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

Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 98, Folder 2, General correspondence, memos & working papers, July-December 1980.

July 2, 1980

S. Hirsh

A. Karlikow

Conversation with Z. Shuster re Vatican statement June 30.

I spoke with Zach twice on this.

The first time he gave me his own impressions, as garnered from the extensive press reports in the European papers and from his conversations with both French and West German Catholic friends. He emphasized two ~~xxx~~ points: 1.--The global nature of the Vatican approach, as referring to the entire city and not just the Holy Places. 2--The heavier insistence than ever on a juridical statute with international guarantees.

Prior to the second call he spoke with Israeli Ambassador Moshe Alon to Rome. For Alon, the most important point seemed to be the timing, which he said was the "worst part,"--~~xxxx~~ that is, as a political act by introducing it ~~ix~~ into the UN debate. He characterized the position itself as worse than at any time before. Alon further declared that the Vatican had reversed itself on an understanding that there would be no statement on Jerusalem (and or internationalization, Zach was not too clear here) while the Camp David negotiations were in progress. Whereas, before, too, there had seemed to be at least tacit acceptance of the idea of Israeli sovereignty, this document carried the implication that there could be other sovereignty.

It was clear from Zach's conversation with Alon that the Israeli government has not decided how--or even if---to react to this document, and that this might be decided at the Cabinet meeting this Sunday. Queried as to what organizations like ours might do, Alon would not even comment.

cc: M. Tanenbaum

2-7-10-80

MSGR. HIGGINS PRAISED AS 'CONSTANT FRIEND OF JEWISH PEOPLE' (150)

NEW YORK (NC) -- The American Jewish Committee (AJC) has praised Msgr. George G. Higgins as "a constant friend of the Jewish people" on the occasion of his retirement as secretary for special concerns of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops-U.S. Catholic Conference.

In a letter to Msgr. Higgins, whose retirement is effective Sept. 1, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, the AJC's national interreligious affairs director, praised him for "all the years of extraordinary and gifted service that you have given to so many great human causes."

Rabbi Tanenbaum told Msgr. Higgins, "You have been one of the great inspirations in my life and I hope that we will have many continued opportunities to work and serve together."

Msgr. Higgins, who has been a consultant to the U.S. bishops' Committee on Catholic-Jewish Relations, has promoted Christian-Jewish dialogues and common relief efforts by the two religious communities.

Last March the AJC presented its National Interreligious Affairs Award to him for "his pioneer contributions in improving understanding and mutual respect between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people."

END

3-7-10-80

GOVERNMENT BILL ON FOREIGNERS CRITICIZED (450 -- With 19-7-9-80, FORTALEZA, Brazil -- Pope: Christ is...)

By Agostino Bono

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brazil (NC) -- The National Eucharistic Congress, which had migration problems as its theme, started against the backdrop of a controversial Brazilian government bill to put stricter controls on immigrants and foreigners living in the country.

The five-day congress in Fortaleza was opened by Pope John Paul II on July 9.

Critics of the bill say it would give the government greater control over foreign missionaries entering the country and increase the government's legal power to expel leftist political refugees from other Latin American countries living in Brazil.

The government says the bill is aimed at protecting Brazil's working force from an influx of cheap labor.

Among the critics of the bill is the permanent commission of the Brazilian Bishops' Conference.

"The xenophobic nature of this project is unacceptable," said the permanent commission prior to the start of the eucharistic congress.

The bill goes against "the long tradition of Brazilian hospitality and the recognition of the economic contribution of immigrants," said a commission statement.

The bishops said the bill would require immigrants to live in a state of semi-confinement as the government would have "a high degree of arbitrariness" in determining where immigrants would live.

Other church people say that the bill would allow the government to approve foreign missionaries entering the country and to determine in what regions they can work.

The Brazilian Lawyers' Association says the bill is aimed at expelling whomever the government considers undesirable, including political refugees.

Under the provisions of the bill, the government would have the power to veto missionaries entering the country, said Alexandre Garcia, spokesman for President Joao Figueiredo.

But the bill is not aimed at missionaries, he said. Missionaries would be treated as all other applicants, according to whether their talents are needed by Brazil, he added.

The only missionaries in trouble would be those who enter the country on a tourist visa but plan to stay and work, added Garcia.

(MORE)

Currently many missionaries enter the country as tourists and cannot be controlled by government authorities, he said.

Under the bill immigration authorities after listening to advice from bishops would allow missionaries to live and work only in areas needing priests and Religious, he said.

Regarding political refugees, Garcia said the law is aimed only at illegal aliens. He estimated these at 400,000.

"Brazil does not want the clandestine stranger to be a leak in national sovereignty," he said.

The real purpose of the bill is to protect Brazilian workers, especially farm workers, from cheap labor coming from abroad, Garcia said.

To meet the domestic unemployment problem, Brazil has to create 1.8 million jobs a year and cannot afford to allow the indiscriminate entrance of foreigners, he said.

END

4-7-10-80

KILL AND INSERT

In 21-7-8-80, PORTO ALEGRE, Brazil -- NC Documentary (seminarians) ...in second paragraph beginning, 1. You will certainly...KILL the last sentence beginning, The future of...

PICK UP third paragraph beginning, "Grace and peace..."

In fourth paragraph beginning, Many thanks for...INSERT the following at end :

...in these days in each moment of this, my pastoral pilgrimage in your land. With my heart turned toward Fortaleza and in harmony with the people of God in Brazil, I ask myself: Where are you going? (INSERTING words from "in each moment" to "are you going?")

INSERT the following after fourth paragraph:

My tongue speaks with the fullness that comes from the heart. In all of the stages of my pilgrimage to the National Eucharistic Congress the question was and is real, real in meeting with the families and priests in Rio de Janeiro, real in meeting with the religious brothers and sisters in Sao Paulo and real in meeting with the world of labor, with the workers in Sao Paulo.

Here, however, it seems to be particularly opportune. Effectively, the future of the church in this great, beautiful and promising Brazilian nation depends in large part on you. The pilgrim people of God and men in general feel themselves asking for clarification and wanting someone to indicate the goals and the way in order to respond with assurance to the question, "Where are you going?" Are you not or do you not want to be that someone?

PICK UP original fifth paragraph beginning, 2. My first message...

END

5-7-10-80

INDIAN LEADERS SAY BRAZIL EXTERMINATES INDIANS (410)

MANAUS, Brazil (NC) -- The extermination of Indians in Brazil "is comparable to the massacre of the Polish and Jewish people by Nazi imperialism and racism," according to an open letter to Pope John Paul II.

The letter, published before the pope's scheduled arrival in Manaus July 10, was signed by 90 Indian chiefs.

Indians have been subjected to "systematic extermination over the past 400 years," said the letter.

"From more than five million inhabitants during the era of the conquest, Indians have been reduced to barely 210,000," it added.

"This extermination has increased in the past few years" because the government "has turned over the Amazon to big national and multinational corporations," the chiefs said.

The Indians were alluding to government development plans for the jungle, which include huge forestry and agribusiness complexes.

(MORE)

The American



Jewish Committee

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

NEC
German Jewish
Study

July 18, 1980

Dr. Michael Brocke
Judaistik-FV-1
Universitat Duisburg
D-4100 Duisburg
Federal Republic of Germany

My dear Michael,

I hope this letter finds you and Edna in the best of health.

As you know from your recent conversations with my colleague, Zachariah Shuster, the American Jewish Committee wishes to extend to you a cordial invitation to address a major session of our National Executive Council on Shabbat, October 25, 1980, 12 noon, in Cleveland, Ohio. We shall be glad to cover your travel and hotel expenses.

The session would be devoted to an examination of "German-Jewish Relations - Problems and Prospects." Our primary purpose would be to enable you to report on the major achievements of the Institute which Dr. Heinz Kremers and you head, the curriculum and textbook projects which have been realized thus far, and plans for the future in terms of new books and teacher training institutes.

But we would like you to make that report in the context of a brief outline of other concerns over the present state of German-Jewish relations. What is the present status of anti-Semitism in Germany in religious and political circles? Is neo-Nazism on the rise? What are the dominant attitudes among the German people toward relations with Israel? The status of Jerusalem? Is there a growing division in attitudes between German government policy toward Israel as reflected in the EEC statement in Venice, toward the PLO, and attitudes held by the people?

Against the background of such problems, what programs are being undertaken to help the German people understand more deeply the Jewish people, Judaism, the Nazi holocaust, and the State of Israel. In that perspective,

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ELISE D. WATERMAN, New York ■

a substantial report could then be devoted to the Duisburg project, and our collaboration together. Questions such as these might then be considered: What is the Duisburg Institute, what are its publications, what effect is it having, who is it reaching in the German school system, is there any evaluation of its impact at this early stage?

Such a report would be of enormous interest to our people, and I am sure, will be to a great many Christian as well as Jewish leaders.

One thing more: Zach Shuster tells me that you will be in the States during late September and early October. If at all possible, we would like to arrange a press conference for you in New York during that time at which you could announce the Institute program and publications. In a sense, it would anticipate your address before our Cleveland meeting. We would prefer to have it announced earlier in the press, because that would help build interest and attention for the October 25 meeting. Also, quite frankly, in light of recent troublesome stories about German and Israel, we want to do what we can as soon as possible to report a positive story, and this certainly would do that.

Please do let me know whether you can accept our invitation.

With warmest personal good wishes to you and Edna, I am,

Cordially, as ever,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

CC: Zachariah Shuster

bc: Bert Gold
Selma Hirsh
Mort Yarmon
Bob Jacobs



THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

AUG 1 1980

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
Director of National Inter-
Religious Affairs
165 E. 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

I am delighted to invite you to serve on the 1981 White House Conference on Aging Technical Committee, Office of Human Development Services for a term beginning immediately and ending when the Conference is terminated, subject to prescribed appointment procedures and to periodic review of the Committee's function.

Enclosed is a copy of the charter which describes the structure and functions for this Committee.

I hope you will find it possible to accept this invitation and give us the benefit of your valued counsel. You may indicate your acceptance or declination by signing and returning the enclosed Acknowledgement of Invitation.

Upon learning of your acceptance, I shall ask the Office of Human Development Services to supply you with further information relating to your appointment.

Sincerely yours,

Patricia Roberts Harris

Enclosures



UNITED STATES COORDINATOR
FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

August 5, 1980

Dear Ms. Garfield:

Thank you for your letter of July 15, confirming the reservation of October 4-8, 1980 for the conference facilities at the Foundation's Bellagio Center in Italy.

Enclosed is a statement of the nature and the purpose of the proposed conference on new approaches to the international refugee situation. I have also included a proposed agenda and a suggested list of participants.

In the list of participants, I have suggested a number of countries and international organizations which should be represented at the meeting. We have provided the names of several persons who would make a strong contribution to the conference and we will be seeking out more such names. Three persons unconnected with the conference who could provide a professional opinion as to its scope and value are:

Mr. Richard W. Wheeler, Chairman of
the Executive Committee
Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief
c/o Citibank, N.A.
399 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10043
(Telephone: 212/559-8211)


Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Director
Interreligious Affairs
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, New York 10022
(Telephone: 212/751-4000)

Mr. James Grant, Executive Director
UNICEF
New York, New York 10017
(Telephone: 212/754-7849)

Ms. Susan Garfield,
The Rockefeller Foundation,
New York, New York.

The questions of position papers, of the arrangements for the proceedings, and of the publication of the results remain for further consideration. I am seeking further support from the Ford Foundation in arranging for the Conference, and these matters will be taken up with their staff.

Sincerely,


Victor H. Palmieri

Enclosures as stated

cc: Mr. Wheeler
Rabbi Tanenbaum
Mr. Grant



AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
NEW APPROACHES
TO THE
THE WORLDWIDE REFUGEE SITUATION

Nature and Purpose of the Conference

Massive flows of refugees arising from the persecution of peoples by their governments and the accompanying civil strife, armed conflict, and famine, are becoming more and more prevalent, particularly in the developing world. The efforts of international agencies, supported by those of individual governments and private agencies, have been barely sufficient to preserve large numbers of peoples from death by neglect, deliberate persecution or inadequate care and maintenance, pending their return to their homelands or their resettlement in third countries. Additionally, the traditional granting of asylum, temporary or permanent, afforded victims of political persecution has become severely strained by the sheer numbers of people involved. The problems of managing this situation, the encouragement of voluntary repatriation, the availability of resettlement opportunities in third countries, and the provision of adequate financial resources to provide temporary relief and longer term rehabilitation require review and fresh approaches.

Refugees continue to impose serious economic strains on all countries of first asylum. Equally important and threatening is the effect of the numbers of these refugees on the internal political, social and ethnic balance of their societies and to peace of the region. The industrialized countries, with the United States, Japan and the European Community in the lead, continue to provide most of the funds for the international refugee relief effort. The Communist countries are sources of refugees and, except for Yugoslavia and Romania, have contributed virtually no funds to this end.

In East Asia, over a million persons have fled their homes in Indochinese since the fall of the governments of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam in 1975. Of those who fled, some 373,000 Indochinese have been admitted to the United States, about 234,000 have resettled in other non-communist countries, and some 260,000 Vietnamese of Chinese ethnic origin have found asylum in China. The flow of Indochinese refugees, which peaked in May and June 1979 with over 60,000 arrivals in first asylum countries, dropped following the Vietnamese

"moratorium" on illegal departures but begin to rise again in March 1980 and has averaged 15,805 monthly since then. Some 234,800 Indochinese refugees remain in countries of first asylum awaiting resettlement, and an additional 150,000 Khmer are in Thai holding centers, some tens of thousands of whom may be recommended for resettlement by UNHCR. Resettlement needs are, therefore, virtually as pressing as they were one year ago. Development of the UNHCR sponsored Orderly Departure Program from Vietnam has been slow, and a renewed upsurge in refugee outflow from that country cannot be excluded.

The UN Meeting on Indochinese Refugees, held in Geneva in July 1979, demonstrated recognition on the part of an increasing number of governments that the world's refugees are an international responsibility. International action on behalf of the Indochinese refugees was strengthened by an increase in resettlement opportunities and substantial new financial contributions to the UNHCR's refugee programs.

After nine months of unremitting effort by the international community, Kampuchea is still unable to ensure that the threat of famine has been overcome. Continued insecurity has forced major population shifts and disruption of the food production cycle. About 300,000 Khmer, posing a threat to the political stability of Thailand, have sought refuge along the Thai border and inside Thailand. Because of continued disruption of planting and food shortages, the need exists for the international community to continue to supply relief assistance in order to avoid further human tragedy in Kampuchea.

On the African continent, estimates of refugees and displaced persons range from 2½ to 4 million persons, and the need for refugee assistance is critical. The continuing political and military conflicts and the number and needs of African refugees are not expected to decrease in the foreseeable future. Because of the war between Somalia and Ethiopia and the ongoing insurgency in the Ogaden, there are more than 743,000 refugees in Somali camps. It is likely that this figure will increase substantially before the end of 1980.

In 1979, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Organization for African Unity (OAU), and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) jointly sponsored the Arusha Conference on the Situation of Refugees in Africa. The Conference called for the ratification of the 1969 OAU

Convention on Refugees and the need to observe universally recognized principles of human rights as they pertain to refugees. The tone of the Conference was set by Tanzanian President Nyereres's statement that African refugees are primarily an African problem and an African responsibility. In the 34th Session of the United Nations, the General Assembly asked the UNHCR for a report on the follow-up action to that conference this year, and additionally, African members of UNHCR are now seeking a second conference in 1981 on the continuing refugee problem on the continent.

In the Americas, as a result of the Nicaraguan revolution, over 150,000 Nicaraguans sought refuge in neighboring countries but have now returned to their homeland. For the United States, a new and traumatic event occurred when the Cuban Government not only permitted the legal emigration of many of its citizens to the United States, but deliberately sent to this country, persons unwanted in their homeland and whose claims to refuge for fear of political persecution were dubious. Within a few weeks, 110,000 Cubans had landed in Florida. At the same time, many Cubans jailed for political opposition to the Castro Government and whom the United States would have gladly received, were not permitted to leave. Since 1959 over 1.1 million Cubans have fled Cuba, 900,000 of whom came to the United States. Additionally, 15,000 Haitians have arrived in this country and their status has not yet been clarified.

In the Middle East, approximately 1,000,000 Afghans have fled the warfare in Afghanistan following the Soviet invasion, and sought asylum in Pakistan, providing an additional drain on a country experiencing major economic and political difficulties. International efforts to provide care and maintenance for these unfortunate people continue to grow.

Emigration from the Soviet Union increased significantly during the year. The flow of Soviet Jews reached a high of 51,000 for 1979, of whom 39,000 resettled in the United States. Many other groups such as ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union emigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany, and there was a constant stream of dissidents leaving Eastern Europe for the West. And additionally, former European colonial powers grant refuge to numbers of people from their former domains overseas.

The purpose of the conference is to have a searching discussion of the worldwide refugee situation, as described above, with a view to developing new directions in the management and control of the problem. Within the international community, some steps have been taken to this end.

The United States Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador McHenry, has recommended to ECOSOC that it address some of these problems. He has urged that ECOSOC provide a report in 1981 which would define the lines of responsibility and role of the various bodies within the U.N. system concerned with refugees and post-refugee situations. The report would specifically outline how U.S. bodies should function in anticipating, assessing, responding to and evaluating refugee crises. Within UNHCR, African members are seeking a conference on African refugee problems next year.

These initiatives strongly suggest that senior officials from those countries that are the principal sources of funds and resettlement opportunities, representatives from those regions most affected by refugee flows and other individuals who could contribute to a fruitful discussion of the issues, should meet to review existing mechanisms and initiatives, to seek out means to enhance their effectiveness, and to develop new approaches. An international conference to which governments were invited, however, would not serve this purpose since by necessity, individuals would be bound by governments' positions. Sponsorship by a private organization of a meeting of 25 to 30 individuals in a position to influence refugee policies and programs in their governments or institutions at an out-of-the-way location would provide the setting in which ideas could be exchanged most freely.

Attached is an outline of an agenda and a partial list of participants for the meeting.



AGENDA

NEW APPROACHES TO THE WORLDWIDE REFUGEE SITUATION

Assuming 25 persons are at the conference, we would envisage five full sessions of at least two hours each on the five principal agenda items. One member would be tasked beforehand to open each session by addressing the participants on the agenda item, presenting the background and defining perceived problems. Following his address of 30 to 40 minutes, the group would break into smaller subgroups to discuss specified organizations or geographic regions as the agenda item requires. For example, under Agenda Item A, subgroups would discuss in more detail the responsibilities and problems of each of the three agencies. Under agenda items of a geographic nature, the groups would break into five subgroups, Asia, Africa, Europe, the Americas, and the Middle East. Discussion would be led by an individual from the agency or geographic area concerned. A brief summary of the subgroup's discussion would be presented to the conference as a whole.

To lend reality to the discussions of present policies and programs and the consideration of what new approaches might be suggested, the group would then consider three presently active refugee problems - the Indochinese, Central America and the Caribbean, and Africa - on the basis of subgroups. We envisage three hours on each area, and again a knowledgeable leader to lead the discussion.

At the concluding session, a member of the group would present to the conference the comments and recommendations of the subgroups.

I. REFURBISHING PRESENT INSTITUTIONS AND DEVELOPING NEW APPROACHES

A. Management of the International Community's Relief Efforts

At present, there are at least a half dozen U.S. agencies that have some responsibility for refugee relief. Their mandates are thought sufficiently different to warrant separate status, yet are similar enough to cause confusion and overlap in their programs. Additionally, UNHCR was established in the immediate post WW II period when political refugees were located almost wholly in Europe and were clearly identified as such.

The present situation is far different not only in respect to location of the refugees but, more importantly, to the changing nature of the refugees. The ability of the international agencies to cope effectively with the new demands to protect, maintain, and repatriate and/or resettle hundreds of thousands of persons have been severely strained.

Under this agenda item, the responsibilities of and management and coordination of international agencies, UNHCR, World Food Program, and the United Nations who are presently engaged in refugee relief and resettlement would be reviewed to determine where problems lay and how they might be resolved.

B. Assistance to Developing Countries in Resettling Refugees Either in Countries of Resettlement or in Countries of Origin

Developing countries have called upon the UNHCR for aid in providing for voluntary repatriates. Given the number and increasing frequency of refugee situations, UNHCR's limited financial and manpower resources for refugee protection and handling emergency situations, temporary care and maintenance and the search for resettlement opportunities have been strained.

New sources of assistance to countries facing major problems in the repatriation of its citizens or in accepting new refugees as immigrants should be explored. Since refugees often pose long-term development problem in developing countries, consideration should be given by international and regional development banks to the implications of refugees' problems for development of programs.

C. Broadening Resettlement Opportunities

Stated policies to afford resettlement to refugees are found largely in the western democracies. While the Latin American countries have been sources of such opportunities in the past, they have placed severe limits on their acceptances, even among Latin American nations. African nations accept large numbers of refugees de facto, expecting them to return to their home countries eventually.

The question of broadening resettlement opportunities needs further exploration.

D. Broadening the Financial Base of International Refugee Organizations

The UNHCR and other UN refugee relief involved agencies, are presently funded primarily by the European nations, the United States, Japan, Canada, and Australia. More funds are needed by these agencies and other agencies, from the UNDP to regional banks, if they become associated with refugee project, may require increased funding.

A broader financial base for international refugee activities needs to be discussed.

E. Influencing the Sources of Refugees in Order to Ease the Flows

The primary sources of refugees fleeing political persecution and seeking resettlement have been the communist countries; influencing their leadership not to persecute their own peoples would not appear to be attainable. Also, the ideological approach of communist leadership not only creates large numbers of refugees when new governments are installed but tends to institute steady flows of persecuted persons. Successes have been achieved, however, in developing legal emigration programs with the Soviet Union in respect to Jews and others, including prominent Russian dissidents and with other East European countries and with Cuba (intermittently). Vietnam, too, was successfully influenced to establish a moratorium on assisted departures and appears interested in the development of an orderly departure program.

The subsistence level nature of the largely agricultural peoples of Africa is easily, and tragically, disrupted, and they often seek refuge for varying lengths of time in neighboring countries. The experience of the past indicates that usually land for temporary or permanent resettlement has been available.

Similar conditions exist in Central America and the Caribbean islands with the exception that many of the peoples seek out emigration to the United States.

While each refugee situation varies one from the other, their resolution may involve public pressures, orderly departure programs and/or economic assistance.

II. ATTACKING SPECIFIC REFUGEE PROBLEM AREAS

To focus the foregoing exchanges, discussion of three problem areas and the application of various means to resolve them should follow. Each area varies but many countries within a region have sufficiently common characteristics of culture, religion, political outlook, language; etc., to provide the bases for resolution of refugee problem. Three basic approaches to resolving actual and potential refugee problems could be used: (1) inhibiting the initiation of such flows, (2) maximizing the opportunities for voluntary repatriation, and (3) providing resettlement opportunities.

The Indochinese

While political (and racial) persecution is the basic reason for impelling Indochinese refugees outwards, many Kampuchians are fleeing famine and warfare, further confusing the situation. Neighboring countries will not afford temporary asylum pending the refugees' return to the homelands. Present emphasis is on resettlement.

Central America and the Caribbean

Cuban political persecution plays a role, but Cuba's desire to rid itself of disaffected and undesirable persons adds a new dimension to an old problem. Additionally, a wave of civil unrest throughout Central America and the Caribbean states with leftist, if not communist, involvement combines with population pressures on fragile economies to impel people to emigrate to wealthier countries. In the latter instance this blurring of the definitions of refugees as being either political or economic, suggests that future refugee crisis may be more and more of this nature. (Mexican illegal immigrants might be taken into account.)

Africa

Political unrest, but not necessarily of an ideological nature, has such a disruptive effect on people living in a subsistence level economy that they are forced to seek their livelihood elsewhere. Voluntary repatriation has been characteristic of many of these refugees but the development of the countries, both sending and receiving, have been disrupted by these surges of people.

III. CONCLUSION

At the concluding session, a member of the group would present the conclusions of the subgroups.



LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Major Refugee Resettlement and Funding Countries

Within the United States, the U.S. Coordinator for Refugees, Victor H. Palmieri and an individual from the Agency for International Development should be considered. From the private sector, persons such as the experienced leader among American refugee organizations, Leo Cherne of the International Rescue Committee, Michael Blumenthal, former Secretary of Treasury and former refugee himself, or Father Hesburgh, Chairman, Select Commission on Immigration could make a valuable contribution.

From Canada, a major resettlement country, Minister of Employment and Immigration, Lloyd Axworthy, would make a major contribution to the meeting.

Japan is a major financial contributor to UNHCR and refugee relief agencies. Dr. Saburo Okita, former Foreign Minister and Head of the Japan Economic Research Center who speaks excellent English should be considered.

Of other countries, participants should be sought from Australia, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and the Netherlands. The EEC is a major financial contributor to refugee relief, and its responsible Commissioner, M. Cheysson (French), should be considered.

International Refugee Agencies

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Poul Hartling (Danish), could make a signal contribution to the conference and additionally, Mr. Zia Rizvi (Pakistani), Regional Coordinator in Southeast Asia. Mr. V. Dayal (Indian), who had fifteen years of experience with UNHCR, was formerly Special Assistant to the High Commissioner and is now assigned to UN Headquarters, is a highly perceptive and experienced individual who should be considered. Also from the UN, Mr. Abbe Farrah (Somali), Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, would be an active participant.

In the developing world, consideration should be given to individuals from Venezuela, or Mexico, those countries in Latin America which have the strongest tradition in accepting refugees. From Africa, the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity

Mr. Edam Kodjo (Togolese), would be a key person to select. Consideration might be given to a representative from the African Development Bank. Similarly, the regional development bank in Asia, the Asian Development Bank, might provide a representative.

Individuals should also be sought from World Food Program, UNDP, and the World Bank.



MHJ

PHOTOGRAPHED

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 18, 1980

to Nives Fox - European Office

from Judith H. Banki

subject Booklet: The Jews in Toledo And Their Synagogues

An old and dear friend of mine whose brother was traveling in Spain brought home a copy of the above entitled booklet; a small pamphlet with 49 pages of text and a number of attractive photographs showing details of synagogue art in Toledo. I regret I cannot send you a copy of it, but I promised to return the single copy, temporarily loaned to me, to its owner. For your information, the booklet is written by Pedro Riera Vidal, English Translation by J. Macnab, published in Toledo 1975, and the following information appears on the inside fly leaf:

Edita: MANIPEL - Ramon y Cajal, 4 - San Sebastian
 Impre: H. FOURNIER, S.A.-H. Fournier, 17 - VITORIA - 1975
 Deposito Legal: VI. 350-1975
 I.S.B.N.-84-400-8646-6
 Printed in Spain

The booklet is a kind of guided tour through the old Jewish quarter of Toledo, calling attention to architectural details and providing some historic background. It also offers some information regarding the contribution of the Jews to Toledo and some information regarding the persecution of the Jews and the massacre of 1405.

While I cannot send you the pamphlet I enclose a Xerox copy of a few of the pages referring to the latter history and marked off the passage which particularly infuriated my friend. This is a translator's note on page 12 which suggests that the massacre was due to the "ardour of the new converts rather than to the old christians who had lived with the Jews for centuries without any such violence." Not only does this apparent excuse seem a cop-out, but it is contradicted by information elsewhere in the booklet.

It might well be that the organized Jewish community in Spain may wish to enter a protest -- or at least a demurer -- regarding this formulation. Abe suggests that I send this on to you for transmittal to the leader of the Jewish community -- whose name I gather, ironically enough, is Toledano. He also suggested that Father Serrano from Amistad might be helpful.

Obviously, the intent of the booklet is a sympathetic one (my own reaction is that it would have been unlikely for such a booklet even to be published before

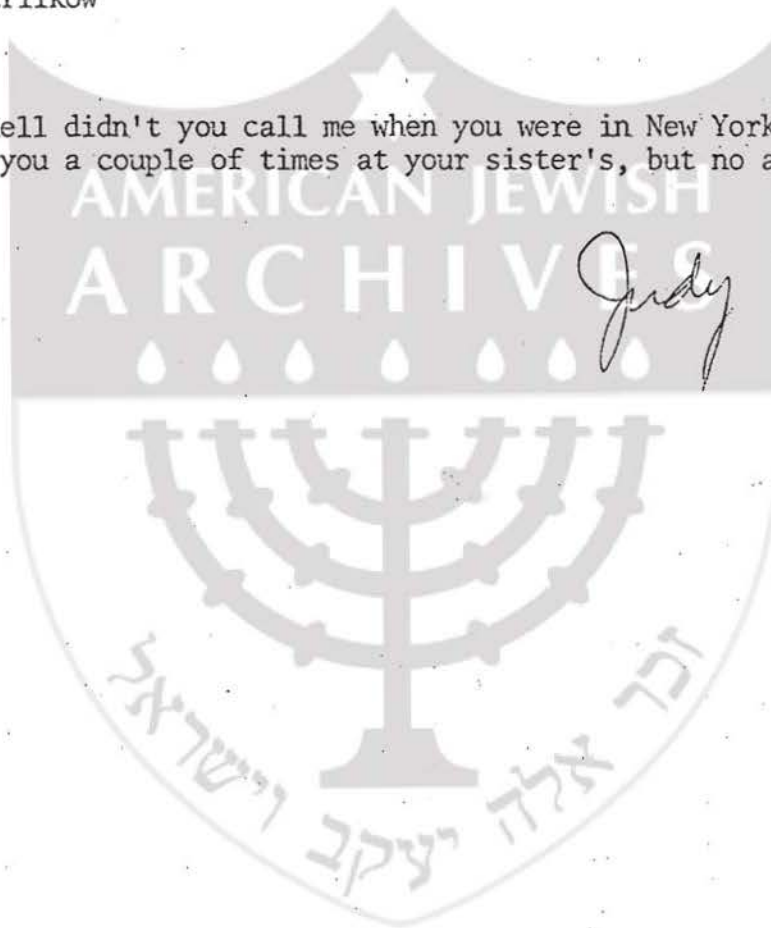
Vatican II.) Nevertheless, that item, which smacks of self-justification should be challenged, particularly if the English translation of the booklet is going to be distributed to tourists who know better.

Warmest best wishes.

JHB:CG

cc: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum ✓
Abraham Karlikow

P.S. Why the hell didn't you call me when you were in New York! I tried to reach you a couple of times at your sister's, but no answer. Shame on you.



The Toledo Jews, in various ages, experienced periods of privilege and of persecution. If they obtained advantages in the reigns of some sovereigns —such as Alfonso the Seventh, the Eighth and the Tenth—, they also felt the weight of implacable persecutions, especially at the hands of the common people, who always regarded them with aversion and handed down fearful legends in which the Jew was the cruel protagonist.

101-101
p. 12

As our present object is not to record in detail the vicissitudes of the Jews in Toledo, we will now describe the two synagogues which still stand in the city.

SYNAGOGUE OF SANTA MARÍA LA BLANCA

Historical note

Many historians agree that this synagogue —the Chief Synagogue— was built during the reign of Alfonso VIII, in the last quarter of the 12th century, at which period the Jews were enjoying unprecedented favour from the king. Many attribute that favour to the love affair between Raquel, the Hebrew beauty, whose name «sounds like silver and tastes like honey» and the king who was proclaimed sovereign of Castile by Don Esteban Illán from the **mudéjar** tower of San Román, the highest pinnacle of the city.

At all events, it was built near the **Alcana**.

To this synagogue the Jews resorted to perform their religious duties, to hear the reading of Sacred Books and the Rabbi's monotone commentary on the texts of the Law. This continued during the 13th and 14th centuries, until we come to the date of 1405, and the strictly historical event we are about to describe.

At that time the Valencian Saint Vincent Ferrer was preaching in Toledo. He was a bitter enemy of Judaism, intolerant and vehement, a man of stirring and stormy oratory and matchless eloquence. Thus it was no wonder that he kindled the spirit of the multitudes of Christians, including thousands of converts from Judaism, who heard his vibrant sermons in the mudéjar church of Santiago del Arrabal. That church still preserves the pulpit he preached from; it is pure Arabic in style, with filigree carving in white stone, and in it is a statue of the saint, holding up, it is believed, the selfsame cross that he bore when leading the impassioned multitude in a march up to the Chief Synagogue.

While the unconverted Jews listened in fervent silence to the reading of the Sacred Books, that multitude burst violently into the synagogue avid for slaughter. Swayed by age-old hatreds of race and religion, they threw their enemies down the rocky slope to the river bank, sowing anguish and bloodshed throughout the flourishing quarter of the Judería (1). It is

(1) Note of the translator: This is attributed by some historians to the ardour of the new converts rather than to the old christians who had lived with the Jews for centuries without any such violence.

stated that this event caused such a shock to Kings Henry III, nicknamed «the Invalid», that he died as a result of it soon afterwards, here in Toledo, on Christmas Day 1407; he is buried in the Chapel of the New Kings in the Cathedral.

After that, the building became a Catholic church under the title of Santa María la Blanca, as it is still known.

For about a century and a half it continued as a Christian chapel of ease, until in 1550 Cardinal Silíceo had three chapels built at its east end, in the part where the sanctuary for the Sacred Books must have been, and the pulpit from which they were read to the people with suitable commentaries.

The chapel was then made into a convent of refuge for fallen women, who entered a community to atone for their sins by meditation and penance. In this capacity it continued for a bare halfcentury, afterwards reverting to its previous status.

About 1790 it was taken over as an infantry barracks; ten years later it was transferred to the Royal Exchequet for a similar period.

HOW JEWS VOTE

A Fact Sheet

Though American Jews constitute less than 3 per cent of the population, they make up more than 4 per cent of all voters. They also live in many of the most populous states, whose large numbers of winner-take-all electoral votes are of vital importance to any Presidential candidate, and in most elections, 80 per cent of registered Jewish voters turn out at the polling booths. "A campaign rule of thumb," explains The Economist in its September 13, 1980, issue, "is to multiply the Jewish voting-age population by three to get their true weight in a primary election and by two for a general election."

