



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
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Preserving American Jewish History

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GUIDELINES FOR JEWISH-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

Adopted by the sub-unit on Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies, World Council of Churches, on 2nd January, 1982, at Bali, Indonesia

PREFACE

- 1.1 "One of the functions of dialogue is to allow participants to describe and witness to their faith in their own terms. This is of primary importance since self-serving descriptions of other peoples' faith are one of the roots of prejudice, stereotyping, and condescension. Listening carefully to the neighbours' self-understanding enables Christians better to obey the commandment not to bear false witness against their neighbours, whether those neighbours be of long established religious, cultural or ideological traditions or members of new religious groups. It should be recognized by partners in dialogue that any religion or ideology claiming universality, apart from having an understanding of itself, will also have its own interpretations of other religions and ideologies as part of its own self-understanding. Dialogue gives an opportunity for a mutual questioning of the understanding partners have about themselves and others. It is out of a reciprocal willingness to listen and learn that significant dialogue grows."

(WCC Guidelines on Dialogue, III.4)
- 1.2 In giving such guidelines the World Council of Churches speaks primarily for and to its member churches as it defines the need for and gifts to be received by dialogue. People of other faiths may choose to define their understanding of dialogue, and their expectations as to how dialogue with Christians may affect their own traditions and attitudes and may lead to a better understanding of Christianity.
- 1.3 In Jewish-Christian dialogue it is of special importance to allow for a certain asymmetry between these two communities of faith. For example, an understanding of Judaism in New Testament times becomes an integral and indispensable part of any Christian theology. For Jews, a "theological" understanding of Christianity is of a less than essential or integral significance, although neither community of faith has developed without awareness of the other.
- 1.4 The relations between Jews and Christians have unique characteristics because of the ways in which Christianity historically emerged out of Judaism. Christian understandings of that process constitute a necessary part of the dialogue and give urgency to the enterprise. As Christianity came to define its own identity over against Judaism, the Church developed its own understandings, definitions and terms for what it had inherited from Jewish traditions, and for what it read in the Scriptures common to Jews and Christians. In the process of defining its own identity the Church defined Judaism, and assigned to the Jews definite roles in its understanding of God's acts of salvation. It should not be surprising that Jews resent those Christian theologies in which they as a people are assigned to play a negative role. History has demonstrated over and over again how short the step is from such patterns of thought in Christianity to overt acts of condescension, persecutions and worse.

1.5 Bible-reading and worshipping Christians often believe that they "know Judaism" since they have the Old Testament, the records of Jesus' debates with Jewish teachers and the early Christian reflections on the Judaism of their times. Furthermore, no other religious tradition has been as thoroughly "defined" by preachers and teachers in the Church as has Judaism. This attitude is often enforced by lack of knowledge about the history of Jewish life and thought through the 1,900 years since the parting of the ways of Judaism and Christianity.

1.6 For these reasons there is special urgency for Christians to listen, through study and dialogue, to ways in which Jews understand their history and their traditions, their faith and their obedience "in their own terms". Furthermore, a mutual listening to how each is perceived by the other may be a step toward overcoming fears and correcting misunderstandings that have thrived on isolation.

1.7 Both Judaism and Christianity comprise a wide spectrum of opinions, options, theologies, and styles of life and service. Since generalizations often produce stereotyping, Jewish-Christian dialogue becomes the more significant by aiming at as full as possible a representation of views within the two communities of faith.

2. TOWARD A CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDING OF JUDAISM

2.1 Through dialogue with Jews, many Christians have come to appreciate the richness and vitality of Jewish faith and life in the covenant and have been enriched in their own understanding of God and the divine will for all creatures.

In dialogue with Jews, Christians have learned that the actual history of Jewish faith and experience does not match the images of Judaism that have dominated a long history of Christian teaching and writing, images that have been spread by Western culture and literature into other parts of the world.

2.2 In the understanding of many Christians, Judaism as a living tradition came to an end with the coming of Christ and with the destruction of the second temple of Jerusalem; the Church replaced the Jews as God's people, and the Judaism that survived is a fossilized religion of legalism.

In this view the covenant of God with the people of Israel was only a preparation for the coming of Christ, after which it was abrogated. Judaism of the first centuries before and after the birth of Jesus was therefore called "Late Judaism". The Pharisees were considered to represent the acme of legalism, Jews and Jewish groups were portrayed as negative models, and the truth and beauty of Christianity were thought to be enhanced by setting up Judaism as false and ugly.

2.3 Through a renewed study of Judaism and in dialogue with Jews, Christians become aware that Judaism in the time of Christ was in an early stage of its long life. Under the leadership of the Pharisees the Jewish people began a spiritual revival of remarkable power, which gave them the vitality capable of surviving the catastrophe of the loss of the temple. It gave birth to Rabbinic Judaism which produced the Mishnah and Talmud and built the structures for a strong and creative life through the centuries.

- 2.4 Jesus was born a Jew, born into this Jewish tradition. In this setting he was nurtured by the Hebrew Scriptures, which he accepted as authoritative and to which he gave a new interpretation in his life and teaching. In this context Jesus announced that the Kingdom of God was at hand, and in his resurrection his followers found the confirmation of his being both Lord and Messiah.

Christians should remember that some of the controversies reported in the New Testament between Jesus and the "scribes and Pharisees" find parallels within Pharisaism itself and its heir, Rabbinic Judaism. These controversies took place in a Jewish context, but when the words of Jesus came to be used by Christians who did not identify with the Jewish people as Jesus did, such sayings often became weapons in anti-Jewish polemics and thereby their original intention was tragically distorted. An internal Christian debate is now taking place on the question of how to understand passages in the New Testament that seem to contain anti-Jewish references.

- 2.5 Judaism, with its rich history of spiritual life, produced the Talmud as the normative guide for Jewish life in thankful response to the grace of God's covenant with the people of Israel. Over the centuries important commentaries, profound philosophical works and poetry of spiritual depth have been added. For Jews the Talmud is as central and authoritative as the New Testament is for Christians. Judaism, like Christianity, is more than the religion of the Scriptures of Israel. What Christians call the Old Testament has received in the Talmud and later writings interpretations which for Jewish tradition share in the authority of Moses.
- 2.6 Christians as well as Jews look to the Hebrew Bible as the story recording Israel's sacred memory of God's election and covenant with this people. For Jews, it is their own story in historical continuity with the present. Christians, mostly of gentile background since early in the life of the Church, believe themselves to be heirs by grace of this same story. The unique relationship between the two communities, both worshipping the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, is a given historical fact, but how it is to be understood theologically is a matter of internal dialogue among Christians, which takes on increased seriousness as a result of dialogue with Jews.
- 2.7 Both commonalities and differences between the two faiths need to be examined carefully. In finding in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments the sole and ultimate authority sufficient for salvation, the Christian Church shares Israel's faith in the One God, whom it knows in the Spirit as the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ. For Christians, Jesus Christ is the only begotten Son of the Father, through whom millions have come to share in the love of, and to adore, the God who first made covenant with the people of Israel. Knowing the One God in Jesus Christ through the Spirit, therefore, Christians worship that God with a trinitarian confession of the incarnate presence, liturgical language foreign to Jewish worship.

Christians and Jews both believe that God has created men and women as the crown of creation and has called them to be holy and to exercise stewardship over the creation in accountability to God. Jews and Christians are taught by their Scriptures to know themselves responsible to their neighbours, especially to those who are weak, poor and oppressed. In various and distinct ways they look for the day in which God will redeem the creation. In dialogue with Jews many Christians come to a more profound appreciation of the Exodus hope of liberation, and pray and work for the coming of righteousness and peace on earth.

- 2.8 As more and more Christians of different traditions enter into dialogue with Jews in local, national and international situations, they will come to express their growing understanding of Judaism in other language, style and ways than has been done in these guidelines. Such understandings are to be shared among the churches for the enrichment of all.

3. AUTHENTIC CHRISTIAN WITNESS

- 3.1 Christians are called to witness to their faith in word and deed. The Church has a mission and it cannot be otherwise.
- 3.2 Christians have often distorted their witness by coercive proselytism - conscious and unconscious, overt and subtle. Referring to proselytism between Christian churches, the Joint Working Group of the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches stated: "Proselytism embraces whatever violates the right of the human person, Christian or non-Christian to be free from external coercion in religious matters." (Ecumenical Review, 1/1971, p.11)
- 3.3 Such rejection of proselytism, and such advocacy of respect for the integrity and the identity of all persons and all communities of faith are urgent in relation to Jews, especially those who live as minorities among Christians. Steps toward assuring non-coercive practices are of highest importance. In dialogue ways should be found for the exchange of concerns, perceptions and safeguards in these matters.
- 3.4 While Christians agree that there can be no place for coercion of any kind they do disagree - on the basis of their understandings of the Scriptures - as to what constitutes authentic forms of mission.

There is a wide spectrum, from those who see the very presence of the Church in the world as the witness called for, to those who see mission as the explicit and organized proclamation of the gospel to all who have not accepted Jesus as their Saviour.

There is further disagreement where Jews are concerned. There are Christians who view a mission to the Jews as having a very special salvific significance, and those who believe the conversion of the Jews to be the eschatological event that will climax the history of the world. There are those who would place no special emphasis on a mission to the Jews, but would include them in the one mission to all who have not accepted Christ as their Saviour. There are those who believe that a mission to the Jews is not part of an authentic Christian witness, since the Jewish people finds its fulfilment in faithfulness to God's covenant of old.

Dialogue can rightly be described as a mutual witness, but only when the intention is to hear the others in order better to understand their faith, hopes, insights and concerns, and to give, to the best of one's ability, one's own understanding of one's own faith. The spirit of dialogue is to be fully present to one another in full openness and human vulnerability.

- AMERICAN JEWISH**
- 3.5 In dialogue with Jews it should be remembered that, according to rabbinic law, Jews who confess Jesus as the Messiah are considered apostate Jews. But for many Christians of Jewish origin, their identification with the Jewish people is a deep spiritual reality to which they seek to give expression in various ways, some by observing parts of Jewish tradition in worship and life style, many by a special commitment to the well-being of the Jewish people and the State of Israel.

Among Christians of Jewish origin there is the same wide spectrum of attitudes toward mission as among other Christians, and the same guidelines for dialogue and against coercion apply.

4. ANTISEMITISM - A CONTINUING CONCERN IN THE JEWISH-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

- 4.1 Christians cannot enter into dialogue with Jews without the awareness of antisemitism and its long persistent history, especially in countries where Jews constitute a minority among Christians. The World Council of Churches Assembly at its first meeting in Amsterdam 1948 condemned antisemitism: "We call upon the churches we represent to denounce antisemitism, no matter what its origin, as absolutely irreconcilable with the profession and practice of the Christian faith. Antisemitism is sin against God and man." This appeal has been reiterated many times.
- 4.2 Christians must face honestly the tragic history of antisemitism, which includes the massacre of Jews in Europe and the Middle East during the Crusades, the Inquisition, pogroms and the Holocaust. It is only by facing this history that Christians can understand the deep-rooted suspicion that many Jews even today have of Christians and Christianity. Christians are called upon to fight antisemitism with all the resources at their disposal, the more so since there are disturbing signs of new and increased antisemitism in many parts of the world. Those who live in parts of the world where there is a record of antisemitic acts are duty bound to unmask for all Christians the ever-present danger they have come to recognize in anti-Judaism and antisemitism.

- 4.3 One Christian response to the Holocaust must be a resolve that it will never happen again. Teachings of contempt for Jews and Judaism in certain Christian traditions were a spawning ground for the evil of the Nazi Holocaust. The Church must learn so to preach and teach the Gospel as to make sure that it cannot be used against the Jewish people. The Christian churches must be in the forefront of any efforts to prevent conditions which might lead to further persecution and another slaughter of the Jewish people.
- 4.4. Discrimination against and persecution of the Jewish people have deep-rooted socio-economic and political aspects. Religious differences are magnified to justify racial hatred in support of vested interests. Similar phenomena are evident in many inter-racial conflicts. Christians should oppose all such religious prejudices, whereby people are made scapegoats for the failures and problems of societies and political regimes.
- 4.5 Christians in parts of the world with little or no Jewish presence do not wish to be conditioned by the experience and shortcoming of those who brought the Gospel to them; rather, they explore in their own ways the significance of Christian-Jewish relations from the earliest times to the present, for their life and witness.

5. THE LAND

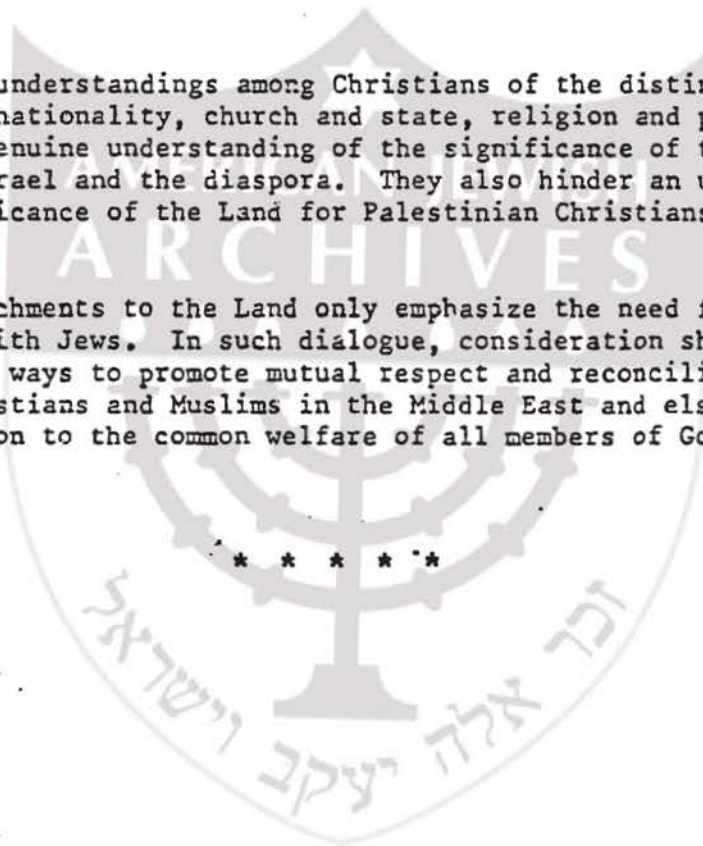
- 5.1 The words from the World Council of Churches' Guidelines on Dialogue that one of the functions of dialogue is to allow participants to describe and witness to their faith "in their own terms" are of particular significance for the understanding of the bond between the Land of Israel and the Jewish people. This bond has, after many centuries of dispersion, found expression in the State of Israel. The need for the State of Israel to exist in security and peace is fundamental to Jewish consciousness and therefore is of paramount importance in any dialogue with Jews.
- 5.2 When Christians enter into dialogue with Jews they also recognize the need of Palestinians for self-determination and expression of their national identity. It is necessary to hear Palestinians - Christian and Muslim - express, "in their own terms", their bond with the Land. There must be a place in God's plan for all to live in security and peace.
- 5.3 The Land is holy for the three monotheistic religions - yet understood in different ways. They have all maintained a presence in the Land from their beginnings.

For Muslims the Land has special significance and, with its holy places, has been an integral part of the Muslim world, symbolic of God's universal promises to all the children of Abraham.

For countless Christians the Land has special significance. It is the Land of the Bible. It was in this Land that the Lord Jesus Christ was born, worked and taught, suffered, died and was raised from the dead.

For Jews the relation to the Land is of an essential nature. It is the Land of the Fathers and the Land of promise.

- 5.4 Many Christians find it difficult to grasp this essential nature of the Jewish attachment to the Land. They find it "particularistic", contrasting it with the "universalistic" thrust of the Christian message. Such a view does justice neither to the particular nor to the universal elements in Jewish, no less than in Christian understandings of the Land. Christians are therefore called to examine their theology and the history of their own faith on this point in any dialogue with Jews concerning the meaning of the Land.
- 5.5 Different understandings among Christians of the distinctions between faith and nationality, church and state, religion and politics, often hinder a genuine understanding of the significance of the Land for Jews, both in Israel and the diaspora. They also hinder an understanding of the significance of the Land for Palestinian Christians and Muslims.
- 5.6 These attachments to the Land only emphasize the need for sustained dialogue with Jews. In such dialogue, consideration should be given to finding ways to promote mutual respect and reconciliation among Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Middle East and elsewhere as a contribution to the common welfare of all members of God's human family.



