jewish state.

As Evangelicals we are convinced that Israel's future should not and will not be determined by political intrigue, fluctuating world opinion or the imposition of world powers. Rather, we put our trust in the eternity of the covenant God made with Abraham and we find comfort in the words of the prophet Amos—

"And I will plant them upon the land and they shall no more be pulled up out of the land which I have given them, saith the Lord, thy God." Amos 9:15

The time has come for Evangelical Christians to affirm their belief in biblical prophecy and Israel's Divine Right to the Land by speaking out now.

Here's what you can do:

- Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem.
- Write a letter or add your name to this letter and send it to your Government leaders today indicating your support for Israel.
- Place this statement in your local newspapers.

Hudson T. Armerding
Past President, National Association of Evangelicals
Wheaton, Illinois

Rat Boone
Los Angeles, California

W. A. Criswell
Pastor, First Baptist Church
Dallas, Texas

Paul N. Ellis
Bishop, President, Board of Administration
Free Methodist Church of North America
Winona Lake, Indiana

Harry L. Evans
President, Trinity College
Deerfield, Illinois

George Giacomakis, Jr.
Professor of History, California State University
Fullerton, California
and President Elect, Institute of Holy Land Studies
Jerusalem, Israel

Vernon Grounds
President, Conservative Baptist Seminary
Denver, Colorado

Kenneth Kantzer
Vice President, Graduate Studies and
Dean of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School
Deerfield, Illinois

Harold Lindsell
Editor, Christianity Today
Wheaton, Illinois

Kenneth M. Meyer
President, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School
Deerfield, Illinois

Arnold T. Olson, Coordinator
President Emeritus, Evangelical Free
Church of America
Past President, National Association of Evangelicals
Minneapolis, Minnesota

B. Elmo Scoggin
Professor, Hebrew and Old Testament
Southeastern Baptist Seminary
Wake Forest, North Carolina

Clyde Taylor
General Director, National Association
of Evangelicals (retired)
Arnold, Maryland

John F. Walvoord
President, Dallas Theological Seminary
Dallas, Texas

G. Douglas Young
President, Institute of Holy Land Studies

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cc: Harold Applebaum
James Rudin

December 29, 1977

Marc Tanenbaum

William A. Gralnick

Goyim for Israel

The director of Goyim for Israel here in Atlanta has shared with me their plans to make Goyim for Israel into a national network. They see their initial thrust to be in 42 states and 143 cities with a minimum of 121 program locations. For your information, I have outlined that organization on the attachment.

I have also enclosed the front and back page of a publication entitled, "The Fig Tree". This is Goyim for Israel's local newsletter. I am not yet certain if this is going to be a national format or just the local effort. You can see it is obviously a pro-Jewish document. We got the lead story. It is important to note that the Consul General here has sort of anointed Goyim for Israel with his speaking at their Greenville (SC) rally. I know for a fact that the Consulate has cleared through the Embassy a small sum of money (I don't know how much) to be given to Goyim for Israel on a per project basis. I have a hunch the Consulate may have chipped in to run the Evangelical Affairs whose actual title is "Public Relations Officer" has told me that they will be cooperating with Goyim for Israel.

Also enclosed is a copy of the Goyim for Israel membership card. Larry Newsome, the local director, shared with me the name of the organization that handles the Goyim for Israel program in San Antonio, Texas. I have sent that to Milt Tobian. I think it would be helpful if you would advise us about anything you know relative to Goyim for Israel and whether you think we should seek these people out, cooperate with them, etc.

My sense of things on the whole Evangelical question is that the community is beginning to choose up sides using us as the focal point. There have been several pieces both locally and nationally syndicated in the Atlanta press which have alluded to this new Evangelical/Jewish alliance. Several of them, including the Evanson Novak piece, seem to suggest that this "holy alliance" is a ploy for Jews to get their message across via another political channel. I would suggest that we begin thinking about whether or not this needs to be countered and how to counter it. My feeling is that we need to have some Evangelicals counter it as opposed to us working on it through the media.

Warmest regards.

WAG/lm

enc

GOYIM FOR ISRAEL

REGIONAL DIVISIONS & CITIES SCHEDULED FOR COVERAGE:

Arkansas	Missouri
Connecticut	New Jersey
Delaware	New York
Georgia	Ohio
Illinois	Oklahoma
Indiana	Pennsylvania
Iowa	Rhode Island
Louisiana	Texas
Maryland	Virginia
Massachusetts	West Virginia
Michigan	Wisconsin

REGIONS: 42 States; 143 Cities

REGIONS:

I. SOUTHEAST: (8 States; 30 Cities)

STATES

GEORGIA: Atlanta, Savannah, Augusta, Athens, Columbus, Macon

FLORIDA: Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, Tampa-St. Pete, Pensacola-Mobile

SOUTH CAROLINA: Greenville, Charleston, Columbia

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte, Raleigh, Greensboro, Winston-Salem

VIRGINIA: Richmond, Norfolk

TENNESSEE: Knoxville, Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga

ALABAMA: Birmingham, Montgomery

MISSISSIPPI: Jackson

II. MIDDLE ATLANTIC: (5 States; 25 Cities)

STATES

NEW YORK: New York City, Buffalo, Albany, Syracuse, Utica, Rome

NEW JERSEY: Newark, Jersey City, New Brunswick-Perth Amboy, Patterson-Clifton-Passaic

DELAWARE: Wilmington

MARYLAND: Baltimore, Washington, DC

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, Scranton-Wilkes Barre, Johnstown-Altoona, Erie, Lancaster

GOYIM FOR ISRAEL

REGIONS: Cont'd.

III. NEW ENGLAND: (5 States; 17 Cities)

STATES

MAINE: Portland

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Manchester

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston, Worcester, Springfield, Brockton, New Bedford-Fall River

RHODE ISLAND: Providence, Pawtucket

CONNECTICUT: Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, Waterbury-Meriden

IV. EAST CENTRAL: (5 States; 25 Cities)

STATES

MICHIGAN: Detroit, Lansing, Flint, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo

INDIANA: Indianapolis, Gary-Hammond-East Chicago, Ft. Wayne, South Bend-Elkhart, Lafayette

OHIO: Cleveland, Cincinnati, Akron, Toledo, Columbus, Youngstown, Dayton, Cannon

KENTUCKY: Louisville, Lexington

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston, Huntington

V. WEST CENTRAL: (8 States; 21 Cities)

STATES

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee, Madison, Appleton-Grandbay-Oshkosh

ILLINOIS: Chicago, Peoria

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul

IOWA: Des Moines, Davenport-Rock Island-Moline-East Moline

MISSOURI: St. Louis

NEBRASKA: Omaha, Lincoln

KANSAS: Kansas City, Topeka, Wichita

COLORADO: Denver

GOYIM FOR ISRAEL

REGIONS: Cont'd.

VI. SOUTHWEST: (5 States; 13 Cities)

STATES

TEXAS: Dallas-Ft. Worth, El Paso, Houston, San Antonio, Corpus Christi

OKLAHOMA: Oklahoma City, Tulsa

ARKANSAS: Little Rock

LOUISIANA: New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Shreveport

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque

VII. PACIFIC: (6 States; 12 Cities)

STATES

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Fresno, Sacramento

OREGON: Portland

WASHINGTON: Seattle-Tacoma, Spokane

NEVADA: Las Vegas

UTAH: Salt Lake City

ARIZONA: Tucson, Phoenix