In a tight race, it is possible that Jewish voters could swing the electoral balance. They total almost 25 per cent of all voters in New York, whose 41 electoral votes are considered crucial to any candidate; 6 per cent in California, 10 per cent in Florida, 5 per cent in Illinois, 7 per cent in Pennsylvania, and 12 per cent in New Jersey -- five other states that together account for 132 electoral votes.

Unlike other religious and ethnic groups, whose wealthier and better educated members tend to be conservative and vote Republican, the majority of Jewish voters, regardless of their socio-economic level, generally support Democratic candidates and liberal programs. Over 50 per cent of Jewish voters are registered as Democrats, fewer than 10 per cent as Republicans. In 1972, when Richard Nixon was reelected in an unprecedented landslide, he received under 40 per cent of the Jewish vote; four years later, Jimmy Carter garnered about 70 per cent.

A recent study concludes that Jews are more united than other demographic groups behind civil rights and civil liberties, equal opportunity, aid to the poor and aged, support for public education and health programs, and opposition to violence. They also close ranks when they believe Israel's security is threatened.

Self-identification as liberals

A review of Gallup Poll interviews from 1970 to 1973 indicates that when respondents were asked to identify their political stance, 51 per cent of Jews interviewed called themselves liberal, in contrast to 27 per cent of the Catholics and 22 per cent of the Protestants. A 1980 CBS-New York Times poll shows a decided falling-off in Jewish liberal self-identification; nevertheless, 38 per cent of the Jews queried in this poll labelled themselves liberal, as against 23 per cent of the Catholics and 17 per cent of the Protestants.

Jewish Vote for Democratic Presidential Candidates
1960-1976

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Jews</u> <u>Per Cent</u>	<u>All Voters</u>
1960	Kennedy	80 +	50
1964	Johnson	90	61
1968	Humphrey	80 +	43
1972	McGovern	65	38
1976	Carter	70-75	51

In the 1980 campaign, the Jewish vote appears less predictable than ever. There has been wide speculation that disappointment with the Carter Administration's Israel stance as well as its position on various domestic issues has turned many Jewish voters away from support for the President. But they are largely unenthusiastic about Mr. Reagan as well; thus, it remains uncertain how many will carry their disaffection with the Democratic ticket as far as the voting booth. Nor is there any clear indication whether Jewish voters unwilling to vote for Carter will cast their votes for Republican Ronald Reagan or third-party candidate John Anderson -- or simply decide to sit this election out altogether. In the 1972 election, The Economist reports, many Jewish voters in New York failed to vote for president, and many are talking, at least, of a similar absention in November.

As the American political ground has shifted to the right, Jews have shifted with it; but compared with others, they are still on the liberal side. This does not mean they are of one mind on all major issues; there are sharp divisions within the Jewish community on ERA, Federal support for private and parochial schools, public funding for abortions for poor women, civil liberties for extremists, and other issues.

In March, April, and May 1980, a series of Gallup polls probed registered voters' Presidential preference. The following composite percentages, according to religious identification, emerged:

	<u>Anderson</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Reagan</u>
Jews	53		27	19
"No religious belief"	34		39	27
Catholics	25		42	33
Northern white Protestants	22		34	44
Southern white Protestants	10		45	44

Pre-election, 1980

In the New York Presidential primary on March 25, which took place shortly after the U.S. representative to the United Nations voted for a UN resolution criticizing Israel, Jewish voters supported Edward Kennedy over President Carter by a ratio of 4 to 1. At the national party conventions in July and August, 5 per cent of the Republican delegates and 10 per cent of the Democratic were Jewish.

In August, 1980, a Louis Harris Poll elicited the following answers to the two questions cited below:

If you were voting today, whom would you vote for?

	<u>Per Cent</u>	
	Total	Jews
Reagan	42	28
Carter	36	30
Anderson	17	36
Undecided	5	10

If you thought Anderson had a real chance of winning, whom would you vote for?

	<u>Per Cent</u>	
	Total	Jews
Reagan	37	20
Carter	29	22
Anderson	31	55
Undecided	3	3

All of these figures are subject to sizeable shifts as the Presidential campaign unfolds. So far, neither the Presidential candidates nor the political pundits can draw any clear indication of which lever American Jews will pull on November 4.

#

September 22, 1980
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A, COL, CP, PP, EJP, REL, FOR, NPE, OP



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WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

PROGRAMME UNIT ON FAITH AND WITNESS

Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies

Geneva, September 30, 1980.

AB/LM

Rabbi Marc H. TANENBAUM,
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
NEW YORK, NY 10022

Dear Marc,

Here is the text of my address. I hope it comes close to meeting your needs. It occurs to me that you may wish to make available the texts of the Central Committee's Jerusalem statement and the IJCIC response, and also the text of the CCJP proposed Guidelines -- if you have not already done so -- to the National Interreligious Affairs Commission.

Enclosed also is a biographical sketch and photograph, which you requested.

As to travel expenses, I am not travelling this time on WCC business, per se (although, obviously, virtually everything I do these days is "WCC business" in one way or another). Rather, my expenses are to be covered by various speaking engagements, which makes the trip budget rather tight, as you might expect.

I was able to secure a most inexpensive trans-Atlantic flight at excursion rate: Geneva-New York, return, Sfr. 1050.- (which works out, at current exchange rates, to about \$640). If you could find it possible to handle this amount, it would be extremely helpful.

I will arrive in Cleveland on 23 October at 12:28 PM (AA 558) from St. Louis, and will proceed directly to the Bond Court Hotel.

I am delighted to be able to be with you, and the Interreligious Affairs Commission, and look forward to a genuinely beneficial mutual exchange.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Allan".

Allan R. Brockway
Christian-Jewish Relations

Enclosures

NEWS and VIEWS

REPORTS FROM THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Volume 3 Number 1

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1980

MURRAY POLNER, Editor

It Seems To Me

BERTRAM H. GOLD

Executive Vice President
The American Jewish Committee

As the AJC begins its 1980-81 program year, we once again strive to integrate our particularist Jewish interests with our universalist concerns.

Like all Americans, we are concerned about peace in the Middle East, Soviet expansionism, the rising tide of political terrorism and violations of human rights. In the months ahead we will continue to interpret Israel's security needs to the American people, and to make clear its strategic political and military importance to the U.S. We will keep pressing the Soviet Union to permit those Russian Jews who wish to leave that country to leave, and to ease the economic and political harassment of those who choose to remain. We will do all we can to help transform the worldwide revulsion at the murders, tortures and kidnappings by political terrorists – in Western Europe, Latin America and the Middle East – into international safeguards against such brutality.

Our domestic agenda will be dominated by economic issues. We will be searching for ways to cushion the impact of the inflation-recession crisis on the poor and the elderly and to ease the destructive competition for jobs and services among the nation's racial and ethnic minorities. These are priority issues for the AJC not only because we are concerned with the human costs inherent in a stagnant economy, but because we know how quickly such a climate can translate into scapegoating, violence – and anti-Semitism.

We will work for quality public education for all American children, and for effective job training and remedial-education programs that can help disadvantaged young people overcome the barriers to better-paying jobs and professional careers. With a far greater sense of urgency than our national leaders have demonstrated, we will press for ways to reduce American dependence on foreign oil, and to shed the political and economic straightjacket into which this dependency has forced our country. And we will continue to encourage new pockets of Jewish energy and strengthen our interreligious ties even as we resist attempts to "Christianize" America.

In short, the AJC has a full agenda. As always, finding friends and allies who think as we do is high priority for making all our objectives feasible.

What's Doing at The Committee

Testifying before a House

Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties and the Administration of Justice, Samuel Rabinove, AJC's Legal Director, expressed strong opposition to the proposed Helms Amendment which could result in mandating prayer in the public schools. He pointed out that the separation of church and state was a cornerstone of American freedom and that the amendment was "legally unsound and, from a religious point of view, profoundly misguided."

Maynard I. Wishner, AJC President, called Secretary of State Muskie's statement to the U.N. Security Council on its resolution on Jerusalem "a forthright condemnation of the long series of biased United Nations resolutions on the Middle East." He added, however, that "the Secretary's statement would have had much more effect had it been followed by a United States veto."

Hyman Bookbinder, AJC's Washington representative, has been appointed by President Carter to serve on the President's new Holocaust Memorial Council.

America's growing commitment to religious pluralism and the current state of Christian-Jewish relations in local communities were the focus of a two-day conference of Christian and Jewish leaders at AJC headquarters. Two local situations were featured: a successful campaign against

continued on back page

The Left, The Right and Central American Jewry

The pattern of revolution and counter-revolution, Marxist guerilla kidnappings and social unrest in Central America poses serious threats to the continued existence of the small Jewish communities in several of these countries.

Altogether, approximately 10,000 Jews live in the six Central American states of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama, with another 15,000 in the northernmost South American country, Colombia — lands where political crises in varying degrees reflect the need for deep structural and economic changes.

Jewish communities in all these countries not only are caught up in the present-day social and political strife but now are also being increasingly affected, as they were not before, by the play of Arab propaganda, growing PLO presence and resultant anti-Jewish pressures.

These last are felt, not only in Central America proper but in two key neighboring Latin American lands, Mexico (with a Jewish population of 40,000) and Venezuela (19,000 Jews). As oil powers, they play a key role in Latin America.

Since Jews in Central America generally belong to the business and merchant community they often are considered as class enemies by Marxist and leftist forces. One example of this was the assassination in Guatemala last May of Alberto Mishan Habie, a prominent figure in

the Jewish community and the owner of the largest textile factory in Latin America. As president of Guatemala's Coordinating Committee of Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial and Financial Associations, Habie was considered the leading figure of Guatemala's private business sector. Guatemala's clandestine Communist Party (P.G.T.) is reported to have claimed the assassination.

During the conflict that brought down the dictatorial Somoza regime in Nicaragua, virtually the entire Jewish community of some 75 families moved out of the country. The new Sandinist government, it should be pointed out, has not demonstrated any anti-Semitism or anti-Jewish stance; simply, the community had almost vanished by the time it came to power.

Some Jews had suffered from the earthquake that devastated the capital city of Managua some years ago, while others fled during the revolutionary fighting. A few have returned, but apparently to liquidate their holdings.

The Jewish community in El Salvador, where terrorism and violence are current, is well on the way to the same fate. Most of the 80 Jewish families have left the country. A handful of Jews, practically all males, remain, in the attempt to manage and salvage their assets. One factor in the exodus of this community was the

Sergio Nudelstejer is AJC's Director in Mexico and Central America.

kidnapping and murder in March, 1979 by a group of leftist guerillas of Jewish businessman and Honorary Consul of Israel, Ernesto Liebes.

Here, too, one finds no evidence of overt anti-Semitism on the part of either government or revolutionary forces. No Jewish institution, such as the Jewish center, synagogue or cemetery has been touched. Liebes' murder was viewed primarily as part of the general social conflict. Still, El Salvador's Jews no longer see any future for themselves in the country.

During the conflict that brought down the dictatorial Somoza regime in Nicaragua, virtually the entire Jewish community of some 75 families moved out of the country.

In Guatemala, the Jewish community already had diminished by well over a fourth, down to 1,500, even before the shock of the Habie murder. Practically the entire Jewish population lives in the capital, Guatemala City. A number of Jews have been kidnapped and charged with being supporters of American imperialism in a country where clashes between the army and the guerilla forces are endemic. Generally, a worsening of the situation is expected in Guatemala and this will surely affect those who stay on.

250 Jews live in Honduras, the poorest of the Central American states. The government is seeking to

stave off guerilla activity and revolution through democratization of institutions, but pressure from left- and right-wing extremists is powerful. The major challenge to the Jewish position arises from the presence of several thousand Palestinians in the country who seek to make their influence felt.

Only in traditionally democratic and stable Costa Rica, and in Panama where the military government is in fairly complete control, do the Jewish communities — 2,500 in Costa Rica, 5,000 in Panama — feel relatively secure. A development causing concern in Costa Rica is the announcement that an Arab delegation invited to visit that country will include PLO representatives, who will be coming under official auspices for the first time.

Colombia, too, is a nation that traditionally has been democratic and stable, and its Jewish community of 15,000 is a flourishing one. But here, too, serious warning notes have been sounded, both for the nation as a whole and for its Jews. Leftist forces have been growing in size and both urban and countryside guerilla groups are growing in number and boldness. This was evidenced by the seizure, some months ago, of the Dominican Republic embassy in Bogota, Colombia's capital, with ambassadors of several nations held hostage there for several weeks.

And here, too, there have been several cases of kidnappings of Jews by rebel elements. The Jewish

community is uncomfortably aware of rougher times portended by growing social disruption.

Giving a new dimension to all of this for Jewish communities in these lands and in Mexico as well is the heightened activity of the PLO and the spread of Arab influence.

The PLO is known to have contacts in Colombia, Nicaragua and Venezuela. It has been supporting revolutionary movements along with anti-Israel political positions and anti-Jewish propaganda throughout Latin America.

One aim of the PLO is to persuade the oil nations, Venezuela and Mexico, that they should change their policies and deny oil to Israel. Mexico presently is a major supplier of oil to Israel. Arab loans to countries such as Panama, Nicaragua and Venezuela carry with them their own tacit, anti-Israel pressures. The number of Palestinians living in Latin American lands also has been increasing, so that there is further support for anti-Israel themes, and concomitant local Jewish discomfort.

The past four decades have seen Jewish life in Eastern Europe reduced dramatically; in Moslem lands Jews have also fled. Now the presence of Jews in still another part of the world is increasingly threatened, not so much by specifically anti-Jewish forces but by the interplay of large-scale social and economic changes that place Jewish communities in jeopardy.

MARILYN BRAVEMAN

Public Education



AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Democracy, Thomas Jefferson asserted, is only as strong as its weakest link. And public education, he said, can strengthen each link by preparing every child for full participation in democratic life.

In Jefferson's era and in the decades since then, these convictions have been echoed and reechoed by most Americans. Time has proven how right they were. During the periods when waves of newcomers from diverse economic, political and religious backgrounds immigrated here, public schools played a crucial role in the entire "socialization" process, educating the young in basic skills and civic responsibilities and helping to integrate them into American life.

From the beginning, American Jews — recognizing that minorities flourish best in a democratic, free and open society — have regarded public education as the vital bond between

each person's aspirations and the means of achieving them. Thus, since it came into being in 1906, the American Jewish Committee has worked for increased financial support for public schools and for high quality public education, which includes good intergroup relations and the recognition of the diverse needs of our pluralistic society.

The road has never been smooth. In recent years schools have been called on to educate an increasingly diverse population and simultaneously to help solve social problems. This has created many new and difficult problems. The attempt to resolve them has taken place in a hostile atmosphere, with some reformers on the left urging that we "de-school" society and those on the right pursuing a simplistic "back-to-basics" solution.

School desegregation — pursued, understandably, as a constitutional

and legal issue — has caused intergroup tensions, and in many cases has diverted energy from solving pedagogical problems. Nor have schools been spared the decreasing civility and increasing violence that characterize today's world.

In many communities taxpayers vigorously protest school budgets and, as inflation mushrooms, vote them down. This often strips the schools of all but minimum services, providing them with even less flexibility to deal with problems which in turn, generates further criticism.

Then too, many Americans, who once believed that public schools could do no wrong, have joined the bandwagon of pessimism about all institutions, and believe they can do

*Marilyn Braveman is
AJC's Director of Education.*

no right. There is a strong and growing tendency to look at public education in terms of its problems, rather than its successes.

These developments, sometimes combined with a desire for increased Jewish identity, have impelled a growing number of Jews to place their children in private and parochial schools.

Yet does the right to select private education relieve thoughtful citizens of the necessity to support public education?

Does the fact that some Jews may not be dependent on — or that some may choose not to make use of — public schools necessarily mean that Jews should end their support for public education?

The answer to both questions is "No."

Does the right to select private education relieve thoughtful citizens of the necessity to support public education? Does the fact that some Jews may not be dependent on public schools necessarily mean that Jews should end their support for public education?

State constitutions require that citizens of all ages, parent and non-parent alike, provide tax money to establish and run public schools. In addition, all citizens are given the right and responsibility of making policy for their community's schools through elected school boards.

This responsibility is eagerly sought for, fought for and fulfilled. School board elections in many communities are characterized by intense campaigns, some of them closely tied to local politics — though the vast majority of school board members certainly have been hard-working, community-minded people. Of late the growing American phenomenon of one-issue candidates has been reflected in some board elections. Candidates whose sole concern is to halt bussing, or cut spending, or eliminate "frills," or introduce or drop specific curricula, are running and being elected in emotional community fights. The boards that emerge often are unable or unwilling to take up the

full range of educational needs and search for solutions. Rather, many decisions are made on a purely political basis, leading to still further criticism and disillusionment about public education and upsetting the delicate balance of educational and political decision-making that has been the traditional strength of community involvement. Never has the need for civic-minded citizens actively concerned with improving the quality of education been more acute.

How do these two basic and interlocking public education issues — adequate, equitable funding and quality content — affect American Jews and their intergroup relations? School finance planning involves not only the level of funding but the equitable distribution of available money throughout each state, a

complex issue that has been the subject of several law suits. Current methods, generally based on local property taxes, result in more money for the education of children who live in wealthy districts than for poor children. Although state legislatures and the federal government try to provide greater equity, the amount of money spent per student in the United States is still based more on where he or she lives than on the student's needs.

Efforts to change this system have produced conflicts and tensions, pitting inner-city minorities against well-to-do suburbanites in some communities. Suburbanites fear that new formulas, designed to equalize expenditures, could abrogate their freedom to spend what they wish on their schools. Though they do not want to deny money to inner-city systems, they do insist on the right to spend as much as they wish to educate their own children. Countering this approach is the

argument that fairness requires that the education of inner-city children whose needs are greater be given higher priority for available funds.

These basic disagreements have been reflected inevitably in a slow-down of the finance equalization movement. Although this is a slow movement towards greater equity in many states, there is a long way to go and inner-city children still suffer the most from cut-backs in services.

Why should this trend concern the AJC? Basically, because an underfunded school district embodies a self-fulfilling prophecy of disaster. Middle-class parents, both black and white, who have any option will not send their children to schools which are demoralized and lack programs appropriate to their children's needs. As these children are withdrawn, their parents' support is withdrawn.

Services diminish further, creating another cycle of withdrawal. Eventually, if this process continues, large numbers of public school systems could be inhabited solely by those who have no other option — the poor, the hardest to educate, the most in need of expensive remedial educational and social services, and also, sadly, the largest-growing population group in our society.

Research, common sense and experience tell us that, without financial and moral support, public schools can become a kind of dumping ground for large numbers of people who will not be able to join the mainstream of American society. Such an undereducated mass of citizens could one day fall prey to demagogic and authoritarian ideas — which could threaten the security of Jews and other minority groups.

There is little question that no one group — Jews or any other — alone can "save our schools." But certainly our strong, loving and critical support, advice and experienced participation can help revive our country's concern for strong, effective public schools which will help maintain our democratic institutions.

“Remarkably, My Views Have Changed”

They crouch on the floor, oriental style, in the little square room in Ussafia, listening closely to the Druze leader while they sip Turkish coffee from small, brightly colored porcelain cups. They had come to Asser A Din's house to hear about the Druze (followers of an offshoot of Islam) and to learn about a larger issue — the relationship of Israeli minorities to the Jewish majority.

Asser A Din speaks of his life as an Israeli citizen and also of his disappointments. Proud to be an Israeli, he wishes to pass on to his children his own knowledge and respect for the history of the Jewish state and the Jewish people.

He tells his guests that he is the head of the Druze Zionist Organization. Yet he criticizes the current government for what he perceives as official insensitivity to Druze needs, such as:

He is concerned that Druze youth will succumb to the blandishments of the Communist Party and Arab militants. He senses sympathy among the Americans and asks them to use their influence and persuasion in his cause. They pose many questions to which he responds patiently, sometimes, ironically.

“Of course, we want to immerse ourselves in the Jewish life of the state,” muses a man from Detroit as the Americans wave goodbye to their host. “But most of us are also anxious to understand the workings of Israeli political and social democracy. A society's treatment of its minorities is a litmus test of the health of its democratic institutions. I am impressed that a state surrounded by

enemies and the constant threat of war can work so hard to embody Jewish concepts of social justice and Western ideas of democracy — even for the antagonists in her midst.”

They were on a unique American Jewish Committee study tour of the land and its people. A diverse group, they included a public relations specialist, a writer, a doctor, an antique importer and a teacher of the deaf. They were involved in a non-stop, wide-open exposure to Israeli life as it is lived by ordinary Israelis — both secular and religious Jews, Christians, Arabs and the myriad other faiths and sects which co-exist in this tiny corner of the globe.

Yad Vashem, the memorial to the fallen 6 million, is a moving experience even for those who have been there before. The quiet walk down the Garden of the Righteous Gentiles, the

horror of the photographic display in the museum, are preludes to the private personal reflections of each visitor as the memorial service begins. When the cantor steps forward to intone the haunting chant of the El Rachomim, a hush envelops the somber setting. For the Americans, these few minutes merged with their private grief and meditation, almost visibly elevating their Israel experience.

“We are not here to convert the Jewish people. We repudiate that act as an aspect of Christian witness.” The bespectacled young man speaks in halting, earnest English. “In our small and personal way, we hope to atone for historical Christian anti-Semitism and for the general silence of our faith communities during the Holocaust. We come here to live and work side by side with Israelis, to share their joys and sorrows, and to deepen our understanding of our Jewish roots and of the essence of our own Christian faith,” he says.

They are at Nes Amim, a Christian kibbutz, listening to the young Dutch, English and Swedish Christian founders, many of whom brought their

*Phillip Saperia is AJC's
New Jersey Area Director.*

Missions To Israel

This unique program was initiated by Idelle and Leon Rabin of the Dallas chapter. Idelle Rabin is a member of AJC's Board of Governors. Leon Rabin is immediate past chairperson of the National Membership Cabinet and former chairperson of the Southwest region. The program came into being last November due to their commitment and to the support of two Board of Governors members, Shirley Szabad, immediate past chairperson of the Community Services Committee and E. Robert Goodkind, chairperson of the Jewish Communal Affairs Commission. The first two Missions were so successful that four more have been scheduled. The next one will be leaving on November 10th. For information on other highlights of the November trip and the 1980-1981 missions leaving December 22, March 23 and July 6, please contact:

Shula Bahat
Membership Missions to Israel
165 E. 56 St.
New York, N.Y. 10022

families to live and work here. Their children study in nearby schools sponsored by the kibbutz movement, where they learn Hebrew and mingle with Jewish youngsters from surrounding communities. They point with pride to the rose-exporting industry they are developing and to the handsome physical plant they are building. They speak of their close cooperation with the nearby Ghetto Fighter's Kibbutz, an uncanny poetic alliance which seeks to forge a new future out of lessons learned from the recent past.

As the sun sinks lower in the clear blue sky, the travelers walk through Mea Shearim, another echo of the past in ageless Jerusalem. The streets are eerily peaceful in the last hours before Shabbat. A few black-garbed men stride purposefully toward the mikvot, towels protruding from the satchels they carry. A few young children, already dressed for the Shabbat, stroll by.

The group is on its way to the Western Wall in preparation for their Israeli Sabbath. There the yeshiva boys dance and sing their way through the throngs of worshippers in front of the Wall. A space opens up in the crowded plaza and they form a hand-clapping, rhythmic dance circle. Soon they are joined by our New Jersey lawyer, the antique dealer and the stockbroker from Boston. The circle widens as more and more men, natives and visitors join the merriment in preparation for the advent of the Sabbath Queen.

The young woman college teacher from the Peace Now movement talks about her commitment to the security and survival of the Jewish state. She mentions ideological intransigence and missed opportunities, describes the group's hopes for peace and an end to internal challenges that threaten realization of the Zionist ideal. She tells the Americans that the movement represents the spectrum of the Israeli population — rightists and leftists, ideologues and pragmatists, Sephardim, Ashkenazim, students, former generals, political leaders.

Questioned sharply, she puts to rest the American transplantation of its own hawk/dove dichotomy. The Peace Now movement, she assures them, is unyielding on matters relating to Israeli security. Its members see the survival of Israel as dependent on a break in the cycle of enmity and war and want the country's leaders to consider new ways to achieve it.

Turning off to the winding road to Kibbutz Ayelet Hashakar, they are struck by the sweet fragrance from the profusion of flowering plants on the neatly clipped grounds. At supper that evening, they find themselves singing "Happy Birthday" to the Dutch tourist with his large family at a nearby table. Further conversation reveals that some years earlier the parents had received a state medal given to righteous gentiles in appreciation of their efforts to save Jews from the Nazi onslaught. Now they are here with their children, their spouses and some of their grandchildren for a two-week tour of the land that, in a way, they had helped to forge. The Americans talk with them far into the night.

Later they met with Gad Opaz, born on the kibbutz and a leader of the kibbutz movement. He talks about the development of kibbutzim, their role in Israeli society and their future prospects. "Is the kibbutz an anachronism in a developed economy?" someone asks. "Does the increasing use of Arab labor mean that the movement is deserting its original purpose?" "What about new, private arrangements for child rearing?" Gad obviously believes there is a sound kibbutz movement in Israel's future — but he says that changes in many kibbutzim are to be expected as the country and its needs change, and as the new generations of kibbutzniks shape their environment to new conditions.

The Israeli kibbutzim, with a population of more than 100,000, are microcosms of the larger society. These older generations pass on their legacy to succeeding ones, who draw upon past and present experience to

cope with a new age.

The camels hurry across the arid landscape, chased by several Bedouin women and children. The Americans watch a Bedouin man repair the pick-up truck in front of his ramshackle tin-and-wood home. A television antenna juts out from the roof. An Arab woman veils her face and turns away from the photographers. A young Arab policeman, dressed in the brown garb of Israeli civil authority, poses proudly for the snapping shutters while he guards the Tomb of Patriarchs, a site holy to both Jews and Moslems.

Despite improved living and working opportunities for Arabs, problems of integration continue as Israel strives to remain both democratic and Jewish. The AJC travelers see for themselves the dilemmas facing officials who try to cope with the problems of new immigrants from the Soviet Union, Arab countries and the Persian Gulf. They meet and talk with former North Americans, Latin Americans and South Africans — all now citizens of Israel.

They learn that though Yitzhak Navon, a Sephardi, is now President of the country and more Jews of Sephardic origin are represented in the government, the Sephardim (now a majority of the country's Jews) consider themselves under-represented in the halls of power and influence. Many have formerly lived in Moslem lands and it is widely assumed that they can play a pivotal role in bringing about peaceful coexistence with the Arabs.

The Americans are weary, but elated, for they have had a glimpse of the innards of the state. They've been exposed to an unvarnished Israel, their preconceptions bent and molded to Israeli realities.

The growing intimacy within the group has helped reinforce their understanding. "Remarkably, my views have changed," one man says. "The people in the group were as much a part of my experience as Israel itself," states another. "We learned from and with each other."

What's Doing at The Committee continued from front page

anti-Semitism in Danbury, Connecticut, by the Association of Religious Communities, with full Jewish membership and participation; and interreligious cooperation on school desegregation and on charter change in Philadelphia.

AJC hosted a meeting of nine national Jewish organizations with representatives of WNET/Channel 13, which is producing a 10-part series of TV programs, *Civilization and the Jews*, to be aired in 1983 over the Public Broadcasting Service network, with Abba Eban as the moderator. The meeting discussed how to encourage viewing of the series and its later use for continuing education.

Warning that the execution of Albert Danielpour, leader of the Iranian Jewish community, threatened other Jews in Iran, AJC Vice President Bertram H. Gold called attention to "repeated pledges by Ayatollah Khomeini and his associates that the rights of religious minorities are assured by those currently in control in Iran and by the Constitution of the Islamic Republic."

AJC's Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity released the findings of a psychological study examining the unconscious impact of ethnic identity. The findings by Judith Weinstein Klein, published in November in a paperback titled, *Jewish Identity and Self Esteem: Healing Wounds Through Ethnotherapy*, were announced at a press luncheon at AJC headquarters. Joining Dr. Klein to discuss the implications of her study were Dr. Alvin Poussaint, noted black psychiatrist; Joseph Giordano, Director of AJC's Louis Caplan Center on Group Identity and Mental Health, and Rabbi Irving Greenberg, Director of the National Jewish Resource Center.

A pilot exchange program for future leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany and the American Jewish community took place last summer, when a group of young American Jews spent two weeks in West Germany. The program, co-sponsored by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation of the AJC, will continue in April 1981, when the first group of young Germans is to visit the U.S.

An AJC-prepared kit of materials related to women in the Middle East helped provide background information for delegates and reporters who attended the United Nations Conference on Women in Copenhagen.

An AJC survey of major newspapers and magazines published in West Germany revealed that most of the West German press confirmed the Committee's charge that the Oberammergau Passion Play remains basically anti-Semitic despite cosmetic changes in the text. An AJC pamphlet analyzing the 1980 script has been widely distributed to travel agencies, academics who visited Oberammergau during the summer, and the general public.

A survey by AJC's Trends Analysis division of heavy voting for Ku Klux Klan and American Nazi Party leaders in primary races indicated that though there was some cause for concern, the problem ought not to be unduly magnified. The victory of Tom Metzger in the Democratic primary in California, the survey suggests, showed that a candidate who addresses himself to deeply felt voter emotions can attract votes despite extremist identification, while the large vote of Harold Covington in North Carolina was, for the most part, a vote against the establishment.

AND IN AJC'S CHAPTERS...

The Metropolitan New Jersey chapter and the Mobile, Alabama unit sponsored the exhibition of "Spiritual Resistance — Art From the Concentration Camps," a selection of 77 drawings and paintings on loan from the Holocaust Museum at Kibbutz Lochamei Haghetaot in Israel. The exhibit was made possible by a grant from AJC'ers Elaine and Melvin L. Merians.

Baltimore chapter members learned that "Energy is Everybody's Business" during a panel discussion featuring guest speakers from Exxon Corporation, Baltimore Gas and Electric Company and the Baltimore City Energy Office. Responding to questions from Rex Rehfeld, chairman of the chapter's Energy Committee, the speakers described methods of conserving energy.

"The Status of Women in Jewish Organizations of Greater Pittsburgh" is the subject of a study just released by the Pittsburgh chapter and the National Council of Jewish Women. Results of the 27-organization survey indicate that men still dominate organizational boards, executive committees, key offices and primary professional positions. As one male executive explained, "When the women make the money and give it, they'll get the power to decide how to spend it."

The Memphis chapter sponsored the 1980 Tennessee Human Rights Conference on "The Problems of Employment and Housing and their Impact on Families in the 1980's" in cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Tennessee Association of Human Rights Workers and several other religious and communal organizations.

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 1, 1980
to Eugene DuBow, David Harris, Robert Jacobs, Kenneth Makovsky
Marc H. Tanenbaum, Elise Waterman
from Inge Lederer Gibel
subject AJC 75th Anniversary IAC Subcommittee

This will be an attempt to summarize our meeting on September 22nd.


It was agreed that the evening we had planned with two or three Christian leaders of international stature would be for the large Friday evening service at Washington Hebrew Congregation, which will be open to all AJC members and not just a commission affair. It will be on Friday night, May 15th. Marc has already explored with Cardinal Willebrands and Dr. Krister Stendahl the possibility of their being with us on this occasion and may also extend an invitation to Archbishop Iakovos and Billy Graham.

We spent some time discussing the dilemma of two commission sessions for this meeting, the first on Wednesday evening and the second on Thursday morning. There was general agreement that the Wednesday evening session should have people of the stature of Dr. Hesburgh and Dr. Martin Marty and that if Graham cannot come on Friday night, perhaps he might be included in this spot. These leaders would be asked to discuss the past 75 years of Christian-Jewish relations in America as well as projecting what those relations will be in the future.

For Thursday morning we want to continue exploring the idea of a "Meet the Religious Press Roundtable," possibly chaired by someone like Bill Moyers or even James Reston. There was some question, not decided, as to whether we should ask them to focus simply on Christian-Jewish relations, based to some extent on the discussion the night before or whether we should ask for a particular focus on the Moral Majority and other phenomena of the right wing religious and political revival.

We did not set a date for our next meeting but Bob Jacobs may ask me to call you together again at some time in the near future to continue this planning.

In the meantime, I am enclosing, for any of you who may not have seen it, an interesting column from The New York Times by Anthony Lewis on the Moyers' show on the Fundamental Christian Movement. Elise Waterman shared this with me since she felt it was most relevant to our discussion on the 22nd. Elise also expressed a concern which I share that we may not have paid enough attention to the need during at least one of the two commission sessions for building in time for our commission members to actively participate, at least in terms of questions and answers.


ILG/es
Enclosure

September 25, 1980

ABROAD AT HOME

Political
Religion

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON, Sept. 24 — The scariest piece of television I have seen in a long time is not fiction. It is a report by Bill Moyers, to be shown on public stations starting this Friday, on the activities of fundamentalist Christian ministers in the 1980 election campaign.

"I'm sick and tired," the Rev. James Robison shouts, "hearing about all the radicals and the perverts and the liberals and the leftists and the Communists coming out of the closet. It's time for God's people to come out of the closet, out of the churches and change America."

Demagogic teachers are nothing new in American history. What is new is the size of the audience commanded by these ministers and their directly political message. Robison, Jerry Falwell of Moral Majority and other television evangelists are seen in 30 million American homes every week. And right now they are telling the viewers that a Christian vote is a conservative vote.

More than 15,000 fundamentalists, most of them ministers, were in Dallas last Aug. 22 for a conference on how to mobilize their congregations for political action. Moyers filmed the speakers and interviewed the participants. His one-hour program makes clear the enormous potential influence of the group.

Ronald Reagan was on the platform as Robison spoke, listening with what appeared to be contentment. Then he spoke himself, urging the ministers to be politically active and ending with a tribute to the Bible that drew warm applause.

"It is an incontrovertible fact," Reagan said, "that all the complex and horrendous questions confronting us at home and worldwide have their answer in that single book."

A tax-exempt foundation organized the Dallas meeting, so there was no formal endorsement of Reagan. But Moyers found nine of 10 in the audience for him, and leading ministers praised and physically embraced him after his speech. Reagan himself said: "You may not endorse me, but I endorse you."