TAKING STOCK:

- 6:00 p.m. **Dinner**
7:30 p.m. **CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH PERSPECTIVES
ON LIBERATION THEOLOGY**

The Rev. Landrum Shields
Chairperson
Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations
National Council of Churches
Indianapolis, Indiana, Presiding

Prof. Paul Van Buren
Temple University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Nancy Fuchs-Kreimer
Reconstructionist
Rabbinical College
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The Rev. John Pawlikowski
Catholic Theological Union
Chicago, Illinois

CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS in the 80s

JANUARY 6, 1982

- 9:00 a.m. **Small group discussion of Liberation
Theology and its Implications for Local
Communities**

- 10:45 a.m. **CLOSING PLENARY SESSION AND
REPORTS**

Brother Jeff Gros, Presiding

- 12 Noon **Closing Luncheon**

The Rev. Joan B. Campbell
Associate General Secretary for Regional and Local
Ecumenism
National Council of Churches
New York City

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs
American Jewish Committee
New York City

An Interreligious Conference

co-sponsored by

**THE COMMISSION ON REGIONAL
AND LOCAL ECUMENISM OF
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF CHURCHES**

and

**THE INTERRELIGIOUS
AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

JANUARY 5-6, 1982

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**THE NATHAN APPLEMAN INSTITUTE
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF
CHRISTIAN-JEWISH UNDERSTANDING**

St. Raphaela Mary Retreat House
616 Coopertown Road
Haverford, Pennsylvania

PROGRAM

JANUARY 5, 1982

12 Noon **Registration and Lunch**
2:00 p.m. **THE CURRENT STATE OF CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES**

Judith H. Banki
Assistant National Director
Interreligious Affairs
American Jewish Committee
New York City, Presiding

(1) National Perspectives

✓ Brother Jeff Gros
Commission on Faith and Order
National Council of Churches
New York City

✓ Rabbi A. James Rudin
Assistant National Director
Interreligious Affairs
American Jewish Committee
New York City

✓ The Rev. David E. Simpson
Executive Director
Office of Christian-Jewish Relations
National Council of Churches
New York City

(2) Regional and Local Perspectives

Washington, D.C.

Rabbi Andrew Baker
Area Director
American Jewish Committee
Washington, D.C.

The Rev. Ernest R. Gibson
Executive Director
Council of Churches of Greater Washington
Washington, D.C.

The Rev. Clark Lobenstine
Interfaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington
Washington, D.C.

New York City

Inge Lederer Gibel
Program Specialist
Interreligious Affairs
American Jewish Committee
New York City

Haskell L. Lazere
Director, New York Chapter
American Jewish Committee
New York City

The Rev. Robert L. Polk
Executive Director
Council of Churches of the City of New York
New York City

PURPOSE

The National Council of Churches and the American Jewish Committee are pleased to co-sponsor this conference which will examine the current status of Christian-Jewish relations in the United States.

One of the most important developments of the past decade has been the rapid growth of local and regional interreligious organizations and programs throughout America. These activities have become the basis for building positive relationships between Jews and Christians. Given the magnitude of international and domestic problems which confront the American people, these relationships between Christians and Jews are perhaps more important today than at any time in the recent past.

This Conference provides a needed opportunity to study this important development in a serious and systematic way. Representatives from both national and regional bodies will explore the various implications of the Christian-Jewish encounter. Attention will be given to specific issues and problems, and the Conference will hopefully develop new and effective strategies for deepening interreligious relations in the United States.

Conference Chairpersons
The Rev. Joan Brown Campbell
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

Conference Coordinators
Rabbi A. James Rudin
The Rev. David E. Simpson

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 E. 56th St., New York, N. Y. 10022

DATE: 1/18/82

FROM: RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

TO: IG, JB, JR

Please circulate to:

- For approval
- For your information
- Please handle
- Read and return
- Returned as requested
- Please telephone me
- Your comments, please

Remarks:

PLEASE READ THESE PROPOSED STATEMENTS
AND ADD IAD PROGRAM ELEMENTS THAT YOU
THINK SHOULD BE ADDED. I NEED YOUR
RESPONSE BY THE END OF THIS WEEK.

THANKS, MARC



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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

For Consideration by
the Executive Committee
January 13, 1982

1982-83 PROGRAM EMPHASES

EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF JEWS ABROAD

After more than a decade in which there was substantial emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union, all the signs now point to a virtual cessation of such movement. This has been accompanied by a major, and largely successful, Soviet government effort to gradually eliminate the network of Jewish seminars, Hebrew classes and cultural activity hitherto tolerated by the Soviet authorities. The number of refuseniks has been growing apace, and Soviet authorities appear intent on proving to leaders of the Jewish movement in the USSR itself that they can no longer count on outside protest to bring them assistance or relief.

Conscious that the very question of contact with Soviet Jews will be of increasing importance as the gates are progressively shut, the AJC is organizing a program of ongoing visits to the USSR by AJC membership. It is advancing its work in Russian-language material on Jewish subjects, for distribution in the USSR. It will be seeking ways to expand the filing of complaints before international organizations such as UNESCO, a field in which it did pioneer work, on behalf of Soviet Jews. It will of course be working together with other organizations, both in the U.S. and on an international scale, to call attention to and seek relief for the plight of Soviet Jews. AJC's Mexican Office plays a leading role in helping organize international South American efforts to this end.

Jews and Jewish communities continue to be in a precarious position in numerous spots around the globe despite the fact that (the USSR apart) the overwhelming majority of the world's Jews now live in democratic lands. The Jewish community of Iran, the largest anywhere in the Moslem world with a

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population of about 30,000, has seen at least seven of its members executed in the past two years on trumped-up charges. There is intense debate on how best to help the 28,000 Falasha Jews of Ethiopia. Some easing of the situation of the few thousand Jews in Syria still leaves unsolved the problem of emigration desired by many there. The erosion of the small Jewish communities in certain Central American countries continues apace in the face of general difficulties there. AJC has constantly publicized events or intervened, as warranted, in the effort to help Jews abroad, e.g., there has been constant contact with the authorities of the Argentine, both with regard to Jewish community problems and general human rights concerns. And there is permanent watch on Arab and PLO penetration in Latin American lands.

AJC constantly monitors events and gets first-hand information through its offices in Paris (covering Europe and South Africa) and Mexico City (for Mexico and Central America) paying particular attention to anti-Semitism. Thus, for example, it was able to intervene immediately when imposition of martial law in Poland brought with it anti-Semitic material on Polish TV, radio and other media; and to help thwart the designs of French neo-fascist elements seeking to involve American scholars in their conferences. Through its offices abroad, moreover, AJC makes available material developed in America, for adaptation there.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

For Consideration by
the Executive Committee
January 13, 1982

1982-83 PROGRAM EMPHASES

PRESERVING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND STRENGTHENING RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

Religious, cultural and ethnic pluralism has been the cornerstone of our open, democratic society. This social compact is threatened when any group seeks to impose its ideology on others or to coerce the diverse elements of our nation to conform to a single ethos or ideology.

The emergence of a new alliance between some Fundamentalist Christian preachers and ultra-conservative politicians has caused widespread concern among American Jews. Campaigns to vote for "born-again Christians" only, which surfaced during the last elections, were validly recognized as a threat to the democratic process and a violation of the spirit of our Constitution which prohibits any religious test for public office. Accompanying that ideology has also been apocalyptic rhetoric which presumes that only one brand of politics meets with God's approval and depicts those opposed to the positions of this religious/right alliance, on any issues whatever, as being "in league with Satan."

The "New Right" evangelicals and politicians have seized on the painful problems plaguing our nation--rising crime, violence, divorce, pornography, corruption--to argue that only the imposition of their remedies, simplistic though they may be, can "save America." The emergence of the "New Right" as a potent political force poses many challenges to all Americans, and particularly to American Jews and to the AJC.

We will work, with all like-minded Americans, to revitalize support for religious and cultural pluralism, to turn back efforts to subvert the Constitution by restricting the power of Federal courts on certain issues, to counter the introduction of organized prayer into the public schools, to oppose

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the drive to outlaw abortion, to resist censorship of school textbooks and library books, and to reject rhetoric which appeals to vigilantism and a dehumanizing of those who differ from us.

Both on the national and chapter levels, AJC will monitor and interpret the political activities of New Right groups and will seek to clarify the differences between extremism and legitimate conservatism.

At the same time, AJC will play a major role in offering constructive alternatives, wherever possible, as a counter-force to the remedies espoused by the New Right particularly on many issues on which the New Right has been capitalizing, e.g., school prayer, abortion, ERA, censorship, "scientific creationism," affirmative action, immigration, criminal justice. AJC will make its views known as widely as possible, through maximum use of radio, TV, newspaper interviews, published articles, speeches, workshops, "op-ed pieces" and letters to the editor, as well as facilitate the formation of ad hoc coalitions wherever possible to advance its commitment to separation of church and state--and to political, cultural and religious pluralism.

1982-83 PROGRAM EMPHASES

STRENGTHENING JEWISH IDENTITY: THE FAMILY AND COMMUNITY

Recent dramatic changes in family and community life threaten to reduce the size of the Jewish population and diminish the quality of Jewish life in America. The Jewish birthrate is below replacement level and an alarming number of Jewish marriages are terminating in divorce, with pain and confusion for parents and children. Yet the family remains the social institution most capable of providing its members with a sense of stability, continuity and well-being and of transmitting Jewish values.

It is essential that the Jewish community respond to the new needs of today's families. To encourage this effort, the American Jewish Committee created the National Jewish Family Center in 1979. During its first two years, the NJFC launched publication of a quarterly Newsletter, completed several pilot studies and issued a series of publications, including the Shabbat Haggadah, which have been enthusiastically received by AJC chapters and the Jewish community.

In the program year ahead, 1982-1983, the NJFC will again take the lead in stimulating communal and national policies and programs in support of family life. The NJFC will encourage and sponsor further research on the relationship of values to family life, on attitudes of Jewish undergraduate and graduate university students toward marriage and having children, Follow-up Study on the Effects of Intermarriage, the changing roles of men and women and its impact on the family, the changing nature of parenting, the development of the family as seen intergenerationally and the role of substitute grandparents. In addition, conferences related to the research and to other issues of family life will be held and programmatic guidelines and resource material will be prepared.

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The NJFC will not offer direct services to individuals or families, nor will it duplicate activities of other Jewish agencies. It will, however, develop ongoing cooperative relationships with national and local Jewish organizations and provide them with information and assistance that will enhance their own programs in support of the family.

The NJFC will also cooperate with non-Jewish family-related institutes and agencies, sharing information and undertaking joint research and educational efforts designed to strengthen and improve American family life.



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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

For Consideration by
the Executive Committee
January 13, 1982

1982-83 PROGRAM EMPHASES

INTERPRETING ISRAEL AND MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Constant instability in the Middle East, growing strains between the United States and Israel and the heightened role of Saudi Arabia in American strategic thinking make the task of interpreting Israel and Middle East peace more crucial than ever. Moreover, the critical date of April 25th for return by Israel of the rest of the Sinai to Egypt is the signal for mounting Arab and other pressures on the United States to move away from the Camp David peace process.

In the face of such challenges, it is imperative to emphasize the fundamental congruity of U.S. and Israeli interests in the Middle East area among government leaders and the general public. Stress on Israel's value as the one dependable and strong Middle East ally of the U.S. must be accompanied by focus on the common democratic values and aims of the two societies.

AJC continues to combat the tendency of many to minimize the very significant achievements of the Camp David peace process and its still unrealized potential for Palestinian autonomy, and urges constant adherence to the Camp David accords by all parties.

Particular attention is paid to countering attempts to have the United States support the Saudi Arabia Fahd plan, still operative despite the fact that the Arab states themselves rejected this at Fez. AJC points up the fallacies of making Saudi Arabia a linchpin of the American strategic effort in the Gulf area, because it is fraught with danger for vital American interests. And we help lay bare Saudi claims to being a "moderate" by underscoring its role as an official backer of PLO terrorism and a promoter of demands which, while purporting to recognize Israel eventually, actually would bring

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about its demise.

The dissent in Israel around key issues, natural in any democratic society, must be put in focus for the American public, so as not to overshadow the national consensus in Israel on such matters as national security, or the need for the unification of Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty. AJC provides a unique service in making available in the U.S. full reports of Israeli press and public thinking, on a regular basis. Similarly, when strains arise in U.S.-Israeli relations, AJC's interpretive analyses, quickly provided, help promote greater understanding of and concentration on underlying relationships as against surface bickering.

Ever increasing resources and effort are put into programs that enhance mutual understanding between Israel ^{and the American Christian groups as well as} and the American Jewish community. Ongoing programs bring Christian visitors, ethnic group representatives and academics from the U.S. to Israel. AJC's Tefusot Israel magazine provides information in Israel about the U.S. and Jewish communities around the world, and a lecture series now has been organized around this. Material about the U.S. is introduced, through the efforts of AJC's Israel Office and Library, into Israeli high school and academic courses. There is constant exchange between AJC in Israel and the authorities there on human relations concerns, public consultations on subjects such as relations between church and state, and the efforts together with Israelis to enhance the image of the Jewish state in the eyes of visitors.

Not yet as developed as it should be, for the American scene, is emphasis on the positive aspects of Israeli society as, for example, Israeli scientific and technological achievements in the field of energy (which might prove useful in the U.S.), health or immigrant absorption. Nor have such subjects as the Israeli record with respect to the Holy Places or care for the urban planning of Jerusalem received the attention they warrant; and these will be addressed in the coming year.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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January 13, 1982

1982-83 PROGRAM EMPHASES

PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS

United States human rights policy is now slowly taking clearer shape, after a period of much controversy over style and emphases. In both this context and the international arena, AJC goals remain the same: firm opposition to human rights violations, regardless of source; emphasis on meaningful implementation of human rights pacts; particular sensitivity to issues of Jewish concern.

Particularly welcome to the AJC, given its constant involvement in the matter for nearly two decades, was the adoption this past year of the international Declaration on the Elimination of Religious Intolerance. A priority for the coming year is to make both the Declaration itself and its possible uses (e.g., to point up discrimination against Jews in the USSR) far better known.

Growing attention is, and must be, paid to the double standard prevalent in the United Nations and many of the UN specialized agencies, where the trend has been to single out Israel and a few other states and to emphasize human rights violations in the West, while ignoring much more serious violations in other lands. The Ad Hoc Group on U.S. Policy Towards the UN, with which the AJC works, has been particularly active in giving voice to this concern, and AJC is seeking the widest possible circulation of the Ad Hoc Group Report.

A long-term project of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights that saw fruition this year was the publication of a major work on the Civil and Political Rights Covenant. Now efforts must be devoted to promoting its utilization as a basic text for human rights teaching around the nation, and the possibilities of translation for foreign use must be ex-

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plored.

Two key projects sponsored by the Blaustein Institute deal with the ability of individuals to take advantage of the growing human rights machinery, of which most people are unaware. One is a juridical study, this year's Sakharov Fellowship Grant, of "The Right to Know One's Rights." The other is the forthcoming publication of a Human Rights Practice Manual, a unique "how-to" volume for those who seek redress. Creating such awareness is a permanent goal.

Both the UN Human Rights Commission and the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities provide opportunities for advancing AJC human rights goals. High on the agenda at this time are the subjects of human rights monitoring, the right to emigration and the question of "disappearances," all of which have clear implications for various Jewish communities; as well as the recurrent attempts here, as elsewhere at the UN, to harass Israel.

DRAFT

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

For consideration by the
Executive Committee
January 13, 1982

1982-83 PROGRAM EMPHASES

COUNTERING NEGATIVE ARAB INFLUENCE, INCLUDING THE BOYCOTT

Arab oil and petrodollar power were manifest in the course of the lengthy debate over the sale of AWACS and other sophisticated arms to Saudi Arabia. Saudi representatives worked together with U. S. government officials and business leaders, eager to continue lucrative contracts with the Arab world, to portray Saudi Arabia as the best friend of America and persuade Senators and Representatives to approve the sale. The U. S. thus passed this Saudi-proclaimed "litmus test" of friendship; the prospect is for more "tests" in the future as the U. S. is subject to pressure calling for recognition of the PLO and an end to the Camp David peace process. Perceptions of Arab--especially Saudi--oil and money power increasingly figure in the thinking of our policymakers, who now consider Saudi Arabia a linchpin of U. S. policy, in spite of Saudi statements that they do not see eye to eye with the U. S. on the Middle East.

AJC's information and education activities will continue to counter Arab attempts to influence U. S. policy. AJC's two publications, PetroImpact and Heard in the Arab World reach a large audience of political and business leaders as well as newspaper writers, radio and TV commentators. AJC's quarterly bulletin, PetroImpact, has established a reputation for solid analysis of Arab involvement in American politics, business and universities. Heard in the Arab World contains excerpts translated from the Arab press, which shed light for the media and opinion molders on Arab opinions, often concealed from Western audiences.

AJC's monitoring of Arab investments in the U. S. in government, business and universities continues, as does its efforts to be alert to and expose political influence stemming from petrodollar interests--the increased trade and variety of

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commercial activity with the Arab world.

AJC will continue to work on ensuring the enforcement of Federal anti-boycott legislation, and encourage the Administration to see this as a priority issue.

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DRAFT

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

For Consideration by
the Executive Committee
January 13, 1982

1982-83 PROGRAM EMPHASES

IMMIGRATION

American refugee and immigration policies have been a primary concern of AJC since its founding. Recent increases in the number of people entering the United States from the Caribbean Basin, Latin America, and Southeast Asia have stimulated public concern and sharp debate about our nation's capacity to absorb these and other newcomers in an orderly fashion. Indeed, growing numbers of citizens and legislators--especially those in localities that have experienced economic and social dislocations after sudden influxes of immigrants--believe that "our borders are out of control," and that our nation should adopt more restrictive measures to regulate the sources of future immigration. Recognizing that our nation was largely founded and developed by immigrants seeking relief from persecution and economic distress, and that such motivations guide those who today seek entry to our shores, AJC will seek to inform leaders in the general and Jewish communities of vital immigration issues and will continue to formulate and advocate recommendations to cope more effectively with immigration, refugee standards and status, family reunification, undocumented aliens, and the acculturation and absorption of newcomers. This will be done in the interest of maintaining a generous, fair and controlled policy which is responsive to the needs of both our nation and those who wish to live and work among us.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

For consideration by
the Executive Committee
January 13, 1982

1982-83 PROGRAM EMPHASES

COMBATING ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTI-JEWISH ACTIVITIES

Jewish anxieties over the state of anti-Semitism have increased during the past year. For the first time in the post World War II era, prominent individuals in public life resorted to thinly veiled anti-Semitism in public expressions. More disturbing, during the intense debate arising from the AWACS issue, openly anti-Jewish remarks were heard coming from the highest of circles, the loyalty of American Jews was questioned and some Administration officials and legislative leaders predicted a rising tide of American anti-Semitism if the AWACS sale was defeated. Anti-Semitic vandalism has not abated during the past year; indeed, it has increased. Acts of terrorism targeting Jewish institutions and individuals, frequently with fatal results, continue in European countries. Despite a steady decline in the number of Americans who hold negative images of Jews, some 23% of those Americans polled still regard Jews in an unfavorable light. While the American Nazis are in disarray, the Ku Klux Klan continues to be a viable force.

The Zionist-Racism equation reverberates in the United Nations providing legitimacy to barely concealed anti-Semitism of leftists, churches, Third World forces and groups supportive of the PLO.

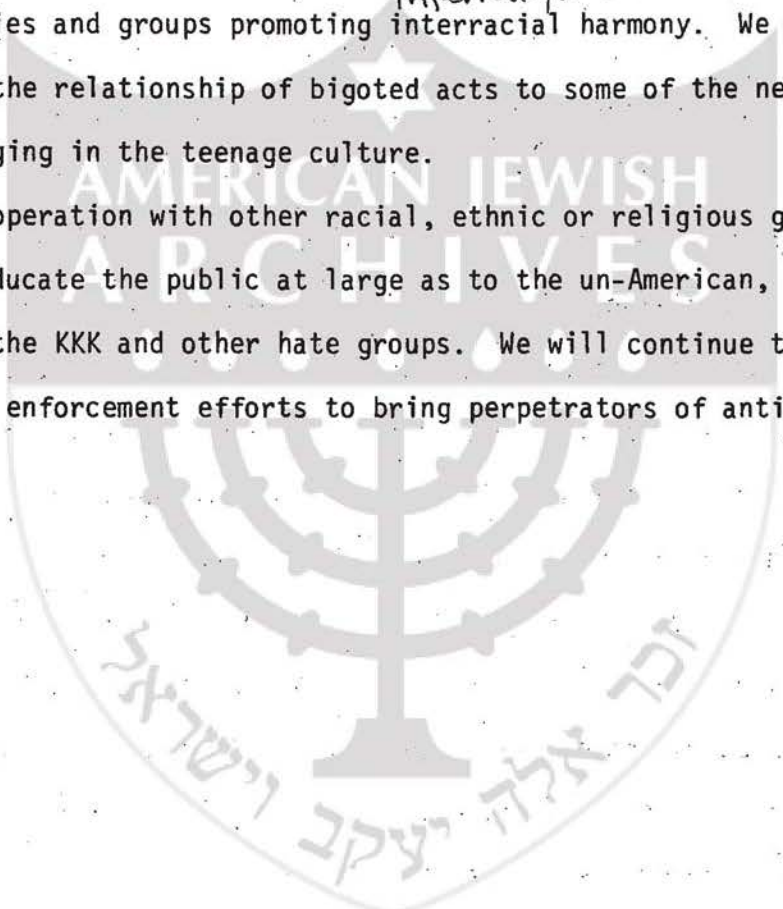
America is feeling the impact of an economy in disarray with high unemployment, high interest rates and diminished welfare benefits to the poor. The resulting discontent might well find an outlet in scapegoating Jews, aliens, Blacks and Hispanics.

Meeting the threats to Jewish security and well being, as well as rampant racism which damages America's democratic fabric is a matter of concern and

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consequently a high priority for AJC. In coalition with those non-Jewish Americans who share in this commitment we will continue to monitor the activities of and seek to isolate and negate the impact of anti-Semitic, anti-democratic groups and individuals, drawing upon our long experience and current attitudinal studies. A vital part of our effort to help create a climate in which bigots cannot take root or flourish are our ongoing programs with various Christian religious bodies and groups promoting ^{interracial} harmony. We will pay special attention to the relationship of bigoted acts to some of the negative behavior patterns emerging in the teenage culture.

In cooperation with other racial, ethnic or religious groups, AJC will continue to educate the public at large as to the un-American, un-Christian character of the KKK and other hate groups. We will continue to press for effective law enforcement efforts to bring perpetrators of anti-Semitic vandalism to justice.



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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

For consideration by the
Executive Committee
January 13, 1982

1982-83 PROGRAM EMPHASES

INTERGROUP RELATIONS, SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION

The erosion of this nation's economic stability due to continued high inflation and recession has a serious negative impact on the condition of America's minorities and disadvantaged as well as the middle class. Unemployment has reached the highest point since World War II, the wage and employment gap between white men and minorities and women has increased, and there is fear of the development of a permanent underclass as youth unemployment continues to soar. The Administration has tried to respond to these difficult problems through a program that drastically cuts federal spending and taxes to curb inflation and shifts control of many social programs to the states. The role that the Federal Government has played in promoting and enforcing the civil rights of groups that had historically been discriminated against is being reduced as regulations and enforcement procedures are changed or eliminated.

AJC is concerned that while we wait for the results projected for the Administration's program, many of the most vulnerable in our society--minorities, women, the elderly, the unemployed, and the underemployed--will suffer disproportionately. We are also concerned that families, neighborhoods, religious and ethnic organizations--the mediating structures that are so important in addressing human needs--be given necessary support.

To respond to the dislocations and intergroup tensions beginning to emerge and the need for effective social programs, AJC will focus on national and local strategies that question across-the-board budget cuts and further cuts in

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categorical grant programs until the effects of the first round of cuts and transfer of programs to the states have been assessed. We will explore the complex but vitally important issues of Social Security and Tax Policy and evaluate some of the new ideas being presented to revitalize the economy and provide employment opportunities, i.e., urban enterprise zones.

Particular emphasis will be on insuring the continuation of the nation's commitment to non-discrimination and equal opportunity.

We will continue to focus on cooperative efforts to build bridges with community groups concerned about crime reduction, neighborhood revitalization, quality public education, advocacy programs for the aged, and efforts to provide training and jobs for the unemployed. We shall also press for state legislation to facilitate voluntary work sharing linked to unemployment insurance benefits.

Chapters will be encouraged to monitor the distribution of block grants and to develop state and regional networks to respond more effectively to the shift in emphasis from the federal to state level.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

For Consideration by
the Executive Committee
January 13, 1982

1982-83 PROGRAM EMPHASES

PROMOTING NATIONAL ENERGY POLICIES TO REDUCE U.S. OIL DEPENDENCY

AJC believes the Jewish community has a vital stake in helping the United States to reduce its dependence on Persian Gulf oil. By promoting effective national energy policies, we can help to protect our country's economic and social well-being, to keep our foreign policy free from outside influence, and to prevent hostile attitudes toward Israel and Jews growing out of misconceptions about the causes of our energy problem. The American Jewish Committee is recognized as the major resource for information and guidance in the Jewish community on matters of energy policy and program.

Unfortunately, our government's commitment to reducing U.S. energy dependence seems to have slipped dangerously, posing threats to our nation's security and economic well-being. We are concerned that this country may be lulling itself into a false sense of security as a result of the world oil oversupply. AJC believes that sound energy policy is a key element in national security and that reducing U.S. dependence on foreign oil should be this country's major priority. The present oversupply situation provides an opportunity that must not be allowed to slip by.

Although market forces can increase production and conservation, we do not believe that market forces alone can resolve the complex U.S. energy problem. We continue to aim at a balanced U.S. energy policy designed to promote more efficient use of energy, to develop U.S. resources and alternative energy sources and to encourage oil production in non-OPEC countries and in the Western Hemisphere. Specific areas for increased concentration will be calls by AJC for a stronger federal role in conservation, in research and development, and in emergency preparedness, especially in maintenance of a Strategic

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Petroleum Reserve adequate to protect against the effects of an oil cutoff from the Persian Gulf.

AJC will also continue its national energy coalitional work, using energy as a bridge issue to other groups, and providing an opportunity for us to get our viewpoint widely known on energy and related issues. AJC's educational efforts in this field are carried on in part through our Energy Information Service Bulletin, which provides timely analysis to the Jewish community and to others, as well as through our radio commentary program, "Energy Today," heard in major cities throughout the U.S.

82-100-6



January 20, 1982

Mr. Gerald S. Goldberg
President
ABCO Hardware & Builders Supply, Inc.
4339 East Imperial Highway
Lynwood, California 90242

My dear Jerry,

I am not going to begin with an apology for my lateness in responding to your letter of this summer. When I came back to New York I was obligated to go overseas to attend a number of international conferences and fell terribly behind in my correspondence.

I simply want to acknowledge your letter and to thank you most heartily for your lovely and thoughtful office supplies that you were kind enough to send me. Needless to say I put them to use immediately as they arrived.

You rightly sense that I am deeply interested in the Brandeis Outreach Program. When you have completed it by all means feel free to send it to me and I will try to respond to it much earlier than I did to your last letter.

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

Cordially, as ever,

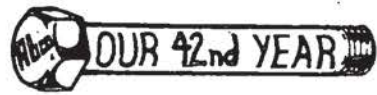
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National Director
Interreligious Affairs

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August 20, 1981

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th St.
New York, NY 10022

for Joyce

Dear Marc:

AMERICAN JEWISH

I just dictated the salutation, "Dear Marc," and that has a lot of meaning to me. I heard Joe Telushkin and some of the "great BCI-ers" address you that way. It shows an empathy, a warmth, a humanity and all those good things, and I mean that as sincerely as I can.

It means that there is a communication that is so lacking with people, but it is "lacking less" at Brandeis. People feel they can tell you what's in their gut and express themselves, even though they are not "eloquent" or they write and they don't have to be Shakespeare. People understand that there are things that are on their minds that are meaningful to them as individuals and as human beings.

That little comment came out of the salutation of "Dear Marc. I felt the same way when Joyce and I sat down and talked to you about the BCI Outreach Program in relationship to the efforts that go into this terrific proven method that Brandeis-Bardin has developed.

What we are interested in doing of course is making it more fruitful, that from this tree, you know, as we said in this dialog that I wrote out--you plant a seed and the more you prune it and take care of it and you till it and nourish it and fertilize it, the more you get.

Here we do everything to be successful in placing Jewish leadership youth in the field to be just that-- a person like yourself that is innovative, that is a puller and a pusher and not a leaner and is an individual we look up to with not only respect but with expectation.



Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
August 20, 1981
Page 2

I know, Marc, that the expectation is heavy on your head. People expect sometimes more than they deserve or more than what a person can put out. But what we want to do is to help you in any possible way so that we can also have you help us.

When I finish the almost final draft of this presentation to the Brandeis board I will send it to you. It should be within the next few weeks. I am going to have Michael Blankfort look at it as well to edit it and edit it again so that it will be presented, it will be funded, it will be a benefit to you, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, in all that you have done, not only soon, but of course in the future.

We are looking for people to assist you and assist us all, ~~and~~ this is the goal of this whole program--the Outreach Program of benefiting the entire community from what Brandeis does. I hope that you will return it as soon as you get it after giving me your real gut feelings about it and if you feel it is, as you stated, of definite benefit that you will write Brandeis and me a letter stating so. I need endorsements. I need to have it all planned before I go into battle. I want everybody's input and especially yours.

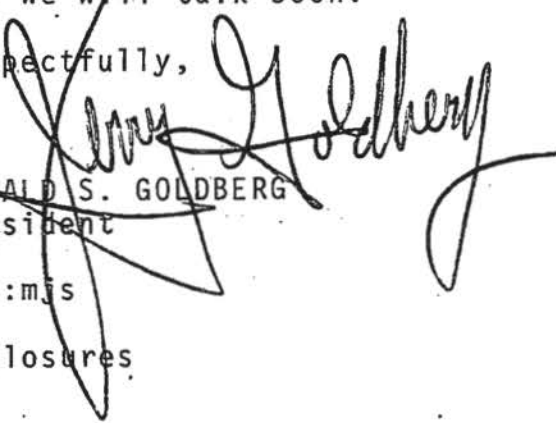
Use the enclosed to remind yourself of someone that appreciates "Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum" as a person and as a contributor. I've followed what you have done. I might mention at this time that in my company I have many thousands of accounts in distributing hardware, and when the Cambodian situation came out, in our monthly flyer--you see one enclosed--it shows we wanted people to contribute to the Cambodian Relief.

We couldn't locate one to send you.

Without saying anything more about what we have done here, or what I have done, whatever has been done has been done because I receive more than I give when I take action in any regard. So enjoy these few items. I hope they bring you some pleasure and further recognition of someone that cares for you and what you do.

With personal regards from Joyce and myself, please keep well and we will talk soon.

Respectfully,


GERALD S. GOLDBERG
President

GSG:mjs

Enclosures



The American Jewish Committee

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Swearingen
→ *MHT Panel*

January 20, 1982

Mr. Lawson L. Swearingen
Chairman & Chief Executive
Commercial Union Insurance Companies
One Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Dear Mr. Swearingen,

How thoughtful of you to take the time to write an expression of your good wishes on my engagement to Georgette. Georgette quite obviously is not only "one of our favorite people" - she is my favorite person.

I was very much impressed by the knowledge of your relationship with my long-time dear friend Dr. Billy Graham.

In fact, one of my cherished desires when the pressures of public events ease up is to complete a book that I started on my friendship with Dr. Graham over many years. Some day when time allows I hope to complete that project and will be happy to share the book with you.

I too would like very much to become better acquainted with you. Should you be in New York in the near future, please let me know a little in advance. It would give me much pleasure to have you as my guest at luncheon or at dinner so that we might have a chance to talk about matters of common interest.

In behalf of Georgette and myself, our warmest good wishes for a healthy, happy and, above all, a peaceful New Year.

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

Enclosures

Graham MHT

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LAWSON L. SWEARINGEN
CHAIRMAN & CHIEF EXECUTIVE

on [unclear]

January 6, 1982

Mr. Marc H. Tanenbaum
166 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Tanenbaum:

Our Geoff Mullis told me the good news about your engagement to Georgette and I wish to extend my congratulations and best wishes. Georgette is one of our favorite people and I would say you are quite fortunate in having convinced her.

I was also interested in your association with Billy Graham, since I am chairing a major crusade effort for New England in 1982. Perhaps we will have the opportunity to visit at some time when we might talk about your activities as director of National Inter-Religious Affairs for the American Jewish Committee.

Please give Georgette our best.

Sincerely,

LLS/dd

February 1, 1982

Mr. Scott Herman
WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System
90 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10016

Dear Scott,

It was good speaking with you in recent days.

In response to your request, I am enclosing a list of the 52 commentaries that I broadcast over WINS during 1981. These provide the back-up for the billing that I submitted to you earlier for script payment.