Ministers had a duty to tell people how to vote, the meeting was told. Robison used a favorite word of Ayatollah Khomeini's, satanic, to justify political ministries.

"Our preachers are to warn the peo-

ple..." Robison said. "Listen if I, we're being attacked by satanic forces."

Ministers, like other Americans, have a right to speak out under the First Amendment. Some liberals, including me, may have been too glib in finding the separation of church and state threatened by the current political preachments. The question is less one of constitutional law, I think, than of political safety in a pluralistic society.

What is troubling about the Robisons and the Falwells is that they make up checklists of politico-religious purity and urge that every candidate be judged by those tests. It is as if all the complexities of the world could be reduced to a handful of black and white judgments, made by these ministers with the imprimatur of divine guidance.

And the checklists are not confined to what could be called, even broadly, moral issues — abortion, for example, or prayer in the schools. Many of the litmus tests are straight right-wing political issues: Government spending, the abrogation of the Taiwan security treaty, the devaluation of the dollar.

The Moyers program shows one booth at the Dallas meeting offering a Voter's Guide to the records of senators and representatives on what are termed "family" issues. These include, in addition to opposing abortion, supporting a balanced Federal budget and opposing the new Department of Education. By such standards Senators Abraham Ribicoff, Birch Bayh and Adlai Stevenson were rated "zero family."

When ministers preach to 30 million parishioners that only one brand of politics has God's approval, there is a terrible danger of intolerance. That danger needs no more demonstration than a statement at the Dallas meeting by the president of the Southern Baptist Convention, Bailey Smith, which the Moyers program includes.

"God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew," Smith said, "for how in the world can God hear the prayer of a man who says Jesus Christ is not the true Messiah? It's blasphemous."

Moyers is the more effective, and touching, because he was himself trained and ordained as a Baptist minister. "Our democracy," he concludes, cannot "agree to a 'moral majority' that makes sectarian doctrine the test of political opinion. You may have that only where all are alike in thought and root and intent, which America is not."

The Constitution speaks to the point — not in the literal or legal sense but in what the words of the document suggest about the fears of its Framers. Not any amendment but the original text says, in Article VI: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

ABRAHAM I. HARKAVY
134 EVERGREEN PLACE
EAST ORANGE, N. J. 07018

October 6th, 1980

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York City, New York 10022

Dear Dr. Tanenbaum:

Mrs. Harkavy and I have been members of Temple Oheb Shalom for many years; Mrs. Harkavy is a graduate of the Hebrew School [an early 1920 class]; our late son graduated from the Temple Hebrew School and was bar mitzvahed there by the late Rabbi Levitsky.

Mrs. Harkavy and I feel impelled to write and tell you that we were greatly enriched by your sermons during these past High Holy Days when you officiated at Oheb Shalom.

Your sermons were stimulating and left us with a sense of pride and responsibility which only sermons like yours could bring forth.

May you continue to have good health and the strength to carry on your noble work.

Sincerely,


ABRAHAM I. HARKAVY

AIH:AGH

THE NEW RIGHT

A Background Memorandum

No political phenomenon of the past two decades, with the possible exception of the "Wallace movement," has attracted as much media attention as that now being bestowed on the so-called New Right. Several books, scores of magazine articles, and countless feature stories in newspapers all over America have examined, attempted to define and assess the significance of this political force as the 1980 presidential campaign unfolds.

Defining the New Right or its parameters frequently depends on who does the defining. As yet there is no consensus as to its ultimate objective despite frequent declarations by New Right influentials that what they seek is "power" sometime within the next decade and that their ultimate aim is to capture the Presidency of the United States in the 1980s.

At the outset, it should be stated that the New Right has little relationship, if any, with the so-called Old Right, just as the Old Right had little in common with "Conservatives." The Old Right, which in the late 1950s and early 1960s was frequently referred to as the Radical Right or the Right Wing Extremists, for all practical purposes has faded into obscurity. The hallmarks of such groups, intimidation and incitement to violence, as personified by the John Birch Society, the various "Christian Crusades," the Church League of America "Forums" and Citizens Councils are today among the stock in trade elements of the various Klan and Nazi groups. At the extreme right of the political spectrum, they are today's exemplars of the "lunatic fringe."

To be sure, the Birch Society still exists though tired and ineffective. It persists in describing itself, with a degree of accuracy, as an "educational" force as distinguished from "political" force. It is also quite probable that individual members of the John Birch Society embrace some of those causes promoted by the New Right and some former members are involved in New Right groups. It is equally true that the Society itself has assumed positions identical to those of the New Right. The major difference between the John Birch Society and the New Right stems from the Old Right's obsession with the existence of a vast monolithic communist conspiracy seeking to take over America bit by bit. The New Right, more pragmatic and realistic and far more astute in working within the system, sees the "elitist Eastern Liberal Establishment" as "the enemy."

Conservatives, somewhere to the right of the center of the political spectrum, are distinguishable from the New Right, as New York Times White House correspondent Steven Weisman has noted, in that they continue "to defend preserving the existing status and privileges as a product of free enterprise, merit, and equal opportunity." Moreover, today's conservatives might be described as "talkers and writers" whereas the New Right personalities and groups are "doers."

As a movement, the New Right has managed to achieve an unusual blend of zealotry and pragmatism. It will join with some groups with whom it has little in common to achieve an objective. A distinguishing characteristic is its negativism. It is "against" far more than it endorses. It is a coalition of anti-establishment rebels and political mavericks seeking to slay the dragon of Eastern elitism by mobilizing the middle class through social protest. It disdains party labels, insisting that they are no longer relevant. It is dedicated to limited government, free enterprise, and a strong national defense and, according to Alan Crawford, author of Thunder on the Right, it has crafted a populism for the 1980s by "organizing the discontented, mobilizing the disinherited, dislocated and disgruntled against the upper classes."

The basic strategies of the New Right evolved from the premise that the existing Republican - Democratic party system is not effective; that the federal government is too remote from the people and is unresponsive to prevailing public opinion; and that a new conservative coalition joining Democrats, Republicans, and Independents alike is needed to displace the existing governmental elite and restore fiscal responsibility, military preparedness and a more family-church-neighborhood oriented culture. To achieve its political objectives it has made common cause with the plethora of "single issue" groups -- tax reform, anti-abortion, anti-gun control and the like.

Simply put, New Right strategy is aimed at capitalizing on people's discontent. To do so effectively they have adopted a tough minded pragmatism -- if an issue or a campaign does not work, dump it and go on to something else that does. Loyalty to issues takes precedence over loyalty to political parties -- they are willing to work with anyone in any party although most of the New Right influentials are nominal Republicans.

While the New Right is far more politically sophisticated than was the Old Right and its tactics and strategies bear little resemblance, on occasion they do employ extremist tactics to achieve a political objective. Some New Rightists are not above such tactics as distorting an opponent's point of view, or engaging in what some have charged as character assassination. Campaign material is frequently designed to frighten recipients or unjustifiably besmirch liberal Congressmen by utilizing shibboleths of another era such as labeling foes "left wing extremists."

Closely allied with the secular New Right, by virtue of a commonality of political interest, is the so-called "Christian New Right." A dozen or more Protestant ministers who, through the medium of television evangelism are national religious figures, have recently become political activists.

In keeping with the amorphous character of the New Right, its interlocking leadership, and its tactical approach of joining with like minded groups to achieve common objectives, it was inevitable that entities of the secular and religious right would establish a working relationship.

The bonding element for the political New Rightists and the politically conservative evangelicals is a deep involvement of both with the so-called "family issues." Both groups bitterly oppose any legislation facilitating permissive abortion, supportive of ERA and liberalization of legislation relating to homosexuality. Both groups are ardently in favor of mandatory prayer in the public schools and a strong national defense.

At the moment, the major effort of the political evangelicals is on grassroots organization, targeted to influencing the outcome of local and Congressional elections. Said Paul Weyrich, one of the leaders of the New Right Movement, "If you want to change America you have to change the Congress." Other activity consists of compiling analyses of the voting records of all members of Congress as the basis for the publication of a "Morality Index" which rates the officeholders' performances against "Bible standards." They have formed committees to raise and distribute funds to favored candidates and to finance negative campaigns against others.

Excepting the drive to reinstitute prayer in the public schools, there are no current New Right issues which might fairly be called "Jewish issues." To be sure, most Jews are opposed to censorship of school textbooks, favored by the New Right, and tend to support liberal abortion laws, open immigration, enactment of the ERA, gun control and other legislation opposed by the New Right. These concerns, however, stem from politically ideological grounds rather than religious concerns.

No known anti-Semites are identified with the New Right, and the principal groups have made no public overtures to the several Klan and Nazi groups who endorse New Right positions on various issues. While the history of American populism is replete with attempts by populist leaders to scapegoat Jews, this latter day populist movement has no discernible anti-Semitic component. Its hate objects are the "Eastern Elitist Establishment," and the Rockefellers.

While their zeal and sense of mission has led New Right groups to adopt extremist tactics in political campaigns, the movement itself is not anti-democratic. In fact, they are ardent advocates of what some feel is direct democracy -- voter initiative and referendum. There is, as yet, no recognized leader with the capacity to rally the masses blindly for whatever purpose he sees fit. There is nothing in the totality of their activity which would suggest that the New Right movement is neo-Fascist.

While some New Rightists have spoken out in opposition to PLO terrorism, the secular New Right generally has ignored Middle East issues. Nothing on their agenda directly concerns Israel. There is no New Right secularist position on economic and military aid to Israel or any Middle Eastern country. They have been silent on the status of Jerusalem, West Bank settlements, or other Camp David accords. Some observers find it strange that given New Right opposition to Soviet Union expansionism they have not urged support for Israel as a bulwark against Soviet influence in the Middle East. At the present time, domestic concerns rather than foreign affairs dominate the New Right agenda.

In contrast, the religious New Right, indifferent to or unfamiliar with Jewish concerns or sensibilities, is pro-Israel. Fundamentalist theology holds that there will be an ingathering of Jews to biblical Palestine and that the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth is a condition precedent to the second coming of Jesus. The state of Israel has received support on the air, from the pulpit and in the newspapers from fundamentalist ministers. Many have visited Israel and met with Prime Minister Begin and other Israeli leaders. As a group with an estimated 50 million followers, the religious New Right potentially is a strong American ally of the Jewish State.

Despite strong support for Israel, the religious New Right is a source of unease since it seeks out born-again Christians or Christ-centered politicians to support and run for public office. Given their way, the religious New Right would, with missionary zeal, have Americans governed according to their interpretation of Christian morality. More importantly perhaps, they would do violence to the American tradition of religious pluralism.

In addition to what is seen as an attempt to Christianize America, Jews are wary, recognizing that a strong anti-Jewish strain has permeated the fundamentalist clergy over the years. Out of their ranks came such notorious anti-Semites as the Rev. Gerald K. Smith and the Rev. Gerald Winrod, the "jayhawk" Nazi.

Jewish unease was hardly assuaged by an August 22, 1980 statement released at the National Affairs Briefing by Dr. Bailey Smith, President of the Southern Baptist Convention. The statement read: "It is interesting at great political rallies how you have a Protestant to pray and a Catholic to pray, and then you have a Jew to pray. With all due respect to these dear people, my friend God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew. For how in the world can God hear the prayer of a Jew, for how in the world can God hear the prayer of a man who says that Jesus Christ is not the true Messiah. It is blasphemy. It may be politically expedient, but no one can pray unless he prays through the name of Jesus Christ. It is not Jesus among many, it is Jesus and Jesus only, it is Christ only, there is no competition for Jesus Christ."

The New Right is well financed, highly organized, and skilled in organizational tactics. Its leadership is of high caliber, aggressive, and willing to work with each other to achieve common objectives. They have effectively utilized modern campaign techniques. They are contemptuous of establishment Republican leaders whom they charge backed off from leading the opposition to Carter on such major issues as the Panama Canal, ERA, the D.C. amendment. The New Right is attempting to co-opt those blue collar and ethnic groups the Old Right used to shun. They are, according to National Review's William Rusher, "the first conservative group that has gotten down to the electoral and legislative nitty gritty."

It is also readily apparent that the Right's objective is political power from the Presidency downward. How they would use that power and to what ends is not yet clearly discernible.

Prepared by
Milton Ellerin and Alisa Kesten
Trends Analyses Division

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A, COL, CP, PP, EJP, REL, FOR, NPE, OP

Some New Right Organizations and Leaders

American Conservative Union -- David Keene, Director
American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) -- Kathy Teague, Executive Director
American Life Lobby -- Judie Brown, President
Christian Action Council -- Rev. Harold O.J. Brown, Chairman
Christian Coalition for Legislative Action -- Jim Wright, Chairman
Christian Voice -- Richard Zone, Executive Director
Christian Voice - Moral Government Fund -- Gary Jarmin, Washington Director
Citizens for Constructive Education -- June Larson
Citizens for Educational Freedom -- Robert Baldwin, Executive Director
Citizens for the Right to Bear and Keep Arms -- Alan Gottlieb, Executive Director
Coalition for the First Amendment
Committee for a Positive Change
Committee for Responsible Youth Politics -- Morton Blackwell, Chairman
Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC) -- Paul Weyrich, Director
The Conservative Caucus (TCC) -- Howard Phillips, National Director
Conservative Victory Fund -- Gregg Hilton, Executive Director
Freedom of Choice, Inc., The Committee for the New Majority
Fund for the Conservative Majority -- Robert Heckman, Chairman
Heritage Foundation -- Edwin Feulner, President
Kingston Group
Leadership Foundation -- Martha Rountree
Life Advocates -- Margaret Hotze
Life Amendment Political Action -- Paul Brown, Executive Director
Moral Majority -- Rev. Robert Billings, Executive Director; Rev. Jerry Falwell, Director
National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) -- Terry Dolan, Chairman
National Christian Action Coalition -- Rev. Robert Billings, Executive Director
National Organization to Involve Concerned Electorate (NOTICE) -- Wayne Allen, Chairman
National Pro-Life Political Action Committee -- Father Charles Fiore, National Chairman
National Right to Work -- Reed Larson, President; Henry (Huck) Walther, Director
National Tax Limitation -- Lewis Uhler, Chairman
Pro-Family Forum -- Lottie Beth Hobbs, National President
Pro-Family Coalition -- Connaught Marshner
Public Service Research Council -- David Denholm, Executive Director
Religious Roundtable -- Ed McAteer, Founder
Republican Study Committee -- Paul Weyrich, Founder
Second Amendment Foundation -- Alan Gottlieb
Stop ERA -- Phyllis Schlafly
Washington Legal Foundation -- Daniel Popeo, National Executive Director
Young Americans For Freedom

The New Right Political Agenda

ANTI

PRO

Family Issues

Abortion
Equal Rights Amendment
Federal interference in public education
Homosexuality and gay rights
Pornography
School busing

Censorship of school textbooks
Classroom prayer
Laxalt Family Protection Act

Domestic Issues

Affirmative Action
Big government
Davis-Bacon Act
D.C. statehood
Full employment legislation
Government support of corporations in trouble
Gun control
Indian tribal claims to land and water rights
Instant voter registration
Labor unions
Minimum wage
National health insurance
Open immigration
OSHA
Sitius picketing
Social Security

Death penalty
Deregulation of airlines, trucking, etc.
Tax cut
Western land development

International Issues

Detente
Panama Canal Treaty
Recognition of Red China
SALT II
Trade with Communist bloc



STATEMENT BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM,
NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS DIRECTOR
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ON "NEW RIGHT EVANGELICALS"

The current emergence of "the New Right Evangelicals" or "the New Christian Right" has elicited widespread interest and concern among millions of American citizens, among them, a great many Jews.

No responsible and fair-minded American questions the right of fellow Americans of Evangelical Christian or any other religious or moral persuasion to participate fully as citizens in the political process nor to advocate the adoption of public policy positions which reflect their ideological bent. Indeed, maximum participation by our fellow Americans in the democratic process can only be encouraged and welcomed.

During the past fifteen months, however, there have been a number of actions and statements by major spokesmen of this newly-forged alliance of several Evangelical Christian leaders and ultra-conservative political organizers which have become deeply troubling to many of us, and which require, we believe, careful analytical scrutiny by both Presidential candidates, both political parties, and by the American people. These concerns center around the following major issues:

- 1) A number of major spokesmen of "the New Christian Right" assert that their primary purpose in this election, and through related political activity on the local levels, is "to Christianize America," and to establish "a Christian republic."

That is a myth and it is an ideologically dangerous myth for American democracy which must not go uncontested. The only period in American history during which anything resembling a so-called "Christian Republic" existed was the establishment of the Massachusetts Bay Colony after 1629. That colony was a Puritan theocracy which yoked together ecclesiastical and civil government. As every major church historian acknowledges, the Puritan oligarchy sought religious toleration for themselves but did not believe in religious toleration for others, and that "Christian republic" collapsed after about 50 years when dissenters such as Roger Williams fled persecution in order to find freedom of conscience in Providence, Rhode Island.

What is historically true is that Baptist farmer-preachers, Methodist circuit-riders, and dissenting Presbyterians became the foremost champions of freedom of conscience, religious liberty, and the principle of the separation of church and state. They suffered persecution, imprisonment, and ruthless harassment at the hands of the Anglican Establishment in Virginia and elsewhere to uphold those fundamental democratic principles not only for themselves but for all Americans.

It is both ironic and sad that some of the spiritual heirs of those Evangelical Christians in Virginia today and elsewhere have chosen either to forget or to ignore that historic achievement of American democratic pluralism.

2) A number of "New Christian Right" spokesmen regularly speak of the "Golden Era" of "Evangelical Christian America" when our forbears were supposedly deeply religious and highly moral people, and by contrast, we today are convicted of religious and moral inadequacy.

That is also a myth, and its repetition tends to immobilize us in unnecessary guilt and self-doubt, rather than energize us to face the truth about our past and our moral responsibilities in the complex, real world today.

As every major church historian documents, "the great majority of Americans in the eighteenth century were outside any church, and there was an overwhelming indifference to religion." Dr. William Warren Sweet wrote (Revivalism in America) that "taking the colonies as a whole, the ratio of church membership was one to 12." Dr. Robert R. Handy states, "No more than ten percent of Americans in 1800 were members of churches" (A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada).

As a result of the vast labor and the rough, uncouth hardships encountered by the pioneers, frontier communities became coarse and partially wild societies, with little or no social restraints, and filled with low vices and brutal pleasures. The West was described as "the land of sinful liberty" with large sections of the frontier society debauched and whiskey-sodden. The violence and anarchy resulted in a breakdown of respect for emerging civic authority.

The Three Great Awakenings in America -- the first in the 13 colonies from 1725-1770; the second, West of the Alleghenies, 1770-1830; the third, 1865-1899, with the rise of city evangelism -- were all responses to the widespread decline of religion and the degenerated moral conditions of the times. We may well be in the midst of The Fourth Great Awakening today.

The point is that there are more people affiliated with our churches and synagogues today than any time in the past. And while we face real and serious moral issues in contemporary America and in the troubled world, it serves no useful purpose to imply that we are a generation of moral pygmies when contrasted with our forbears who were supposedly moral giants. Precisely because there are more Americans who are religiously committed today than in the past we are in a far better position to mobilize conscience and moral will to cope constructively and realistically with our many problems. That means that religious and civic leadership needs to speak to our better selves rather than evoke paralyzing images of our worst selves.

A vital lesson that should be derived from our past is that when confronted with the massive moral challenges of the frontier societies, evangelical leaders -- to their everlasting credit -- launched a wide range of moral reform movements as voluntary expressions of the churches. Organized benevolence ("The Benevolence Empire" these efforts were called) were created for the poor and downtrodden, anti-slavery groups, temperance societies, aid to youth, and the military. With the exception of the Prohibition legislation calling for total abstinence from alcoholic beverages adopted as the 18th amendment in 1920, the anti-evolution law, and the Puritan Sabbath -- all of which subsequently collapsed and resulted in general disillusionment and loss of morale -- all of the great moral reform movements were effected through internal, voluntary church resources, rather than through legislative means of dominating the government or the nation's political machinery.

3) Several "New Christian Right" spokesmen have asserted or implied that "the Founding Fathers" of our nation perceived America as "a Christian Republic." If you check their writings, you will find that such assertions contradict everything Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and others stood and fought for.

Thus, Thomas Jefferson wrote in his Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom -- which became the basis for the First Amendment -- "Almighty God hath created the mind free, and that all attempts to influence it by tempt or punishments or burns or by civil incapacitations tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion."

The exercise of religion, Jefferson added, is "a natural right" which has been infringed by "the impious presumption of legislators and rulers" to set up their "own modes of thinking as the only true and infallible," and "to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves," which is "sinful and tyrannical."

In his Notes on Virginia, Jefferson stated, "The rights of conscience we never submitted, we could not submit. We are answerable for them to our God ... Subject opinion to coercion; whom will you make your inquisitors? Fallible men; men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons. And why subject it to coercion? To produce uniformity. But is uniformity of opinion desirable? No more than of face and stature."

I would commend such writings of our Founding Fathers to the Rev. Bailey Smith and others who share his views about uniformity of conscience and religion. Rev. Smith's utterance about "God not hearing the prayer of a Jew" is not only religiously presumptuous and morally offensive; it is dangerous to the future of our democratic pluralistic society. He is saying not only that the Jewish people have been living a religious lie for 4,000 years across 30 civilizations; he is also saying that because they are religiously invalid there is no place for them at Presidential inaugurations or political conventions, and ultimately, no legitimate place for them in American democratic society. Some evangelical pastors spoke such theological obscenities about the Jews in Nazi Germany.

It is encouraging to us that literally hundreds of Baptist pastors, Christian seminary faculties and lay people have issued statements repudiating his narrow views as un-Christian and un-American.

4) The campaign by some members of the "New Christian Right" to elect "born-again Christians" only to public office is anathema to everything American democracy stands for. It violates Article 6 of the United States Constitution which forbids the exercise of "a religious test" for any citizen running for public office. The American people must repudiate that anti-democratic practice. Candidates must continue to be judged on the basis of their competence, their integrity, and their commitment to the common welfare. That is the American way.

5) The most effective critique of "single politics" campaigns and candidates is provided by the leading Evangelical journal, Christianity Today (Sept. 19, 1980):

"Moral Majority and Christian Voice appear to emphasize the first three principles of Evangelicals for Social Action more than the others (that is, the family; every human life is sacred (abortion); religious and political freedom are God-given inalienable rights). The Bible deals with all of them. In fact, probably more space in the Bible is devoted to calls for justice and the care for the poor than to the fact that human life is sacred, though none can deny that both are Biblical mandates. The concerns of the religious lobbies will appeal to a broader range of Christians to the extent that they emphasize these other equally biblical principles of justice, peace, stewardship of our resources, and care for the poor, as well as profamily and prolife issues. It is a case of "these ye ought to do but not to leave the others undone." Too narrow a front in battling for a moral crusade, or for a truly biblical involvement in politics, could be disastrous. It could lead to the election of a moron who holds the right view on abortion."

6) Many of us are concerned about the militant apocalyptic style of some "New Christian Right" spokesmen. This mentality dates back to antiquity when in every century where there was vast social disarray and disorientation, there emerged a widespread yearning among the masses, especially the poor and disinherited, for a Messianic savior joined by an Emperor of the Last Days who would relieve society of its oppression and moral decay and usher in the Millenium "in which the world would be inhabited by a humanity at once perfectly good and perfectly happy" (Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium).

This revolutionary apocalypse was dominated by eschatological phantasies of a new Paradise on earth, a world purged of suffering and sin, a Kingdom of Saints. A prodigious final struggle would take place between the hosts of Christ and the hosts of the Antichrist through which history would attain its fulfillment and justification.

Before the Millenium could dawn, however, misbelief had to be eliminated as a prelude to realizing the ideal of a wholly Christian world. In the eyes of the crusading Messianic hordes (which began to form in the Middle Ages), the smiting of the Moslems and the Jews was to be the first act in that final drama which was to culminate in the smiting of the Prince of Evil (Satan, the Devil).

Much of the present "New Right" public discussion of issues seems to be characterized by that traditional scenario of political conflict between "the children of light" and the "children of darkness." There is too much demonology in the current discussion which appears to consign political candidates to being demolished as "satanic" -- the moral hit lists with "zero ratings," "secular humanists standing at the side of satan." Reasoned, civil debate in an open democracy requires another, higher order of discourse.

One has a sense that some "New Right" advocates perceive America as if it were a vast camp revival meeting whose characteristic method was to plunge into anguish the sinner over the state of his soul, then bring about a confession of faith by oversimplifying the decision as a choice between a clear good and an obvious evil. The Civil War was rendered all the more intransigent and destructive

Marc H. Tanenbaum
"New Evangelical Right"

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by each side claiming that God was on their side, and by portraying the other side as "infidel" and "atheist." A mature America deserves a far more balanced and thoughtful method to analyze its problems and to formulate its responses; anything less than that is an insult to the intelligence of the American people.



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Protestants, Catholics, Jews Attack Christian Far Right

By Marjorie Hver
Washington Post Staff Writer

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A group of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious leaders yesterday criticized efforts of the Christian far right to mobilize a Christian vote in the political campaign.

"Religious and political extremism produce a no-win situation" for everyone, said the Rev. Dr. Jimmy R. Allen, past president of the Southern Baptist Convention and currently head of that denomination's massive radio and television operation.

"Churches lose because the anticlerical anger roused by such activities increases harassment by various political leaders at every level of political life," he said. "The religious message loses because its voice is lost in the din of political disagreement."

If the extremists win at the polls, Allen said, "government loses because the deals made with religious leaders put people in power representing a narrow sectarian point of view on matters vital to all the public."

Southern Baptist sources have said that a group of evangelicals met with Republican presidential nominee Ronald Reagan during his visit to a Dallas religious-political convention in August and received a promise from him to appoint right-wing evangelicals to office, in return for their political support. A Reagan spokesman confirmed that the evangelical leaders had met with the candidate and that the question was discussed, but the spokesman said no commitments were made.

While upholding the right of right-wing evangelicals such as the Rev. Dr. Jerry Falwell to express their viewpoint, the churchmen yesterday cited the dangers of efforts to "Christianize" government and politics. The Rev. Dr. Charles V. Bergstrom, director of the Lutheran

Council's Office for Governmental Affairs, said, "It is arrogant to assert that one's position on a political issue is 'Christian' and that all others are 'un-Christian,' 'immoral' or 'sinful.' There is no 'Christian' position; there are Christians who hold positions."

Bergstrom said it is "unnecessary and unbiblical for any church group or individual to seek to 'Christianize' the government or to label political views of members of Congress as 'Christian' or 'religious.'"

Msgr. George Higgins, a consultant to the United States Catholic Conference, called the campaign of the Christian right to create a "Christian republic" in this country "ominous and, particularly for Jews, cause for profound anxiety."

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, interreligious affairs director for the American Jewish Committee, said the emergence of the new Christian right is of concern to "a great many American Jews" as well as Americans generally. Tanenbaum said "there is too much demonology" in political discussions and assailed what he called the far right's oversimplification of complex political issues.

Several participants in yesterday's press conference, which was organized by Allen, said mainline religious leaders have been reluctant to go public with criticism of the evangelical right for ecumenical reasons.

Higgins, who like the others emphasized that he was speaking only for himself, added: "It's a delicate ecumenical affair. . . I don't want to get into a theological dispute."

On the other hand, Tanenbaum said that Falwell, the Lynchburg, Va., TV evangelist, "has begun to change as issues are raised. There seems to be a learning process going on."

Evangelicals Of 'New Right' Denounced

ASC Interfaith
An ecumenical group of religious leaders yesterday denounced the political activity of the "New Right evangelicals," saying it is a threat to both church and state.

Jimmy R. Allen, past president of the Southern Baptist Convention and now president of its radio and television commission, said there is a "clear and present danger to the health and well-being of both the church and the state involved in religious and political extremism."

Allen was joined at a news conference by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee; Monsignor George G. Higgins of the Catholic University of America, and Charles V. Bergstrom, executive director of the office for governmental affairs of the Lutheran Council in the USA.

"One doesn't have to be doctrinaire in his interpretation of the principle of religious freedom and the separation of church and state to be put off, indeed to be frightened, by this kind of political extremism," Higgins said.

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From the desk of
RABBI ELIJAH E. PALNICK

October 10, 1980

Dear Marc:

I'm just sending this on to you
to let you know what's going on here.



Jacob Stein

20 Jerusalem Ave., Hicksville, New York 11801 • 516/938-6012

September 3, 1980

Dear Rabbi:

For more than thirty years, I have been concerned with and involved in strengthening and improving the quality of Jewish life.

My commitment has been sharpened and honed through my experience as a President of United Synagogue and as a Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

I believe that the choice of a President this November is one of the most critical decisions we can make. The incoming administration will determine by its policies whether the United States will regain its position as a leader of the free world and these policies will also determine the shape of future relations - economic, military and political - between our Country and Israel.

Our Country today is weak. Our domestic weakness is reflected in a record rate of inflation, high and still rising unemployment, interest rates that stifle the economy and taxes that destroy the incentive to work and produce.

These factors, if allowed to continue, will manifest themselves in social instability and increasing lawlessness. For the Jew, a stable, tranquil society is the most desired environment.

Our international weakness is reflected in the loss of respect for our Country, by a failure of will to protect our interests and by our misguided votes in the United Nations. These weaknesses imperil the very security of Israel.

Jacob Stein

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Against this background, I reflected on the candidates.

I view with dismay the Administration of President Carter and his failure to carry out his pre-election promises.

I am concerned about the state of our domestic economy and about the inconsistencies of our foreign policy.

I am concerned about the close relationship of members of President Carter's family with Israel's most radical adversaries.

I am concerned that no steps have been taken to limit the growing Arab economic infiltration into sensitive United States business and banking institutions.

I do not regard our Country today as healthy - domestically, and internationally - as it was four years ago, and I do not wish to reward demonstrated incompetence with my vote.

John Anderson is the Independent candidate. I cannot understand how any American Jew can support Anderson's candidacy when in 1961, he proposed to amend the United States Constitution to provide for the recognition of, "The authority and law of Jesus Christ, Savior and Ruler of nations, through whom we are bestowed the blessings of Almighty God." The separation of Church and State must be guarded carefully by the Jewish Community.

Anderson says his proposals were mistakes but this proposal was re-introduced under his name in Congress in 1963 and introduced again in 1965. In my view, this three time action by a mature, politically sensitive Congressman, rules out Jewish support for his candidacy.

Jacob Stein

-3-

I believe our best choice is the candidacy of Governor Reagan.

I am now one of the members of the seven member National Executive Committee of the Coalition to Elect Reagan-Bush.

At a personal meeting with Governor Reagan, I discussed with him those special concerns which I think are in the mind of every American Jew - the security of Israel in terms of military, economic and political support - support of Soviet Jews desiring to emigrate - Israeli sovereignty over a United Jerusalem and measures to deal with growing Arab economic involvement in our economy.

Governor Reagan personally gave me positive commitments on these issues and I am satisfied that he supports the basic thrust of our positions.

I indicated to Governor Reagan that on issues of inflation, taxes and jobs, we share the concern of all Americans. On the issues of abortion and E-R-A, differences of opinion exist in the Jewish Community reflecting the differences in American society.

I indicated to Governor Reagan that there was unanimity in the Jewish Community for a policy of strong American support for a secure Israel and I was gratified by his commitment to this fundamental premise.

I hope that you will actively support the effort to elect Governor Reagan as president. Whatever your personal political preference, I urge you to participate in the process of fully informing your Congregation about the candidates and about the issues, so that an informed, responsible vote may be cast in the forthcoming election.

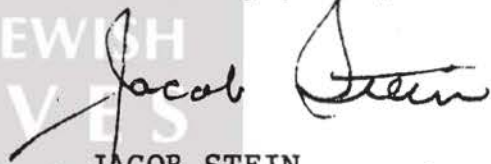
Jacob Stein

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I would appreciate hearing from you as to your reactions to my comments and as to any input you would like to have in the Reagan-Bush Campaign.

Every good wish to you and yours for a Healthy, Happy New Year.

Cordially yours,



JACOB STEIN

JS:d1



NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Oct. 10...The Reverend Jerry Falwell, President of the Moral Majority, assured the American Jewish Committee today that he opposes the view that "God does not hear the prayer of a Jew", and that he is committed to religious pluralism.

Rev. Falwell issued a written statement of his views after paying a visit to Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, 2 days ago (Wednesday, Oct. 8) at the AJC's national headquarters. Rev. Falwell was accompanied by Gerald Strober, a former AJC staff member specializing in Evangelical-Jewish relations.

After an hour-long discussion of the Bailey Smith controversy, and related issues dealing with the emergence of "New Right Evangelicals," Rev. Falwell prepared a statement which he invited the American Jewish Committee to make public.

"It grieves me," Rev. Falwell declared, "that I have been quoted as saying that God does not hear the prayer of a Jew. My position is that God is a respecter of all persons. He loves everyone alike. He hears the cry of any sincere person who calls on him.

"A very healthy relationship has been developing between Bible-believing Christians in America and the Jewish community, during the past two decades. I have worked long and hard to enhance this relationship. I shall continue to do so. This relationship transcends any political campaign.

"This is a time for Catholics, Protestants, Jews and Mormons and all Americans to rise above efforts to polarize or isolate us in our efforts to

more...

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Gerard Weinstock, Chairman, Board of Trustees.

Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

Washington Office, 818 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, 95149, Isr
South America hq.: (temporary office) 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. E. Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

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return this nation to a commitment to the moral principles on which America was built. America is a pluralistic republic. We cannot survive if we allow it to become anything less. We may have differing theological positions, but we must never allow this to separate us as Americans who love and respect each other as united people."

In response, Rabbi Tanenbaum welcomed Rev. Falwell's statement as "a necessary and timely clarification of his basic attitudes toward Jews and Judaism, and of his commitment to religious pluralism as the keystone of American Democracy.

"During our frank and cordial dialogue, Rev. Falwell assured me that he is opposed to the conception of America as a 'Christian Republic,' and that he is deeply committed to the American Constitution's prohibition of a religious test as the basis for the election of political candidates. While he acknowledged that there have been some persons in the conservative evangelical community who have advocated such views, these do not represent his thinking and he will continue to oppose these positions which contradict the principles of democratic pleuralism."