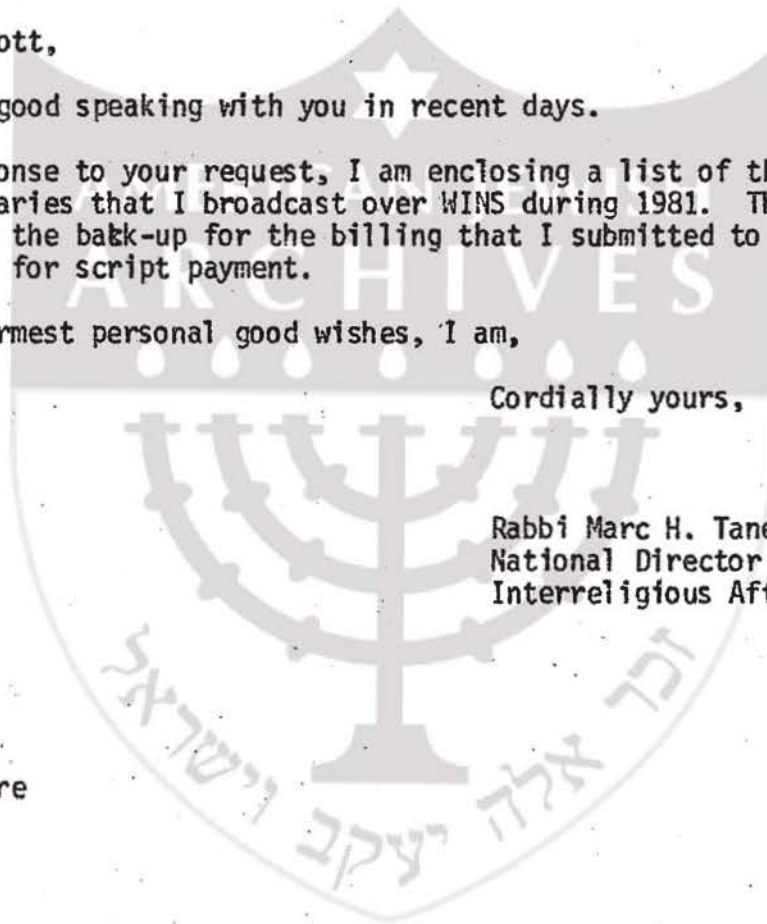
With warmest personal good wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

Enclosure



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Original documents
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WINS COMMENTARIES.....RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM.....1981

- 1/4- "1981 - A JEWISH PERSPECTIVE"
- 1/11- "LIV ULLMANN - 'HONORARY JEW'"
- 1/18- "THE LIBERATION OF AMERICAN HOSTAGES"
- 1/25- "THE 52 FREE AMERICANS AND NATIONAL UNITY"
- 2/1- "SEAPEGOATING ISRAEL FOR THE HOSTAGE'S PLIGHT"
- 2/8- "FORT RILEY AND DEFENSE OF LIBERTY"
- 2/15 "BOCA RATON - A HUMAN PARADISE"
- 2/22- "MICHAEL NOVAK - A BREATH OF FRESH AIR AT THE UN"
- 3/1- "POPE JOHN PAUL II AND JUDAISM"
- 3/8- "ATLANTA'S BLACK CHILDREN"
- 3/15- "PURIM 1981"
- 3/22- "THE VATICAN AND THE PLO"
- 3/29- "THE ELECTRONIC CHURCH AND PLURALISM"
- 4/5- "VATICAN-JEWISH MEETING"
- 4/12- "PASSOVER 1981"
- 4/19- "PASSOVER AND EASTER 1981"
- 4/26- "THE AWACS TO SAUDIS IS A BLUNDER"
- 5/3- "HOLOCAUST DAY"
- 5/10- "WORKING MOTHERS"
- 5/17- "JEWS CONDEMN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON POPE JOHN PAUL II"
- 5/24- "FOUR CHAPLAINS SYMBOLIZE AMERICAN UNITY"
- 5/31- "SOVIET JEWRY"
- 6/7- "EVANGELICALS CONDEMN ANTI-SEMITISM"
- 6/14- "MORAL HYPOCRISY OVER IRAQ'S NUCLEAR REACTOR"
- 6/21- "UN'S RESOLUTION IS A COLOSSAL CHARADE"
- 6/28- "JULY 4, 1981"

- 7/5- "WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES SPEAKS ON JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS"
- 7/12- "THREE BLOCKBUSTER CONFERENCES"
- 7/19- "ISRAEL STRIKES IN LEBANON"
- 7/26- "THREE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS"
- 8/2- "ON CIA'S WILLIAM CASEY"
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- 8/16- "INTERFAITH HUNGER APPEAL"
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- 8/30- "AGE OF PLEASURE"
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- 9/27- "ROSH HASHANAH 1981"
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- 10/11- "PRESIDENT SADAT"
- 10/18- "MOSHE DAYAN-A MODERN BIBLICAL HERO"
- 10/25- "AWACS FOR 'UNSTABLE' SAUDI ARABIA"
- 11/1- "NBC'S CONFERENCE ON MEDIA AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY"
- 11/8- "HISPANIC-JEWISH RELATIONS"
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NEW YORK 10047

MEMORANDUM

The logo for the American Jewish Archives, featuring a shield with a star at the top and a menorah in the center. The text "AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES" is written across the shield. Hebrew text is visible at the bottom of the shield.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

I am sending the enclosed to
you for your information.

I hope you will find it of
interest.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Mario M. Cuomo".

Mario M. Cuomo

enclosure

NEW YORK BOARD OF RABBIS

MARCH 16, 1982

From Ecclesiastes we learn:

"There is a time for silence and a time for speech."

Now is clearly not a time for silence.

Because silence now would make a wrong statement, as does the silence of the Soviet bureaucrat in response to the plea of the Jew who seeks the right to join family in his homeland of Israel; the silence of the United Nations in the face of the murderous lawlessness of international terrorism. The silence of a community in which a church or synagogue is subjected to desecration or even destruction.

The Jews have lived -- and died -- under every conceivable form of political structure devised by the human mind: in the process they have learned a simple truth:

Only under the rule of law derived from democratic process have Jews survived and flourished. Look to where the Jews are most secure, and you find a social order in which all may be secure. That is because if the most vulnerable can be secure, then all are less vulnerable.

And under -- the rule of law, -- the assertion of rights, the articulating of the truth, is not only tolerable, it is essential.

It follows that America has a duty to speak forcefully to the world, of the critical importance of Israel's survival.

America must proclaim that Israel is important to us because it is the surrogate target for the enemies of Democracy itself. If Israel falls, the democracies of Europe must know that they will follow. And if they fall -- can our own democracy be far behind?

We in America have not been proclaiming clearly enough.

The tone of American political life is set in Washington; sometimes for the very worst. Recently during a debate on a constitutional amendment, a United States Senator attacked a fellow Senator by calling him "the Senator From B'nai B'rith." Twice in recent years, high government officials have warned of undue Jewish influence -- specifically, Jewish control of the banks and the communications media. At the very same time, the takeover of major economic institutions by Arab royal families is accompanied by ... an eloquent silence.

A former president of the United States uttered undisguised and vicious anti-semitism, preserved for all time on the infamous oval office tapes, and openly resorted to dark mutterings about the consequences of defeat of the AWACs sale for American Jews. Despite that, he was deemed a fit representative of the United States at the Sadat funeral. A successor of his, another president, a man of self-professed and authentic religious commitment, was totally blinded and struck dumb by his brother's anti-Jewish behavior: Silence in response to bigotry.

And now, our current president, when faced with the strong possibility of defeat of the AWACs sale, personally called into question the right of America's Jews to participate in the political process. But few outside of the Jewish community stated their disapproval of the unfair attack.

Is it any wonder then, that others, perceiving these as signs of approval from on high, feel less constrained to repress their anti-Jewish urges. Should we be surprised at the new outbreak of desecrations of synagogues and Jewish schools, and at the marking of the ragged symbols of hate on Jewish homes? Silence is making the wrong statements.

###

On this threshold of a sacred season -- Passover, with its message of liberation and redemption, and Easter with its message of hope and salvation -- I see the very antithesis of these noble and pure aspirations gaining daily strength in our nation and in the world.

And again, there is the awful silence from on high.

It troubles me.

#

I confess that, my non-Jewish concern for the future of the Jews is not derived from any extraordinary altruism. The truth is I am motivated by the most intensely selfish of human impulses: I fear for my survival, and for that of my family. I fear for the security of a way of life which I cherish and which is under siege. For it is still the Jews who make clear who our enemies are by drawing first fire.

The Prophet says:

"For Jerusalem's sake I will not be quiet until her vindication shines forth like the dawn, and her victory like a burning torch."

Where are the voices of those who know deep, deep, in their very souls that a Jerusalem made whole, reunited, must not again be sundered into two estranged mutilated parts: I will join the Prophet, for Zion's vindication, is, in fact, my vindication. And Jerusalem's victory, is my victory.

And silence is self-destruction.

I hope that my Hubris, for which, perhaps, there is a far better Yiddish word - "Chutzpah" -- in telling a room full of rabbis about the necessity of speaking, will be forgiven.

Generally speaking, politicians, like rabbis, are generally speaking.

Furthermore, I come among you as a Christian, and the significance of being accorded this privilege on the occasion of the installation of a leader of rabbis is not lost on me. You have, in my view, permitted me to enter your sanctuary in the trust of friendship.

I pray that I may never betray that trust ... by silence.

Thank you.

#

Speed Letter.

To Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

From Joan Silverman
Long Island Chapter

Subject Canonization of Father Maximilian Kolby

- NO. 9 & 10 FOLD

Message

Dear Marc:

I thought you might like to see the enclosed material about Father Kolby.

Per our conversation of today, I'll give you a call on Tuesday morning with regard to a statement on the Canonization.

Best regards,

JS:pmc
encs.

cc: Rabbi James Rudin

Date 3/19/82 Signed Joan Silverman

Reply

- No. 9 FOLD

- NO. 10 FOLD

Jones

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Rev. Kolbe, died at Auschwitz, to be canoniz

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"I want to die for one of these men," he said, pointing to ten inmates condemned in retaliation for an escape from Block 14 the night before.

"Which one?" asked a startled Lagerfuher Fritsch.

"The one with a wife and children," the prisoner replied.

"Who are you?"

"A Catholic priest."

Father Maximilian Kolbe, 47, replaced sergeant Francis Gajowiczek in a "starvation bunker." Not dead two weeks later, he was given a fatal shot of acid. It was 1941 — at Auschwitz.

Next October at the Vatican, Father Kolbe will be canonized a saint, a Christian martyr heroic in virtue, faith and love. The Polish Franciscan was beatified (declared "blessed") in 1971.

Raymond Kolbe — Maximilian was his religious name — was born in Zdunska Wola, a town of poor weavers, near the industrial city of Lodz in 1894. He was the second of three sons of Julius and Maria Kolbe. The family moved to Pabianice, also in the Lodz area, where the future saint and his brothers grew up in a small house by a cemetery.

Maria Kolbe was a frugal, aggressive woman. She started a second-hand shop and trained herself as a midwife and nurse. With the extra income, she was able to encourage her sons to study for careers in business or the church rather than entering the weaving craft of their ancestors.

Both Raymond and his older brother, Francis, enrolled in a small Franciscan seminary in Lwow in 1907. They became novices three years later, and Raymond took the name of an early Christian martyr. Maximilian entered the Franciscan Order of Friars Minor Conventional a year later

and, following studies in Cracow and Rome, was ordained in 1919.

Francis Kolbe also became a Franciscan but left active religious life to join the Polish resistance against Russian occupation; during World War II he was a Polish intelligence agent. He was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and sent to Auschwitz, where apparently he died, according to Sergius C. Lorit, a biographer of Father Kolbe.

Maria and Julius Kolbe both entered the Franciscan Third Order, for laity. After her children were grown, Maria lived in several convents and eventually made her home with the Felician Sisters in Cracow.

Julius found religious life trying. He lived for a time as a seller of religious articles in Czestochowa. In 1914 he joined the Polish army, fought on the Russian front, was captured and hanged.

During his school years, and especially in Rome where he studied at the Pontifical Gregorian University and the Pontifical School of Theology, Maximilian Kolbe became active in the early 20th century movement stressing veneration of the Virgin Mary.

As a student, he began to organize what would become the international Militia Immaculatae (troops of Mary), a Catholic association of the pious known in North America as the Knights of the Immaculata Movement.

Part of his theological interest focused on opposition to Freemasonry. The original Militia Immaculatae (statement of purpose, drafted in 1917, set forth the goal of converting "every person living in sin, heresy, schism and especially Freemasonry, and the growth in holiness of all persons, under the sponsorship of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculate."

Maximilian Kolbe was never physically strong. From youth, he suffered what would later be diagnosed as tuberculosis.

In 1919, the newly ordained priest returned to a Poland free of Russian domination. He tried seminary teaching and the pastorate but was too weak for either. His energy thereafter went into developing the Militia Immaculatae, and despite frequent physical collapses he launched a newspaper devoted to the movement.

Some controversy surrounded his work within

the Polish Franciscan community, with leaders of the order finally giving him space for a growing printing ministry at Grodno Friary. By the late 1920s the operation, and community to run it, outgrew the friary. A member of the Polish aristocracy provided a headquarters on a feudal estate at Niepokalanow. It was called "the City of Mary."

Father Kolbe established an Immaculata center in Japan in 1930, and traveled widely in Asia and Europe fostering the cause of Mary. By 1936, he was back in Poland; the community at

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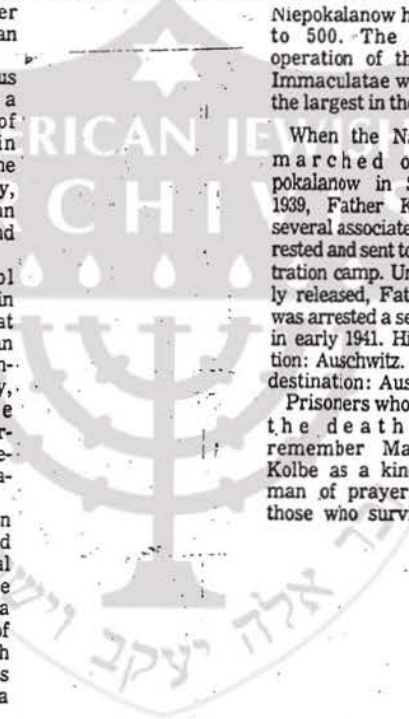
When the Nazi army marched on Niepokalanow in September 1939, Father Kolbe and several associates were arrested and sent to a concentration camp. Unexpectedly released, Father Kolbe was arrested a second time in early 1941. His destination: Auschwitz.

Prisoners who survived the death camp remember Maximilian Kolbe as a kind, loving man of prayer. Among those who survived was

Francis Gajowiczek, whose place the priest took in the starvation bunker.

Mr. Gajowiczek, present at the beatification in 1971 and expected to attend the canonization in October, remembers Father Kolbe breaking camp rules to hear confessions and lead prayers. The ex-sergeant also said:

"His love for those around him was extraordinary... The most splendid confirmation of his heroic love... was to come at the end, when he offered his life for none other than me, almost a total stranger to him."



CRUX OF THE NEWS

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

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RECEIVED MAR 9 1982

THE SPECIALIZED NEWS AND INFORMATION WHICH YOU NEED IN YOUR WORK FOR THE CHURCH

March 8, 1982

Saints: Two Franciscan religious being canonized this year by Pope John Paul II. Mark first canonizations of pontificate; celebrates 800th anniversary of St Francis birth. 20th century Polish Conventual Franciscan priest/missioner, Fr Maximillian Maria Kolbe, gave his life for another in Nazi prison camp; was executed 8/14/41; beatified 10/17/71; to be canonized 10/10/82. 17th century Italian Capuchin Franciscan Brother Crispin of Viterbo, spent his 46 years of religious life in fund raising (questor, alms collector) for Order/poor; died 1790; beatified 1806; to be canonized 6/20/82.

Canada: Two Canadian religious set for beatification 5/23/82: Holy Cross Brother Andre Besette (1846-1937) healer, founder of St Joseph's Oratory, Montreal. Holy Names of Jesus and Mary foundress Mother Marie-Rose Durocher (1811-1859); community now has 3000 sisters-in-US/Canada, Latin America, African missions.

Cut: Being proposed in Maryland: State can save money, avoid church-state involvement by firing all state hospital chaplains. Present 1982-1983 state budget includes \$197,238 for 7 chaplains' services, assistants, expenses. Proposed: Contract for service instead of full-time chaplain posts. Now issue raised, one legislator thinking of investigating chaplain service for church-state conflict. Chaplains on staff since 1700's; are part of treatment team

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

03-05-82

To inmates at Auschwitz, Maximilian Kolbe was known as a saintly man

By Elliott Wright
Special to Religious News Service

The frail prisoner boldly stepped up to the Nazi officer.

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03-02-82

Pope will canonize priest who offered his own life for another's at Auschwitz

By Eleni Dimmler

Religious News Service Correspondent

VATICAN CITY (RNS) — Blessed Maximilian Kolbe, a Polish Franciscan priest who offered his life in exchange for that of a fellow inmate in the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz, will be canonized by Pope John Paul II in October.

The announcement of the pope's decision to proclaim his fellow Pole a saint at a ceremony in St. Peter's Basilica on Oct. 13 was made here by the Rev. Vitale Bommarco, minister general of the Order of Friars Minor Conventual, the Franciscan order Blessed Kolbe belonged to.

Father Bommarco explained that the pope, as is his privilege, had speeded up normal canonization proceedings by granting a dispensation from a church law requiring two miracles ascribed to the intercession of a candidate for sainthood.

Father Kolbe, the first victim of a Nazi death camp to be so honored, was beatified by the late Pope Paul VI in 1971.

Born in 1894 at Zedunka-Vola, near Lodz, Poland, Kolbe entered the Franciscan order in 1907 and in 1912 went to Rome to complete his studies in philosophy and theology. He was ordained in 1918 and returned to Poland the following year.

In 1924, he founded the Franciscan community of "The City of Mary Immaculate." Later, he spent six years in Japan and founded a second such "city" at Nagasaki in 1930. A third was established later in India. Returning to Poland, he became superior of his Marian center for religious devotion.

These foundations were part of an international Marian movement he had founded, known as the Militia of Immaculata. The movement stressed recognition of the role of the Virgin Mary in the redemption of mankind through Jesus Christ.

Shortly before World War II, Father Kolbe became director of one of Poland's largest Catholic publishing enterprises. After the Nazi-Soviet invasion of Poland in 1939, he was arrested, detained for a short time and released. He was arrested again in 1941 on charges of aiding Jewish refugees and members of the Polish underground and sent to Auschwitz.

On August 14, 1941, the eve of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Father Kolbe died of starvation and an injection of carbolic acid.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

He had volunteered to take the place of another camp inmate, a married man who had been chosen arbitrarily as one of 10 hostages to be starved to death in reprisal for the escape of another prisoner.

With the other nine victims, Father Kolbe was stripped of his clothing and left without food or water in a cell to die of starvation. Some two or three weeks later, only four of the 10 hostages, including Father Kolbe, were alive.

Nazi guards, needing the cell for another 10 starvation victims, injected carbolic acid into the four men. Father Kolbe, lying naked under a blanket, was the last to die. He was 47 years old.

The prisoner whose life Father Kolbe saved — Polish Army Sergeant Franciszek Gajowniczek — came to the Vatican in 1971 for the priest's beatification. He is expected to return for the canonization.

Father Bommarco said Vatican officials had first considered holding the canonization ceremony at Auschwitz, but that the Polish bishops had preferred to hold it at Rome, to underscore "the universality of Blessed Kolbe's testimony."

AMERICAN JEWISH
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Jerry M. Landay
Apt. 721
225 Central Park West
New York, N.Y., 10024

Confidential

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

10 May, 1982

Dear Marc:

The changes which have overtaken my profession seem so profound - the emphasis on juvenilophilia, on packaging over product, of image over experience; the tilt from the journalist to the producer, and from understanding and substance to sheer contrivance - that I have decided to embark on a cautious, discreet exploration of career options which might make wiser, more fruitful use of the accumulated experience of more than three decades.

I find it increasingly difficult to make a positive contribution.

The enclosed curriculum vitae embraces radio, television, print, production, serious writing, the capacity to initiate and execute concept, a native scholarship that seeks to embrace the world and be engaged by it, to offer value and receive a valued sense of mission (affording reasonable time, too, to obtain a goodly portion of life and living with the woman of my life).

Possible outlets for the application of my capabilities include: direction or involvement in public informational activities, counselling on the uses of radio and television, as well as the creation of product; public affairs and governmental relations; speechwriting - the broad skein of contact with the body politic, or selective portions thereof, on behalf of a private or public institution.

My interests in Jewish-American affairs, Israel, and the Middle East are well-known to you.

I hesitated to write a friend. But to deprive myself at this time of your wisdom, your sense of how the world works and what is occurring within it, outweighed my reluctance in putting these thoughts in writing to you, with some attempted precision.

If you have any thoughts, suggestions, or guidance - any counsel on specific persons with whom to continue these explorations - please let me know.

I vowed to Diane that once our nest was formally consecrated within the framework of the laws of God and Man, we would set about to try to conform the rest of our existence to our personal state. In you as a presumptive bridegroom, spiritual mentor, and man of the world, we know we have a mensch who sees and understands.

Congratulations again on your wedding, love to Georgette, and do let me know if and when there might be merit in chatting further about this.

Warmly,



Curriculum Vitae
Jerry M. Landay

Apt. 721
225 Central Park West
New York, N.Y., 10024

*

Jerry M. Landay is a correspondent for CBS-News. He has served in this capacity since June, 1975.

In both management and on-air assignments, Mr. Landay's career has been characterized for more than twenty years by the amalgam of mature journalism, professionalism, and dedication to the productive benefits of collaboration.

His work as a news correspondent has found most recent expression in a series of extended reports for the CBS-News broadcast SUNDAY MORNING. In one, Mr. Landay reported months before the conventions on the newly-achieved political effectiveness of the religious right in the cause of Ronald Reagan. Some of the others explored the anguished mental catharsis of the Vietnam veteran, life in a women's prison, poverty in Maine and Georgia, the art of hand microsurgery, and the lives of the families of Love Canal.

Mr. Landay has been seen and heard on all regular CBS-News broadcasts.

As a correspondent for ABC-News, Mr. Landay covered Richard Nixon at the White House during the Watergate years, and the early months of the Ford Administration.

In his thirteen years with the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, Mr. Landay served variously as a news executive and correspondent for the Group W stations, the largest non-network broadcasting entity of its time. As Chief Foreign Correspondent of the Group W Foreign News Service, based in London, he assumed responsibility for a three-bureau operation, which he expanded to embrace 40 capitals abroad. His own reportorial duties took him to 22 countries, including South Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

He also served as National News Editor and Chief Political Correspondent for Group W's nationally-syndicated broadcast news service. As a news director for Group W, he built or expanded radio newsrooms in Pittsburgh, Boston and New York. At WINS, New York, he created, before departing for the London assignment, the newsroom and personnel-base for what would become the first all-news radio station.

Mr. Landay has contributed articles on a variety of current topics to The New York Times, Newsday, the London Times, the London Telegraph. He has written three books on the archaeological exploration and history of the Middle East. He served briefly as an editor on national affairs for the News of the Week section of the New York Times.

He has won two Sigma Delta Chi awards for excellence of staff reportage, is a member of the Reform Club of London, and is a magna cum laude graduate of Syracuse University.

*

POLISH MILITARY GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-SEMITISM DENOUNCED

In a dramatic demonstration of solidarity and mutual concern, John Cardinal Krol, Archbishop of Philadelphia, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC's inter-religious affairs director, joined voices on January 6 to accuse the military government of Poland of attempts to foment anti-Semitism among the Polish people.

That effort, said Cardinal Krol, "deserves the highest condemnation — it cannot be condoned." Noting that there are only 6,000 Jews left in Poland — most of whom are poor and elderly — Rabbi Tanenbaum lashed out at the scapegoating of this tiny and vulnerable community which, he said, has been accused of culpability "for everything that has gone wrong in Poland."

(On two previous occasions, AJC had urged the Polish government to dissociate itself publicly from lengthy anti-Semitic programs presented on the Warsaw TV and radio.)

Cardinal Krol and Rabbi Tanenbaum made their accusations at a news conference which also marked a demonstration of AJC support for Roman Catholic relief efforts in Poland. Robert A. Fox, chairman of the Philadelphia Chapter, transferred to the cardinal contributions collected by AJC's Philadelphia and national offices, and pledged continuing AJC support.

Also attending the conference was Michael Blichasz, president of the Eastern Pennsylvania District of the Polish American Congress, who asserted that his group "stands behind the American Jewish Committee in opposing anti-Semitism."

Protests against the repressive military regime in Poland and its anti-Semitic tactics also came from a number of leaders who have been involved in a Polish-American-Jewish-American Task Force formed in 1979 to deal with the complex relations between these two groups. Jointly sponsored by several Polish organizations and AJC, the Task Force undertook to explore the full range of Polish-Jewish relationships, encompassing both difficult periods and times of fruitful exchange. It has also taken the lead in developing a common Polish-Jewish social policy agenda centering on combating stereotypes, fostering positive group identity and promoting the legitimate interest of American ethnic communities in events taking place abroad.

Copies of the Task Force report entitled Speaking Out! Jews on Polish Freedom; Poles on Anti-Semitism are available from AJC's Literature Distribution Service.



Rabbi Tanenbaum displays *mezzuzah* presented to him by Cardinal Krol at press conference. At right is AJC Philadelphia Chapter Chairman Robert A. Fox.

TANENBAUM LAUDS BILLY GRAHAM AS FRIEND OF JEWISH PEOPLE

Citing Billy Graham's "unbroken record of support of Israel and his vigorous stands against anti-Semitism," Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum declared that the world-famous evangelist "cares about the human rights and religious freedom of Jews as he does about Christians."

Rabbi Tanenbaum spoke at a March 10 luncheon at which Dr. Graham received the prestigious Templeton Foundation Prize for Progress in Religion.

In a later development, Dr. Graham met in Boston with Jewish religious and communal leaders of the New England region in a cordial discussion arranged by AJC. After announcing that he would accept a Soviet invitation to preach in Moscow — a visit about which U.S. Administration officials have expressed some misgivings, fearing it would be manipulated for propagandistic purposes — the noted evangelist expressed a desire to meet with persecuted religious minorities in the Soviet Union, including Soviet Jews, as a gesture of solidarity. In earlier visits to Hungary and Poland, Dr. Graham sought out and was warmly welcomed by the leaders of the Hungarian and Polish Jewish communities, in meetings facilitated by AJC.

Published by the Department of Interreligious Affairs

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS, 165 EAST 56 STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

ROBERT S. JACOBS, chairman
Interreligious Affairs Commission

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, national director
Interreligious Affairs Department

POPE SPEAKS ON CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS AT VATICAN MEETING

An address by Pope John Paul II on relations of the Catholic Church with Judaism, delivered March 6 at the Vatican, emphasized the "common spiritual heritage" of Christians and Jews, praised Christians for pursuing "justice and brotherhood" in collaboration with their Jewish brethren and stressed the importance of religious instruction that "will not only present the Jews and Judaism in an honest and objective manner, but will also do so without any prejudice or offense to anyone...."

The Pope's address, delivered to specialists in Catholic-Jewish relations from bishops' conferences in many parts of the world, as well as to representatives of the Orthodox churches, the Anglican Communion, the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches, marked the end of a three-day meeting in Vatican City devoted to a systematic examination of the church's relations with Judaism and the Jewish people. Both the meeting — the first of its kind — and the Pope's statement, were lauded by Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum as of "historic importance."

Noting that the breach between Judaism and Christianity has been marked by "misunderstandings, errors and even insults since the day of separation," the Pope declared, "it is now a question of overcoming them with understanding, peace and mutual esteem. The terrible persecutions suffered by the Jews in various periods of history have finally opened many eyes and disturbed many hearts," he added.

While Catholics may better understand certain aspects of the church's life by exploring the common spiritual heritage, Pope John Paul emphasized that they should also take account of "the faith and religious life of the Jewish people, as professed and lived now."

Noting that rapprochement should not be confused with religious relativism or loss of identity, he prayed "that Christians and Jews may hold more in-depth exchanges based on their own identities, without ever allowing either one or the other side to be obscured, but always seeking truly for the will of the God who revealed himself."

The Pope concluded by praising and encouraging the work of the assembled specialists in Catholic-Jewish relations. "We shall be able to go by diverse — but, in the end, convergent — paths with the help of the Lord, who has never ceased loving his people, to reach true brotherhood in reconciliation, respect and full accomplishment of God's plan in history," he declared.

PLO-FUNDED TRIP FOR SEATTLE CLERGY DRAWS FIRE

A visit to Lebanon by five Seattle-area Protestant clergymen, organized and funded by the Palestine Liberation Organization, drew sharp criticism from a

variety of Christian and Jewish communal and religious leaders.

The visit, during which the ministers were hosted by Yasir Arafat, drew fire because of its sponsorship by the terrorist organization, which has never retracted its stated goal of ultimately destroying Israel.

Documenting repeated PLO attacks directed primarily against innocent civilians and children, Christian, Arab and Jew — including U.S. ambassadors to Lebanon and the Sudan, and 147 moderate Palestinians assassinated by the PLO — AJC's Washington state director, Arthur Abramson, charged that the ministers' trip "has contributed more to legitimizing the use of terrorism in international relations than to furthering the cause of peace and justice in the Middle East."

Dr. Arnold T. Olson, president-emeritus of The Evangelical Free Church of America, commented in a church address in Minneapolis, "It seems incredible to me that anyone should visit the Middle East to study the Arab-Israeli conflict irrespective of who sponsors the visit without insisting that he confers with Arab leaders actually residing in Israel and the leaders of Israel as well as the PLO."

Noting that the members of the group had called upon Israel to negotiate with the PLO, Dr. Olson added, "How can Israel negotiate with an organization which has not retracted or modified its covenant — no peace, no recognition, no negotiations? How can Israel give credibility to an organization which will bypass military bases to reach and kill children, and which is repeatedly at the present time violating the current status quo agreement?"

PLO funding of the trip was also denounced by a lay association of Evangelical Christians, TAV Evangelical Ministries, in Seattle and Denver. In an advertisement placed in *The Seattle Times*, nearly 100 signers emphasized that they did not condemn the trip itself, but they found "unconscionable" the use of PLO funds and the "obvious imputation of Christian legitimacy to one of the world's most ruthless and unprincipled terrorist bands."

In Denver, TAV leaders joined with AJC's Colorado Chapter in a press conference pledging opposition to such trips in the light of the PLO's record of training the Red Brigades and other terrorist organizations.

In a statement unrelated to the Seattle incident, but relevant to the issues, Pope John Paul II strongly condemned terrorism. In an address to the Christian Democratic World Union in Rome on Feb. 19, he described terrorism as "a savage, inhuman method, to be absolutely banned." Noting the "base manner" of terrorist assaults "by means of abduction, torture and murder" of defenseless innocents, the Pope urged international solidarity "so that every act of terrorism may be unanimously unmasked, denounced, condemned and penalized with sanctions...." Any state that encourages such a method, he added, "disqualifies itself from speaking to the world about justice."

AJC-NCC CONFERENCE

A conference co-sponsored by the National Council of Churches' Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism and AJC's Interreligious Affairs Department Jan. 5-6 in Haverford, Pa., brought together some 30 national and local practitioners of interreligious, ecumenical and social action programs to examine the current status of Christian-Jewish relations in the U.S. Special attention was given to two major communities — New York City and Washington, D.C. — and to the impact of liberation theologies on Christian-Jewish relations.

Since the majority of Protestants in both metropolitan areas is black, Protestant-Jewish relations in both cities reflect interracial, as well as interreligious dimensions. Candid discussion revealed some differences in priorities and agendas between the black and Jewish communities, but also agreement that neither community is monolithic, and that both encompass diverse positions.

A session devoted to "Christian and Jewish Perspectives on Liberation Theology" featured a presentation by Nancy Fuchs-Kreimer of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, which used the history and celebration of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah as a model for exploring "sectarian" and "prophetic" elements in the theme of liberation for Jews and Judaism.

Professor Paul Van Buren of Temple University warned that some Christian liberation theology can lead to an anti-Israel position only if the Hebrew Bible's theme of the Exodus is ignored or minimized. He used the State of Israel as an example of Jewish liberation theology, carried out in the real world.

Rev. John Pawlikowski of the Catholic Theological Union stressed the centrality of the Hebrew Scriptures to current liberationist thought, especially the Exodus event. While declaring himself in sympathy with the general thrust of much liberationist thought, Rev. Pawlikowski offered a "friendly critique" of the attitudes towards Judaism found in some of the writers, which, he said, were rooted in an inadequate understanding of Judaism at the time of Jesus.

The conference was co-ordinated by the Rev. David E. Simpson, director of the National Council of Churches' Office on Christian-Jewish Relations and the IAD's Rabbi A. James Rudin, and assisted by a grant from the Nathan Appleman Institute for the Advancement of Christian-Jewish Understanding.

In summarizing, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum noted that, despite authentic differences and even tensions between faith communities, Christians and Jews acting in concert had performed impressive works of healing and reconciliation, and have a shared commitment to confront the violence and dehumanization so prevalent in today's world.

ROBERT S. JACOBS REPORTS ON JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

In a presentation to AJC's National Interreligious Affairs Commission in Los Angeles, California, commission chairman Robert S. Jacobs summarized the current state of Jewish-Christian relations as "good...and getting better."

Mr. Jacobs credited the efforts of Christian leadership to confront and reformulate negative teachings about Jews and Judaism, a "growing awareness in our country of the value of our pluralistic society," and the contribution of AJC and other Jewish communal organizations for the generally positive state of these relationships.

While anti-Jewish attitudes and feelings are still widespread in our society, evidenced by a recent spate of acts of anti-Semitic desecration and vandalism, Mr. Jacobs stressed that such attitudes "are not fostered by Christian religious bodies." A certain tradition of Christian teaching of contempt toward Jews and Judaism was an important factor in creating anti-Semitic attitudes in the past, he stated, but today, such attitudes "arise out of other sources than official Christian theory or practice."

Declaring that Jewish security in the U.S. rests upon the foundation of "our democratic political process, our respect for others, for individual rights and group interests," he cautioned that the activities of the New Religious Right represented a potential threat to that foundation, and said that interreligious coalitions must be strengthened on state and local levels to resist pressures to stamp out diversity.

AJC CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

• **The Washington, D.C. Chapter** Board hosted Dr. Eugene Fisher, director of Catholic-Jewish Relations for the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Dr. Fisher reviewed positive developments in Catholic-Jewish understanding on international, national and local levels, pointed to areas of potential interreligious tension and stressed the need for the Catholic and Jewish communities to work together to combat the rising activity of organized hate groups.

Continued on p. 5

SOUTHERN BAPTIST-JEWISH DIALOGUE

During three days in February, some 40 Southern Baptists and Jews, including Bible scholars, academicians, clergy and community relations specialists, explored critical biblical and theological issues, clarified fundamental differences of faith and self-understanding and sought ways to work together to advance social justice, human rights and religious liberty.