Rabbi Tanenbaum said that he found "most heartening Rev. Falwell's strong support of the State of Israel and of a unified Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty open to all religions and ethnic groups."

Rabbi Tanenbaum, who has pioneered in building bridges of understanding between Evangelical Christians and Jews beginning in 1965, said he informed Rev. Falwell that last Monday he took part in an interreligious press conference in Washington, D.C., with Southern Baptist, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran leaders for the purpose of repudiating efforts of religious and political extremists to "Christianize" government and politics in our country.

That press conference consciously avoided taking sides either for or against any candidate, political party, political party platforms, or partisan political issues.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said that his meeting with Dr. Falwell was held in that spirit.

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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

October 14, 1980

Dr. Richard Lux, Chairperson
6th National Catholic/Jewish Workshop
Sacred Heart School of Theology
7335 South Lovers Lane Rd.
Hales Corners, WI 53130

Dear Rich:

Enclosed are copies of correspondence between Frs. Ronald Modras of St. Louis University and Leonard Chrobot, of St. Mary's College in Orchard Lake, Michigan. I am writing to express enthusiastic support of Ron's suggestion that the Milwaukee Workshop in October of 1981 would be a perfect site for such a national Polish-Jewish dialogue.

Since we have discussed such a possibility on several occasions, I know through you that the local committee is already open to this idea. And since the Synagogue Council of America and the ADL are officially involved in the National Workshop, it would seem a good occasion to bring together all the various strands of Polish-Jewish dialogue into one forum.

If indeed you are interested, I would suggest you get in touch with Father Chrobot to begin exploring possibilities. Since the concept would of course have to be approved by the relevant national sponsoring and cooperating agencies, I am sending this letter, along with copies of the attached correspondence from Fr. Modras, to them in the hopes that this will facilitate communication. Looking forward to your response, I remain

Yours in Shalom,


Eugene J. Fisher

EJF:lm

cc: Rev's Ronald Modras, John Pawlikowski, Leonard Chrobot,
Rabbis Daniel Polish, Leon Klenicki, Marc Tanenbaum,
Rev. Lonnie Turnipseed



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE

2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

October 16, 1980

Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
Department of Community Services
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

I received the telegram which you, Father John O'Hare, the Editor of American Magazine, and Dr. Claire Randall, the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, sent to me on October 8.

Needless to say, I am very grateful for your kind invitation to be present for the off-the-record dialogue with the Honorable Teddy Kollek, the Mayor of Jerusalem, on Wednesday, October 22, at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York.

Unfortunately, my schedule for that date is such that I cannot be present. I have other commitments of long standing, from which I cannot be excused.

I know you appreciate the many demands made on my time in this large Archdiocese, and I am very grateful for your understanding.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Devotedly yours in the Lord,

Humbert Cardinal Meserve

Archbishop of Boston

THE WEEK IN RELIGION

BY RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE
43 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

FOR RELEASE: WEEKEND of
Oct. 17, 1980

WORD COUNT: 1,350

LIBERALS RISE TO COUNTER-ATTACK CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIAN ACTIVISM

"Nobody's ever accused the National Council of Churches of mixing religion and politics," says Moral Majority Inc., leader the Rev. Jerry Falwell. "But when ol' Jerry gets into it, that's violating separation of church and state."

The recent entry of outspoken fundamentalist and evangelical Christians into political activism has provoked a liberal backlash against the Moral Majority, the "pro-life" movement and radical conservative groups who, in this presidential election year, have formed an unusual alliance informally dubbed the New Christian Right.

As the New Christian Right has waded deeper into electoral politics, it has been accused variously of forming a "conspiracy," an "unholy alliance" and of posing a "threat to democracy" by attempting to "impose its beliefs on everyone." The so-called "mainline" and liberal churches have taken time from their synods, meetings and conferences to denounce this new political force for attempting to lump issues and candidates into simplistic "Christian" and "un-Christian" categories.

At an interfaith press conference in Washington, former Southern Baptist Convention President Jimmy Allen said the Christian Right had no right to "label their political solutions as the Christian answer and reject as un-Christian those who address the problems' solution in another way."

(more)

He was joined by the Rev. Charles V. Bergstrom of the Lutheran Council in the U.S.A.; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee and Msgr. George G. Higgins, a former public affairs specialist for the U.S. Catholic Conference.

The sort of Christians who tend to watch Mr. Falwell's Old Time Gospel Hour and other evangelistic television programs traditionally has been reticent about political issues and elections. At one time politics was considered a "worldly" pursuit inappropriate for those concerned with the soul. They tended to stay home on Election Day.

Their "mainline" brethren used to criticize them for standing aloof from the rough and tumble of civil rights, the war on poverty and protests against the Vietnam War.

But at a National Affairs Briefing sponsored by the conservative Religious Roundtable in Dallas last summer, evangelist James Robison declared political apathy "a crime against the country and a sin against almighty God."

He told some 14,000 evangelicals gathered there: "It's time for God's people to come out of the closet and the churches -- and change America."

Indeed they have been "coming out" against abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, homosexual rights, sex education in public schools, pornography, SALT II, and the formation of a separate Department of Education. They are for *laissez faire* capitalism, a balanced budget, increased military spending, voluntary prayer in public schools and a strong American commitment to Israel.

Grassroots Moral Majority church coalitions typically identify the stands of opposing candidates on these key issues, then urge constituents to make an often obvious choice on the basis of fundamentalist biblical morality. In this manner, evangelical and fundamentalist churches already have influenced the results of numerous local primary elections without issuing an outright endorsement for a particular candidate.

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Recently, the National Council of Churches executive committee responded in a resolution that "there can be discerned no exclusively 'Christian vote,' nor can 'single issue' political pressures serve the interests of our total society."

And in an indirect reference to the New Christian Right's hit list of vulnerable liberal incumbents, the NCC resolution declared: "Christians may not agree on all political decisions, but they are enjoined not to hold one another in contempt, for all stand before God's tribunal."

NCC president the Rev. M. William Howard sought to distinguish between the vigorous political advocacy of his organization and the "much more vindictive and non-reconciling attitude among some Christians who say either you support this or that or you don't belong or you can't call yourself a Christian."

At a day-long conference in September, the New York chapter of Planned Parenthood attempted to rally churches and communities against the "dangerous new alliance" which opposes abortion. In doing so, Planned Parenthood promised to "take off the white gloves" for a bare-knuckled contest.

A recent advertising campaign indicated that the organization plans to make good on its promise. "If you make contraception and abortion illegal you better make sex illegal," said a full-page ad in the New York Times. The caption below a picture of a bride and groom kissing said: "The 'right to life' movement wants to deprive you of your freedom of choice by imposing its beliefs on everyone."

The strategy has been to strip the anti-abortion movement of its traditional covering of flag and family, according to Planned Parenthood President Fay Wattleton. A television spot closed with a picture of the American flag and the words: "Planned Parenthood. Helping Build a Strong America by Helping Strong Families."

(more)

At the New York conference, the Rev. Carl Flemister, executive minister of the American Baptist Churches of Metropolitan New York, attempted to break up the monopoly the New Christian Right has exercised over "pro-family" and "pro-life" rhetoric.

"Yes, we are pro-family," he said, "and our understanding of God's family includes single parents and women and men who express their God-given love through alternative lifestyles." However, it is the acceptance of such "alternative lifestyles" as unwed, co-habiting couples and homosexual relationships that has caused the original "pro-family" movement to demand that the traditional nuclear family be restored as the standard for society.

The Roman Catholic Church too, has felt the liberal backlash for its anti-abortion activism. The Abortion Rights Mobilization has sued in U.S. District Court in New York to remove tax exempt status from Catholic publications and agencies that allegedly support and condemn candidates on the basis of the abortion issue.

As one piece of possible evidence, the plaintiffs cited Boston's Cardinal Humberto Medeiros who, on the eve of the Massachusetts primaries issued a pastoral letter condemning pro-abortion politics.

Cardinal Medeiros did not name the candidates who supported abortion rights, but he nevertheless won himself a round of rebuke: from "pro-choice" religious activists and the secular press for intruding into partisan politics.

In the Diocese of San Diego, Bishop Leo T. Maher issued an election-time pastoral letter denouncing racism and the Ku Klux Klan. But he was joined by local ecumenical groups and applauded by the press because the letter obviously referred to the Democratic congressional candidate from that district who was a Klansman.

(more)

In the rising din of religious voices in politics, the evangelical magazine Christianity Today castigated Moral Majority Inc., and the Christian Voice lobbying group for emphasizing traditionally "conservative" issues to the exclusion of other equally valid Christian concerns such as racial prejudice and world hunger.

"Too narrow a front in battling for a moral crusade, or for a truly biblical involvement in politics, could be disastrous," said a recent lead editorial. "It could lead to the election of a moron who holds the right view on abortion."

Robert P. Duggan, Jr., public affairs director for the National Association of Evangelicals, recently warned his fellow believers that "there is no common political philosophy uniting evangelicals." Despite the bluster of the New Christian Right, he asserted: "Evangelicals won't determine the outcome of the election."

A Gallup poll taken among evangelicals in August seems to bear that out. Ronald Reagan's persistent courtship of the evangelical vote had netted him the support of only 31 percent of them. President Carter, who disagrees with New Christian Right positions on several issues, nevertheless was favored by 52 percent on the sample.

And surprisingly, two-thirds of the Gallup sample favored passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, while a relatively low 41 percent wanted a complete ban on abortion.

Whatever the size of their voting bloc, leaders of the New Christian Right have attempted to turn the accusations back on the accusers by reminding them of their own political legacy. When syndicated columnist Ellen Goodman deplored the Christian Voice lobby for the "moral" rating of candidates, its legislative director, Gary L. Jermiin, replied: "it is the likes of Ellen Goodman who established the 'moral' quotient' in political issues long before our arrival."

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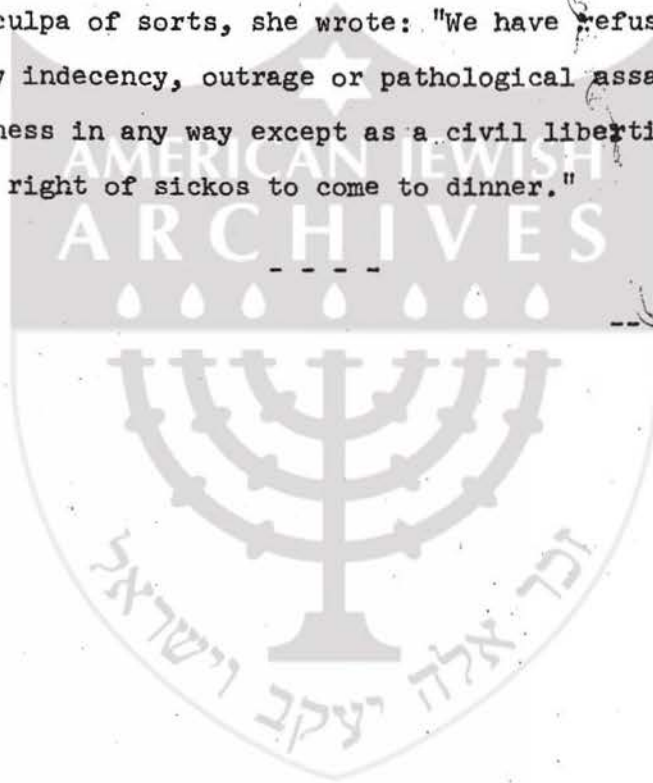
PAGE 5

"Our leftist friends decried America's involvement in the Vietnam War as 'immoral,'" he wrote, "conversely, are we to assume that support for Hanoi's aggression and genocide was the moral position?"

Columnist Meg Greenfield seemed to agree that she and others in the "mild, moderate, liberalish majority" had brought the right-wing resurgence upon themselves.

In a mea culpa of sorts, she wrote: "We have refused to view practically any indecency, outrage or pathological assault on our sense of rightness in any way except as a civil liberties problem -- protecting the right of sickos to come to dinner."

-- Jay Merwin





Office of the M.A. Director

18 October 1980

TO: Marc Tanenbaum
FROM: John T. Pawlikowski
RE: For your information





Office of the M.A. Director

17 October 1980

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Dr. Richard Lux
3265 N. Summit Ave.
Milwaukee, WI 53211

Dear Richard:

I write to you in my capacity with the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations and your capacity with the Archdiocesan Ecumenism Commission. First of all, I want to let you that that the subcommittee on Polish-Jewish Relations of the Secretariat is supporting the idea of a workshop on this question during the next national workshop on C-J relations. Since you will have something to do with planning this event, I would hope that you would seriously consider this request. Eugene Fisher will undoubtedly be raising it at the National Committee meetings.

Secondly, our Polish-Jewish subcommittee is anxious to begin additional ongoing dialogues on C-J relations between Poles and Jews in various parts of the country. Detroit and Chicago now have such groups. And one national meeting on the subject has been held thus far. We feel that Milwaukee would be an important site for one such dialogue. Hence we wonder if the archdiocesan ecumenism commission would be interested in trying to begin one in Milwaukee. We would be willing to provide you with some contact people in Chicago and Detroit (and elsewhere) who could share some ideas with you and also suggest some local names. The American Jewish Committee has been active in this area in both Chicago and Detroit and is committed to it at the national level. We feel it is an important dialogue because of past prejudices but also because of present realities such as the Presidential Commission on the Holocaust.



Office of the M.A. Director

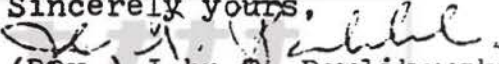
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17 October 1980

I realize that you are probably quite busy right now with planning for the workshop. But I would hope that you might give the idea of an ongoing Polish-Jewish dialogue some consideration.

Hope all goes well. Please give my best to Jack LeMay when you see him around school.

Sincerely yours,


(Rev.) John T. Pawlikowski, OSM, Ph.D
Subcommittee on Polish-Jewish Relations
Bishops' Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish
Relations

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

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

ANNUAL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL MEETING

October 23-26, 1980

Bond Court Hotel
777 St. Clair Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114
216-771-7600

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

**CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Jonathan Schenker, TV-Radio**

PRESS ROOMS: Newman & Kaye

**FOR RELEASE AFTER 12 NOON
OCTOBER 25, 1980**

CLEVELAND, October 25....An unprecedented education program to help German students overcome their ignorance or distorted information about Jews, Judaism, the Nazi holocaust, and the State of Israel was announced today by a Roman Catholic professor of Judaic studies at the University of Duisberg in the Federal Republic of West Germany.

Prof. Michael Brocke, a Hebrew-speaking Roman Catholic scholar, disclosed the details of a systematic program for publishing religious and secular textbooks for German children between 6 and 19 years of age, to be used throughout the entire German school system.

Speaking at a luncheon of the top-policy making National Executive Council of the American Jewish Committee at the Bond Court Hotel, Prof. Brocke reported that teams of scholars from the Duisberg Research Center have been carrying out a series of in-depth analyses of the way Jews, Judaism, the Nazi holocaust, and Israel are presented in the German teaching system.

The path-breaking education program is a joint enterprise of the Center for Interdisciplinary Research on the History and Religion of Judaism at Duisberg University and the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee.

Prof. Heinz Kremers, a Protestant scholar on Evangelical Theology and Biblical Studies at Duisberg University, is director of the Research Center, and Dr. Brocke is co-director. American Jewish Committee consultants to the project are Zachariah Shuster of Paris, AJC's European consultant on

- more -

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Gerard Weinstock, Chairman, Board of Trustees.
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CSAE 1707

interreligious affairs, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC's national inter-religious affairs director.

"The basic objective of this comprehensive project," Dr. Brocke said, "is to review all sources of information and knowledge which might perpetuate among German youth distorted views of Jews and Judaism. Our studies are investigating not only religious textbooks and teaching materials, but also German history, civic, and social science books.

"The purpose of these studies is not only to point to and identify deficiencies and misrepresentations in existing textbooks, but to suggest new constructive premises and approaches in teachings concerning Jews which will help to eradicate prejudicial attitudes inherited from the past and instill a spirit of respect, tolerance, and understanding," Dr. Brocke said.

"In the field of Catholic and Protestant teaching," the Catholic scholar added, "we hope to bring about a fundamental revision in the portrayal of Judaism in Christian preaching and catechism."

Dr. Brocke showed the AJC national leaders a selection of several studies and new textbooks recently published by the Center.

The first volume of the textbook studies is entitled, "Jews, Judaism, and Israel," and consists of seven major surveys of Catholic and Protestant textbooks used on various levels in public schools and also of basic books used currently at theological faculties in German universities.

"The published studies, new textbooks, teacher-training manuals, and suggested catechisms," Dr. Brocke disclosed, "are being forwarded by the Duisberg teams of scholars to the Ministries of Education in the eleven German Laender (provinces), to the central authorities of the Catholic and Protestant churches, and to various educational bodies for their consideration and adoption."

At an educators' conference held at Duisberg in September, 1979, three official representatives from the Federal German Republic's Agency for Political Education were active participants. The government agency supervises the preparation and distribution of much of the educational materials that are used throughout all of Germany's educational system, from elementary schools through the university system. Mr. Shuster and Rabbi Tanenbaum also took part in that conference.

A study conducted by Prof. Hans Jochum, a linguistic analysis specialist and a member of the scholars' team, on the teaching of the Holocaust in Catholic Religious Education in Western Germany revealed the nature of some of the problems found in the textbooks:

1) The Nazi Holocaust is not a subject of special study in Catholic religious instruction in the Federal Republic. Knowledge of the subject is either taken for granted or relegated to brief references in the teaching of history.

2) Information on the Holocaust in religious textbooks always occurs in the presentation of personalities such as Pope Pius XII, John XXIII, and other church officials.

3) The religious books generally take a defensive attitude with regard to the Holocaust. A number of textbooks give the impression that the Churches have, in comprehensive ways and with great success, helped the persecuted Jews. The problems of guilt or responsibility are either posed in the form of a question or are weakened by the listing of positive examples of Christians who aided Jews.

Only three of all the textbooks examined, Prof. Jochum reports, deal at some length with the Holocaust. Even in these books, he adds, the strong point is made about the innocence of Pope Pius XII, and it is written, "It must be recognized that he acted in accordance with his best knowledge and conscience."

With regard to teaching about the relationship of Christianity to Judaism, Prof. Brocke declared, the following principles are being incorporated in new teaching materials that are being published by the Duisberg Center:

* Judaism is the root of Christianity, for Jesus as well as his opponents and earliest Christians were Jews. Christianity emerged as a Messianic movement in Judaism, and only slowly developed into an independence religion alongside of Judaism.

* The Old Testament (The Tanach) is and remains the primordial source of belief for the people of Israel, which continues to exist beyond the time of the New Testament.

* Teaching about Jews in history textbooks should be made an integral part of German history, and that it represents an important element of European culture and history.

The Duisberg scholars also spell out a number of concrete proposals for teaching about Israel and the Middle East and the history of Nazism.

Dr. Brocke announced that the following textbooks were presently being published for the 1980-81 school year and beyond by the Duisberg Center in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee:

Jews, Judaism and the State of Israel in German Religious Education;
The Jews and the Death of Jesus (in Protestant Religious Education);
A Reader in Theology after the Holocaust;
Textbook Analysis of Secondary Schools (Ages 15-19).

In addition to publications, the joint project provides for a series of conferences of German educators, textbook writers, teacher trainers, and audio-visual specialists in each of the 11 German provinces.

Commenting on the project, Rabbi Tanenbaum said, "Given the power of religious anti-Semitism in helping set the climate in Germany and elsewhere for the massacre of Jews by the Nazis, this systematic effort to uproot the poisonous weeds of anti-Jewish hatred throughout the entire German educational system cannot but be welcomed as one of the most significant and constructive developments in relations between West Germany and the Jewish people since the end of World War II."

Miles Jaffe of Detroit, an AJC national vice-chairman, served as chairman of the session of "The Present State of German-Jewish Relations."

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING
October 23-26, 1980
Bond Court Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio

CAN URBAN JEWISH NEIGHBORHOODS SURVIVE?

A Background Memorandum

For Discussion at the
Friday Luncheon Session

Jewish neighborhoods have moved through a cycle of three generations since the turn of the century and are now into their fourth. It has been an upward cycle of larger homes, more luxuriant neighborhoods and the trappings of affluence in all respects, symbolic of the phenomenal upward social and economic mobility of American Jews.

The movement of Jewish neighborhoods has continued to be in a concentric pattern out from the city core. Often this movement has been accelerated by racial change in the neighborhood, with Black families often succeeding Jewish families who seek out housing in the newest ring of suburbs.

In the past, the economics of Jewish life permitted quick abandonment of Jewish neighborhoods with a concomitant replacement of communal institutions and commercial establishments which were their backbone. Jews could disperse into newer neighborhoods because housing was relatively inexpensive, mortgages easy to obtain, the car and the energy which fueled it were not an economic factor to inhibit movement, and rootedness in a neighborhood no longer mattered for employment, as the workforce characteristics changed from shopkeeper to professional.

Not all Jews left their old neighborhoods when the majority moved away. There was and always is a pocket of elderly left behind, unwilling to leave a home they could afford, reluctant to start life in a strange new place in their advancing years. The Orthodox Jewish community as well often stayed, wishing to be within walking distance of their synagogues and the communal life which revolved around them.

Jewish mobility patterns have continued to accelerate so that fourth generation neighborhoods, as well as some third generation neighborhoods, may experience the same abandonment patterns. However, in the approaching decades of the 80's and 90's there are new demographic and market forces which have arisen. National trends, fostered by the energy crisis and inflation, have shown a slowdown in home construction, a rapid rise in the cost of new and older homes, high interest rates for mortgages and high rents for a steadily depleting number of rental units coupled with a growing trend toward conversion of such units to condominiums and cooperatives.

In addition, household size has been rapidly shrinking as new households are formed by a growing number of single persons and two person units. A recent report by the M.I.T./Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies

notes that "out of 20 million new households expected to be formed by 1990 only three million will constitute those of a married couple with children at home. The remainder will consist of a combination of single-parent households, unattached individuals, couples without children and the elderly."

These trends may have a profound effect on the Jewish community, one which we are just beginning to recognize. A movement back to the city, called "gentrification" by urban experts, or "neighborhood revitalization" by neighborhood residents, has begun in many of our urban centers on the East coast, the Midwest and even in some of the Sunbelt cities. There are neighborhood stabilization efforts now being planned and activated by Jewish Federations in at least three cities, Cleveland Heights, New York City and Pittsburgh, and many grass-roots efforts toward stabilizing Jewish neighborhoods are being undertaken by Orthodox community groups and young professionals in other cities.

This back to the city movement can be contrasted with the continued dispersal of Jewish families and individuals to the outer suburbs, and the inter-state movement of young and elderly Jews to the Sunbelt cities for both economic opportunity and retirement.

Even for those Jews who are committed to active participation in the Jewish community, the accessibility of communal and commercial institutions has grown to be problematic if they live several miles away from the centers of active Jewish life. And while thus far Jewish communal institutions have managed generally to follow Jewish population movement, replacement costs for these institutions now amount to millions of dollars, putting a strain on fund-raising activities for the whole community.

Discussion Questions

1. Are any Jewish organizations in your community carrying out or planning programs dealing with these issues:
 - a) Stabilizing predominantly Jewish neighborhoods?
 - b) Helping families to move from neighborhoods no longer considered to be viable?
 - c) Maintaining Jewish institutions in changing neighborhoods so that services may be continued for those choosing to remain?

2. Do you see the AJC playing a role in the following areas:
 - a) Sensitizing community leaders to potential intergroup conflict resulting from stabilization efforts and dealing with ethnic and racial changes when they occur?
 - b) Service to Jewish community planners in developing neighborhood strategies?
 - c) Advocacy for neighborhood groups threatened with dispersion because of government actions?



October 6, 1980

Memo

TO: Members of the NJCRAC Commission on Church-State Separation and Interreligious Relationships

FROM: Michael Pelavin, Chairman

SUBJECT: Agenda for Commission Meeting - October 12, 1980 - 2:00 p.m.

As you know from an earlier memo, the next meeting of our Commission on Church-State and Interreligious Relationships is scheduled for Sunday, October 12, 1980 at 2:00-5:00 p.m. at the offices of the Anti-Defamation League, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. as part of our Executive Committee/Commission series of meetings.

The agenda for our October 12 meeting will include:

* Federal Funding of Religious Institutions

Increasingly, Jewish and other religious institutions - such as senior citizens centers and homes - are being significantly subsidized by the federal government. The appropriateness of receiving governmental funds while maintaining a religiously-oriented institution has come under serious question as possibly violative of the separation of church and state. Based on a presentation of the legal and community relations implications of the situation, we will discuss guidelines for determining under what circumstances we consider such aid appropriate.

* Update on the "Helms Amendment"

Much has happened since our last Commission meeting on Congressional attempts at passage of the so-called "Helms Amendment" to deny the review powers of the U.S. Supreme Court on cases arising in the states on the issue of so-called "voluntary prayer." We will update the situation and discuss future strategies.

* Teaching of Biblical Creation in Public Schools

From time to time, attempts have been made to supplement or supplant the teaching of the theory of evolution in public school biology courses with the doctrine of Biblical creation. Recently, this phenomenon has taken on greater force and is being raised in increasing numbers of communities. What are the issues involved and what should be our response?

I hope you will be with us on October 12 for these important discussions which will begin promptly at 2:00 p.m.

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Enc: New York Times article

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Against Creationism

By Ben Bova

We may laugh at the quaintness of the 1925 monkey trial in Tennessee, when teacher John T. Scopes was threatened with fine and imprisonment for teaching Darwinian evolution to his high-school students. Yet it wasn't until 1979 that the last anti-evolution laws in our country were wiped off the books. Even then the battle did not end. It goes on today, more subtle, and in some ways more bitter, than ever before.

Creationists, who believe that the world and the human race were created out of nothing by some divine fiat, no longer insist on banning every mention of evolution from the classroom. Instead, they pressure school boards to give Creationism "equal time" with evolution in science classes. As a result, in many biology texts the origin of the human species is illustrated by Michelangelo's Adam from the Sistine Chapel ceiling. It's fine painting, and Genesis is an inspired bit of writing. But it isn't biology. To insist that Genesis be inserted into biology texts and to pretend that religious mythology can explain biological phenomena is about equivalent to believing that straw can be woven into gold.

The Creationists claim that scientists still refer to evolution as a "theory"; therefore, the scientists don't accept Darwin's ideas as proved. In science, the word "theory" indicates "a systematic statement of principles; a formulation of apparent relationships or underlying principles." A hypothesis is an unproved idea. A theory, in science, is a structure of logic that brings together many diverse observations

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and welds them into an understandable whole. Really powerful theories, such as those of Darwin and Einstein, also predict phenomena that haven't been observed before.

The Creationists retort: "But scientists themselves don't agree on Darwin's theory." True, God forbid that they should.

Science is a process of discovery. Darwin's ideas are some five generations old now. Much new information has been uncovered. Biologists argue about the details of evolutionary processes, just as physicists argue about subatomic particles. This does not mean that physicists don't believe atoms exist.

Evolution, as described by Darwin and others, is the cornerstone of the biological sciences. No serious scientist disputes this, even though they will

haggle fiercely over minute details.

Recently the concept of "scientific creationism" was raised, with scientists or engineers — usually not biologists — saying that evolution stands at best on shaky intellectual ground. To prove that Creationism is correct, the Creationists try to find flaws in evolution. This is an intellectual shell game, in which you don't prove your point but instead try to demolish the opposing point of view and then pretend that this proves you're correct.

So far not one shred of evidence has ever been found to support the Creationist point of view. Not a fingerbone, not a leaf, not a shard of evidence exists. We may have been created by some deity or other unfathomable force, but there is no evidence whatsoever that it happened in this way. And if it did happen this way, the

creating force went to incredible trouble to litter this planet with the evidence of evolution: from dinosaur fossils to hominid teeth, from the elegant speciation Darwin found during his voyage on H.M.S. Beagle to the stages of development a human fetus undergoes during its nine-month gestation.

There is a dark element of creationism thinking among the Creationists. They don't need evidence, because they know they're right. Their mode of thought, straight out of medieval times, leads not to understanding but to acceptance of Authority. Make no mistake about it. Those who are convinced of the truth will never stop merely with demands for "equal time." They inevitably move toward taking political control, just as they inevitably gravitate toward the most conservative positions on issues. Already the Creationists are using political clout to tamper with biology teaching. Give them the political power and they will outlaw any ideas they do not agree with: Evolution is merely one of many ideas that these zealots attack.

The preceding paragraph is hypothesis, an unproved idea. We can test this hypothesis in good scientific fashion. Are the Creationists fair-minded people who want only to present conflicting ideas in an equitable, reasonable manner? Ask the next Creationist you meet whether he or she would be willing to have a chapter explaining Darwinian evolution inserted into the Bible alongside Genesis. Then you'll learn what "equal time" really means to them.

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Ben Bova is executive editor of *Omni* magazine, a monthly from which this is adapted.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 24, 1980
to Milton Ellerin
from Herman J. Blumberg - Boston
subject Impact of Catholic Church Statements on Congressional
Primary Elections In Massachusetts

BACKGROUND

In the Massachusetts 4th and 5th Congressional Districts the Democratic Party primaries featured candidates representing more liberal platforms vying against conservative candidates.

In the 4th District Rep. Robert Drinan, who the church forced not to run for re-election, endorsed Barney Frank, a liberal State Representative whose views generally coincided with those of Drinan. Arthur Clark, the Mayor of Waltham, a conservative who had received the endorsement of Senator Henry Jackson, was one of three opposing Frank. Three weeks prior to the election the field narrowed to a one-on-one confrontation between Frank and Clark.

Until the Medeiros and Battista letters were published abortion was not a primary focus of the campaign in the 4th District, although Clark opposed Frank's support for federally funded abortions.

Clark's campaign characterized Frank as a "carpetbagger", (Frank moved from Boston to Newton in the 4th District immediately after Drinan's withdrawal), in an attempt to label Frank as a city slicker liberal.

One Clark radio advertisement used the voice of a woman softly intoning, "pollution, Mass. transit, crime" followed by a statement which explained that Barney Frank had dealt with the problems of the city, but is not acquainted with the issues of the suburbs. Frank, the ad continues, wants to legalize prostitution and create combat zones (an area of low life in downtown Boston) in suburban towns. The ad concludes with Clark's qualifications as a Mayor of Waltham, followed by the repetition of the opening.

In the 5th District incumbent Rep. James Shannon was challenged by Robert Hatem. While Shannon had the support of liberal Democratic Senators, Kennedy and Tsongas, the contest was not as clearly liberal vs. conservative. Hatem did oppose Shannon's support for federally funded abortions. In fact, this may have been more salient in Hatem's campaign thrust than in the Clark campaign prior to the Battista and Medeiros letters.

Note that the 5th District northwest of Boston, including the cities of Lawrence and Lowell, is approximately 70% Catholic. The 4th District which includes Newton and Brookline is 45% Catholic.

The entire episode should also be seen against the background of Drinan's withdrawal, an act directed by the Vatican. Most believe that the Vatican acted in response to pressures from Cardinal Medeiros. While Drinan withdrew gracefully with an air of obedience and loyalty to the church hierarchy, his endorsement of Frank and his extremely active campaigning on Frank's behalf may have remained an irritant for local church leaders.

THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS

On Monday, September 8, Msgr. Leo Battista, Director of Catholic Charities for the Worcester Diocese (which is part of the 4th District), attacked Frank by name in an unofficial letter circulated to priests throughout the 4th District. The Battista letter objected to Drinan's support of Frank, who Battista claimed had voted for legalized prostitution and pornography and who... "has been the sponsor of legislation which we strongly believe is a direct threat to the Judeo-Christian family." The letter was circulated privately, but quickly became a public news item.

On Friday, September 12, the official newspaper of the Catholic Archdiocese of Boston, the Catholic Pilot, published on page 1 a letter from Humberto Cardinal Medeiros which called abortion "an unspeakable crime" and said that "those who make abortions possible by law - such as legislators and those who promote, defend and elect these same lawmakers - cannot separate themselves totally from that guilt which accompanies this horrendous crime and deadly sin." The letter was reprinted in the next editions of the Globe and Herald American.

Reliable sources close to the Cardinal have informed us that the letter was proposed by right-wing elements in the church here, specifically Mass. citizens for Life, an anti-abortion lobby group. This group is highly organized and exerts a great deal of pressure on Medeiros. He is open to their views. The indication is that the letter originally submitted to the Cardinal was revised by him. The final letter published was tame by comparison with the original.

The letter was a pastoral letter, normally circulated through regular mail channels and published in The Pilot. The Pilot, in turn, regularly releases its news items to the daily press to coincide with its weekly Friday Publication date. On this occasion the letter was not sent via the mail because it was not ready early enough.

There is no evidence that the letter was released to coincide with the Jewish New Year although clearly it was timed to precede the primary of the Tuesday following.

Both Battista and Medeiros may have been acting to try to offset the support of Drinan. Battista refers to Drinan in the body of his letter. Medeiros is circumspect regarding Drinan but private views suggest that he was very angry with Drinan's open support and activity on behalf of Frank.

IMPACT

There is no way to assess empirically the impact of the letters on the election results. However, there is some statistical analysis and impressions which may be relevant in understanding the possible effects the letter had.

Voter turnout in the 4th District was higher than it had been two years earlier when the gubernatorial primaries were held.

The higher voter turnout was especially concentrated in the eastern part of the District (Brookline and Newton), which contain significant Jewish and Protestant liberal elements. This heavy vote turnout is generally seen as a backlash to the statements prior to the election. Many who would not have voted turned out to protest church involvement in the political process and "aroused by the abortion issue itself. The significance of the turnout is seen in the fact that Frank won Brookline and Newton by 15,000 votes. While he lost Waltham by 7500 votes, his margin of loss in other communities (he lost 9 of 20 communities in the north-western sector) was small enough to allow a 5500 vote victory margin. Clearly the size of the victory in Brookline and Newton was significant in allowing this victory margin.