Co-sponsored by the Interfaith Witness Department of the Southern Baptist Convention's Home Mission Board and AJC's Interreligious Affairs Department, and assisted by a grant from the Nathan Appleman Institute for the Advancement of Christian-Jewish Understanding, the national conference, held at the Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary in Mill Valley, California, covered the gamut of Southern Baptist-Jewish relations. The current status of that relationship was summarized by Bob E. Adams of Southwest Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas and IAD's Rabbi A. James Rudin. Commenting on the notorious remark by SBC President Baily Smith over 18 months ago that "God almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew," Rabbi Rudin noted that although the remark had angered and dismayed many Jews who felt that it "de-legitimized Jewish life," he believed Smith's comments had moved relations between the two groups to "a much more realistic and mature basis."

At a dialogue session, Southern Baptist first vice president Christine Gregory of Danville, Va., called on a rabbi to lead an invocation, remarking, "I'm one who believes God does hear the prayer of a Jew."

In a session devoted to human rights, Baptists and Jews were challenged by IAD's Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum and Dr. James M. Dunn of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs to confront "a growing callousness toward human suffering" around the world. Both speakers criticized the vast expenditures on nuclear proliferation and arms expansion while hundreds of millions are dying of hunger and malnutrition. Noting that most of the poor and hungry in America are women and children, Dr. Dunn charged that U.S. public policies reflect the motto: "Women and Children last!"

Discussing "A Southern Baptist View of the Hebrew Scriptures," Professor Robert L. Cate of the host seminary said that while "the criterion by which the Bible is to be interpreted is Jesus Christ," the Hebrew Scriptures were not only used for proof-texting, but had significant meaning for Baptists, providing the foundations of faith, essential doctrines, religious practices and worship. In discussing "A Jewish View of the New Testament," Professor Michael Cook of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, cautioned that, "Tragically, because the name of Jesus has been enlisted in campaigns which have brought terror to Jewish history, Jews today may actually have lost the capacity to be responsive to the precious



At the Southern Baptist-AJC National Conference: Dr. Peter Chen, assistant director for World Religions and Dr. Glenn Igleheart, director of the Interfaith Witness Department, both of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board, and AJC's Rabbis Marc H. Tanenbaum and A. James Rudin.

teachings imparted by the Jew Jesus."

Other sessions explored the meaning of Israel, ways of communicating religious values and the questions of witness, mission and conversion. In a concluding session, the Rev. Glenn Igleheart, director of interfaith witness for the Southern Baptist Convention, stressed the need to bring dialogue to the level of local churches and synagogues. He offered a ten-point prospectus for the future of Baptist-Jewish relations which suggested, among other things, joint publications, cooperation on human rights and religious freedom, joint travel to Israel and exchange of students and professors at Baptist and Jewish seminaries. IAD's Judith Banki, who summarized the three-day conference, also pointed to the need for regional and local dialogues.

INTERRELIGIOUS TASK FORCE ISSUES MANIFESTO

Christian and Jewish leaders meeting in Miami to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry raised their voices in a unanimous protest against "the cultural and spiritual repression of Jews and Christians in the Soviet Union."

A manifesto endorsed by Jewish, Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Reformed Church clergy, as well as by officers of ecumenical and campus associations, called upon the leaders of the Soviet Union to respect the provisions of the UN Declaration on Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords, which affirm the right to leave a country and the right of freedom of conscience and religion for those who choose to remain.

The group appealed for "an end to the ruthless and brutal imprisonment of all prisoners of conscience, both Christians and Jews" and pledged solidarity with "all persons denied religious liberty in the Soviet Union."

They also saluted Sister Ann Gillen "for her magnificent leadership during the past decade." Sister Ann is executive director of the task force, which IAD's Rabbi A. James Rudin serves as executive chairman.

INTERRELIGIOUS COOPERATION: A MORAL NECESSITY

The Roman Catholic archbishop of Detroit, the Most Rev. Edmund C. Szoka, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum told a joint meeting of Catholic and Jewish women on February 11 that Christians and Jews must work together for the survival of civilization.

Archbishop Szoka decried centuries of Jewish "discrimination, persecution and agonizing suffering," saying present-day Christians "must beseech the pardon of God and that of our Jewish brothers and sisters" for past sins of anti-Semitic acts. "If such denial of human rights ... can happen to any one ethnic, racial or religious group, it can happen to every ethnic, racial or religious group," he added.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said Jews and Christians must come together, "not for each other, but for the world."

The archbishop and the rabbi shared the podium at a joint meeting of the League of Catholic Women of Detroit and the League of Jewish Women's Organizations of Greater Detroit, held at Birmingham's Temple Beth El.

The meeting marked the 75th anniversary of the Catholic women's organization.

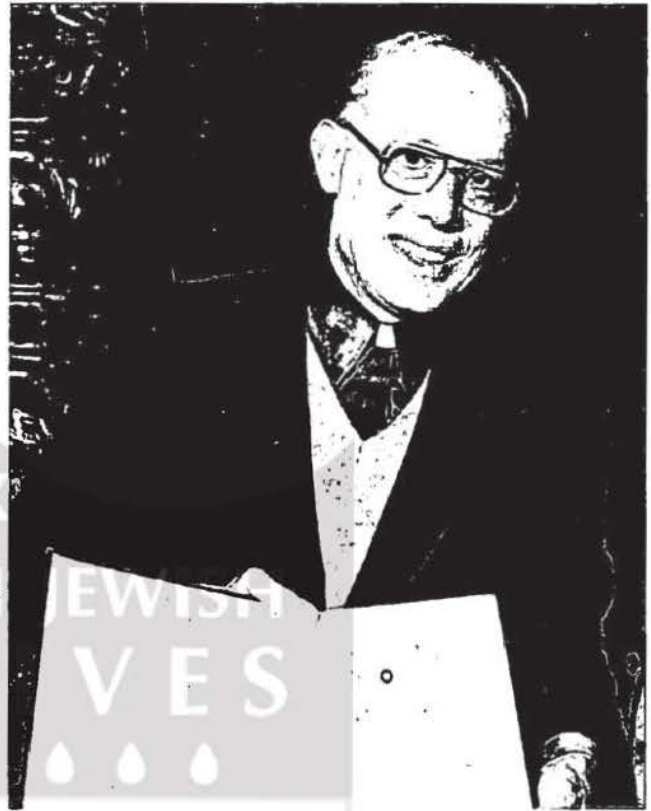
INTERNSHIP IN INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

A pioneering program for the training of young interns in interreligious affairs research, publication, and dialogue skills has been established at AJC through a grant from George and Arlene Hecht of Sarasota, Florida.

Designated "The Harry Sudakoff Fellowship for Interreligious Interns," the program was endowed by Mr. and Mrs. Hecht to honor Mr. Sudakoff for his "historic contributions to the improvement of understanding between Christians and Jews."

Both Mr. Sudakoff and the Hechts are respected Jewish communal leaders who have also given distinguished service to major civic, cultural and social causes in Sarasota.

The first "Harry Sudakoff Intern" is Samuel Weintraub, a first-year student at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, who is currently conducting a research project examining what is taught about Christians and Christianity in major Jewish seminaries in the U.S.



The Rev. Charles Angell, S. A., director of the Centro Pro Unione in Rome, displays a volume of the Jewish Encyclopedia contributed by AJC's Interreligious Affairs Department to the center's library, as a resource for students from many corners of the world who study at the center.

AJC CHAPTER ACTIVITIES *Continued from p. 3*

- The **Baltimore Chapter** joined with the Division of Education of the U.S. Catholic Conference, the Division of Campus Ministry of the Archdiocese of Baltimore and the National Lutheran Campus Ministry, North-east Region in sponsoring a two-day Campus Ministry Conference on the subject, "Reshaping Jewish-Christian Relations After The Holocaust."
- The Women of the **Baltimore Chapter** were among six women's groups to sponsor an interfaith seminar on the topic of "legitimate diversity" in religious thought and practice.
- The **Buffalo Chapter**, in collaboration with the Jewish Federation of Greater Buffalo, the Buffalo Area Metropolitan Ministries, and the Council of Churches of Buffalo and Erie County, is participating in an "Interreligious Dialogue on the Middle East." Individuals from the participating agencies will study together a variety of historical sources in order to better understand the intricate nature of relationships and problems in the Middle East.

● The **Atlanta Chapter** hosted Dr. Glenn Igleheart, director of Interfaith Witness of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board on March 4, as part of the "Luncheon Series with Religious Leaders" sponsored by the chapter's Interreligious Affairs Commission.

● The **Cleveland Chapter** hosted IAD's Judith Banki for an informal meeting discussing Christian responses to anti-Semitism. Also, Cleveland AJC director Martin Plax and family presented a model Sabbath celebration with commentary at two seminars for catechists exploring the common heritage of "The Sabbath," sponsored by the Religious Education Department of the Cleveland diocese.

● The **New York Chapter** and the IAD commemorated Women's History Month by inviting three women clergy, all activists in their respective faith communities, to discuss "Women in the Clergy: How Far Have They Come?" The forum featured Rabbi Nancy Fuchs-Kreimer, rabbi of the Manhattan Reconstructionist Chavurah; the Rev. Jeanne Audrey Powers, associate general secretary of the United Methodist Commission on Christian Unity and Interreligious Concerns; and Sister Ann Patrick Ware, former associate director of the Commission on Faith and Order of the National Council of Churches.

Sey Chassler, editorial consultant to the Charter Publishing Company and former editor of *Redbook*, moderated the discussion.

Mimi Alperin of AJC's Committee on Women's Issues chaired the March 31st program, which was coordinated by IAD's Inge Lederer Gibel and Betty Reiser, director of Women's Issues for the New York Chapter.

● The **Westchester, N.Y. Chapter** joined with the Ecumenical Relations Committee of the Hudson River Presbytery and the Islamic Center of New York City to sponsor "Peacemaking: An Interfaith Dialogue" at Pace University in White Plains, N. Y. The program featured IAD's Rabbi A. James Rudin; Dr. John T. Conner, president of the Presbyterian Peace Fellowship; and Dr. Yassin El-Ayouty, professor of Political Science, SUNY, Stony Brook, N. Y. It was moderated by Dr. Robert Muller, associate secretary general, UN Economic and Social Council.

● The **Los Angeles Chapter** and the National Conference of Christians and Jews developed a three-part conference on "Religion and the Electronic Media," bringing religious leaders together with media specialists and university faculty. The meeting, held at the University of Judaism, was intended to promote understanding of the use of the electronic media as a

communications tool. While some segments of the religious community have utilized these media, noted AJC's Rabbi Sandra Shiryon, "mainstream religious groups have yet to fully explore its potential."

● The **San Diego Chapter** cooperated with the Women's Institute for Continuing Jewish Education, University of San Diego, and the San Diego County Ecumenical Conference in presenting a forum on "Women's Spiritual Journey Through Story-telling." The one-day meeting was keynoted by Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb, who dramatized the ancient stories in light of contemporary women's experience, using original narration, music, choreography and sign language, and featured workshops on Storytelling Through Midrash, Christian Storymaking and Mythmaking and Fairy Tales.

● The **Orange County, California Chapter** hosted IAD's Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum at an interfaith breakfast focusing on the plight of the world's 16 million refugees. The interfaith event, the largest ever held in Orange County, was co-sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Newport Mesa-Irvine Interfaith Council. Rabbi Tanenbaum said the fate of the world's refugees was "the central moral issue facing Christians and Jews today."

● Eight Christian and Jewish women joined **Houston Chapter** vice-president and head of the Interreligious Affairs Commission, Mickey Graubart and IAD's Inge Lederer Gibel for a preliminary meeting of the Women's Interreligious Dialogue on the Middle East. The WIDME program brings together women of various faiths for study and dialogue relating to Middle East issues.

● The **Philadelphia Chapter** has received a grant of \$35,000 from the Pew Memorial Trust to establish a pioneer energy-conservation program for Philadelphia area churches and synagogues.

AJC accepted the grant on behalf of Philadelphia's Interfaith Coalition on Energy (ICE), which comprises the local Catholic Archdiocese, Metropolitan Christian Council, Board of Rabbis, and AJC chapter. The ICE program, reported chapter chairman Robert A. Fox, is believed to be the first interfaith effort anywhere in the country to provide religious institutions with professional energy-management expertise on a continuing basis.

Launched in the summer of 1980, ICE began its operations by conducting energy audits in one Protestant church, one Roman Catholic church, and one synagogue. The audits found that each of the three institutions could reduce energy costs by about 20 percent through simple changes in equipment and in the ways it used its facilities.

NOTABLE QUOTABLES

● *A people usually builds monuments to recall glorious moments from the past. Yad Vashem, however, stands not for a moment of glory, but for an hour of grief and shame. It is a bitter and haunting reminder of the demonic power of evil. This monument commemorates the six million Jews who were murdered under Nazism. They were victims of an act of genocide that culminated a long history of anti-Semitism. As long as this monument stands, no one will ever be able to forget it. We must not forget those camps, we must not forget those chambers and ovens, we must not forget those graves, for if we should forget the Holocaust, we would also forget how to shudder at the destructive power of prejudicial hatred.*

To the Jewish people everywhere, I pledge and promise, because I am a Christian, never to forget. I will continue to remind Catholics, that we are a church that, in the words of the Second Vatican Council, "deplores hatred, persecution, and displays of anti-Semitism directed against Jews at any time and from any source." (Nostra Aetate No. 4)

And lastly, if we do not learn well the lessons of the past, we can be sure that history will hold us responsible; but even more seriously, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, will hold us accountable.

Shalom to All.

A statement made by Humbert Cardinal Medeiros at a visit to Yad Vashem, the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem, March 18, 1982.

● *...The Spirit of God moves among us through the events of our day. The Holocaust, the systematic and deliberate killing of six million Jews by the Third Reich, is the most singular event of our time summoning the Christian churches to reexamine and reform their traditional understanding of Judaism and the Jewish people. Biblical scholars and theologians of both Jewish and Christian traditions are affording us new insights into our common origins....*

We acknowledge with both respect and reverence that Judaism is a living faith and that Israel's call and covenant are still valid and operative today. We reject the position that the covenant between the Jews and God was dissolved with the coming of Christ. Our conviction is grounded in the teaching of Paul in Romans, chapters 9-11, that God's gift and call are irrevocable.

Jews and Christians share a common calling as God's covenanted people. While we differ as to the precise nature of the covenant, we share a common history and

experience of God's redemptive presence in history. Both Jews and Christians are called to a faithfulness to the covenant as they understand it....

In response to the movement of the Holy Spirit today, we believe that the desired and most appropriate posture between Christians and Jews today is one of dialogue....

In particular, we as Christian leaders reject the following:

- 1. Anything which infringes upon or violates the right of every human person or community not to be subjected to external or internal constraints in religious matters.*
- 2. Ways of preaching the gospel which are not in harmony with the ways of God, who invites us to respond freely to his call and serve him in spirit and truth.*
- 3. Any kind of witness or preaching which in any way constitutes a physical, moral, psychological or cultural constraint on Jews.*
- 4. Every sort of judgment expressive of discrimination, contempt, or restriction against individual Jews or against their faith, worship or culture.*
- 5. Untrue and hateful forms of comparison which exalt the religion of Christianity by throwing discredit on the religion of Judaism.*
- 6. Actions which, on educational, social or other pretexts, aim to change the religious faith of Jews by offering more or less overt protection and legal, material, cultural, political and other advantages.*
- 7. Attempts to set up organizations of any sort for the conversion of Jews....*

Jews and Christians share a great common hope in a future and final coming of God's reign in the world, a messianic age. While we differ in our understanding of whether and to what extent that promised age arrived in the person of Jesus Christ, we stand on common ground in hoping that one day there will be "a new heaven and a new earth" (Revelation, Isaiah). We believe that God's Spirit is moving over the waters once again. This statement is offered by the Texas Conference of Churches with the hope that it will facilitate the coming of that great day of righteousness and peace.

Excerpts from "Dialogue: A Contemporary Alternative to Proselytization," a statement unanimously adopted on February 5, 1982 by the Texas Conference of Churches, an ecumenical association of 16 Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox denominations.

EDITOR'S NOTE Only in America...

An entire generation of American Jews — the native-born progeny of that vast immigration wave which fled misery and persecution in Eastern Europe at the turn of the last century — grew up with that magical invocation: Only in America! It gave voice to our parents' sense of wonderment that they had at last found refuge in a land which offered them the priceless gifts of citizenship, religious freedom and educational opportunity. The national and ethnic hostilities which erupted in periodic violence in the "Old Country" — Cossack against Pole, Ukrainian against Russian, Hungarian against Rumanian, and the Jew as convenient scapegoat, caught in the crossfire — did not seem endemic here. Was it possible that America was really different?

It was and it is. Yet antagonisms and prejudices die hard, and some of the ethnic hostilities born of intra-European conflicts found fertile ground in America. Not only did Jews encounter anti-Semitism here in the "Golden Land," but the fact that the savage hatred of Jews which constituted the central tenet of Nazi racial doctrine found ready acceptance and murderous cooperation in parts of Eastern Europe — even among populations which themselves suffered horribly from Nazi occupation during the Second World War — drove many of our parents' generation to a sense of cynicism and despair about the prospect of transcending deep-seated group hatred and bigotry.