Frank himself is not as certain that the "backlash" was instrumental in his victory. He acknowledges that people did not distinguish clearly one letter from the other; the Battista letter may have incurred a strong reaction from many in the 4th District due to its attempt to smear any liberal as one who is out to destroy the Judeo-Christian family. However, Frank feels that he may have lost some support among elderly Catholics in the western part of the District. Frank claims that since he was ahead in the polls prior to the election it is not possible to say that his victory is attributable to the letters. Finally, he is quick to point out that the voter turnout in Waltham (a Clark stronghold which he expected to lose) was greater than anyone expected and provided a counter balance to the Brookline, Newton pro-Frank vote. In fact, Clark took Waltham by 82%.

Whereas voter turnout was high in the 4th, the 5th witnessed a drop-off from the '78 figure of 87,000 to 76,000 (only 35% of the registered democrats compared to 55% in the 4th). Shannon fared well in the traditionally liberal areas of the district -- Lexington, Bedford and Concord -- where voter turnout was high. Shannon's hometown, Lawrence, has a high concentration of Catholics, but Shannon still polled 61% of the vote there. In contrast, Hatem polled only 55% of the vote in his hometown of Lowell (also heavily Catholic) where the voter turnout was very low.

Both Shannon and Frank's office received many critical phone calls prior to the primary and following the letters. Both candidates were worried about the effect the letter would have. In retrospect, however, neither candidate is eager to credit Cardinal Medeiros or Msgr. Battista for throwing the election to their side. Both want to emphasize their lead in the polls and the fact that they were working hard to get out the vote. (Frank's office was overwhelmed with volunteers during the final days of the campaign.)

Clark's people, on the other hand, believed that they had the election won or that they were close to victory. Some of them have stated that their candidate would have fared better without the letters and that the backlash effect was their candidates undoing.

We may conclude that the letters did solidify some Catholic support for the candidates who oppose abortion. However, there may have been a greater reaction in favor of Frank and Shannon from uncommitted voters and from those who had no intention of voting prior to the Battista and Medeiros letters.

AFTER EFFECTS

There is a sense that the Cardinal's intervention in the political process would have generated more anger were it not for the fact that both Frank and Shannon both won. While the man-on-the-street is angry and there is some concern for the "future of Catholic-Jewish relations", among the Jewish agencies there is no high level of alarm and a meeting held since the election of the Catholic-Jewish Committee was cordial and constructive.

It is evident that the Cardinal was embarrassed by the intensity of conflict generated by his letter, by the way in which Moral Majority people embraced his statement, and by the national interest in his statement. One source who has observed the Cardinal over a ten-year period suggested that if he had any sense that his statement would have generated such a response, he would never have spoken forth so strongly.

HJB/jmg



NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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

ANNUAL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL MEETING

October 23-26, 1980
Bond Court Hotel
777 St. Clair Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114
216-771-7600

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Jonathan Schenker, TV-Radio

PRESS ROOMS: Newman & Kaye

FOR RELEASE AFTER 8 P.M.
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1980

CLEVELAND, October 23....Stating that "no serious Jewish-Christian discussion today can avoid touching centrally on Israel," the Rev. Allan R. Brockway of the World Council of Churches today reviewed a range of Christian attitudes regarding Israel, and explored the question of "why it is that the question of Israel's very existence remains unresolved in the minds of Christians."

The World Council of Churches official spoke before the National Inter-religious Affairs Commission meeting in connection with the American Jewish Committee's National Executive Council in Cleveland. Robert S. Jacobs of Chicago, Interreligious Affairs Commission chairman, presided. Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, the American Jewish Committee's Interreligious Affairs Director, reported on a recent meeting between Jewish groups and the World Council of Churches, and urged that "Jewish groups intensify their relationship with the World Council which is constantly subjected to anti-Jewish and anti-Israel pressures from the PLO and the Arab world."

Rev. Brockway, who is Associate Director for Christian-Jewish Relations of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland, noted that "there is a great perplexity in the Christian mind as to what Israel is and what it represents, a perplexity that arises out of the abysmal ignorance of Christians about the Jewish People, and about their national identity that has persisted through persecutions, the like of which obliterated other peoples and nations."

Among the reasons for ambivalent or negative attitudes about Israel among Christians, Rev. Brockway noted the following:

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Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Gerard Weinstock, Chairman, Board of Trustees.

Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

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Since Israel was brought into being by people who were persecuted in Europe -- although "the extent of that persecution has been largely blurred and forgotten ... " -- some Christians "have been taught that Jews took over a land that did not belong to them, displacing the indigenous population, the Palestinian Arabs." Identifying the Palestinians as "the poor and oppressed," they will choose the Palestinians over Israel in the international policies they encourage. While this is "an operating principle for many Christian bodies," Rev. Brockway said, its fallacy lies in the "absence of historical memory and in a misreading of the complexities of contemporary political reality. When this fallacy is coupled with an understanding of Judaism that allows Christians to separate Judaism as a 'world religion' from the lived life of the Jewish People, a formidable ideological foundation is laid for an insidious form of anti-Semitism, disguised as anti-Zionism."

Another source of negative attitudes toward Israel, Rev. Brockway stated, comes from representatives of third-world churches who tend to view Israel as a western nation and link it with the United States and Western Europe as a "colonial" power, the dominance of which must be rejected and overcome.

"In the context of current international political rhetoric, it is all but impossible for third-world church representatives to comprehend Israel as a nation of refugees from all three worlds," Rev. Brockway said. The situation is complicated by the fact that these third-world churches are influenced by the Christian theology of 19th and 20th century missionaries, he added, "so that a theological anti-Semitism lurks even farther beneath the conscious surface than is the case in Europe and North America."

Rev. Brockway noted that the WCC's Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People was currently drafting a set of "Guidelines for Jewish-Christian Dialogue," which focuses attention on the "indissoluble bond between the Jewish People and the land of Israel," and that the significance of these words from the proposed "Guidelines" indicated growing attention to Jewish sensibilities which may become "a base for widening the constructive dialogue between the churches and the Jewish People ... "

Contrasting this approach with a 1948 statement of the World Council of Churches that was essentially missionary in its approach to the Jewish People, Rev. Brockway stated that "a vast amount of new thinking, new education, new preaching is required to remove the sting from almost 2000 years of Christian hatred toward Jews."

Emphasizing that he was speaking for himself, Rev. Brockway concluded:

"I am deeply concerned that Christians support Israel and the Jewish People, not so much because I believe such support will enhance Judaism but because I believe that the vitality and validity of Christianity is at stake. The real test for Christianity lies, not in its specific answers to the question, 'What do you say Israel is?' (though that question will continue to be addressed), as it does in whether it is willing and able to transcend that essential question to struggle faithfully with the existential question, 'How may we support Israel -- people, land, and state -- in assuming its God-given role in the lives of people and nations?' That is a goal in which Christians and Jews may join, though perhaps for different reasons."

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

80-960-275
10/20/80
A, REL, PP, CP, EJP



NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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

ANNUAL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL MEETING

October 23-26, 1980

Bond Court Hotel
777 St. Clair Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114
216-771-7600

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Jonathan Schenker, TV-Radio

PRESS ROOMS: Newman & Kaye

FOR RELEASE AFTER 10 A.M.
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1980

CLEVELAND, October 24....A prominent Southern Baptist church leader today warned that religious liberty and "healthy pluralism" in America were endangered by the effort to produce a "religious political bloc vote" in the current campaign.

The Rev. Dr. Jimmy Allen, of Fort Worth, Texas, former President of the Southern Baptist Convention, speaking here at a session of the American Jewish Committee's four-day National Executive Council meeting, said that this effort was marked by "a total capitulation of a segment of the evangelical Christian movement to right-wing politics and sword-rattling jingoism."

Dr. Allen, who is the current President of the Radio and Television Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, said that those who espoused the ideas of the New Right were simply "the same old faces, voices and ideas working on a fertile new field of self-appointed political messiahs with a dangerous combination of television access and political naivete." He suggested that their efforts capitalized on the apprehension of sincere Christians about the drift of the U.S. and the declining value systems of American society. Added to this, Dr. Allen continued, was the fact that complex world problems could not be solved by "simple political slogans or good guy - bad guy scenarios."

While terming the "marriage" of religious-bloc votes to a political party as "divisive and ultimately damaging to both religion and government," Dr. Allen insisted that the right of religious leaders to participate in the political process should be safeguarded.

- more -

Turning to the recent controversy over the comments made by some evangelical leaders that "God does not hear the prayer of Jews," Dr. Allen maintained that this was not the position of "vast numbers of Southern Baptists."

The Christian leader also cautioned the Jewish community against judging political and religious leaders solely on their attitude toward Israel.

Another view of the menace of the New Right was offered at the session by Alan Crawford, author of "Thunder on the Right," who said that its main threat lay in its contribution to the fragmentation of the American political system. The New Right, he said, has nothing of substance to contribute to the national debate on such crucial issues as energy, inflation, unemployment, and the Middle East, he declared, and is more a social protest movement than anything else.

The concern of the New Right, Mr. Crawford continued, is with "very broad cultural questions that are marginal at best in political terms." Thus, he said, its thrust will only disrupt the nation's attempt to arrive at some kind of consensus on truly political issues.

Nevertheless, Mr. Crawford emphasized, it should not be forgotten that the leaders of the New Right "are addressing or exploiting very genuine social tensions which have not been addressed by presumably more responsible leaders, who therefore share the blame for whatever damage results. Their constituency includes people with legitimate grievances whose values have not only been dismissed out of hand but in many cases ridiculed by the trendier liberals in the political and cultural establishments, and they have reason to be angry. Their anger and concerns must be addressed responsibly, however, and not exploited, as the New Right leaders, those who run the computers and pound the pulpits, have done. This is a constituency that has been betrayed by its own self-appointed saviors, who, in the final analysis, offer it no more relief than the liberals do."

Mr. Crawford stressed that "only by resolving some of the controllable factors in American society that give rise to these tensions -- such as inflation and unemployment - can our leaders defuse the anger of these forgotten Americans. They must also cease foisting upon them policies such as public funding of abortions that run counter to their most deeply held moral values."

In a summary statement, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, said that "in the current national controversy over the ideology and methods of New Right Evangelicals, it is vital that all Americans, and particularly the Jewish community, realize that there is a wide pluralism of views among Evangelical Christians, and that electronic preachers and their allied fundamentalist political operatives do not represent the mainstream Evangelical Christians. That was demonstrated in the Dr. Bailey Smith episode most dramatically. While his obnoxious, parochial attack on the validity of Jewish prayer gained nationwide headlines, the significant fact that was not reported was that a great many Baptist and Evangelical pastors and lay people wrote him letters and sent telegrams condemning his remarks as offensive, and expressing their respect and love for Jews and Judaism."

Rabbi Tanenbaum, who pioneered in starting dialogues between Evangelicals and Jews in 1965, announced that there would be a major national dialogue between Evangelical and Jewish leaders in December at Trinity Evangelical Seminary in Deerfield, Illinois. "These ongoing dialogues between Evangelicals and the American Jewish Committee, we believe, will help restore some balance to the present distorted picture," he said.

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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80-960-272
10/17/80
A, REL, EJP, CP, PP

Melrose Tenenbaum

Hyman Bookbinder

OCT 29 1980





THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE • 818 18th Street, N.W., Suite 740 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • (202) 298-8787

October 29, 1980

To: Field Offices

Fr: Office of Washington Representative

The 1980 election is less than a week away. You have already been asked by Milton Ellerin to report aspects of the campaign in your areas which are important to an understanding of the community-relations dimensions of the campaign. I write to ask you to do a couple of things that will assist our work after the election.

Before the event is forgotten, and before you throw away the clippings, make note of the principal Jewish and non-Jewish backers of the various candidates -- Presidential, Congressional, and Senatorial where appropriate. Also, the principal staff aides, advisers, etc. Even the name of a winner's doctor or minister can be helpful. And if there were AJC individuals among these, this information will be particularly useful.

Soon after the elections, we'll send along some suggestions for improving ties between AJC and elected officials. As a start, however, please be sure to send letters of congratulations to all the winners, but especially to new members of the House and Senate. Tell them you look forward to having them meet with your members or officers as soon as feasible, that you want to be helpful in every way possible, and that you hope they will soon get to meet your "man in Washington..." Let me have their responses. I will have sent them "welcome" letters separately.

You may already know that the Washington Office now has a new Assistant -- Howard Kohr, who previously served in our Boston office. I am very optimistic about Howard's being able to develop a first-rate Congressional liaison function, and I ask all of you to look to him for help and information -- and, in turn, to be as helpful to us as the situation may require. Any requests we make for legislative help will be fully co-ordinated with New York.

May the best men and women win next week. And may we develop the best possible relations with them -- because there will be much to do.

Hyman Bookbinder

cc: Bert Gold
Selma Hirsh
Gene DuBow
Harold Applebaum
Department Heads

CULTURAL INFORMATION SERVICE

15 W. 24th Street — 10th Floor, N.Y., N.Y. 10010

212-691-5240

November 5, 1980

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street

BY MESSENGER

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Owen Comora of NBC has told me that you would be good enough to send material on Anne Frank to your local chapters.

I'm enclosing what we have available right now:

A brochure describing "The Diary of Anne Frank" Educational Features that will appear in participating newspapers. 25¢.

A Viewer's Guide. 25¢.

An untitled essay on Anne Frank and the Holocaust by Leonard Fein of Moment magazine. (Part of the Educational Features)

Comments on Anne Frank from national organizations. (Part of the Educational Features)

Script excerpts ^{+ plot summary} from the November 17 NBC production. (Part of the Educational Features)

Let me know if I can help in any way whatsoever.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Marjorie Rutimann
Marjorie Lebow Rutimann
Project Editor
Educational Features

Enc.

P.S. The material should credit Cultural Information Service, Frederic Brussat, Director, & Marjorie Lebow Rutimann, Educational Features Project Editor.

Essay on Anne Frank and the Holocaust

by Leonard Fein

Editor and Publisher of Moment, a monthly
journal of contemporary Jewish affairs.



In what were once the barracks of Auschwitz, there is today a museum. Room after room is filled with the gruesome memorabilia of the more than 3,000,000 who perished there, who were--to put the matter directly--murdered, slaughtered there. In one room, only brushes--hair brushes and toothbrushes and shoe brushes, thousands, perhaps tens of thousands of them. In another, a vast collection of eyeglasses; in still another, hair, the hair that was shaved from the heads of the victims because the Nazis were, above all, efficient; and hair has its uses.

In one such room, there are shoes. By the time the visitor staggers to this room, the mind has been numbed, comprehension is gone. But the eye still registers the evidence. And what the eye sees is not the mass of old shoes, new shoes, boots, slippers, children's shoes (over a million children were killed in this place); what the eye sees, atop the blurred pile of thousands, is one shoe. It is a wooden shoe, the only one. And what thousands of undifferentiated bits and pieces of shattering evidence cannot say, this one shoe says: There was a person here, a person with a name, and a face, and a life.

Anne Frank was a person. She and the 6,000,000 more who were killed because they were Jews are not an aggregate. There was one, and there was another one, and another and another, each with a name, and a face, and a life, until there were 6,000,000 names, 6,000,000 lives, lived incompletely, one at a time, one by one. And then 6,000,000 deaths, all at once, a single column of smoke that still darkens the sun of our time.

We know the event as the Holocaust. Before the Holocaust, there was no way to know that such a thing could be. Even now, 35 years after its end, we cannot fully accept that it was, that it could

happen, that it did happen. Not in ancient times, but in our own, just three dozen years ago, not in exotic swamps or jungles, but in Germany, in Europe's heart.

Before it happened, there were three and a half million Jews in Poland; when it was done, ~~a half~~ ^{three} million were ~~left~~ ^{dead}. Before it happened, there were 210,000 Jews in Germany, 350,000 in Czechoslovakia, 300,000 in France; when it was done, 170,000 of Germany's Jews were dead, as were 300,000 of Czechoslovakia's and 110,000 of the Jews of France. In Holland, before 1939, when the extermination started, there lived 140,000 Jews. In 1945, when it ended, 118,000 of these were dead.

One of them was named Anne Frank.

Early in her diary (the entry is June 24, 1942), Anne wrote, "Daddy has given Mommy's bicycle to a Christian family for safe-keeping."

If today, after all the evidence, all the testimony, all the pictures, we cannot begin to understand or even to comprehend the reality of the slaughter, how can we expect Anne, or her father Otto ("Pim"), or the others in that Amsterdam attic, to have understood? After the war, there would be bicycles again. After the war, Mommy and Margot and Anne would go cycling together.

That is what makes the resistance to the Nazis so extraordinary. The Nazis did not spring their program for extermination full-blown. The plan was there, but its execution began, in 1933, with laws, with petty harrassments, with a slow, steady and successful effort to depict the Jews as less than human. For if they could be so depicted, then the killing of the Jews would not be an act of murder. Even by 1939, when the Nazis invaded Poland, the

deaths were (relatively) few in number. But when, at last, the Nazi Final Solution was implemented, it was pursued with demonic fervor. In the midst of their war effort, and even after the tide of the war turned clearly against them, vast resources were allocated to the task of killing Jews. When the Nazis were forced to rely on fourteen year-olds to defend the cities of Germany, seasoned personnel were still staffing their death camps throughout Europe.

And the Jews resisted. Not all of them, for there were those who could not believe, not until ^{they had been shot or gassed,} ~~the bullet had bitten into the flesh, not until the gas had been inhaled,~~ that such a thing could be. But very many, and in very many ways. In the ghettos and the camps, there were rebellions and uprisings--doomed, but proud. In the forests, Jews became partisans. Children were handed over to courageous neighbors--and that, too, was a form of resistance. In Warsaw, Dr. Janusz Korczak refused to abandon his 200 orphan children, and instead comforted them as together they were taken to Treblinka, and there gassed. That was a form of resistance. Jack Eisner's father resisted: He studied his favorite book, Spinoza's Ethics, by a ray of moonlight that shone through the slats of the cattle car in which he was taken to his death. Mordechai Anielewicz and Antek Zukerman and Txivia Lubetkin resisted when, scarcely out of their teens, they led the Warsaw Ghetto uprising which took the Nazis 42 days to suppress.

And the Frank family, in its way, resisted, by insisting on creating sanity even in their secret annex, by refusing to become animals. Primo Levi, who wrote a book called Survival in Auschwitz, tells the words of advice a man named Steinlauf gave him very soon after Levi arrived in Auschwitz. "To survive we must force

ourselves to save at least the skeleton, the scaffolding, the form of civilization. We are slaves, deprived of every right, exposed to every insult, condemned to certain death, but we still possess one power, and we must defend it with all our strength for it is the last--the power to refuse our consent. So we must certainly wash our faces without soap in dirty water and dry ourselves on our jackets...We must walk erect, without dragging our feet, not in homage to Prussian discipline, but to remain alive, not to begin to die."

Anne and her family did not begin to die; they stayed alive until the end. That was a form of resistance, of heroism more profound than we can easily appreciate. Others fought back in other ways, the Franks in theirs.

And Anne, always special, in hers: "I simply can't build up my hopes on a foundation of confusion, misery and death...I hear the ever approaching thunder, which will destroy us too...yet...I think it will all come right, that this cruelty too will end...In the meantime, I must uphold my ideals, for perhaps the time will come when I shall be able to carry them out."

Such a time never came for Anne, nor for the 6,000,000 Jewish others. But it did come for the rest of us, a time for Anne's ideals, for our own. It is called today.

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THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK Educational Features

Part I, Page 1

all of Part I is under 1200 words,

of 5 pp.

Comments from National Organizations

Once the evil of the Holocaust was revealed and the tragedy and courage of the Anne Franks was shared in many photos, writings and films, one would not have believed we could arrive at a time when again the warning signs of apathy and violence would arise. Yet they have. In this time, then, to listen again to the diary of Anne Frank is urgent, lest we forget the necessity for constant vigilance where the forces of evil are concerned.

Claire Randall

General Secretary

National Council of Churches

of Christ

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THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK Educational Features
Part I, Page 3 of 5 pp.

~~The legacy of Anne Frank goes far beyond the touching story of a young Jewish girl's struggle to maintain dignity and hope during the most grotesque chapter in the annals of mankind.~~
Anne Frank's ~~Hers is a~~ *is one* story of courage, strength and determination that will, for generations to come, be an inspiration to people of all ages from all walks of life attempting to persevere in times of extreme adversity.

~~We all must remember that the Holocaust and its atrocities are not very far behind us. This is recent history, taking place in the 20th century in the modern and supposedly civilized world.~~

Phyllis Franck

Director, Public Relations

American Federation of Teachers

CULTURAL INFORMATION SERVICE

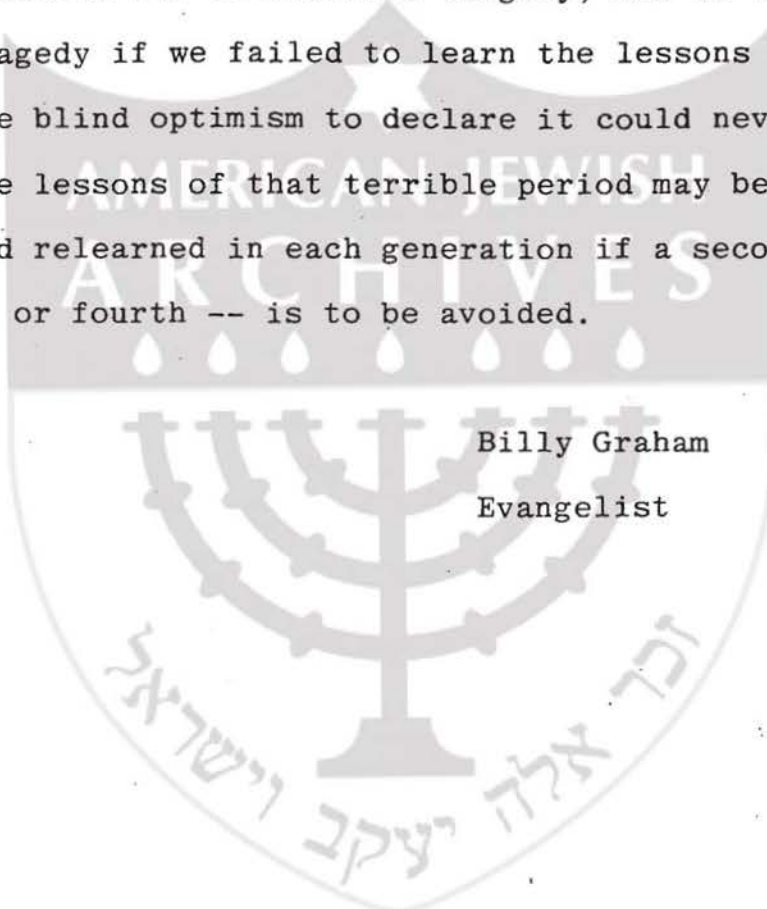
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THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK Educational Features
Part I, Page 4 of 5 pp.

The Holocaust was an enormous tragedy, but it would be an even greater tragedy if we failed to learn the lessons it can teach us. It would be blind optimism to declare it could never happen again. Whatever the lessons of that terrible period may be, they must be learned and relearned in each generation if a second holocaust -- or a third or fourth -- is to be avoided.

Billy Graham
Evangelist



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THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK Educational Features

Part I, Page 5 of 5 pp.

The life and death of Anne Frank is an eternal inspiration to all young people in the world -- to always remember that evil against any human being in any moment of their lives is to be resisted, fought and destroyed. Anne Frank will always be a beacon of conscience to those who cherish human freedom and dignity.

Julius Schatz

Member of U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and
Director, Commission on Jewish Life and Culture,
American Jewish Congress

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THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK Educational Features
Part II, Page 1 of 4 pp.

"The Diary of Anne Frank" by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett

Plot Summary

After the end of World War II, Otto Frank returns to the "secret annexe" in Amsterdam where he and his family had hidden from the Germans. There he finds the diary of his daughter Anne and begins to read...

It is July 6, 1942. Frank, a respected Jewish businessman who fled with his loved ones in 1933 from Frankfurt to Amsterdam, is moving his family into hiding. The Germans are rounding up Dutch Jews for deportation. The family's hideout is on the top floors of the building which served as a warehouse and office for his firm. The entrance to this hideout is a door hidden behind a bookcase. For two years, Mr. Frank, his wife, his 18-year-old daughter Margot, and his 13-year-old daughter Anne must take refuge there. Living in the close quarters with them are Mr. Van Daan, who is a business associate, his wife, and his 16-year-old son Peter. Two Dutch friends, Mr. Kraler and Miep, visit them regularly with food supplies and news.

At the outset, Mr. Frank makes it clear how difficult their living situation will be. Everything depends upon silence. Since there are workers downstairs from 8:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., they must move only when necessary, walk in stockinged feet, never speak out loud, not use the toilet or take a drink from the faucet. During the day, the children can do their lessons or sleep.

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THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK Educational Features

Part II, Page 2 *of 4 pp*

Plot Summary, contd.

Anne's diary helps her cope with the confinement, the stress, and the tediousness which is a hardship for everyone. Her talkativeness in the evenings bothers Mr. Van Daan. He asks her why she isn't "nice and quiet like your sister Margot." His son calls her "Mrs. Quack Quack." The Van Daans bicker about food and his smoking habit. When Anne spills milk on Mrs. Van Daan's fur coat, the woman is furious.

Anne experiences further difficulties with her mother who thinks her younger daughter is too independent and not enough like the well-behaved Margot. These familial problems momentarily fade into the background when Albert Dussell, a Jewish dentist, moves in with them. He informs the Franks of the worsening conditions for Jews in occupied Amsterdam and tells them that there is a rumor ^{that the family has} ~~they have~~ fled to Zurich, Switzerland. Anne's fears bring on a nightmare about the Green Police. She wakes up screaming and only her beloved father is able to calm her.

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THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK Educational Features

Part II, Page 3 of 4 pp

Plot Summary, contd.

On the first night of the Hanukkah celebration, Mr. Frank leads the group in prayer and then Anne gives presents to everyone. Perhaps the most touching gift is an I.O.U. note for her mother in which she promises to follow her orders over a ten-hour period. The festivities are interrupted by sounds of an intruder downstairs. Is it the Green Police or the Gestapo? Mr. Frank goes to the office and Anne is terrified that he will be caught. But he returns after discovering that the cash box and radio have been stolen. They all wonder whether the thief will let the authorities know that someone is upstairs. Later, Mr. Kraler brings the bad news that an employee is blackmailing him--he knows about the door behind the bookcase.

After a year in hiding, Anne feels that she is changing. She and Peter become friends and confidants. They talk about careers, kissing, nature and God, and they share feelings about their situation. When Mr. Van Daan is caught stealing bread from the meager food supply, Mrs. Frank's composure breaks and she orders the Van Daans to leave. This rift is healed when Miep arrives to announce that the Allied invasion has begun. ~~Then on August 4, 1944, the Gestapo penetrates the Franks' hiding place. Otto Frank survives imprisonment in Auschwitz and returns to Amsterdam in 1945 where he finds~~

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THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK Educational Features

Part II, Page 4 *f 4 pp*

Plot Summary, contd.

begun. Then on August 4, 1944, the Gestapo penetrates the Franks' hiding place. Otto Frank survives imprisonment in Auschwitz and returns to Amsterdam in 1945 where he finds Anne's diary intact.



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THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK Educational Features

Part III, Page 1 of 41 pages

"The Diary of Anne Frank" by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett

Script Excerpts



EXCERPT #1

"THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK"

FADE IN

ESTABLISHING SHOTS - AMSTERDAM AND VICINITY - STOCK 12

SUPERIMPOSE LEGEND: Amsterdam - November 1945.

INT. ^{ERIOR} TOP FLOOR OF WAREHOUSE AND OFFICE BUILDING - DUSK 22

The CAMERA REVEALS THE CENTER LIVING ROOM of the top floor. There is a small attic space above. The Center Room is the largest of three rooms, with two small rooms on either side. A small steep stairwell leading down to a door is the only entrance from the building. When the door is opened we see that it has been concealed on the outer side by a bookcase attached to it. On one side is a bathroom out of sight. A narrow steep flight of steps at the back of the Center Room leads up to the attic. The room is sparsely furnished with a few chairs, cots, a table or two. The windows are streaked or covered with makeshift blackout curtains. There is a sink, a gas ring for cooking and a wood-burning stove for warmth... dust everywhere, curtains are in rags. Chairs and tables overturned.

ANGLE ON DOOR AT FOOT OF STAIRWELL 32

swings open. OTTO FRANK comes up the steps. He is a gentle, cultured European in his middle years. There is still a trace of a German accent in his speech. He stands looking slowly around, making a supreme effort at self-control. He is weak, ill. His clothes are threadbare. He carries a small rucksack.

CLOSER ON MR. FRANK 42

After a second he drops his rucksack on the couch and moves slowly about.

INT. ANNE'S ROOM 52

He opens the door to one of the smaller rooms, and then abruptly closes it again, turning away. He goes to the window at the back, looking off at the WESTERTOREN as its carillon strikes the hour of SIX, then he moves restlessly on. SOUND. From the street below we hear a barrel organ and children's voices at play.

ANGLE ON A MANY-COLORED SCARF 62

hangs on a nail. WIDEN as Mr. Frank takes it, putting it around his neck. Suddenly all of his self-control is gone. He breaks down, crying.

ANGLE ON STAIRS

MIEP GIES comes up the stairs. She is a Dutch girl of about twenty-two, pregnant. She gives one the feeling of great capacity and courage. She is compassionate and protective in her attitude toward Mr. Frank. She has been stenographer and secretary in his business. She has her coat and hat on, ready to go home. A small silver cross hangs at her throat.

MIEP

(as she comes up
the stairs)

Are you all right, Mr. Frank?

INT. CENTER ROOM

MR. FRANK

(quickly controlling
himself)

Yes, Miep, yes.

MIEP

(joining him)

Everyone in the office has gone home. It's after six. Don't stay up here, Mr. Frank.

MR. FRANK

I've come to say good-bye. I'm leaving here, Miep.

MIEP

What do you mean? Where are you going? Where?

MR. FRANK

I don't know yet. I haven't decided.

MIEP

Mr. Frank, you can't leave here! This is your home! Amsterdam is your home. Your business is here, waiting for you.

MR. FRANK

I can't stay in Amsterdam, Miep. It has too many memories for me. Everywhere there's something. The house we lived in. The school. I'm not the person you used to know, Miep. I'm a bitter old man. Forgive me. I shouldn't speak to you like this...after all that you did for us...the suffering.

82

MIEP
No. No. It wasn't suffering.

MR. FRANK
I know what you went through,
you and Mr. Kraler. I'll
remember it as long as I live.
(gives one last
look around, then
starts for the steps)
Come, Miep.

Miep goes to shelves. Takes bundle of papers.

MIEP
Mr. Frank, did you see? There
are some of your papers here.
We found them in a heap of
rubbish on the floor after...
after you left.

MR. FRANK
Burn them.
He opens his rucksack to put the scarf in it.

MIEP
But, Mr. Frank, there are
letters, notes...

MR. FRANK
Burn them. All of them.

MIEP
Burn this?

She hands him a worn, velour-covered book.

MR. FRANK
(quietly)
Anne's diary.
(opens the diary
and begins to read)
'Monday, the sixth of July,
nineteen hundred and forty-two.'
(to Miep)
Nineteen hundred and forty-two.
Is it possible, Miep...Only
three years ago.

Cont.

MR. FRANK (Cont.)

(resumes reading)

'Dear Diary, since you and I are going to be great friends, I will start by telling you about myself. My name is Anne Frank. I am thirteen years old.

(sitting on couch)

I was born in Germany. As my family is Jewish, we emigrated to Holland when Hitler came to power.'

As Mr. Frank reads on, another Voice joins his, fading slowly in, as if coming from the air. It is Anne's voice o.s.

MR. FRANK'S AND ANNE'S VOICES

(o.s.)

My Father started a business, importing spice and herbs. Things went well for us until 1940. Then the war came and the Dutch...

(turning the page)

...defeat, followed by the arrival of the Germans. Then things got very bad for the Jews.

(Mr. Frank's voice fading)

They forced Father out of his business.

Mr. Frank's voice is out.

ANNE'S VOICE

Yesterday, Father told me we were going into hiding.

SLOW DISSOLVE TO:

INT. HALLWAY AND STAIRS OF THE PRININGRAFT HOUSE - 9
ANGLE ON KRALER AND MIEP - DAY

They are standing at the front door. MR. KRALER is a Dutchman, dependable, kindly. He has opened the front door a crack and is anxiously watching for the Franks on the street outside. Miep has her arms full of packages. There is a sense of great tension.

Cont. 2

Cont.

ANNE'S VOICE

(o.s.)

Our hiding place was to be in the attic of the building where my Father used to have his business.

Mr. Kraler sees the Franks coming on the street outside. He hurriedly opens the door just enough to let them come in. Anne, Mrs. Frank and Margot come in, followed by Mr. Frank. The Star of David is conspicuous on their clothing.

MARGOT is eighteen, beautiful, quiet, shy. MRS. FRANK is a young mother, gently bred, reserved. ANNE is thirteen, quick in her movements, interested in everything, mercurial in her emotions.

Mr. Frank looks much younger now. His movements are brisk, his manner confident. He is dressed, like the others, in overcoat and hat. He carries a small cardboard box. Mr. Kraler quickly locks the door behind them and starts up the stairs.

MIEP

We were afraid you'd been picked up.

MR. FRANK

We had to take the long way around. There were too many of the Green Police on the streets.

Mr. and Mrs. Frank and Margot start up the stairs, following Miep. Anne, interested in everything, is peeking in the rooms.

MRS. FRANK

Come, Anne!

Anne comes hurrying after her.

INT. UPPER HALL - ANGLE ON KRALER

102

There is a large bookcase, full of books, against the wall opposite the stairs. As the others come up, Kraler goes to the bookcase and, with an effort, pulls it away on one side. Beyond it is a very steep and narrow flight of stairs leading to the attic. He holds the bookcase open as the others come up. Anne is full of wonder and excitement.

Cont.

MR. FRANK
(to Kraler)
Have the Van Daans come?

KRALER
Half an hour ago.

MR. FRANK
Good.

ANNE
(voice over)
They were coming in hiding with us. We had never met them.

INT. CENTER ROOM - ANGLE ON THE VAN DAANS

11

The room is bare, as before, but it is now clean and orderly.

MR. VAN DAAN is a tall, portly man in his late forties. His clothes and overcoat are expensive and well-cut.

MRS. VAN DAAN is a pretty woman in her early forties. She wears a fur coat over her other clothes.

PETER VAN DAAN is a shy, awkward boy of sixteen. He wears a cap, a raincoat and long Dutch trousers, like "plus fours." At his feet is a black case, a carrier for his cat. They come forward, relieved as the Franks come in.

Mr. Frank hurries over to them, as the others follow him in.

MR. FRANK
(greeting them)
Mrs. Van Daan. Mr. Van Daan.
(shakes hands with them)
I'm sorry we were so late. The Green Police...
(turns to introduce the others)
My wife Edith.

As Mrs. Frank shakes their hands:

MR. FRANK
Their son Peter. And my two daughters, Margot and Anne.

Anne gives a little curtsy as she greets the Van Daans and then starts off on her tour of her new home.

ANOTHER ANGLE - AT SINK

Miep goes over to the sink, putting milk and other things down.

MIEP

(to Mrs. Frank,
indicating cupboard
above the sink)

We put the store of food you
sent in here. Your drugs are
here...soap, linen, here.

983 words - begin new section

ANOTHER ANGLE - GROUP

13

MR. KRALER

Forgive me. I have to hurry.
I've got to go to the other
side of town to get some ration
books for you.

MRS. VAN DAAN

Ration books? If they see our
names on ration books, they'll
know we're here.

Mr. Kraler and Miep speak together.

MR. KRALER

There isn't anything...

MIEP

Don't worry. Your
names won't be on
them.

(as she
hurries out)
I'll be up later.

MR. FRANK

(watching her
leave)

Thank you, Miep.

MRS. FRANK

(troubled, to
Mr. Kraler)

It's illegal, then, the ration
books? We've never done
anything illegal.

MR. FRANK

We won't be living exactly
according to regulations here.

Mr. Frank takes several small bottles of medicine from his
coat pocket and gives them to Mrs. Frank.

Cont.

MR. KRALER

This isn't a black market,
Mrs. Frank. This is what we
call the white market...
helping all the hundreds and
hundreds who are hiding out in
Amsterdam.

The carillon is HEARD playing the quarter hour before eight.
Mr. Kraler looks at his watch. Anne stops at the window and
looks out through the curtains.

ANNE

It's the Westertoren!

MR. KRALER

I must go. I must be out of
here and downstairs in the office
before the workmen get here.
Miep or I or both of us will
be up each day to bring you
food and news and find out what
your needs are.

(to Mr. Frank)

Oh...you'll tell them about the
noise?

MR. FRANK

I'll tell them.

MR. KRALER

Good-bye then for the moment.
I'll come up again after the
workmen leave.

MR. FRANK

(shaking Mr. Kraler's
hand)

Good-bye, Mr. Kraler.

MRS. FRANK

(shaking his hand)

How can we thank you?

MR. KRALER

I never thought I'd live to see
the day when a man like Mr. Frank
would have to go into hiding.
When you think...

ANGLE ON STAIRWELL

Mr. Kraler breaks off and starts out. Mr. Frank follows him down the steps, bolting the door after him.

INT. CENTER ROOM

MRS. FRANK

Let us take off some of these clothes.

They all start to take off garment after garment. On each of their coats, sweaters, blouses, suits, dresses is another yellow Star of David. Mrs. Frank is underdressed quite simply. The others wear several things: sweaters, extra dresses, bathrobes, aprons, etc. Mrs. Frank takes off her clothes, carefully folding them before putting them away.

MR. VAN DAAN

It's a wonder we weren't arrested, walking along the streets. Petronella with a fur coat in July...And that cat of Peter's crying all the way.

ANNE

(removing a pair of panties)

A cat?

MRS. FRANK

(shocked)

Anne, please!

ANNE

It's all right. I've got on three more.

She removes two more pairs of panties. Finally, as they finish removing their surplus clothes, Mr. Frank comes back from below.

MR. FRANK

Now...about the noise.

They all listen tensely.

Cont.

MR. FRANK

While the men are in the building below, we must have complete quiet. Every sound can be heard down there, not only in the workrooms, but in the offices, too. The men come about eight-thirty and leave at about five-thirty. So, to be perfectly safe, from eight o'clock in the morning until six o'clock in the evening we must move only when it is necessary, and then in stockinged feet. We must not speak above a whisper, and we must not run any water. We cannot use the sink or even, forgive me, the w.c. The pipes go down through the workrooms. It would be heard. No trash...

Mr. Frank is stopped by the sound of MARCHING FEET. He goes to Anne's room, followed by Anne.

INT. ANNE'S ROOM

16

Mr. Frank peers out of the window. Satisfied that the marching feet are going away, he returns.

INT. CENTER ROOM

17

Anne follows him and curls up in chair at table.

MR. FRANK

(going on)

No trash must ever be thrown out which might reveal that someone is living here. Not even a potato paring. We must burn everything in the stove at night. This is the way we must live until it's over if we are to survive.

~~There is a pause. Margot accidentally drops the nightgown she is taking off. Peter jumps to pick it up for her.~~

~~MRS. FRANK~~~~Until it is over.~~

Cont.

MR. VAN DAAN

Anne, did you see my pipe?

No answer. He turns slowly to her.

MR. VAN DAAN

Annel

MRS. FRANK

Anne, dear, Mr. Van Daan is speaking to you.

ANNE

(feigning surprise
through tight lips)

Am I allowed to talk now?

MR. VAN DAAN

You're the most aggravating...

(controlling himself
with difficulty)

The trouble with you is you've been spoiled. What you need is a good old-fashioned spanking.

ANNE

(mimicking
Mrs. Van Daan)

'Remember, Mr. So-and-So, remember I'm a lady.'

She thrusts the pipe into his mouth, then picks up her glass of milk.

Margot enters with list and places it on lamp table, then goes to the kitchen area.

MR. VAN DAAN

(to Anne)

Why aren't you nice and quiet like your sister Margot? Why do you have to show off all the time?

Anne darts, trying to get around him, but he retreats, blocking her.

MR. VAN DAAN

Let me give you a little advice, young lady. Men don't like that kind of thing in a girl. You know that? A man likes a girl who listens to him once in

Cont.

MR. VAN DAAN (Cont.)
 awhile...a domestic girl who'll
 keep her house shining for her
 husband...who loves to cook and
 sew...

ANNE
 I'd cut my throat first! I'd
 open my veins! I'm going to be
 remarkable...I'm going to
 Paris...

MR. VAN DAAN
 (derisive)
 Paris...!

ANNE
 ...To study music and art.

MR. VAN DAAN
 Yeah...yeah...

ANNE
 I'm going to be a famous dancer
 or singer...or something
 wonderful.

With her arms held wide, the milk in her right hand, she makes
 a dancer's turn. The milk spills over the fur coat in
 Mrs. Van Daan's lap.

Mrs. Van Daan is shocked, stunned.

Anne falls to her knees, trying to brush the milk away with her
 skirt.

Margot hurries down to them with a wiping cloth.

MRS. VAN DAAN
 (she can
 scarcely speak)
 Now look what you've done!
 Clumsy little fool! My beautiful
 fur coat my father gave me!

ANNE
 I am so sorry.

MRS. VAN DAAN
 What do you care? It isn't
 yours. So go on, ruin it! Do
 you know what that coat cost?
 Do you? And now look at it.
 Look at it!

ANNE

I'm very, very sorry.

Mrs. Van Daan goes to the stairs to attic, stops and turns.

MRS. VAN DAAN

I could kill you for this. I
could just kill you!

Mrs. Van Daan goes up the stairs, clutching the coat.

Mr. Van Daan starts after her.

MR. VAN DAAN

Petronella...liefje!...come
back...the supper...come back!

Mrs. Van Daan has disappeared up into the attic.

Mr. Van Daan follows her and he, too, disappears into attic.

MRS. FRANK

Anne, you mustn't behave in
that way.

Margot returns to the sink, taking the glass with her.

ANNE

(still kneeling)

It was an accident. Anyone can
have an accident.

MRS. FRANK

I don't mean that. I mean
answering back. You must not
answer back. They are our
guests. We must always show
the greatest courtesy to them.
We're all living under terrible
tension. That's why we must
control ourselves. You don't
hear Margot getting into
arguments with them, do you?
Watch Margot. She's always
courteous with them. Never
familiar. She keeps her distance.
And they respect her for it.
Try to be like Margot.

ANNE

And have them walk all over me
the way they do her? No, thanks!

Cont.

MRS. FRANK

I'm not afraid that anyone is going to walk all over you, Anne. I'm afraid for other people...that you'll walk on them. I don't know what happens to you, Anne. You are wild, self-willed. If I had ever talked to my mother as you talk to me...

ANNE

Things have changed. People aren't like that anymore. 'Yes, Mother.' 'No, Mother.' 'Anything you say, Mother.' I've got to fight things out for myself! Make something of myself!

MRS. FRANK

It isn't necessary to fight to do it. Margot doesn't fight and isn't she...?

ANNE

(violently rebellious, wheeling on her mother)

Margot! Margot! Margot! Margot! That's all I hear from everyone... how wonderful Margot is. 'Why aren't you like Margot?'

MARGOT

(protesting)

Oh, come on, Anne, don't be so...

ANNE

(paying no attention)

Everything she does is right, and everything I do is wrong! I'm the goat around here! You're all against me...

(to Mrs. Frank)

...And you worst of all!

Anne rushes off into her room.

INT. ANNE'S ROOM

36

She enters, SLAMMING the door shut behind her. She throws herself down on the settee, stifling her sobs.

INT. CENTER ROOM

97

Mrs. Frank sighs, puts her knitting on the mantel.

Cont.

EXCERPT #3

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257

943 cont. 2

MR. VAN DAAN

(to Mr. Dussel)

Did Mr. Kraler warn you that you don't get much to eat here? You can imagine...three ration books among the seven of us. And now you make eight.

Mrs. Van Daan tugs at her husband's coattails.

Peter, humiliated once again, turns away.

MR. DUSSEL

Mr. Van Daan, you don't realize what is happening outside that you should warn me of a thing like that. You don't realize what is going on.

Mr. Van Daan puts his glass on the lamp table and resumes his characteristic pacing.

MR. DUSSEL

(to the others)

Right here in Amsterdam everyday hundreds of Jews disappear. They surround the block and search house by house. Children come back from school to find their parents gone. Hundreds are being deported...people that you and I know. The Hallensteins...the Wessels.

MRS. FRANK

(in tears)

Oh, no. No!

MR. DUSSEL

They get their call-up notice... come to the Jewish theater on such and such a day and hour... bring only what you can carry in a rucksack. And if you refuse the call-up notice, then they come and drag you from your home and ship you off to Maulhausen. The death camp!

MRS. FRANK

We didn't know that things had got so much worse.

MR. DUSSEL

Forgive me for speaking so.

ANNE

(to Mr. Dussel)

Do you know the deWaals? Do you know what has become of them? Their daughter Jopie and I were in the same class. Jopie's my best friend.

MR. DUSSEL

They are gone.

ANNE

Gone?

MR. DUSSEL

With all the others.

ANNE

Oh, no. Not Jopie!

She is in tears. Margot puts her arm very gently around her.

MRS. VAN DAAN

There were some people called Wagner. They lived near us...

MR. FRANK

(interrupting, with a glance at Anne)

I think we should put this off until later. We all have many questions we want to ask. But I'm sure that Mr. Dussel would like to get settled before supper.

MR. DUSSEL

Thank you. I would. I brought very little with me.

Mr. Frank gives Mr. Dussel his hat and bags.

MR. FRANK

I'm sorry we can't give you a room alone. But I hope you won't be too uncomfortable. We have had to make strict rules here... a schedule of ours. We'll tell you after supper. Anne, would you like to take Mr. Dussel to his room?

Gent.

ANNE
(controlling her
tears)

If you'll come with me, Mr. Dussel?

Anne starts for her room.

Mr. Dussel shakes hands with all of them.

MR. DUSSEL

Forgive me if I haven't really expressed my gratitude to all of you. This has been such a shock to me. I had always thought of myself as Dutch. I was born in Holland. My father was born in Holland, and my grandfather. And now...after all these years...

(breaks off)

If you'll excuse me.

When he has completed his handshaking, he follows Anne into her room.

INT. ANNE'S ROOM

44

Anne turns on the light as they enter, closing the door behind them.

ANNE

Well, here we are.

As Anne puts Mr. Dussel's things down, Mr. Dussel carefully looks around the room.

ANNE

You're going to share the room with me.

MR. DUSSEL

I'm a man who's always lived alone. I haven't had to adjust myself to others. I hope you'll bear with me until I learn.

Mr. Dussel starts to put his bags on the cot.

ANNE

Let me help you.

(as she does)

Do you always live all alone?
Have you no family at all?

MR. DUSSEL

No one.

FADE IN

INT. CENTER ROOM - DUSK

45

Mr. Dussel is seated at the table in the Center Room. He has a bowl of water and a cloth. He is polishing his dental tools. His small black doctor's bag is on the table.

ANNE'S VOICE

(o.s.)

Mr. Dussel and I had another battle yesterday. Yes, Mr. Dussel! According to him, nothing...I repeat...nothing is right about me...my appearance, my character, my manners. I think...sometime I'm going to give him such a smack that he'll fly right up to the ceiling.

Mr. Dussel holds up a formidable-looking extractor. He opens and closes it to be sure it is still in good condition.

ANNE'S VOICE

(o.s.)

He misses his electric drill. He's so afraid he'll lose his knack.

DISSOLVE TO:

INT. CENTER ROOM - NIGHT

46

The room is dark. Mr. and Mrs. Frank and Margot are sleeping. All is quiet. Suddenly out of the silence and dark we hear Anne SCREAM.

EXCERPT #4

ANNE

(voice over,
screaming)

No! No!...Don't take me!

The Franks and Margot wake, terrified. Mrs. Frnak snatches up her shawl and rushes to Anne's room.

INT. ANNE'S ROOM

47

Anne is still SCREAMING. Dussel leaps out of bed.

MR. DUSSEL

Shush! Annel Annel Anne, for God's sake, shush!

Cont.

ANNE
(still under
her nightmare)
Save me! Save me!

She SCREAMS and SCREAMS.

Mr. Dussel goes to her, tries to wake her.

MR. DUSSEL
For God's sake! Quiet! Quiet!
You want someone to hear?

MRS. FRANK
(trying to calm
her)
Hush, darling, hush. It's all right.
There, there...my poor baby...my
child.

Over her shoulder to Mr. Dussel, who is blowing his nose:

MRS. FRANK
Will you be kind enough to turn
on the light, Mr. Dussel?

As he does so:

MRS. FRANK
It's nothing, my darling. It was
just a dream.

ANOTHER ANGLE - AT DOORWAY

48

Mr. Frank stands, watching. He sighs with relief as he realizes it was only a nightmare. Margot and Peter come up. He turns to them, indicating that all is well.

MR. FRANK
A nightmare.

He urges them back...following them.

ANOTHER ANGLE - ANNE'S ROOM

49

MR. DUSSEL
(to Mrs. Frank)
Something must be done about that
child, Mrs. Frank. Yelling like
that; Who knows but there's
somebody on the street? She's
endangering all our lives.

Cont.

MRS. FRANK
Anne, darling. Little Anne.

MR. DUSSEL
Every night she twists and turns.
I don't sleep. I spend half my
night shushing her. Now it's
nightmares!

MRS. FRANK
(to Anne)
You're here, safe, you see?
Nothing has happened.
(to Mr. Dussel)
Please, Mr. Dussel, go back to bed.
She'll be herself in a minute or
two. Won't you, Anne?

Mr. Dussel gets his glasses, pillow and bag from the chest.

MR. DUSSEL
Thank you, but I'm going to the
w.c. The one place where there's
peace!

He stalks out.

INT. CENTER ROOM

50

Mr. Van Daan, still in his underwear and trousers, comes down
the stairs, sees Mr. Dussel stalking across the room.

MR. VAN DAAN
What is it? What happened?

MR. DUSSEL
A nightmare. She was having a
nightmare!

MR. VAN DAAN
I thought someone was murdering her.

MR. DUSSEL
Unfortunately, no.

Mr. Dussel goes into the w.c.

Mr. Van Daan, satisfied that it is nothing more than a
nightmare, goes back up the stairs.

Mr. Frank, who has been peering out past the blackout curtain
over the window, turns back into the room.

Cont.

MR. FRANK
Thank you, Peter. Go back to bed.

Peter goes into his room.

ANOTHER ANGLE

51

Mr. Frank gets up on the stool and turns off the hanging lamp.

INT. ANNE'S ROOM

52

MRS. FRANK
(to Anne)
Would you like some water?

When Anne shakes her head:

MRS. FRANK
Was it a very bad dream? Perhaps if
you told me...

ANNE
I'd rather not talk about it.

MRS. FRANK
Poor darling. Try to sleep then.
I'll sit right here beside you
until you fall asleep.

ANNE
You don't have to.

MRS. FRANK
But I'd like to sit with you...
very much. Really.

ANNE
I'd rather you didn't.

MRS. FRANK
Good night, then.

She leans down to kiss Anne. Anne puts her arm across her face and turns away. Mrs. Frank tries not to show her hurt. She kisses Anne's arm instead.

MRS. FRANK
You'll be all right? There's
nothing that you want?

Cont.

ANNE

Will you please ask Father to come?

MRS. FRANK

(after a
second)

Of course, Anne, dear.

She hurries into the Center Room, fighting back her tears.

INT. CENTER ROOM

53

As Mrs. Frank comes in, Mr. Frank goes to her, sensing her hurt.

MR. FRANK

Edith, dear!

MRS. FRANK

It's all right. I thank God that at least she will turn to you when she needs comfort. Go to her, Otto. She is still shaking with fear.

As Mr. Frank hesitates:

MRS. FRANK

Go to her.

Mr. Frank looks at Mrs. Frank for a second as she moves toward the bed. Mr. Frank goes to the shelves and gets a pill from a bottle there and a cup. He goes to the sink for water.

Mrs. Frank sits on the foot of her bed, trying to keep from sobbing aloud. Margot comes to her, sits by her and puts her arm around her.

MRS. FRANK

She wants nothing of me. She pulled away when I leaned down to kiss her.

MARGOT

It's a phase. You heard Father... Most girls go through it. They turn to their fathers at this age... they give all their love to their fathers.

Cont.

MRS. FRANK
You weren't like this. You didn't
shut me out.

MARGOT
She'll get over it.

770 words -
begin new section

INT. ANNE'S ROOM

54

As Mr. Frank comes in, he pulls the stool aside and places the cup on it, then goes to Anne.

She sits up and flings her arms around him, clinging to him.

ANNE
(to Mr. Frank)
Oh, Pim. I dreamed that they
came to get us. The Green Police!
They broke down the door and grabbed
me and started to drag me out the
way they did Jopie.

MR. FRANK
I want you to take this pill.

ANNE
What is it?

MR. FRANK
Something to quiet you.

Anne takes it and drinks the water.

MR. FRANK
Do you want me to read to you for
awhile?

ANNE
No. Just sit with me for a minute.

As Mr. Frank sits on edge of bed beside her:

ANNE
Was I awful? Did I yell terribly
loud? Do you think anyone outside
could have heard?

MR. FRANK
No. No. Lie quietly now. Try
to sleep.

Cont.

Anne lies back, still overwrought.

ANNE

I'm a terrible coward. I'm so disappointed in myself. I think I'll conquer my fear...I think I'm really grown up...and then something happens...and I run to you, like a baby. I love you, Father. I don't love anyone but you.

MR. FRANK

(reproachfully)

Anneline!

ANNE

It's true. I've been thinking about it for a long time. You're the only one I love.

MR. FRANK

It's fine to hear you tell me that you love me. But I'll be much happier if you said you love your mother as well. She needs your help so much...your love.

ANNE

We have nothing in common. She doesn't understand me. Whenever I try to explain my views on life to her she asks me if I'm constipated.

MR. FRANK

You hurt her very much just now. She's crying. She's in there crying.

ANNE

I can't help it. I only told the truth. I didn't want her here...

With sudden remorse Anne sits up and clings to him again.

ANNE

Oh, Pim, I was horrible, wasn't I? And the worst of it is, I can stand off and look at myself doing it and know it's cruel and yet I can't stop doing it. What's the matter with me? Tell me. Don't say it's just a phase. Help me.

Cont.

MR. FRANK

There's so little that we parents can do to help our children. We can only try to set a good example...point the way. The rest you must do yourself. You must build your own character.

ANNE

I'm trying. Really I am.
(lies back
again, more
relaxed)

Every night before I go to sleep I think back over all the things I did that day that were wrong. Like putting the wet mop on Mr. Dussel's bed. And this thing now with Mother. I say to myself, that was wrong. I make up my mind I'm never going to do that again. Never! Of course I may do something worse, but at least I'll never do that again!

The medicine begins to do its work. As Anne talks she becomes relaxed, drowsy.

ANNE

I have a nicer side, Father...a sweeter, nicer side. But I'm scared to show it. I'm afraid that people are going to laugh at me if I'm serious. So the mean Anne comes to the outside and the good Anne stays on the inside. And I keep on trying to switch them around and have the good Anne outside and the bad Anne inside and be what I'd like to be...and might be. If only... only...

She is asleep.

Mr. Frank rises quietly and goes to the door. He turns to look at her once more, then turns out the light.

FADE OUT

Mr. Van Daan shoves her aside as he goes quickly to the stairs to listen. Mrs. Van Daan falls sobbing against the sofa. Peter hurries to her and helps her to sit on the sofa.

There is a second of silence, then Anne can't stand it no longer.

ANNE
Someone go for Father! Make
Father come back!

Mrs. Frank covers Anne's mouth to muffle her voice.

PETER
(hurrying to
stairwell)
I'll go.

Mr. Van Daan is still at the stairs, listening. As Peter approaches him he turns on him.

MR. VAN DAAN
Haven't you done enough?

He pushes Peter sharply. Peter grabs a chair as if to hit Mr. Van Daan with it. Then he puts it down, burying his face in his hands.

EXCERPT # 5

ANNE
Please, please, Mr. Van Daan,
get Father.

MR. VAN DAAN
(whirling on her)
Quiet! Quiet!

Anne is shocked into silence. Mrs. Frank pulls her closer, holding her protectively in her arms.

MRS. FRANK
(softly praying)
'I lift up mine eyes unto the
mountains, from whence cometh my
help. My help cometh from the
Lord who made heaven and earth.
He will not suffer thy foot to
be moved. He that keepeth thee
will not slumber.'

She stops as she hears someone coming. They all watch the door tensely. Mr. Van Daan gives way as Mr. Frank comes up the stairs. Anne rushes to her father, holding him tight.

cont. 2

MR. FRANK

It was a thief. That noise
must have scared him away.

MRS. VAN DAAN

Thank God.

MR. FRANK

He took the cash box and the
radio. He ran away in such
a hurry that he didn't stop
to shut the street door. It
was swinging wide open.

A breath of relief sweeps over them.

MR. FRANK

I think it'd be good to have
some light.

MARGOT

Are you sure it's all right?

MR. FRANK

The danger has passed.

Margot lights the mantel lamp.

MR. FRANK

Don't be so terrified, Anne.
We're safe.

MR. DUSSEL

(sharply, tensely)

Who says the danger has passed.
Don't you realize we are in
greater danger than ever?

MR. FRANK

Mr. Dussel, will you be still!

MR. DUSSEL

(pointing to
Peter)

Thanks to this clumsy fool,
there's someone now who knows
we're up here! Someone now
knows we're up here hiding!

Cont. 2

MRS. VAN DAAN

Someone knows we are here, yes. But who is the someone? A thief! A thief! You think a thief is going to go to the Green Police and say...I was robbing a place the other night and I heard a noise up over my head. You think a thief is going to do that?

MR. DUSSEL

Yes. I think he will.

MRS. VAN DAAN

(hysterically)
You're crazy!

Mrs. Van Daan stumbles back to her seat at the table. Peter follows protectively to comfort his mother, pushing Mr. Dussel aside.

MR. DUSSEL

I think someday he'll get caught and then he'll make a bargain with the Green Police. If they'll let him off, he'll tell them where some Jews are hiding.

Mr. Dussel stalks into Anne's room.

MR. VAN DAAN

He's right!

ANNE

(terrified)
Father, let's get out of here! We can't stay here now...Let's go.

MR. VAN DAAN

Go! Where?

MRS. FRANK

(in despair)
Yes. Where?

~~cont.~~

MR. FRANK

(surveying the 'family'
as they slump in their
places)

Have we all lost faith? All courage?
A moment ago we thought they'd come
for us. We were sure it was the end.
We are alive, safe.

(prays)

We thank Thee, oh Lord our God, that
in Thy infinite mercy Thou hast again
seen fit to spare us.

(blows out candles;
turns to Anne)

Come on, Anne. The song! The song!

Anne starts falteringly to sing, as Mr. Frank urges her. Her
voice is hardly audible at first.

ANNE

(singing)

'Oh, Hanukkah! Oh, Hanukkah!
The sweet celebration...'

As she goes on singing, one by one the others join. But there
is no unity, no rhythm at first. Mrs. Van Daan sobs as she
sings. Mr. Dussel comes out of his room. Margot draws him
into the group.

As they sing "Many are the reasons for good cheer," their
courage and faith are beginning to return.

GROUP

'Around the feast we gather
in complete jubilation.
Happiest of seasons
Now is here.
Many are the reasons for good cheer.
Together
We'll weather
Whatever tomorrow may bring.'
(with growing
courage)

'So hear us rejoicing
And merrily voicing
The Hanukkah song that we sing.
Hoy!'

Start slow Fade on:

GROUP

'So here us rejoicing
And merrily voicing
The Hanukkah song that we sing.'

FADE OUT

MR. KRALER

This may be all my imagination. You get to a point, these days, where you suspect everyone and everything.

(to Mr. Frank)

I'll offer him half then.

(shaking Mr. Frank's hand)

Good-bye...we'll hope for the best!

As Mr. Kraler starts down the stairs, the group calls their good-byes half-heartedly.

ANGLE ON STAIRWELL 65

Mr. Frank follows Mr. Kraler to bolt the door below.

INT. CENTER ROOM 66

MR. DUSSEL

(to Mr. Van Daan)

You can thank your son for this... smashing the light! I tell you it's just a question of time now.

EXCERPT #6

MARGOT

Sometimes I wish the end would come...whatever it is.

Mrs. Frank, shocked, sits beside Margot on the couch, puts her arms around her.

MRS. FRANK

Margot!

MARGOT

Then at least we'd know where we were.

MRS. FRANK

(to Margot)

You should be ashamed of yourself! Talking that way! Think of how lucky we are. Think of the thousands dying in the war every day! Think of the people in concentration camps!

Cont.

ANNE

(lashing out at
her mother)

What's the good of that? What's
the good of thinking of misery
when you're already miserable?
That's stupid!

MRS. FRANK

(shocked)

Anne!

As Anne goes on, Mr. Frank comes back up the steps, and
listens unhappily.

ANNE

We're young, Margot and Peter and
I! You grownups have had your
chance! But look at us...
If we begin thinking of all the
horror in the world, we're lost!
We're trying to hold onto some
kind of ideals...when everything...
ideals, hopes, everything are
being destroyed!

MRS. FRANK

(trying to
get in a word)

Now, Anne...

ANNE

(overriding her)

It isn't our fault that the
world is in such a mess! We
weren't around when all this
started.

MRS. FRANK

Anne!

ANNE

So don't try to take it out on
us.

Anne rushes off to her room, SLAMMING the door after her.

ANOTHER ANGLE - CENTER ROOM

67

MR. VAN DAAN

She talks as if we started the
war! Did we start the war?

Mr. Van Daan sees Anne's cake on the table. He reached out
to take it, but Peter anticipates him, picking up the plate.

Cont.

PETER

She left her cake.

Peter moves toward Anne's door. Mr. Van Daan looks after him, then puts down his cup, and goes upstairs, disappearing into the attic bedroom. Peter enters.

INT. ANNE'S ROOM

68

As Peter comes in, Anne sits up quickly, trying to hide the signs of her tears.

PETER

(offering the cake)

You left this.

ANNE

(dully)

Thanks.

He places the cake on window seat, then moves back toward the still-open door. He changes his mind, closes the door and turns to her.

PETER

I thought you were fine just now. You know just how to talk to them. You know just how to say it. I'm no good...I never can think.

ANNE

You're making a big mistake about me. I do it all wrong. I say too much. I go too far. And hurt people's feelings...

PETER

I think you're just fine...what I want to say...if it wasn't for you around, I don't know. What I mean...

Peter is interrupted by Mr. Dussel, who comes in and turns on the lights.

The two young people turn to look at him. Mr. Dussel pauses a second, staring back, then begins to move toward his bed.

Peter advances toward him slowly, menacingly. Mr. Dussel retreats, backing out of the door. He looks back forlornly, as Peter firmly shuts the door on him.

Cont.

ANNE
Do you mean it, Peter? Do you
really mean it?

PETER
I said it, didn't I?

ANNE
Thank you, Peter.

PETER
(looking at
pictures on wall)
You've got quite a collection.

ANNE
Wouldn't you like some in your
room? I could give you some.
Heaven knows you spend enough
time in there...doing Heaven
knows what...

PETER
It's easier. A fight starts or
an argument...I duck in there.

ANNE
You're lucky, having a room to
go to. His lordship is always
here. I hardly ever get a
minute alone. When they start
in on me I can't duck away. I
have to stand there and take it.

PETER
You gave some of it back just
now.

ANNE
I got so mad. They've formed
their opinions about everything...
but we...we're still trying to
find out. We have problems here
that no other people our age
have ever had. And just when
you think you've solved them,
something comes along and bang!
You have to start all over again.

PETER
At least you can talk to your
father.

Cont.

ANNE

Yes, but nothing can take the place of school and friends of your own age...or near your own age, can it? Isn't it funny, you and I? Here we've been seeing each other every minute for almost a year and a half, and this is the first time we've ever really talked. It helps a lot to have someone to talk to, don't you think? It helps you to let off steam.

PETER

(edging to the door)

Well, any time you want to let off steam, you can come into my room.

ANNE

I can get up an awful lot of steam. You'll have to be careful how you say that.

PETER

It's all right with me.

ANNE

Do you mean it?

PETER

I said it, didn't I?

He goes out. Anne stands in her doorway looking after him.

INT. CENTER ROOM

69

Peter goes to his door, stands for a moment looking back at her. Then he goes in, shutting the door.

INT. PETER'S ROOM

70

Peter is startled to see Mr. Dussel sitting under the skylight reading one of Peter's books. Mr. Dussel rises as Peter comes in and quickly goes out.

INT. CENTER ROOM

71

Anne sees Mr. Dussel as he comes out of Peter's room. She turns, goes back into her room, pulling her door shut. Mr. Dussel turns back toward Peter's room. Peter SLAMS his door shut. Mr. Dussel stands there bewildered, forlorn, lost.

SLOW FADE OUT

INT. PETER'S ROOM

86

Peter throws himself down on his cot. Anne comes in, closing the door after her. She sits on the edge of the cot and leans over him, holding him in her arms, trying to bring him out of his despair. Peter is too unhappy to respond.

ANNE

(looking up through
the skylight)

Look, Peter, the sky. What a lovely day. Aren't the clouds beautiful? You know what I do when it seems I couldn't stand being cooped up for one more minute? I think myself out. I think myself on a walk in the park where I used to go with Pim. Where the daffodils and the crocus and the violets grow down the slopes. You know the most wonderful thing about thinking myself out? You can do it any way you like. You can have roses, violets and chrysanthemums all blooming at the same time. It's funny...I used to take it all for granted...and now I've gone crazy about everything to do with nature. Haven't you?

PETER

(barely lifting his
face)

I've just gone crazy. I think if something doesn't happen... if we don't get out of here... I can't stand much more of it!

ANNE

(softly)

I wish you had a religion, Peter.

PETER

(bitterly, as he
rolls over)

No, thanks. Not me.

ANNE

Oh, I don't mean you have to be Orthodox...or believe in heaven and Hell and purgatory and things... I just mean some religion. It doesn't matter what. Just to believe in something! When I think of all that's out there...

~~ANNE (Cont.)~~

the trees and flowers and seagulls...
when I think of the dearness of you,
Peter, and the goodness of the
people we know...Mr. Kraler, Miep,
Dirk, the vegetable man, all risking
their lives for us every day. When
I think of these good things, I'm
not afraid anymore...I find myself,
and God, and I...

PETER

(impatiently, as he
gets to his feet)

That's fine! But when I begin
to think, I get mad! Look at us,
hiding out for two years. Not
able to move! Caught here like...
waiting for them to come and get
us...and all for what?

ANNE

We're not the only people that
have had to suffer. There've
always been people that've had
to...sometimes one race, sometimes
another...and yet...

PETER

That doesn't make me feel any
better!

ANNE

I know it's terrible, trying to
have any faith...when people are
doing such horrible...

(gently lifting
his face)

But you know what I sometimes
think? I think the world may
be going through a phase, the
way I was with Mother. It'll
pass. Maybe not for hundreds
of years, but some day...I still
believe, in spite of everything,
that people are really good at
heart.

PETER

I want to see something now...
not a thousand years from now.

~~cont.~~

ANNE

But, Peter, if you'd only look at it as part of a great pattern... that we're just a little minute in life...

(breaks off)

Listen to us, going at each other like a couple of stupid grownups!

She holds out her hand to him. He takes it.

ANNE

Look at the sky now. Isn't it lovely?

Peter rises, stands behind her with his arm around her. They look out at the sky.

ANNE

Some day, when we're outside again, I'm going to...

She breaks off as she hears the SOUND of a CAR outside, its brakes SQUEALING as it comes to a sudden stop.

INT. CENTER ROOM - ANGLE ON GROUP

87e

The people there are listening tensely. Other cars outside ROAR up to a sudden stop. Mr. Frank, who has been reading, rises slowly, a book in hand. Everyone is listening, hardly breathing. Suddenly a heavy electric BELL begins CLANGING savegely below.