That is why the story on page one of this newsletter has special poignancy for many of us. For when the Polish military regime allowed, even encouraged, a recent campaign to blame Poland's present ills on its Jews — who number 6,000 mostly elderly persons representing the pitiful remnant of a pre-war population of over three million — its leaders were resorting to a time-honored technique of propaganda manipulation. But this time, a number of Polish-American leaders, including John Cardinal Krol, Archbishop of Philadelphia, stepped forward to condemn the anti-Semitic campaign. At the same time, American Jews were showing their support for the beleaguered people of Poland in word and deed, including organized contributions to Catholic relief efforts there. Beyond this dramatic instance of solidarity, American Christians and Jews of Polish background have been conducting a serious dialogue to sort out and understand a historical relationship which mingled periods of cooperation and progress with antagonism and persecution. Out of that dialogue — initiated by a Polish-American Jewish-American Task Force co-sponsored by AJC — has come a determination to combat mutual stereotypes and advance mutual understanding. The forthright response of American Polish and Jewish leaders to the repressive measures of the military regime in Poland, and to its crude efforts to foment anti-Semitism, is one of the fruits of that ongoing dialogue.

I wish my Warsaw-born father might have lived to see it.

Judith H. Banki

ITEMS OF INTEREST AVAILABLE FROM AJC

The Single Parent Family. This statement by the Los Angeles Roman Catholic-Jewish Respect Life Committee is the third major statement of Roman Catholic and Jewish concern to grow out of an ongoing dialogue begun to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Vatican II document, *Nostra Aetate*. Among the topics discussed: Jewish and Catholic Reflections on the Family; Contemporary Realities of the Single Parent family; Present Responses of Church and Synagogue; Areas of Future Ministry.

Single copy free from the Los Angeles Office of the American Jewish Committee, 6505 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 315, Los Angeles, CA 90048.

Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union 1977-1981, by Max M. Kampelman. A summary of officially-sanctioned

anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union since the USSR signed the Helsinki Final Act. (Address by the Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, December 1, 1981.)

Single copy, 35¢; available from AJC's Literature Distribution Office.

Summer Seminars 1982. A flyer describing the popular Summer Seminar Series of AJC's Academy for Jewish Studies Without Walls, offering courses in Judaic studies by outstanding American scholars at selected university campuses.

This summer the Academy offers four seminars, among them "The Jewish-Christian Encounter: A Historical Perspective," July 18-24, at Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, New York.

Single copy free from the Academy for Jewish Studies Without Walls, 165 East 56 Street, New York, New York 10022.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 10, 1982
to Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
 Ms. Judith Banki
from Sam Weintraub
subject Summary Report on Seminary Education Project; internship :
 progress in general

Please find attached "The Teaching of Christianity and Jewish-Christian Relations at Major American Rabbinical Schools". This report summarizes both my research at six Seminaries (JTS, UJ, HUC-JIR, HUC-Los Angeles, RRC, and YU) and my reflections on possibilities for increased Rabbinical interreligious education.

Through my research, I collected considerable data concerning course contents, extra curricular programs, relationships with Christian Seminaries, et al., as well as interpretative remarks by Jewish seminarians. In the interests of space and readability, I share in the attached report only major findings. I trust that the reader who desires more specific information will avail him or herself of my individual Seminary reports, to which the notes of this paper refer.

I was not able to gather sufficient information about HUC-Cincinnati to give its interreligious dimensions a fair representation in this report. However, on June 4 I had a useful phone interview with Dr. Ellis Rivkin and his graduate assistant, Peter Obermark, a Christian HUC Fellow. I now intend to contact Michael Cook and other HUC professors and to collect curricular data. If you wish, I can in Boston compile this material into a separate HUC-Cincinnati report. I can then amend the attached report to appropriately include HUC-Cincinnati and its impressive interreligious scholarship.

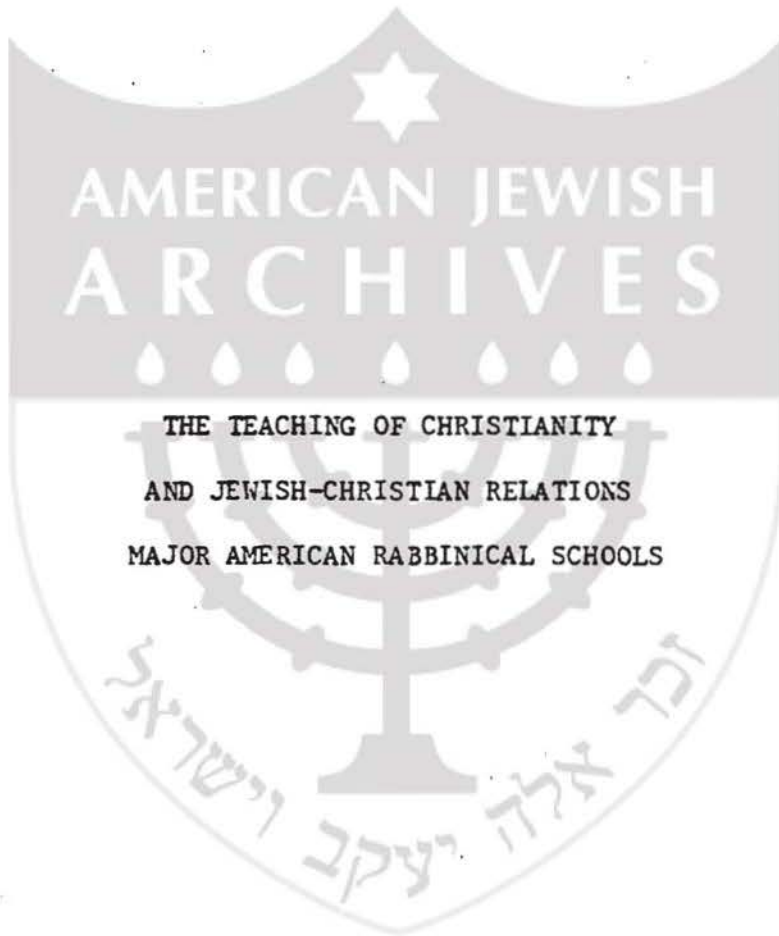
I look forward to your thoughts about this paper, and about the Seminary Project in general. For now, I am starting the project concerning Jewish and Christian positions on nuclear disarmament. On June 14, I am meeting with Maurice Bozarth, Librarian of the Religious News Service, and hope to gain access to their files. I will complete some report about this project before I leave for Boston on July 1. I will also leave my Boston address and number with Rita and Marilyn, so that we can stay in touch and arrange a meeting in September when I resume the internship.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Ms. Judith Banki

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I'd like to take this opportunity to thank you for your concern and flexibility in understanding my personal situation. I have greatly enjoyed working with both of you, personally and professionally, and look forward to continuing in September.





AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

THE TEACHING OF CHRISTIANITY
AND JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
MAJOR AMERICAN RABBINICAL SCHOOLS

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

Introduction

This paper both analyzes the current teaching of Christianity and Jewish-Christian relations at major American Rabbinical Schools, and evaluates the possibilities for further development of such interreligious education. It reflects research into interfaith affairs at six Rabbinical Schools: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR: New York, Reform), Hebrew Union College--Los Angeles (HUC-LA: Reform), Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS: New York, Conservative), Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (RRC: Philadelphia), Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary (RIETS: New York, Orthodox, an affiliate of Yeshiva University), and the University of Judaism (UJ: Los Angeles, Conservative).

Specifically, course descriptions and syllabi were evaluated, and Seminary administrators, professors and students were interviewed concerning:

1. Courses which emphasize Christianity per se, or some aspect of Jewish-Christian relationships (social or historical encounters, ideological or literary comparisons, etc.),
2. Extra-curricular programs involving Jewish-Christian relations, such as academic colloquies, dialogue groups, or social gatherings with Christian seminarians, and
3. Academic relations with Christian Seminaries, and with the Religion Departments of secular universities.

The notes contained herein refer to a series of individual Seminary reports, which I have appended. I will also consider the teaching of

Islam and Jewish-Moslem relations in the few cases where they are a major curricular focus.

The Current Teaching of Christianity and Jewish-Christian Relations

Before discussing specific interreligious courses at the various Rabbinical Schools, we should take into account the total structure of their curricula. I found that all Rabbinical Schools, despite their differing ideologies, share certain general characteristics¹:

Firstly, there is a high concentration on traditional Jewish texts--Talmud, Mishnah, Midrash, Codes, Bible and Biblical Commentaries, etc.-- as well as significant requirements in Jewish History, Philosophy, and Literature. These Rabbinical Schools also demand a certain proficiency in Hebrew, and various courses in Professional Skills (Homiletics, the Congregational School, Pastoral Psychology, etc.). Also generally required is some community service (as a Pulpit Rabbi, Jewish educator, Federation intern, etc.) and one year of study in Israel. Finally, we should note that at one Seminary--the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College--students must also complete a master's degree plus fifteen credits in some discipline at a secular university².

*

*

The Rabbinical School courses with the most considerable interreligious content are in History, Philosophy and Bible. By far, the greatest concentration of these courses is in History, to which we now draw our attention³.

Most Rabbinical Schools require fairly extensive surveys of ancient, medieval and modern Jewish History. By and large, these courses dwell on the political and social relationship of Jewish communities and their Christian (or Moslem) rulers and neighbors, and not on theological or ideological comparisons. There is, however, a significant difference between the modern courses and those surveying the medieval and ancient periods. The modern courses, because they focus on post-Enlightenment, secularized societies, basically treat Christians as dominant political, social and cultural groups. The medieval and ancient courses, contrarily, discuss nonJews as self-conscious, religious Christians and Moslems⁴.

Medieval Jewish History is normally the one Rabbinical School course which emphasizes Islam and Jewish-Moslem relations⁵. The typical course surveys mediterranean Jewish communities from the Mohammedan conquests until the Ottoman Empire. Specific topics include the politicization and institutionalization of Islam, Jewish legal status and economic opportunities, Jewish-Moslem cultural symbioses, the Geonate, Exilarchate and other Jewish communal institutions, etc.

All of these courses stress the effect of nonJewish political powers and cultures on internal Jewish community life. These effects are often seen as negative, because of the formal subordination of Jews under Medieval Christendom and Islam, and because of the marginality of post-Enlightenment Jewish communities. Occasionally, however, course units probe the positive relations of Jews and Christians, or Jews and Moslems. For instance, medieval surveys discuss the "Golden Age" of

Jewish-Moslem cultural symbiosis, and its Jewish-Christian parallel in Iberia⁷. The core civilization curricula at RRC, in particular, values the total cultural and political encounter of Jews and nonJews, and not just the oppressor-oppressed relationship⁸.

Three seminaries offered at least one course (in all cases elective) with primary emphasis on Jewish-Christian relations:

1. At HUC-JIR, Philosophy Professor Eugene Borowitz teaches "The Jewish-Christian Encounter", whose selected themes include New Testament attitudes, medieval disputations, contemporary American Jewish-Christian issues, and contemporary Christologies⁹. At the same institution, History Professor Martin Cohen offers "Judaism and Christian Beginnings", a course in the Jewish origins and early development of Christianity, and the eventual parting of the ways¹⁰.

2. At the Bernard Revel Graduate School (Yeshiva University), History Professor David Berger teaches "Jewish and Christian Polemics through the Thirteenth Century"¹¹. The course is popular among Rabbinical students pursuing graduate work in Judaica at Revel. Major foci include the classical themes of Jewish-Christian disputations, the relevance of polemic to philosophy and biblical exegesis, and its role in shaping the social and legal relationships of Jews and Christians. Also, at Revel, History Professor Leo Landman offers "Sectarians in the Talmudic Era", a study of the relationship of Rabbinic Judaism and the Jewish Christian sectarians of Judea and Babylonia¹².

3. At JTS, Philosophy Professor Seymour Siegel and Professor Roger Shinn of the neighboring Union Theological Seminary (Protestant,

nondenominational) team-teach a course in Contemporary Issues¹³. Its students, a mixture of JTS and UTS seminarians, utilize writings by Jewish and Christian philosophers and social activists to examine political order, abortion, race relations, feminism and other social concerns.

Interreligious dimensions are also brought into other courses, for various reasons and in several fashions. In Bible and Philosophy, Christian scholarship is occasionally introduced to illuminate a subject¹⁴. For example, HUC Bible students study the highly-developed Christian scholarship about New Testament canonization in order to understand the roughly parallel process of the Jewish canonization of the Tanach. Some professors employ Christian readings to prepare Rabbinical students for Christian questions or interpretations of the subject matter¹⁵. Finally, as we have mentioned above, Christian sources are used in courses regarding social and ethical issues¹⁶.

In concluding this overview of Seminary curricula, we should recall that the majority of interreligious courses are in History, and involve an essentially social and political appreciation of Christianity and Jewish-Christian relations. Indeed, only one course in all six schools pursues a fundamentally theological comparison of the two faiths¹⁷. Otherwise, the exposure of Rabbinical students to the doctrinal relationship of Judaism and Christianity occurs incidentally to other study, whether of medieval polemics¹⁸, Jewish and Christian interpretations of Scripture¹⁹, or variant positions on modern social issues²⁰.

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At four of the six seminaries, extra-curricular programs further enhance the interreligious awareness of Rabbinical students. These include a variety of activities with Christian seminarians, including academic colloquia, informal dialogue groups, social gatherings, and weekend retreats²¹. These programs provide important opportunities for personal and academic contact with Christians, and are valuable training grounds for future interfaith work as Rabbis.

The interreligious sophistication of Rabbinical students is also heightened by certain programs--present in four of the six seminaries--wherein the Rabbinical School shares some curricular arrangement with Christian seminaries or with Religion Departments of nonsectarian Universities²². These programs may involve student cross-registration, guest lectureships, and even at one School a structured, interdisciplinary program in Rabbinic Judaism for Christian Seminarians.

In this regard, the "dual program" of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College is especially noteworthy. Through this program, several RRC students pursue simultaneous graduate degrees at the Religion Department of neighboring Temple University. These RRC/Temple students not only study nonJewish religious traditions, but interact daily with the strongly-identified Christians, Moslems, Buddhists, et al. of the Temple Department faculty and student body²⁴.

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Obviously, interreligious awareness at any Seminary is created not just by curricular or extracurricular programs, but also by the concern

of teachers and students. In this connection, I can report that, despite the relative curricular disemphasis of Jewish-Christian relations, there are at Rabbinical Schools several professors and students with serious interfaith commitments.

Firstly, among faculty, I found within each School at least one and usually two or three teachers active in interreligious affairs. Often this involvement is outside the Seminary: Dr. Michael Signer of HUC-LA has completed a pontifical degree and lectures at St. John's, the Roman Catholic Diocesan Seminary in Camarillo, California. Dr. Harry Orlinsky of HUC-JIR has served for thirty years as the Jewish representative to the editorial board of the Standard Revised Version²⁶. Rabbi Elliot Dorff and Dr. Joel Rembaum of the UJ are members of an influential Los Angeles-area Priest-Rabbi Dialogue²⁷.

Often these scholars bring their interreligious expertise into the classroom. We have noted Rabbi Siegel's course, "Contemporary Issues", offered to a mixed group of Jewish and Protestant seminarians. Dr. Eugene Borowitz utilized his recently published "Contemporary Christologies, a Jewish Response" in the HUC-JIR "Jewish-Christian Encounter" course²⁸. Dr. David Berger, author of "The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages" initiated the "Jewish-Christian Polemic" course at Yeshiva University²⁹.

Similarly, there are students involved in interfaith matters. Again this activism is variously manifested. Some students attend social gatherings, theological dialogues or weekend conferences with Christian seminarians. A few have completed the Jewish-Christian dialogue training

groups of the National Conference of Christians and Jews³⁰. Students of the RRC/Temple Religion Department, in particular, seem to graduate with superior expertise, skills and motivation for interfaith work³¹. It is likely that Jewish-Christian relations are important to students beyond the few notable activists, as indicated by the great popularity of primarily interreligious courses³².

Why not more Interreligious Teaching?

Various factors at Jewish seminaries militate both against modifications to Rabbinical School curricula in general, and against more interreligious studies in particular. We should note these obstacles before concluding with proposals to develop Seminary interfaith programs.

Rabbinical School curricula are highly structured with, as we have seen, demanding requirements in Rabbinic texts, Bible, Jewish History, Philosophy, Literature, et al. Not surprisingly, it is difficult to elicit support for any additions to the current curricula. Even professors highly sympathetic to increasing interreligious education told me, in effect, "It's a wonderful idea, but the required course load is already painfully over-burdened. There's nothing we can take out, and how could we be so barbaric as to demand more required courses from students, or more electives from instructors?"

There is also ideological resistance to expanding the teaching of Christians and Christianity. Jewish seminary education is characterized by an "introversion" which stresses traditional subjects (Talmud, Codes,

Bible, Philosophy, etc.). These subjects are deemed crucial to maintaining religious Jewish culture, but do not normally involve significant consideration of other religions.