Anne and Peter come slowly in from Peter's room, Margot from Anne's room.

INT. CENTER ROOM

88e

The bell stops. From far below we HEAR a door being BATTERED down.

The street level door below CRASHES. There's the SOUND of BOOTED FOOTSTEPS. Then another door, the door to Mr. Kraler's and Miep's office, is BATTERED through. The SOUND of GLASS CRACKING.

They all look at Mr. Frank. He makes a gesture that tells all. A MOAN escapes Mrs. Van Daan and she sags. Peter and Mr. Van Daan go to her, helping her as she sinks down in the chair. Dussel sits with his head in his hands. Mr. Frank takes Mrs. Frank's hand.

Cont.

MR. FRANK

For the past two years we have lived in fear. Now we can live in hope.

A pair of boots CLUMPS heavily up the flight of stairs to the office below. They sound very near. Peter goes to Anne, kissing her good-bye, then goes back to his mother and father.

The door BUZZER sounds. They all freeze. Then another insistent BUZZ.

After the second buzz a rifle butt CRASHES heavily into their bolted door.

ANGLE ON STAIRWELL

As the door is battered down, shouted commands are HEARD and SOLDIERS are seen battering the door.

SOLDIER'S VOICE

(o.s.)

Auf machen! Da drinnen! Auf machen! Schnell! Schnell! Schnell!

Mr. and Mrs. Frank look over at Anne. She stands looking back at them with a soft, reassuring smile. She's no longer a child, but a woman with the courage to meet whatever lies ahead.

As we hear one more shattering CRASH downstairs, we FREEZE on the "Family."

DISSOLVE TO:

INT. CENTER ROOM

The room is as we saw it in the first SCENE.

Mr. Kraler has joined Miep and Mr. Frank. The center table has been put upright. Coffee cups are on it for Mr. Kraler and Miep. Mr. Frank is seated on the couch.

Mr. Frank's coffee cup is on the lamp table. We see a great change in Mr. Frank. He is calm now, his bitterness is gone. He slowly turns a few pages of the diary. They are blank. He closes the diary.

MR. FRANK

No more.

Cont.

MIEP

I'd gone to the country to find food. When I got back the block was surrounded by police.

MR. KRALER

We made it our business to learn how they knew. It was the thief ...the thief who told them.

MR. FRANK

(after a pause,
quietly, simply)

It seems strange to say this, that anyone could be happy in a concentration camp. But Anne was happy in the camp in Holland where they first took us. After two years of being shut up in these rooms, she could be out...out in the sunshine and the fresh air that she loved.

MIEP

(offering coffee
from the pot)

A little more?

As she pours:

MR. FRANK

The news of the war was good. The British and Americans were sweeping through France. We felt sure they would get to us in time. In September we were shipped to Poland... the men to one camp...the women to another. I was sent to Auschwitz. They went to Belsen. In January we were freed, the few of us who were left. The war wasn't yet over, so it took us a long time to get home. We'd be sent here and there behind the lines where we'd be safe. Each time our train would stop at a siding, or a crossing...we'd all get out and go from group to group. Where were you? Where were you? At Buchenwald? At Malhausen? Is it possible that you knew my wife? Did you ever see my husband? My son? My daughter? That's how I found out about my wife's death...of Margot, the Van Daans, Peter...Dussel. But Anne... I still hoped.

MR. FRANK (Cont.)

(picking up
diary)

Yesterday I went to Rotterdam.
I'd heard of a woman there. She'd
been in Belsen with Anne...I know
now.

He opens the diary and turns the pages back to find a certain
passage. His eye falls on a sentence. As he finds it, we
hear Anne's voice:

ANNE

(voice over from
diary)

In spite of everything, I still
believe that people are really
good at heart.

MR. FRANK

She puts me to shame.

As Mr. Frank closes the diary, we slowly:

FADE OUT

THE END





CROP COMMITTEE OF HUMAN RELATIONS FOR PEACE COMITE DE RELATIONS HUMAINES POUR LA PAIX

November 26, 1980

Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum
Director Interreligion Affairs
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
10022 New York, New York

Dear Marc,

You were right in telling Nancy not to give up, because important matters take time to accomplish.

As you will see in the copy of my letter to Ambassador Bunker, I am convinced that a two-pronged approach can succeed.

You can certainly organize a systematic action to bring the new President to understand that with a really active envoy at the Vatican, he can keep his promises to Israel and to the Jews more easily.

I can inform you that the Arabs are working very hard in the Vatican with the argument that the many Catholics in their countries could suffer if the Holy See does not give in. The main question to settle is that of Jerusalem. There must be patient arguments to prove that as the Holy See now admits the error of trying to avoid that Rome should become the capital of the Italian Republic, so it should not be brought to maintain the thesis of the internationalization of Jerusalem but develop enclaves for the holy places as has succeeded in Italy. Furthermore, AJC should be able to furnish decisive documentation on the revival of Jewish education and Jewish faith, so as to overcome the campaign concerning Jewish and American materialism.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Nancy Palmer, but not to Ambassador Bunker. If he does not call you in the first two weeks of December, you might contact him to work out a plan of cooperation in this important issue.

I have many things to tell you, on which I would appreciate your advice. Please send me further material concerning your policies so that I can further the cause here.

Cordially yours,

THE PRESIDENT
Andrew F. Morlion O.P.
29, Viale Polo, Rome
Tel. 8444989-859303

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CROP COMMITTEE OF HUMAN RELATIONS FOR PEACE COMITE DE RELATIONS HUMAINES POUR LA PAIX

November 26, 1980

Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker
3900 Watsonplace NW
20016 Washington, D.C.
United States of America

Dear Friend,

I hope that by now you have read the first pages of the book by Norman Cousins that Nancy Palmer sent you. As member of the CIP Board, you have been active in our movement: after the Cuba crisis, we were able to convince Pope Paul VI to go to the UN and to the US.

I am writing you now because I think that on the basis of your diplomatic successes you can convince some member of the appointment-committee and the newly-elected President himself to give a courageous solution to the problem of relations with the Vatican. If a Catholic were to sponsor this effort, he might be suspected of Vatican lobbying. As a Protestant, you are in the most favorable position to further this cause.

There is, in fact, danger that together with European power, the Holy See will weaken its support of American policies. The Embassy cannot act in the Vatican and the quarterly visits by a personal envoy of the American President has not had effective results. There is no need for trying to obtain an ambassador status for the person involved, because this would, on one hand, place difficulties and require much time, and on the other, it is sufficient that the envoy should live permanently in Rome and develop an effective network of friendships not only so as to be well informed but also to create a right image of the U.S. and explain its policies.

As I was not mistaken in choosing Norman Cousins for the difficult job of developing human relations with the Kremlin, so I am sure I am not wrong in telling you that Nancy Palmer is ideal for the job. The fact that she is a woman will make it much easier for her to overcome the reticence of Vatican authorities when they face a career diplomat. The new Pope is the kind of man who can listen to and understand well and act courageously when he has been informed how the new American President is also a man of decision. Nancy has not only political experience, which I discovered when I worked with her for a long time, but she also has a special warmth that opens hearts and minds and an exceptionally firm perseverance in pursuing the right aims.

In a two-pronged approach there is more chance of success. This is why Rabbi Marc Tannebaum, director of religious affairs of AJC, and who knows Nancy well, will also develop some contacts. If you want to get in touch with him, you can write to him at 165 East 65th St./New York, New York 10022, or phone him at Plaza 14000.

When I finish certain diplomatic tasks here (see annexes), I will be in the States next year and hope to see you then. I am eager to hear from you.

Cordially yours,

Andrew F. Morlion, O.P.

THE PRESIDENT
Andrew F. Morlion O.P.
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December 2, 1980

His Grace Archbishop Stuart Blanch
The Right Honorable Archbishop of York
Bishopthorpe, York, YO2, 1QE

My dear Archbishop,

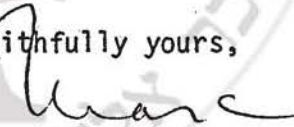
It was both a genuine privilege and a deep personal pleasure to participate with you in the Anglican-Jewish meeting last week at Andover.

Despite some mildly feverish moments, I think the consultation was a huge success. No small measure of that achievement was due to your personal graciousness and strong leadership to which I felt all of us responded with such warmth.

I want to thank you and your associates for all the courtesies that you were kind enough to extend to my colleagues and myself. I do hope it will be possible to reciprocate your kindnesses should you be visiting the United States in the near future.

Again, with warmest good wishes and my prayers for God's richest blessings over you, I am,

Faithfully yours,


Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

Enclosure

BC: Zach Shuster

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→ Notre Dame

December 2, 1980

Dr. Charles Primus
Theology Department
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

My dear Professor Primus,

I was very glad to have the privilege of meeting you last week during my visit to Notre Dame. I regret, however, that we did not have an opportunity to chat and become better acquainted. Perhaps we can do that some time in the near future.

In reading your report on "Judaica at Notre Dame," I was interested in your reference to two publications:

"The Canonization of the Synagogue Service," by Prof. Lawrence Hoffman;

"Prophecy and Canon," by Prof. Joseph Blenkinsopp.

Could I obtain copies of both those studies? I shall be happy to pay for them.

At some time soon, I would like to explore with you the possibility of co-sponsoring with your center a Colloquium on Contemporary Jewish and Christian Scholarship and its relationship to the current state of Jewish-Christian relations. The American Jewish Committee has a long history of sponsoring such colloquia and seminars at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, GTU, University of Chicago, Hebrew University, etc., and we would be most interested in developing such a program at Notre Dame. If you and your colleagues are interested, please let me know and I'll come back to you with a concrete draft proposal.

With warm good wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:rpr

X new all page - enf folders

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"EVANGELICALS AND JEWS IN AN AGE OF PLURALISM"

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December 9-11, 1980

TRINITY EVANGELICAL DIVINITY SCHOOL
Deerfield, Illinois

OUR PURPOSE

Relationships between Evangelicals and Jews have been cast into public consciousness in recent months by virtue of our nation's quadrennial upheaval called elections. Unhappily, the central realities and complexities of those relationships have frequently been far more distorted than clarified, particularly as a result of the sensationalizing of issues in the heat of a Presidential campaign.

This Second National Conference of Evangelicals and Jews is timely and pertinent, and affords us an opportunity to separate out sensationalism from sober understanding. In this forum, modeled on its earlier precedent, we will seek through the insights of some of our finest Evangelical and Jewish scholars and leaders to examine what are the authentic and permanent concerns that separate these two major faith communities and what they hold in common — as believers in the Holy Bible, as fellow citizens committed to freedom of conscience and as members of the human family.

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**THE NATHAN APPLEMAN INSTITUTE
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Concerning Evangelicals and Jews

In early spring of each year, Jews around the world celebrate Holocaust Remembrance Day. It is a reminder to Jews

and Gentiles alike of the unspeakable tragedy of the Holocaust under Hitler and the Nazis. Jews will never forget it, and they vow it shall never happen again. CHRISTIANITY TODAY joins with the Jewish people in remembering this infamous event. With them, we are determined that nothing like it shall ever happen again.

We believe it is specially appropriate on this occasion to raise six hard questions for both evangelicals and Jews:

1. Are evangelicals anti-Semitic?
2. Who killed Jesus?
3. Is the New Testament anti-Semitic?
4. Should Christians seek to evangelize Jews?
5. Should Jews fear evangelicals?
6. How can evangelicals and Jews work together?

No doubt it would be easier to avoid these sticky questions. But the occasion is far too momentous, the day too serious to allow ourselves to drift apart simply because we are unwilling to take the trouble to understand each other. We evangelicals and Jews need each other too much to gloss over our differences with superficial banalities. We owe it to each other to speak with open hearts and complete honesty.

Are Evangelicals Anti-Semitic?

Anti-Semitism is, of course, difficult to define. It includes infinitely more than genocide: for that is only the worst form of anti-Semitism—the final step in a long journey. On the other hand, anti-Semitism must not be so broadly defined as to preclude criticism of particular acts or of specific groups of Jews. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend," says Scripture. It is possible to criticize a Jew

without being anti-Semitic, just as it is possible to criticize an evangelical without being anti-evangelical.

On the whole, evangelicals tend to slough off suggestions that they are anti-Semitic. They admit that nominal Christians, particularly medieval Catholics and some members of the liberal church in modern Germany, were anti-Semitic; but evangelicals stand opposed to this. Beyond that, however, we must confess that Luther and the Reformers and many evangelical Protestants since then have made statements that Jews certainly have a right to consider anti-Semitic. We regret these anti-Semiticisms of the past and present. Southern Baptist president Bailey Smith vigorously insists that he did not intend as anti-Semitic his recent remark that God does not hear the prayers of Jews. He says he loves and honors the Jews and that he was simply expounding a fine point of Baptist theology in his well-known reference to Jewish prayers. At any rate, other evangelical leaders, including such thorough conservatives as Jerry Falwell, have publicly dissociated themselves from Bailey Smith's remark. Says Falwell, "God hears the cry of any sincere person who calls on him." These leaders have vigorously rejected the Smith statement and made clear their opposition to all anti-Semitism. Still, we sorrowfully acknowledge anti-Semitic statements and actions. We are thankful, therefore, that we detect a spirit of repentance among evangelicals.

But repentance without restitution, like faith without works, is useless. What must evangelicals, and especially evangelical leaders, do to show that their repentance is sincere?

1. It is important that, where guilty, they publicly acknowledge past anti-Semitism, and declare it to be sin. If evangelicals are unwilling to set the record straight on this matter, any mouthing of repentance is rightly suspect.

2. Evangelical leaders must avoid any direct or indirect support for anti-Semitic causes. We believe contemporary evangelicals pass this test fairly well. Anti-Semitic leaders of the past, such as Gerald L. K. Smith and Gerald Winrod, and the anti-Semitic movements of the present such as the Ku Klux Klan, have absolutely no following among even the most conservative evangelical leaders. Of course, some evangelicals

have espoused political and social causes that are not generally popular among Jews (who have tended to be liberal in these matters). But so far as we can see, they do this without any anti-Semitic overtones. And many evangelicals favor middle-of-the-road or liberal policies more congenial to the Jewish mainstream. It is also striking that the most politically conservative evangelical spokesmen are frequently the most pro-Jewish and pro-Zionist in their convictions. At any rate, evangelical leaders do not now align themselves in any way with anti-Semitic causes.

3. It is not enough just to condemn anti-Semitism in the past and remain aloof from anti-Semitic causes. Evangelical leaders and pastors must also use their teaching ministries to present solid instruction as to the antibiblical and anti-Christian nature of all anti-Semitic attitudes or actions. To heighten evangelical sensitivities concerning the horrors of anti-Semitism and the need Jews have for true Christian friends, church leaders would do well to show films like *Avenue of the Just* or *Night and Fog*, and discuss them as a deterrent to future wrongs.

4. Further, evangelical leaders must ferret out, expose, and actively oppose incipient and overt anti-Semitism that creeps into a society structured for centuries along anti-Semitic lines. Hitler did not arise in a cultural vacuum. His persecution of the Jews was the end product of a long history of anti-Semitism in which, alas, evangelicals too played an ignoble part. Incipient anti-Semitism leads to gross anti-Semitism, which may terminate in genocide. So evangelicals must root out even the incipient forms we often think are harmless. Are we careful to show an appropriate respect for Jews in our casual remarks, attempts at humor, or social and business relations?

5. Evangelicals must guard against the unconscious anti-Semitism in themselves and others that lies concealed in the structures of society. Jews, naturally more sensitive to this, can help evangelicals here by forthrightly pointing out such attitudes. A public school English teacher, for example, can instill prejudices for life by his treatment of Shylock in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*.

6. As evangelicals demonstrate in tangible ways their abhorrence of anti-Semitic actions, they will declare a crucial truth to the Gentile world at large: *to attack Jews is to attack evangelicals, and such attacks will be resisted by evangelicals as attacks against themselves*. Only in this way can evangelicals make their repentance credible. Evangelicals, we grant, may well have begun to move in this direction. They may well be the Jews' best friends, but they certainly still have a long way to go.

Who Killed Jesus?

Careful students of Scripture may regard this question as irrelevant, if not ridiculous. But among untaught evangelicals and nominal Christians it is significant. The blame Gentiles heaped on Jews for the death of Christ created a profound sense of unfairness and resentment that has become a fixture of Jewish culture. Today, the repetition of this unjust charge produces an emotional, unconscious antagonism deep in the hearts of many Jews. Evangelical scholars, in writing on the New Testa-

ment, must bear this in mind, and show uninformed readers the scriptural teaching. A superficial reading of the New Testament leads some to conclude that the Jews as a whole condemned Jesus to death and the Romans performed the execution. A more careful reading shows it was only *certain* Jewish leaders who brought the charge and stirred up the mob. Romans executed Jesus partly because Pilate lacked the courage to stand against those leaders and the excited mob.

But this is only part of what the New Testament says on this question. Christians also believe that the death of Jesus was part of God's overall plan. He chose the Jews to be a messianic people—a people through whom the world would be richly blessed (Gen. 12:1–3: "Thou shalt be a blessing . . . and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed"). In his perfect life and sacrificial death, Jesus was the representative of the Jews in their messianic role to bring ultimate blessing to the whole human race (John 4:22: "Salvation is of the Jews").

But the world today does not accept Jesus and his salvation, just as earlier it rejected God and his messianic people. In this sense, the Jewish leaders (and Pilate) were more representative of the unbelieving world than of the Jews. Jesus presented himself as the true Jew doing God's messianic work as their representative. It is important that evangelical pastors, teachers, and leaders spell out clearly and specifically to their churches and constituencies that neither Jews of Jesus' day nor Jews of today are corporately to be held responsible for the death of Jesus.

Is the New Testament Anti-Semitic?

Closely related to the question of who killed Jesus is the broader question of anti-Semitism in the New Testament. Paul, who is often considered to be the most anti-Semitic of all the New Testament writers, was himself a Jew, intensely proud of his Jewishness. The same is true of John, who, for all he said about Jewish leaders, left no doubt that Jews were the true people of God. All the New Testament writers except Luke were Jews. They boldly identified with the Jews, who, in contrast to Gentiles, cherished the Hebrew Scriptures and the idea of a coming Messiah.

One practical application of the alleged anti-Semitism of the New Testament requires special consideration. We must distinguish between what would not be anti-Semitic in the mouth of a first-century Jew and what those same words might convey about a Jew when spoken today. Both Christian and Jewish scholars recognize that the so-called anti-Jewish polemic in the New Testament is in reality an in-house debate among Jews.

But 2,000 years of anti-Semitism provide a wholly different context from that of the first century. New Testament words repeated in today's context are interpreted to mean something quite different from what these same words meant in their New Testament context. This is not so much a theological problem as a hermeneutical one, and it demands very sensitive, discerning action on the part of the church. Whenever a pastor or leader reads or refers to a passage from the New Testament relating to this topic, it is imperative that he interpret it so that he places it in its wholistic Bible context, for these passages *are* misunder-

stood, perhaps not by the well-taught; but by the ill-taught. To avoid a misunderstanding of the New Testament message, therefore, evangelicals must provide their hearers with a careful interpretation set in its original Jewish context. Christians are not sensitive to this problem, but they would be if their grandfather, two uncles, and six cousins had died in the furnaces of Buchenwald.

Should Christians Seek to Evangelize Jews?

From its very beginning, Christianity sought to win converts to its faith. Evangelicals believe that Jesus Christ is their divine Lord and Savior and wish to share this good news with all others. Ultimately, salvation depends on faith in Christ. Any evangelical who does not believe this either is not a genuine evangelical, or is a very poorly instructed one. Jews, therefore, can expect evangelicals to seek adherents to Christian faith. They would be poor evangelicals if they did not.

But is it possible for evangelicals to obey the biblical mandate to evangelize in ways acceptable both to them and to Jews?

We begin by noting that both Jews and evangelicals today are firmly committed to religious freedom. Every religious group has the right to practice and propagate its own faith. At times Judaism has been a missionary religion. Jews have every right to seek to convert Christians to the Torah of God. They, in turn, must grant evangelicals the right to seek to win all people to the Christian message.

Of course, both Jews and Christians must repudiate certain kinds of evangelism. Some evangelistic techniques are not consistent with true respect for other people and, therefore, with the respect that every biblical Christian should have for every Jew. Evangelists ought not place unworthy pressures on Jews to induce them to become Christians. Any sort of manipulation or bribery is wholly out of order. We abhor any deception in seeking to present Christ to Jews. A small minority of Jewish Christians disguise their Christianity to attract unsuspecting Jews to accept Christianity. This is deceitful, contrary to the New Testament teaching, and unworthy of evangelical Christians. Evangelicals have more reasons to oppose this type of deception than do Jews, but we have often failed them by our silence. Evangelicals must speak out boldly and unequivocally against any deceitful practices. We must insist on ethical integrity as the first law of any Christian witness.

Should Jews Fear Evangelicals?

On what grounds, then, can we argue that Jews should *not* be afraid of evangelicals who are open and sincere in their evangelizing of Jews? We believe a number of reasons show that Jews ought to trust evangelicals as true friends.

1. Events of the last few years have shown that evangelicals have sought to identify with Jews. At times they may have embarrassed Jews by their well-meaning but not very sophisticated support, but in public and private they have made known

their backing of Jewish causes; many have consistently supported the nation of Israel and Zionism; and they have defended the Jew in high and low places. G. Douglas Young, late president of the Israel American Institute, and Arnold T. Olson of the American Bible Society and president emeritus of the Evangelical Free Church of America, are only two of many evangelical leaders who have staunchly supported Jews at home and abroad.

2. Our next point is extremely sensitive, and we do not wish to introduce a red herring. Yet we fail to see why evangelicals' support for Jews is negated by their desire to evangelize. Just the opposite is true. Their special concern for the Jew, drawn from the Bible, often translates into an even stronger motivation to share their faith with those toward whom they feel a unique relationship. Moreover, a Jew does not necessarily cease to be a Jew when he becomes a Christian any more than a Gentile ceases to be a Gentile when he becomes a Christian. Would he not technically remain a Jew—even though he might be reckoned apostate—since Judaism teaches that a Jew who sins is still a Jew?

We do object when Messianic Jews disguise their true intent and claim to be simply a Jewish party for the purpose of attracting Jews to Christianity. But if a Jew is defined as the son of a Jewish mother who voluntarily identifies himself as a Jew, one with other Jews of the past and present, brings himself under the teachings of the Hebrew Scriptures, and follows Jewish practices as a true expression of his own piety, then surely there is no reason why his acceptance of Jesus as Messiah means that he ceases to be a Jew. We do not accept the view of Chaim Potok that a Jew cannot become Christian without converting out of Judaism. Christianity, Potok argues, destroys the essence of Judaism by completing its messianic goal, so the Jew who becomes a Christian has no further purpose in existing as a Jew. As we read the Bible, however, the messianic role of the Jew is permanent, both as a burden and as a glory, and will never be accomplished until the end of history (Isa. 2:1-4 and Rom. 11:26: "And so all Israel shall be saved").

3. This leads us to a third reason why Jews can trust evangelical Christians for continued support: the role accorded to Jews by the Bible. This provides Christians faithful to both Old and New Testaments with powerful built-in safeguards to keep them from falling into anti-Semitism. They owe a great debt of gratitude to the Jewish people. According to the Bible, God chose them to be the instruments for his redemptive purposes in the world. Through them God gave his revelation in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, and, finally, the Christian Messiah and Savior.

But if gratitude has a short memory, evangelicals have an even more compelling reason for special concern over Jews: many of them believe Jews are specially protected by God. Jews also have a future role in God's plan; therefore, to fight them is to fight God (the Jews are still specially loved by God for "his gifts and call are irrevocable," Rom. 11:28-29). God has even specially commanded them, so many evangelicals believe, to treat Jews well ("I will bless those who bless you, and him who curses you I will curse," Gen. 12:3).

4. Finally, Jews can count on evangelical concern because

of the general stress in both Hebrew and Christian Scriptures on the fundamental nature of the ethic of love. Evangelicals do not always act in love, but in their Bible they have an immensely powerful and continuous encouragement to love Jews. And it warns them that eventually they are accountable to God for their deeds.

How Can Jews and Evangelicals Work Together?

Jews and evangelicals must join in working for racial and human justice in our homeland and in the Middle East, and for Jews and all people everywhere. They must stand united against all kinds of man's inhumanity to man. For their part, Jews should not limit their opposition to anti-Semitism, but also stand against the hatred and superpatriotism that can foster it. Christians, on the other hand, need to share equally with the Jews in the ongoing battle against anti-Semitism. They must make all legitimate Jewish concerns their own, and they must especially identify with Jews and join with them in equally vigorous opposition against even incipient forms of anti-Semitism. We evangelicals need to make our identification with Jews so plain that—let us repeat—when anyone attacks Jews as Jews, or displays any form of anti-Semitism, he must know that he is also attacking evangelicals and violating their basic convictions. And he will then need to do battle against both Jews and evangelicals.

We would do well to heed the warning of a Christian of a former day: In his later years, German pastor Martin Niemoeller lamented: "In Germany they came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak up." God forbid that American evangelicals will bring such a fate upon themselves.

But evangelicals and Jews have much more in common than a mutual desire for survival. Under God, both know themselves called by God to work for human good. Jews and evangelicals can cooperate to preserve all truly human values. We share the ethics of the Ten Commandments and the prophets. We are deeply committed to both political and religious freedom. In America, at least, we are committed to the separation of church and state. But we are also coming more and more to see that Western society, our nation, and even our public schools dare not be value free. Actually, there is no such thing as a value-free society. Our Western culture cannot hold together as a society where we should like our children to live without the Judeo-Christian heritage on which it was built. To remove these commonly held religious and moral values from Western society would be wholly undesirable and even disastrous for both Jews and Christians.

Rather, we should gratefully accept and promulgate the common values of our Judeo-Christian faith: the sanctity of human

life, the stewardship of the earth's resources, the importance of the family as the basic unit of society, respect for the individual and his inalienable rights, and the moral imperative to love one's neighbor.

Of course, these are *religious* values, but they are also values to be preserved and defended by any stable government for the common good, for the personal and social welfare of the nation. We dare not permit those who reject these basic human values to prevent Christians and Jews from building them into our government, our public schools, and the basic social fabric of our society. Evangelicals and Jews must stand together to preserve our freedoms, our democratic society, and most of all, those basic values we owe ultimately to the Jews. As the messianic people of God, they have brought these infinite blessings to us Gentiles; and for this we evangelical Christians are deeply thankful. □



JEWISH leaders have assumed that messianic congregations are really churches with bits of Jewishness sprinkled on top for effect. Contrary to this, we say we are legitimately part of the Jewish community.

We take our cue from the apostles, including Paul, who not only observed Jewish practices and continued to worship in the temple (Acts 2:46; 3:1; 18:18; 21:20-26), but celebrated the holidays as well (Acts 20:5-6, 16; 27:9). In fact, Paul defended himself by asserting that he had "not transgressed the customs of our fathers" (Acts 25:8; 26:5; 28:17). Irenaeus, an early church leader, attests to this: "But they themselves . . . continued in the ancient observances. . . . Thus did the apostles scrupulously act according to the dispensation of the Mosaic law" (*Against Heresies* 3:23:15).

Building on this apostolic model, messianic congregations, or synagogues, have developed a worship and lifestyle incorporating Jewish traditions and synagogue practice to varying degrees. For example, in our congregation we use the traditional synagogue prayers, and our worship is similar to a Conservative synagogue except that we include the New Testament. Our members observe the holidays; and most light the Sabbath candles. The compatibility of the traditions—most of which were in place before Jesus' time—with messianic faith makes this possible. In fact, it appears that Jesus drew on parts of two standard Jewish prayers, the Amidah and Kaddish, for the Lord's Prayer.

The traditions and holidays provide beautiful pictures of God's actions in his-

Messianic Jews Are Still Jews

tory centered in Jesus, or Yeshua (Hebrew for Jesus). A knowledge of the holidays is crucial to a complete understanding of numerous biblical passages (e.g., John 7:37-39; 8:12; 1:29). This messianic fulfillment perspective is what some Jewish people find objectionable or label as a distortion of Judaism, but which is nevertheless validated by Yeshua's resurrection. But the holidays and traditions have meaning apart from their fulfillment in Yeshua; they are vehicles for conveying important truths about God and his universe, and they add beauty to messianic worship.

MESSIANIC Jews seek to live consistently as Jews, as did the apostles (Acts 22:3f.; 1 Cor. 9:19f.). For many of us, this means the integrity of terminology and theological expression.

Terminology is important. While boldly affirming that we follow Yeshua, our Messiah and Lord, we do not call ourselves Christians, since most Jewish people associate Christians with centuries of persecution. In addition, we feel a deeper affinity to our first-century forebears than to the historical developments growing out of the first-century movement as they became formalized in the church. We call ourselves Messianic

Jews, Jewish followers of the Messiah, Yeshua, whom we call the Messiah rather than the Christ, because "Christ" has no legitimate Jewish connotation. While affirming the unity of believers and the truth of the corporate body of Messiah, we call our gatherings "congregations" or "synagogues" (cf. the Greek of James 2:2) rather than churches because this better describes us. Some may consider these as semantic exercises or word games. But since words are the vehicles of communication, we must carefully choose those that will accurately reflect the realities we affirm, and be understood correctly within the Jewish community.

Our theological expressions also need to be relevant to the Jewish culture. Our formulations, therefore, bear a close kinship to those found in the Bible rather than those developed by historical Christendom. Thus we speak of God's unique unity rather than the Trinity. The first-century expressions far better reflect and relate to Jewish ways of thinking and speaking.

Even with all this emphasis on Jewishness, we encourage Gentile involvement in our congregations and abhor any expressions of Jewish superiority. Many non-Jewish believers have responded to the challenge, have found a warm home among us, and have been most effective in communicating the biblical faith to Jewish people.

Because our messianic faith and our Jewish heritage and traditions are so organically connected, when properly understood, we need not feel torn between Yeshua and Jewishness.

JOHN FISCHER

John Fischer is a vice-president of B'rit Shalom, the messianic Jewish agency in Chicago. He is also a visiting faculty member in Jewish studies at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School.



IT WILL STRIKE some as paradoxical or bewildering that Jewish religious thinkers and leaders find it more compatible to dialogue with authentic evangelical Christians than with so-called Messianic Jews.

That is not a matter of elitism or of social etiquette. Rather, it derives from profound theological conviction as well as from prudential considerations.

Jews and evangelicals (and other) Christians share a rich inheritance of biblical belief, values, and ideals about God, man, nature, society, history, and the kingdom to come. At the same time, Jews and Christians differ over critical affirmations about the divinity of Jesus, the Trinity, the Virgin Birth, the Incarnation, and the forgiveness of sin. (For an excellent discussion of the Jewish theological reasons for these differences, read *Jews and Jewish Christianity*, by David Berger and M. Wyschogrod, Ktav Publishers, New York.)

Jews stake their existence on the truth of their 4,000-year-old belief in ethical monotheism. "On the day when the Lord spoke to you out of the fire on Horeb, you saw no figure of any kind; so take good care not to fall into the degrading practice of making figures carved in relief, in the form of a man or a woman" (Deut. 4:15).

No, They Have Forsaken the Faith

As formulated by the great scholar and codifier, Maimonides, in thirteenth-century Spain, Jews believe that the God of Israel "has no corporeal image and has no body." Judaism is incompatible with any belief in the divinity of a human being.

While Judaism believes that all Gentiles are obligated to observe the seven Noachian principles of moral and ethical behavior in order "to be assured a place in the world to come," Jewish tradition allows that Gentiles can believe in the Trinitarian concept, termed in Hebrew as *shittuf* (partnership). Belief in *shittuf*, Judaism affirms, does not constitute idolatry for non-Jews, but does so for Jews.

Jews, born of a Jewish mother, who become so-called Messianic Jews, are bound by the Covenant of Sinai, which explicitly excludes the possibility of any belief that God shares his being in any partnership with any other being (Exod. 20:2-6; Deut. 4:15-21).

It is the faith of Israel that God's election of his holy people is eternal and irrevocable (Deut. 7:9, "He is God, the faithful God, which keepeth the covenant and mercy to a thousandth generation"). God's law remains binding for all Jews for all times. A Messianic Jew can stop obeying the Law, and usually does. He can marry out of the faith, so that within two or three generations the golden chain of Jewish continuity is broken. Throughout the centuries, this is exactly what happened to Jews who left the synagogue and entered the church.

While humanly one might empathize with Messianic Jews who wish nostalgically to retain some cultural linkages with the Jewish people—whether for guilt or other emotional reasons—in point of fact, reenacting Jewish rituals of the Sabbath, the Passover, the bar mitzvah, without commitment to the convictions they symbolize, soon make a mockery of their sacred meanings.

When those rituals are employed as a ruse or a device to trick other Jews into believing that they can remain both authentic Jews as well as authentic, believing Christians, that is nothing less than deception, which is not worthy of any high religion such as Christianity.

MARC H. TANENBAUM

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee and coeditor of the book Evangelicals and Jews in Conversation (Baker, 1978).



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December 12, 1980

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10021

Dear Marc:

On Thursday evening, April 9, 1981, the International Rescue Committee will present its Freedom Award to Lane Kirkland, President of the AFL-CIO, and Mrs. Irena Kirkland. The presentations will take place at a Freedom Award Dinner in the Ballroom of the Sheraton Center Hotel in New York City. On behalf of the Officers and Board of Directors of IRC, I am inviting you to serve on the Dinner Committee as a Sponsor. As a Sponsor, your name will appear on the official program.

The Awards are being given to Lane Kirkland and to his wife for their outstanding contributions to the cause of refugees and human freedom. In honoring Mr. Kirkland, whose current activities include the Co-Chairmanship of the National Cambodia Crisis Committee, we are also honoring the AFL-CIO for its extraordinary leadership in behalf of refugees fleeing from political, racial and religious persecution. Irena Kirkland, herself a refugee from Czechoslovakia, has been a steadfast advocate of the refugee cause. Past recipients of the Freedom Award have included Winston Churchill, David Sarnoff, George Meany, Jacob Javits, Hubert H. Humphrey, David Dubinsky, Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria, Chancellor Willy Brandt of Germany, and Lucius D. Clay.

The International Rescue Committee was established in 1933 at the time Hitler seized control of Germany. Today, IRC is the leading American nonsectarian agency devoted to helping refugees escaping from oppression and violence in totalitarian countries.

Will you serve as a Sponsor for the 1981 Freedom Award Dinner? We hope that you will also attend the Dinner (invitations will be mailed after the Dinner Committee is formed) but if this will not be possible, we would be honored to list you as a Sponsor. An acceptance card is attached for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,


Leo Cherne
Chairman

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December 18, 1980

Dr. Kenneth S. Kantzer, Editor
Christianity Today
456 Gunderson Drive
Carol Stream, Illinois 60187

My dear Kenneth,

It was a genuine privilege to be associated with you as co-chairman of the conference of Evangelical and Jewish leaders last week in Deerfield.

In particular, I want you to know how deeply grateful my colleagues and I are for your spirit of cooperation as well as for the moving words of solidarity for the Jewish people that you expressed.

I do hope it will be possible for you to share with me a copy of your "five points" which made such a deep impression on all of us.

In the main, I feel that the conference was a very substantial success in that it enabled a frank, searching, and thoughtful examination of a number of vital issues that Evangelicals and Jews need to examine together in such a constructive spirit.

I hope that we can continue to be in touch with each other with a view toward advancing some of the understanding and mutual respect that emerged from our meeting.

Please do let me know when you plan to publish some impressions of the conference in Christianity Today. I would want to make some reprints of your writing and share it with Jewish leadership around the country.

Again, with much appreciation and with warmest personal good wishes for a Joyous Holy Day for you and your family, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

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→ Evangelical Jewish Conf

The American Jewish Committee



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December 18, 1980

Dr. Timothy L. Smith
Department of History
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland 21218

My dear Timothy,

It was a genuine privilege and very great pleasure at long last to come to meet you in person.

I cannot begin to find words adequate to express my appreciation for the deeply moving and insightful statements that you made throughout the national conference of Evangelicals and Jews. Your participation was one of the authentic highlights of that conference for me.

I do hope it will be possible for us to be in touch with each other during the coming months. In fact, I should like to explore with you the possibility of organizing a mini-conference somewhat along these lines at The Johns Hopkins University perhaps later in 1981. If this idea makes sense to you, please let me know and we can look forward to setting up a date at a mutually convenient time.

Again, with deep appreciation, and my warmest good wishes for a Joyous Holy Season to you and your family, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

My Times Clip

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ELISE D. WATERMAN, New York ■

The American



Jewish Committee

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December 18, 1980

Dr. Dennis Kinlaw
President
Asbury College
Wilmore, Kentucky 40390

Dear Dr. Kinlaw,

It gave me genuine pleasure to come to know you during the course of the national conference on Evangelicals and Jews.

I was greatly impressed by your points of view as well as your sensitivity and wanted you to know of my gratitude for your spirit.

I am taking the liberty of sending you some materials dealing with Jewish - Christian relations, under separate cover. I would be interested in any responses that you might have.

Again, with much appreciation, and with warmest personal good wishes for a Joyous Holy Season for you and your family, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

bc: Marvin Wilson

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ELISE D. WATERMAN, New York ■

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS COMMISSION

MINUTES OF MEETING

December 15, 1980

Robert S. Jacobs: Chairperson

ATTENDANCE

Mimi Alperin
Emily Alschuler
Mrs. Merwin Bayer
Ed Cutler
Rabbi Joseph Ehrenkranz
Martha Gordon
Kurt Kelman
Eleanor Lazarus
Irving Levine
Norma Levitt
Edna Nass
Seymour Piwoz
Dr. Sheldon Sax
Elise Waterman
Estelle Zimet

GUESTS

Rita Kaunitz

STAFF

Judith Banki
Inge Lederer Gibel
Haskell Lazere
Rita Reznik
Rabbi A. James Rudin
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
William Trosten

Chairman Robert Jacobs welcomed Commission members and guests and introduced the first item on the agenda, the Presidential election and the impact of the New Right. He suggested that the major impact, from the perspective of interreligious programming, is the obvious success of the Xvangelical right, including the "electronic church" and other right wing Christian organizations in defeating liberal candidates and helping conservatives to win in a variety of political contests in diverse parts of the nation. Mr. Jacobs suggested that our main job continue to be working for a pluralistic America, safe for Jews and all other people.

His report was followed by two regional presentations by Eleanor Lazarus of Cincinnati and Irving Levine in Boston. Mrs. Lazarus' report dealt mainly with the success -- and lack of it -- of right wing groups in defeating liberal candidates in Ohio. Mr. Levine gave us the background of the forces involved in forcing Congressman

Drinan to withdraw from political work, and the coalition of conservative Catholic and Protestant forces that almost defeated Drinan's successor.

A discussion followed in which IAD members agreed that we must continue our work with many diverse segments of the religious community, including the building of understanding with the Evangelical leaders who are critical of such of their colleagues as the REv. Bailey Smith and of some of the extreme stances of the Moral Majority movement. It was also agreed that we should continue our work and cooperation with the NCC, on shared mutual domestic concerns, while at the same time working to improve their stance on Israel, nor should we ignore ongoing relationships with Catholic leaders.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EVANGELICALS AND JEWS

Rabbi Tanenbaum reported on the very successful conference held in early December at Trinity Evangelical College in Deerfield and paid tribute to Rabbi Rudin for his fine work in coordinating this significant meeting. The level of national Evangelical leadership and scholarship was even higher at this conference, according to Rabbi Tanenbaum, than the first conference held five years ago.

Rabbi Ehrenkranz also spoke with great enthusiasm about the great impact his participation at Trinity had on him as an Orthodox Jew and his feeling that the Evangelical and Jewish communities could forge a significant new relationship in future years based on the work we are doing in this area. It was agreed, in the discussion which followed, that IAD should continue to plan regional conferences with Evangelical leaders in different areas of the country.

WOMEN OF FAITH IN THE 80S CONFERENCE

Mrs. Levitt, a participant in the Women of Faith Conference, reported that over

ninety women leaders from the Roman Catholic, Jewish, Liberal Protestant, Evangelical and Muslim communities spoke and participated in a two-day meeting at the Stony Point Center in Stony Point, New York early in November. She voiced her conviction that this was the beginning of an exciting programmatic activity in which we would be involved. Ms. Gibel added that a permanent steering committee, recommended by the participants at the conference, would be established and serve to plan future conferences in other parts of the country as well as to issue statements on human rights issues, particularly those affecting women. The steering committee will also reflect the growing importance of women leaders in Christian institutions, particularly among liberal Protestants. Referring to the earlier discussion about the importance of IAD's work, Mrs. Alperin added that she could not imagine a better way to forge alliances with other religious communities than through the Women of Faith, since in her experience women seem to be able to break through psychological and religious barriers faster than men. Ms. Gibel announced that the conference had been filmed by CBS-TV and that a program based on it would be shown some time in March.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES MIDDLE EAST POLICY STATEMENT

Events leading up to the issuing of this statement, which was approved by the Board of Governors of the NCC on November 6, and our official reaction to it was reported on by Mrs. Banki. She described the enormous amount of IAD staff time spent in the past six months on this area, of our consultation with NCC leaders on previous drafts of the document, of meetings where we were represented by Rabbi Rudin, and at times other members of the staff, and of the arrangements made by Ms. Gibel, working with our Jerusalem office and the Israeli Government, to assure that the NCC's Middle East Panel's visit to the Arab countries and Israel was well balanced and educational as possible. Nevertheless, Mrs. Banki said, our official response

to the statement had to deplore what we -- as the rest of the Jewish community -- perceived as unfairly evenhanded on the question of mutual readiness to directly negotiate between Israel and the PLO. Mrs. Banki, Rabbi Tanenbaum and Rabbi Rudin all expressed concern that we could not, even for the sake of good relationship on domestic programming, allow the NCC to legitimize a view suggesting that Israel should be asked to negotiate with an organization publicly dedicated to its destruction without first calling on the PLO to begin the process of recognizing Israel and ending terrorism with more than words. At the same time, we have every intention of continuing to dialogue with the NCC in a variety of forums and with many of its member institutions; staff and lay members agreed.

MADRID MEETING ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Rabbi Rudin reported on the recent (November 22-30) Interreligious Mission to the Madrid Conference on European Security & Cooperation and to the Vatican. Along with Sister Ann Gillen, the Executive Director of the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, he led a seven-person delegation to Madrid and Rome to press for human rights and religious liberty for Soviet Jews and Christians. In Madrid the Task Force presented a six-point position paper to the heads of all 35 national delegations attending the Conference. The paper emphasized the right to leave the USSR, an end to the official anti-Semitic campaign presently being conducted by the Soviet Union, the right of Soviet Jews and Christians to peacefully meet with their co-religionists, the right to work, the right to worship. All these rights are guaranteed by the Helsinki Final Act and other international agreements the USSR has signed.

The Task Force delegation included men and women, blacks and whites, clergy and lay, and Roman Catholics, Protestants, Evangelicals and Jews. Rabbi Rudin reported that the group made a strong impact in their meetings with officials in Madrid

as well as with Vatican authorities. The Task Force which works closely with IAD is a unique instrumentality in the struggle to achieve human rights within the Soviet Union.

Chairman Jacobs closed the meeting at 9:15 p.m., reminding us that our next session would be an all-day meeting in Atlanta on March 9th ~~1981~~ 1981.

Reported by Inge Lederer Gibel

December 23, 1980



December 24, 1980

Mr. Albert Chernin
Executive Vice-Chairman
National Jewish Community Relations
Advisory Council
443 Park Avenue South - 11th Floor
New York, New York 10016

Dear Al:

While I will be in San Diego and expect to be attending the session on Sunday evening, I wanted to get off to you a quick note on the Proposed Position Paper on Religion and Political Extremism in hopes that perhaps some changes can be made in the paper before the session. If that is not possible, at least you will have some input in advance of discussion.

I am terribly disturbed by the position paper. It is strident, almost hysterical in tone, and pushes the panic button prematurely. I think it also makes incorrect distinctions, lumping together ideological differences with the new Evangelical right and some of their methods as equal "threats" to the American political system. The term "extremist" is used without being defined; I think it is improper here. It is not their "activism" that should bother us, but their methods.

In short, I think the paper, as presently formulated, could do us a lot of harm. In addition, it is excruciatingly long and language heavy. I would suggest a much calmer, much simpler paper, along the following lines:

- I. Increasing political activism by churchgoing Americans, many of them Evangelical Protestants who have been mobilized by media-conscious clergymen, is an emerging factor in the U.S. political arena.
- II. Organized efforts by members and leaders of religious groups to affect public policy is at the heart of the democratic process and has long been a feature of American politics. Various religious groups, including Jews, strive to make the policies of the U.S. Government and the larger society conform to values drawn from their sacred writings and religious traditions.

more ...

December 24, 1980

- III. Many of the positions on social and economic issues of the new Evangelical right are at variance with positions on these issues that a number of Jewish organizations have supported over the years. They have their right to advocate such positions and the Jewish community has its rights to advocate positions which may differ on specific issues.
- IV. However, some of the methods used by spokespersons or leaders of the new right are cause for concern. In particular, we must be quick to identify and guard against such tendencies as:
- a) identifying a particular set of social and political positions as "moral" and the attempt to brand individuals with different viewpoints "immoral;"
 - b) confusing a particular religious identification or creedal affirmation as "American" and others as "un-American" (i.e. the vote-Christian syndrome);
 - c) single-issue politics.

These tendencies, if not opposed, pose a threat both to constitutional principles, to democratic process and to the pluralistic vision of our national life.

Obviously, the above is skeletal in form and could use some fleshing out, but I think it provides the basis for a much saner document. I'm putting this down because I expect to be on vacation next week and wanted to share my very strong feelings about the position paper in advance of the plenary.

Best wishes for a happy and healthy New Year. See you in San Diego.

Cordially,

Judith H. Banki
Assistant National Director
Interreligious Affairs

JHB:mr

✓ bcc
M. Tanenbaum

December 30, 1980

Abe Karlikow

M. Bernard Resnikoff

Just in case somebody brings this to your attention ...

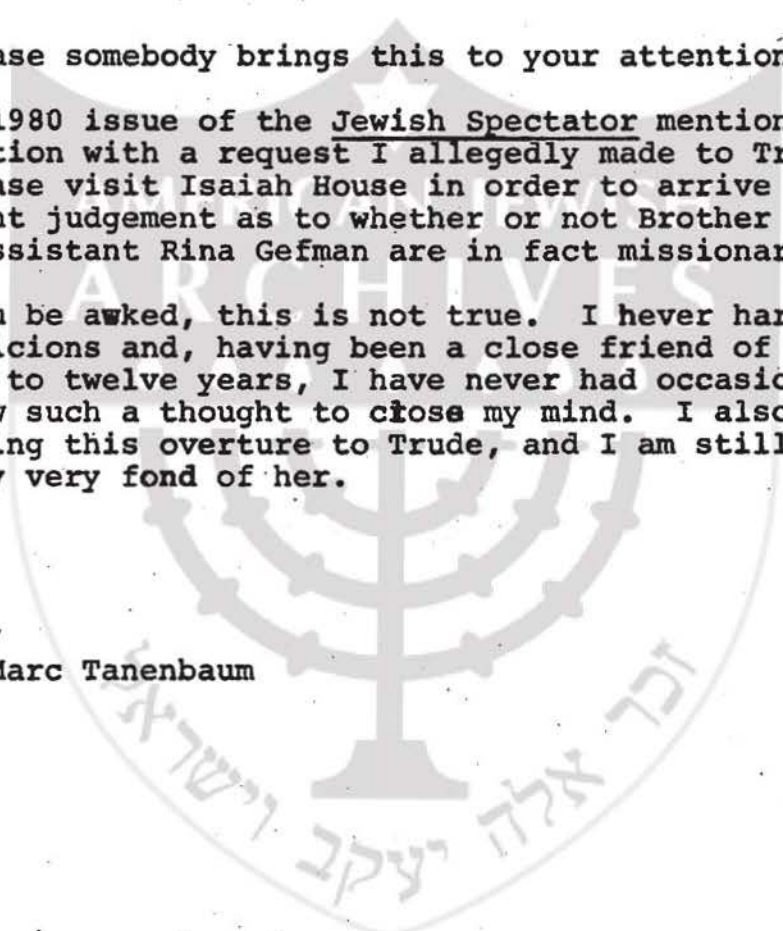
The Fall 1980 issue of the Jewish Spectator mentions me in connection with a request I allegedly made to Trudy to go please visit Isaiah House in order to arrive at an independent judgement as to whether or not Brother Hussar and his assistant Rina Gefman are in fact missionaries.

Should you be awked, this is not true. I never harbored such suspicions and, having been a close friend of Bruno for close to twelve years, I have never had occasion to even allow such a thought to cross my mind. I also deny ever making this overture to Trude, and I am still personally very fond of her.

MBR/sw

cc:

✓ Marc Tanenbaum



1980 PROGRAM PRIORITIES

The array of concerns which AJC's leadership and staff have singled out for special attention during the current program year reflects AJC's permanent commitments, as laid down in its charter: to combat anti-Semitism, protect the civil and religious rights of Jews wherever they may live and promote human rights the world over.

Some of these concerns have not previously figured as priority items. Others have been so listed in the past, but now appear in an altered focus, in keeping with new developments and trends that seem likely to continue through the year.

INTERPRETING ISRAEL AND MIDDLE EAST PEACE TO AMERICANS

It is too early to tell how the Soviet expansion into Afghanistan, the Iranian crisis and the increased tensions between the two superpowers will affect the future of the Middle East and Israel's place in that region. Our Foreign Affairs Department is analyzing the implications of these events for our work on behalf of Israel. In any case, we will continue our efforts to convince Americans -- both the general public and such key segments as opinion molders, the media, and church groups -- that the Camp David accords between Israel and Egypt are vital to Mideast peace and to America's interests.

The accords are being challenged not only by extremist Arab states and the Soviet Union, but, significantly, by Saudi Arabia -- at a time when oil producers command increased leverage with our government and other oil-dependent nations. The Saudis and others are pressing the U.S. and Egypt to alter the Camp David policies at Israel's expense and to accept the P.L.O. as a negotiating partner. They insist that no peace is possible until Arabs control Jerusalem and the occupied territories, and try to create the impression that American interest will suffer until then. AJC programs will be designed to help counter these thrusts; AJC background papers and editorials will again serve as a major resource for media and other influentials.

The difficult bargaining that lies ahead for Egypt and Israel (and for the U.S. with its now formally enhanced role in this process) demands that AJC redouble its efforts to explain exactly what the peace accords do, and do not, demand of Israel. AJC will do its share to assure that the role of the U.S. in the negotiations is balanced and positive, and will help frustrate attempts to force Israel into making concessions that would be inimical to her security. In interpreting the issues to non-Jewish religious and civic bodies, particular attention will be paid to Palestinian autonomy, the P.L.O., and the future of Jerusalem.

In recognition of the need for fiscal restraint by the U.S., AJC will emphasize the long-term benefits which the U.S. can expect to reap from adequate economic and military support for Israel, and from peace in the Middle East. We have already begun to explore with key Israelis and Egyptians how American Jews might help promote economic cooperation between the two countries.

If peace is to be achieved, the fullest communication between Israel and the American Jewish community will continue to be needed. As in the past, AJC will study the impact of Israeli policies and pronouncements on American public opinion, and will make the findings known to Israel's political leaders.

CHAPTERS will take active part in interpreting Middle East issues to their communities, their representatives in Congress, and state and local officials. They will also continue to cooperate with local groups interested in Middle East affairs.

COUNTERING NEGATIVE ARAB INFLUENCE, INCLUDING THE BOYCOTT

A recent *New York Times* editorial, "The Issue is Blackmail," underscored the growth of overt Arab attempts to influence U.S. policies unduly. To help counteract such pressures, AJC will continue to provide newspaper and magazine writers, radio and TV commentators, with reliable background information. AJC's economic news bulletin, *Petro-Impact*, will go on informing selected readerships about the extent of Arab involvement in the American economy and about the risks it entails. Enforcement of Federal anti-boycott regulations will continue to be monitored, as will the financial and employment practices of companies doing, or hoping to do, business with Arab countries. In addition, Arab propaganda plans and activities on American campuses will be watched and combatted. (A major consultation on this subject with university officials and teachers was held in the fall of 1979.)

CHAPTERS will encourage local business leaders to comply with anti-boycott regulations, work to improve Middle East curricula in secondary schools, and meet with university officials to discuss anti-Israel or anti-Jewish activities on campuses. They will also remain alert to other local evidence of anti-Jewish Arab influence, and will enlist the aid of local civic and church leaders in mounting counterefforts.

ENCOURAGING EFFECTIVE NATIONAL ENERGY POLICIES

AJC believes the Jewish community has an important stake in helping the United States to reduce its dependence on Persian Gulf oil. Through promoting effective national energy policies, we can help protect our country's economic and social well-being, help keep our foreign policies

free from outside influence, and prevent hostile attitudes toward Israel and Jews from developing.

AJC is the acknowledged leader within the Jewish community in this field -- the major resource for information and guidance on matters of both policy and program. A letter to President Carter on energy policy, initiated by AJC, was signed by 11 major Jewish organizations and has stimulated further cooperative efforts through the Energy Task Force of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council.

In 1979-80, AJC will go on analyzing and advocating national and local policies designed to use energy more efficiently, increase domestic energy production, develop alternative energy sources, and encourage oil production in non-OPEC countries and in the Western Hemisphere. AJC will also continue its educational efforts in the field -- in part through its *Energy Information Service* bulletin, which provides timely analyses to the Jewish community and to others.

CHAPTERS will be asked to continue their educational efforts, including advocacy of Federal and state legislation supportive of AJC's energy policy goals. They will also be urged to step up their support of local and regional conservation programs.

PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF JEWS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Exposing the growing scope and intensity of Soviet anti-Semitism will entail rigorous action by AJC, particularly in view of changing relationships between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In October 1979, we convened a conference of sovietologists and other political scientists to help us chart future policies and actions. In the current year, we will continue to press for greater emigration from the U.S.S.R. and will intensify our demands on behalf of the cultural and religious rights of Jews in that country.

In Argentina, manifestations of anti-Semitism and violations of basic human rights will again require AJC's constant attention and frequent intervention.

The rise of Muslim fundamentalism and Arab extremism imperils Jews in Iran, as well as those still remaining in other Muslim lands. AJC will continue its efforts on behalf of Iranian and Syrian Jewry. Activities of the new Arab League offices in Tunisia will be carefully watched, as will developments in Morocco and Turkey.

In Western Europe and elsewhere, AJC continue to monitor a rise in anti-Jewish incidents and expressions. In Spain and Italy, AJC works with local Jewish communities on new legislation, which appears to offer an opportunity for enhancing Jewish security.

CHAPTERS will help inform and mobilize American opinion with regard to these issues, and will continue their support of the Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry and the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS

In connection with the conference on implementation of the Helsinki Pact, to be held in Madrid in 1980, AJC has worked with the Aspen Institute to formulate recommendations for U.S. human rights policy. We continue to discuss these recommendations with U.S. officials and in the framework of the international Brussels Presidium for Soviet Jews.

AJC will highlight Jewish concern for human rights issues; the volume, *Essays on Human Rights*, sponsored by the Jacob Blaustein Institute, will serve as a springboard. Other Blaustein Institute ventures during 1980 include: sponsorship of a study of international human-rights complaint systems, through which individuals and groups might press more effectively for their rights; continuation of studies of regional human rights protection and of the Covenants on Civil and Political Rights; and provision of fellowships to the International Institute at Strasbourg.

As human rights issues of concern arise, appropriate representation will be made at the United Nations and at whatever UN agencies may be concerned.

CHAPTERS will support the goals of the Madrid Conference, and will press for Senate ratification of the UN Covenants, the Genocide Convention, and the Covenant on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

COMBATING ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTI-JEWISH ATTITUDES

The events that culminated in the resignation of Andrew Young as U.S. Ambassador to the UN brought into the open the recent alarming increase of anti-Semitism among Blacks -- particularly Blacks in the higher social and educational strata -- and the attendant erosion of support for Israel in parts of the nation. Now, "respectable" forms of anti-Semitism have emerged and gained a hearing; open expressions of anti-Semitism are no longer beyond the pale, and "dual loyalty" charges are again heard. Pro-Arab propagandists often exploit this joining with anti-Semites who invidiously question U.S. guarantees of oil to Israel at a time when America is in short energy supply.

The neo-Nazi movement has not disappeared, and in the South a resurgent Ku Klux Klan once again resorts to anti-Black and anti-Jewish violence.

Meeting these growing threats to Jewish security and well-being is a matter of high priority to AJC. We will again seek to isolate anti-Semitic individuals and groups, while continuing to work with moderate elements in the Black community and elsewhere.

Two special studies are planned in 1980: one on the nature and extent of neo-Nazism in Germany with its implications for the U.S., and another on the political potential of the Evangelical movement in this country.

CHAPTERS will monitor, assess and meet threats to the security and dignity of Jews, particularly those arising from the activities of Arab propagandists, from the resurgent Klan, and from Black and Hispanic anti-Semites. In addition, chapters will seek to expand working relationships with ethnic groups, such as Hispanics, with whom they may not have collaborated closely enough in the past.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, ANTI-DISCRIMINATION AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Much remains to be done to combat discrimination of race, sex, age, religion or ethnic origin. AJC will continue to promote nonquota affirmative action programs that will help equalize efforts to expand academic and skills-training programs, in school and on the job, to help prepare young people to meet job qualifications, and will urge business, labor and government to expand education, employment and promotional opportunities for the disadvantaged of all backgrounds as well as for racial minorities, women, the aged and others who frequently face discrimination.

Through dialogues with employers, labor and civic leaders and other experts, we will explore certain employment problems which have been highlighted by the *Weber* decision or by the continuing troubles of the economy. AJC will support Federal and state efforts to use unemployment insurance as a supplement to voluntary work-sharing programs.

CHAPTERS will be asked to promote and publicize successful nonquota affirmative action programs. Selected chapters will develop special programs for employment of minority youth. In states which have not yet voted for the Equal Rights Amendment, chapters will continue to urge adoption.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN AN URBAN OR SUBURBAN CONTEXT

The quality of life in many urban and suburban neighborhoods continues to decline. Unemployment, inflation, and deterioration of neighborhoods and schools have become a way of life; crime is up, civility down. The burdens fall with disproportionate severity on minorities, the elderly, and the unemployed or underemployed. One result is exacerbated intergroup tension.

AJC's Urban/Suburban Affairs Division will focus on these intergroup problems and will seek to build bridges among concerned community groups. Together with the National Urban League and the National Urban Coalition we will continue to work toward a national coalition to strengthen public education. Advocacy programs for the aged will be expanded from a demonstration project of the New York Chapter into a national effort.

Government and foundation funds will be sought for community development demonstration projects. Welfare reform, health care and full employment will receive added emphasis; so will issues of concern to women, in an effort to find common ground with other major groups within the nation.

CHAPTERS will be asked to stimulate activities or replicate national projects of special concern in their communities -- either alone or in coalition with other groups.

STRENGTHENING THE JEWISH FAMILY

Following the recommendations of an ad hoc task force, AJC has established a Jewish Family Center to sponsor, encourage and coordinate research on family issues. The Center will also serve as a "broker" between researchers and consumers, bringing together scholars and practitioners in conferences and symposia on such matters as the impact of divorce on the individual and group identity of children, the history of the Jewish family, or Jewish life style as a means of strengthening the family. In addition, the Center will work with the media to help project a positive image of family life, and will publish a *Family Newsletter* with information on current research, family support programs and policy options.

AJC will seek to insure that the special needs of the Jewish family are considered in the planning for the 1981 White House Conference on Families, and will work to strengthen alliances between Jews and other ethnic groups in the area of family issues.

CHAPTERS, alone or in cooperation with other local Jewish organizations, will plan conferences on the Jewish family, and will help develop local coalitions to press for national policies that will strengthen and support family life. A Family Impact Questionnaire, prepared by the Family Center, will be used by chapters to educate the community on family needs and to provide impetus for changes in the policies and programs of local agencies.

TASK FORCES ON THE 1980s

During the program year, AJC will launch its Task Forces on the 1980s, which are to prepare papers analyzing American Jewry's stake in certain critical areas of domestic social policy: in education, group rights, the urban/suburban condition, family policy, national defense, and the electoral process. The Task Forces that are to analyze these concerns will consist of scholars, practitioners, and AJC members and staff. Their analyses and recommendations are intended to provide a fuller understanding of the problems and to help guide AJC (and other Jewish communal agencies) in framing effective policies and programs.

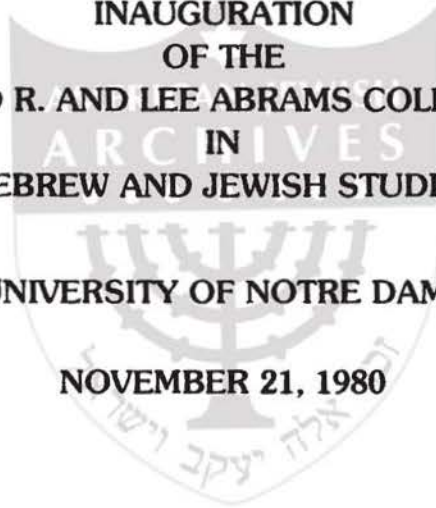
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OF THE
ALFRED R. AND LEE ABRAMS COLLECTION
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UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

NOVEMBER 21, 1980



Abrams Collection Inaugural

- 4:00 P.M.** *Inaugural Lecture*
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Interreligious Affairs Director
of the American Jewish Committee
Memorial Library Auditorium
- 5:00 P.M.** *Memorial Mass for Alfred R. and Lee Abrams*
Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
University President
Celebrant
President's Lounge
Memorial Library
- 7:00 P.M.** *Social Hour*
Main Floor
Center for Continuing Education
- 8:00 P.M.** *Inaugural Dinner*
Dining Room
Center for Continuing Education
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Inaugural Lecture



Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, has been a pioneering leader and thinker in interreligious relations and social justice movements during the past 30 years.

Newsweek magazine has described him as "the American Jewish community's foremost apostle to the gentiles . . . who has been able to solicit support from all factions of the Jewish community." A poll of America's newspaper religion editors in 1978 voted Rabbi Tanenbaum one of the ten most respected and influential religious leaders in America (he was ranked fourth), and the citation of his tenth honorary degree characterized him as "The Human Rights Rabbi of America."

He has been a major force in the promotion of social justice and human rights. At the invitation of the International Rescue Committee, he joined delegations of prominent American leaders to carry out fact-finding investigations of the plight of Vietnamese "boat people" and Cambodian refugees. He has organized many relief efforts for victims of war, refugees, and the starving. In 1979, he was the American Jewish leader among 10 national religious spokesmen invited by President Carter to discuss "the State of the Nations" at Camp David.

Rabbi Tanenbaum was the only rabbi at Vatican Council II, and he is a founder and cosecretary of the Joint Vatican International Jewish Consultative Committee as well as of a similar liaison body with the World Council of Churches. He also participated in the first official audience of world Jewish leaders with Pope John Paul II in Vatican City.

INAUGURAL

Menu



Crabmeat Cocktail Louie
Filet Mignon Aux Champignons
Chateauneuf-du-Pape 1976
Piesporter Michelsberg
Duchesse Potato
Broccoli Hollandaise
Bibb Lettuce Salad
Napoleon
Cafe

DINNER

Program

Master of Ceremonies

Professor Timothy O'Meara
Provost

Invocation

Reverend Richard P. McBrien
Crowley – O'Brien – Walter
Professor of Theology
Chairman - Department of Theology

Remarks

Mr. Edmund A. Stephan
Chairman of the Board

Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
University President

Response

Mr. and Mrs. Edward M. Abrams

Benediction:

Mr. Robert C. Miller
Director, University Libraries



Alfred R. Abrams

Sara Lee Kaufman Abrams

The Abrams Family

A gift from a Jewish alumnus in memory of his father to the Catholic university they both loved will support studies in Judaism and Christianity at Notre Dame.

The Alfred R. and Lee Abrams Collection in Hebrew and Jewish Studies was established in honor of a 1921 Notre Dame alumnus and his wife with a gift to the Memorial Library's endowment from their son, Edward, a 1950 Notre Dame graduate, and his wife, Ann.

Throughout his life, AlAbrams felt deep gratitude to Notre Dame and to the Holy Cross Fathers who supported and encouraged him during his college years. He was born in 1899, the youngest of eight children in a poor Chicago family, and he paid for his education by holding several jobs concurrently while he was a student. After beginning his studies at Notre Dame in 1916, he left in 1917 to serve in the Army during World War I and returned to graduate in 1921 with a degree in civil engineering.

In 1923, he married Sara Lee Kaufman of DuBois, Pennsylvania, and together they established a construction company in West Palm Beach, Florida, which they moved to South Bend in 1927 and to Atlanta, Georgia, in 1940. During World War II, the firm was heavily involved with the construction of military bases, but returned to private sector construction in 1946 and went public in 1960, with primary interests in building construction, real estate, and fixture manufacturing.



Edward M. Abrams

Ann Uhry Abrams

The Abrams had two sons, Edward, and Bernard, who was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1947. Lee Abrams died in 1978 and was followed by her husband in 1979.

Today, Ed Abrams is the president and a director of Abrams Industries, Inc., the diversified construction firm founded by his father, and chairman of the board of Financial Properties Developers, Inc. After graduating cum laude from Notre Dame in 1950, he was graduated from the Naval Officer Candidate School, Newport, Rhode Island, in 1951 and recognized as the First Graduate. He served in the Navy from 1945 to 1947 and again from 1950 to 1952.

In 1953, he married Ann Uhry of Atlanta, who received a B.A. in 1967 and an M.A. in history in 1970 from Georgia State University and a Ph.D. in interdisciplinary studies (history and art history) in 1975 from Emory University. An assistant professor of arts history at Spelman College since 1975, she is on leave to conduct research in 18th-century American history painting as a postdoctoral research fellow at the Smithsonian Institution.

Ed and Ann Abrams have continued the family's close association with Notre Dame. Ed is on the Advisory Council of the College of Arts and Letters, which he chaired in 1977-78, and Ann is a member of the Women's Advisory Council. The youngest of their three children, James Andrew, is a junior at Notre Dame. The couple also are involved in a variety of other professional, civic and religious activities. Especially significant to the establishment of the Abrams Collection is Ed's membership on the Inter-religious Affairs Committee of the American Jewish Committee, his Co-chairmanship of the Georgia Region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and his association with the Atlanta Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, which he chaired from 1971 to 1973.



December 24, 1980

Mr. Albert Chernin
Executive Vice-Chairman
National Jewish Community Relations
Advisory Council
443 Park Avenue South - 11th Floor
New York, New York 10016

Dear Al:

While I will be in San Diego and expect to be attending the session on Sunday evening, I wanted to get off to you a quick note on the Proposed Position Paper on Religion and Political Extremism in hopes that perhaps some changes can be made in the paper before the session. If that is not possible, at least you will have some input in advance of discussion.

I am terribly disturbed by the position paper. It is strident, almost hysterical in tone, and pushes the panic button prematurely. I think it also makes incorrect distinctions, lumping together ideological differences with the new Evangelical right and some of their methods as equal "threats" to the American political system. The term "extremist" is used without being defined; I think it is improper here. It is not their "activism" that should bother us, but their methods.

In short, I think the paper, as presently formulated, could do us a lot of harm. In addition, it is excruciatingly long and language heavy. I would suggest a much calmer, much simpler paper, along the following lines:

- I. Increasing political activism by churchgoing Americans, many of them Evangelical Protestants who have been mobilized by media-conscious clergymen, is an emerging factor in the U.S. political arena.
- II. Organized efforts by members and leaders of religious groups to affect public policy is at the heart of the democratic process and has long been a feature of American politics. Various religious groups, including Jews, strive to make the policies of the U.S. Government and the larger society conform to values drawn from their sacred writings and religious traditions.

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