Ironically, this introversion can be attributed to both "negative" and "positive" experiences of modern Jewish history. Negatively, anti-Semitism has aroused little interest or hope among Jews in examining the Jewish-Christian encounter outside of the oppressor-oppressed relationship. The positive experience of Emancipation has reinforced the introverted educational bias; as Jews entered socially and culturally into the nonJewish world, Jewish educators combatted assimilation by insisting on traditional subjects.

Other factors hinder emphases on Christians and Christianity in Jewish seminary curricula. Firstly, many seminarians, particularly among the more traditional, feel a theological uneasiness with the subject, viz.: "How can we grant a basic integrity to Christianity, and remain fully committed as Jews?" Also, whereas Christians look to Judaism for their historical roots and theological justification, many Jews feel no similar imperative to study Christianity.

Finally, financial constraints were also cited as limiting inter-religious education. While my research did not require or involve examination of seminary budgets, I did learn that several interreligious programs were indeed affected with outside funding³³.

Proposals

I will close with two proposals to further our consideration of interreligious education at American Rabbinical Schools: 1) Suggestions for expanding the interreligious content of Rabbinical School curricula, and 2) a proposal for a consultation of Jewish seminarians and other scholars to address the interfaith dimensions of Rabbinic training.

Revising Curricula

I can envision four methods to enhance interreligious education among Jewish seminarians: developing the interreligious aspects of existing courses; initiating new courses to specifically study Christianity and Jewish-Christian relations; ecumenical field work; and intensifying academic relationships with Christian seminaries and with University Departments of Religion.

1. There are a variety of ways whereby interreligious content might be, with relative "painlessness", introduced into existing courses. For example, such courses as ancient and medieval Jewish history, and medieval Jewish philosophy, lend themselves to an explicit consideration of Jewish-Christian (and Jewish-Moslem) relations.

It would be beneficial as well to augment the interfaith dimensions of other courses. As we have mentioned, relevant Christian scholarship can not only illuminate such subjects as Bible and Philosophy, but also enrich the Rabbinical student's dialogical abilities. In this connection, I would further propose that courses in professional skills incorporate interfaith matters. These might include preaching to mixed Jewish-Christian

audiences, writing in general or Christian periodicals, or establishing community-based dialogues.

Finally, Rabbinical School courses, particularly in History, should put increased emphasis on the shared and positive experiences of Jews and Christians. This is not to pretend that the historical Jewish-Christian encounter has not been marked by intolerance, cultural oppression, and violent persecutions. However, some study of shared or similar experiences will thwart cynicism toward interfaith work on the part of future Rabbis. This study might for instance examine the cultural symbiosis of Jews and Christians in medieval Iberia, or compare Jewish and Christian reactions to the modern problem of secularization.

2. Because of the weighty, required Rabbinical School curricula, students cannot acquire a thorough historical or theological understanding of Christianity and Jewish-Christian relations. However, I would urge developing individual courses which would impart basic information about past and present interreligious concerns. These courses might explore these key subject areas:

- A. "Basic Christianity", including theology, practices, and contemporary denominations, especially in the United States.
- B. The relationship of early Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism, including New Testament foundations of Christian attitudes, the postures of the Church Fathers, and Jewish views of Jesus and Christianity.
- C. Disputations and legal and social relationships in the medieval period.
- D. Contemporary American interfaith issues, such as missionizing, pluralism, and forms of dialogue.
- E. Contemporary Christologies, post-Vatican II theological reformulations, and Jewish responses.

F. Jewish and Christian positions on current social issues, with particular attention to how these are informed by theological and ethical assumptions.

3. Genuine interfaith understanding presupposes not just academic study, but also personal involvement in interreligious projects. Therefore, Rabbinical Schools should increase the opportunities for student participation in Jewish-Christian dialogues, scholarly efforts, social action, etc. Students might "tour" the interreligious offices of Jewish communal organizations, and ecumenically expert Jews might lecture at Rabbinical Seminaries. Interreligious internships ought to be available for Seminary students, and valued, just as pulpit work or Jewish education, as serious and integral aspects of a Rabbi's profession.

4. Finally, I strongly recommend that Rabbinical Schools use the academic resources of Christian Seminaries and University Departments of Religion. These resources can richly enhance the interreligious knowledge and sensitivities of Rabbinical students. We have mentioned above that many students of the RRC/Temple Religion program graduate with the skills, motivation and personal contacts for serious ecumenical work³⁴. JTS, UJ, and HUC-LA already have some form of consortium, cross-registration or professorial exchange with Christian Seminaries³⁵. Expanding such relationships will not only deepen the interreligious education of Rabbinical students, but create the basis for intelligent and committed dialogue among future Rabbis, priests, and ministers.

Consultation on Jewish Seminary Education

My second proposal is for a consultation of Jewish seminarians and interreligious professionals to evaluate the status of interfaith affairs at the major American Rabbinical Schools. The consultation would gather Jewish Seminary professors, administrators and students, as well as other Jewish scholars with involvement and expertise in interreligious matters. Christian seminarians who are developing interreligious courses for their own students would also be invited.

The consultation would serve several purposes. Firstly, it would initiate a face-to-face exchange among Jewish seminarians whose interfaith interests are often, at this point, pursued in discrete, isolated projects. These scholars, with concerned Rabbinical students, would consider the current status of Seminary interfaith education, and possibilities for change. They would also hear from Catholic and Protestant conferees about interreligious projects underway in Christian seminaries. Finally, this consultation could serve as a catalyst for the increased organization of Jewish religious intellectuals around interfaith matters, and for Jewish responses to the recent ecumenical statements of Christian theologians and intellectuals.

I would recommend the following programmatic possibilities for the consultation:

1. Presentations should be made by Professors who have integrated interreligious concerns, or Christian scholarly material, into traditional seminary disciplines such as Jewish History, Bible and Philosophy.

2. Current seminary courses which focus primarily on Jewish-Christian relations ought to be shared and evaluated. Conferees should receive available interreligious syllabi and bibliographies, as well as other relevant literature from both Jewish and Christian seminaries.

3. Presentations might also investigate extra-curricular interfaith programs, and existing academic relationships with Christian and nonsectarian schools, as outlined earlier in this report.

4. Participating Christian seminarians should lead discussions about parallel activities at their schools.

5. A thorough and expert presentation ought to be made on post-Vatican II developments in the Christian world. This sessions would give particular attention to the role of Christian seminarians and intellectuals in statements and programs concerning anti-Semitism, Jews and Judaism. The consultation should encourage discussion of possible responses by Jewish religious intellectuals.

6. As noted above, several seminary courses and extracurricular programs explore Jewish and Christian positions on social issues (cults, Israel, abortion, et al.). The consultation might consider developing this education for Rabbinical students, so they might learn Jewish and Christian ethics, and train for an important aspect of dialogue.

7. The dearth of courses about Islam and Jewish-Moslem relations is especially unfortunate in light of the Israeli-Arab conflict. One consultation session should address the teaching of Moslems and Islam. If our seminaries cannot provide adequate scholarly resources, we might invite academicians from other universities to present this topic.

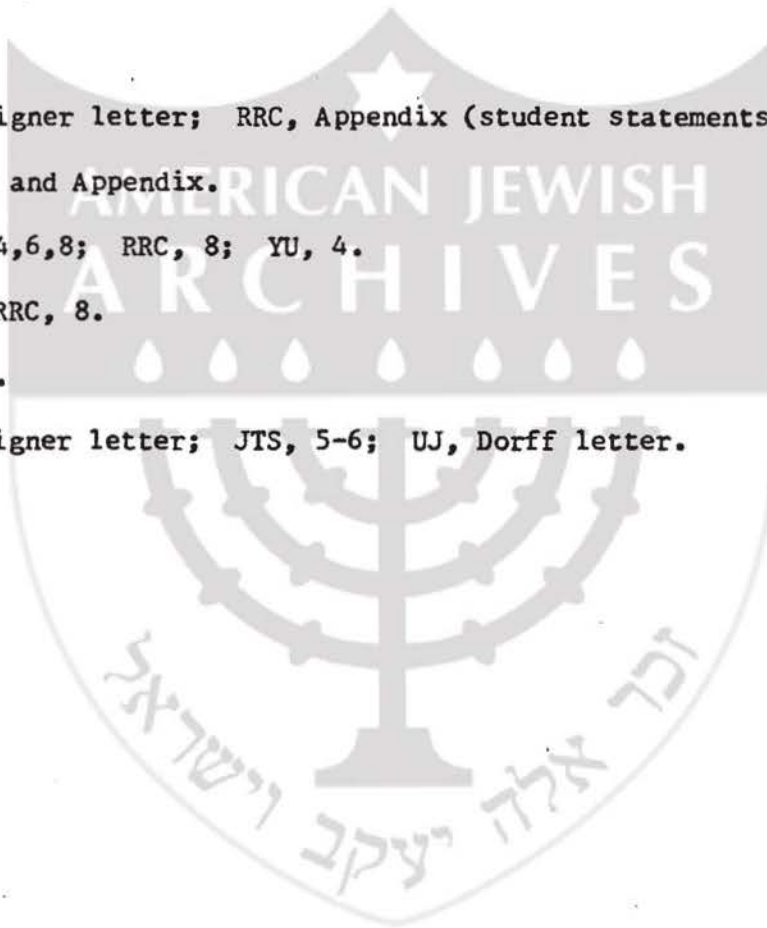
This paper--and the project it reflects--are offered in the hope of furthuring the crucial task of interreligious education at American Jewish seminaries. Only with this training can our Rabbis address the interreligious and interethnic tensions which are still, unfortunately, all too prevalent.

With regard to Jewish-Christian relations, religious leaders of both faiths must study the tragedies of past encounters, and the promise of past and present reconciliation. Since Vatican II, Christian clergy have articulated the responsibility of the Church for anti-Semitism, and called for positive and reformulated attitudes toward Judaism. However, even the most soul-searching statements will amount to little without a basic re-education of our parish Priests and Ministers and congregational Rabbis. We will need these local leaders to meet each other with objective knowledge and shared committments before we can be assured of changed hearts and minds at the grass roots.

NOTES

1. HUC-JIR, 1; JTS, 1; RRC, 1-3; YU, 1.
2. RRC, 9-12.
3. HUC-JIR, 7-8; HUC-LA, Dr. Signer Letter and Appendix; JTS, 1-4; RRC, 3-7; YU, 2-7.
4. HUC-JIR, 7; JTS, 2-3; YU, 5-6.
5. HUC-LA, Appendix; JTS, 3; RRC, 5-6.
6. HUC-LA, Appendix; JTS, 3; RRC, 6.
7. HUC-JIR, 8.
8. RRC, 3-7.
9. HUC-JIR, 4-6.
10. HUC-JIR, 7-8.
11. YU, 2-4.
12. YU, 5-6.
13. JTS, 4-5.
14. HUC-JIR, 3-4, 6; HUC-LA, Signer letter and Appendix; RRC, 3-5; Letter from Rabbi Elliot Dorff of UJ; YU, 6-7.
15. HUC-JIR, 2-4; HUC-LA, Signer letter; RRC, 4-5.
16. JTS, 4-5; RRC, 7-8.
17. JTS, 4-5.
18. HUC 5, 8; HUC-LA, Appendix; RRC, 5-7; YU, 2-4.
19. HUC-JIR, 3; HUC-LA, Appendix; YU, 2-4.
20. HUC-JIR, 6; JTS, 4-5; RRC, 7-8.
21. HUC-LA, Signer letter; JTS, 7-8; RRC, 16-17; UJ, Dorff letter.
22. HUC-LA, Signer letter; JTS, 5-6; RRC, 9-15; UJ, Dorff letter.

23. JTS, 5-6.
24. RRC, 9-15.
25. HUC-LA, Signer letter.
26. HUC-JIR, 3.
27. UJ, Dorff Letter.
28. HUC-JIR, 5.
29. YU, 2-4.
30. HUC-LA, Signer letter; RRC, Appendix (student statements).
31. RRC, 9-15 and Appendix.
32. HUC-JIR, 4,6,8; RRC, 8; YU, 4.
33. JTS, 6; RRC, 8.
34. RRC, 9-15.
35. HUC-LA, Signer letter; JTS, 5-6; UJ, Dorff letter.



RABBI MARC TANENBAUM -
RABBI JAMES RUDIN

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 12, 1982
to Harold Applebaum
from Sherwood Sandweiss
subject Pro Palestinian Rally & Lebanese-Christian
Demonstration Against Lebanese Consulate

Saturday, July 10 marked a double header for Detroit re Lebanon. About 50 Lebanese-Americans took control of the Lebanese Consulate office in Detroit peacefully through a ruse.

500 plus demonstrators, mostly socialists, radicals, some Moslems and sympathizers, as well as old Stalinist hacks, in downtown Detroit. Most of the demonstrators were young, white, with only a few blacks and Chicanos, primarily Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Advocate Marxist Leninist Party. Also the Organization of Iranian Peoples Fedaii Guerrillas, and other assorted types.

Arab Internationalist Proletarians also distributed leaflets (copies enclosed). Literature tables of the various socialist and communist groups were selling the usual materials.

I was there at the beginning as the meeting had been called for noon in Grand Circus Park. There were no more than 200 - practically all left-wing non-Arab types that first half hour. The rally had been called under the theme "No American Boys to Lebanon".

Congressman John Conyers had been scheduled to speak at the Kern block across from Kennedy Square but he never showed. When all three major T.V. stations had arrived around 2 pm, there were 500 at the most assembled on the Kern block after the earlier 200 had marched in Cadillac Square.

There were reports on all three T.V. channels locally, ABC, CBS, NBC. The main speaker was the wife of Abdeen Jabara, originally from Jordan. There were speakers from all the anti-Vietnam type coalition left-wing groups with one black Moslem speaker, who was genuinely certifiable.

Some of the speakers were David Finkel, Coalition Against War, Nellie Kerstin, Black Council on Aging, Michael Artiz, Solidaridad. Surprisingly, the priest from Holy Trinity Church showed but he only spoke about the loss of life in general.

Michael Kaminer, from the Socialist non-Zionist Left of Israel, currently a graduate student at U. of Michigan, Sharon Rhodes, Coalition Against the Draft, Mrs. Jabara, listed as a member of the Lebanese Resistance, Imam Karim, Black Convert to Islam.

Groups: American Revolutionary Party; War Resisters League; U.S. Peace Council; Workers Vanguard; Spartacist League; Sister Sieka dissociated herself from some of the radical slogans of the left, but called for peace; David Finkel maintained that Israel was guilty of genocidal slaughter in Lebanon and that he had been in Israel this past May.

The most effective single poster I saw was: Jobs - not Coffins for our Boys. Other posters were: Stop the Genocide; Free Palestine; Zionism No - Jewish People Yes; Yes, we Support Libya; Jews and Arabs Unite; Allah is God; Money for Detroit Not Israel; Zionism is Racism plus Fascism. Genocide is the Essence of Israeli Zionism; Jerusalem Awaits.

Concerning the Lebanese-Americans occupation of the Lebanese Consulate for a few hours on Saturday: The Lebanese Consul General sent his government their position paper and they received publicity on the T.V. networks and the newspapers (attached) just like the Palestinian demonstrators. They admitted it was a media show and they were led by one of the people we worked with several years back when the Libyan delegation visited Mayor Coleman Young.

He had arranged for hundreds of telegrams of criticism to the Mayor against the Libyans and in support of Israel. He came to several of our community events and then six months later criticized Israel for a bombardment into Lebanon. These people are very cagey and one cannot rely on them in the long run.

However, this time it worked out well as an offset to the radical demonstrators.

Regards.

Woody

SS/bm

cc: Milton Ellerin-Sheba Mittleman
George Gruen-Lois Gottesman
Jonathan Levine
Hy Bookbinder
Marty Plax
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum-Rabbi James Rudin

Detroit Lebanese Palestinians rally for Mideast peace

By Armand Gebert and
Denise Crittendon
News Staff Writers

Their political philosophies are different but their message was the same: Peace in Lebanon.

While an estimated 1,000 Palestinians and Palestinian sympathizers demonstrated at the Kern Block yesterday, about 50 Lebanese-Americans took over control of the Lebanese Consulate office in Detroit. Both demonstrations were peaceful.

Representatives of the American Lebanese League, an umbrella organization of about 20 groups, used a ruse to enter the office building. Group spokesman Daniel Ferris said they tricked Consul General Samir Shamma into opening its doors by telling him a man needed his passport renewed so he could return to Lebanon, where his family had been killed.

THE GROUP presented a demand for all foreign forces to leave Lebanon, including the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), the Syrians and the Israelis. The peaceful gathering was held from 8:30 a.m. to midafternoon to demonstrate support of the Lebanese government, and to ask Shamma to relay their demands to the president of Lebanon.

"We want to show Lebanon that we support them," said Milad Zohrob of the league. "We support the deployment of a strong Lebanese army all over Lebanon to protect the sovereignty and integrity of our homeland."

Zohrob said the gathering at the consulate was a right-wing group that disagreed with the coalition holding a demonstration downtown.

"We are the true representatives of the American-Lebanese community in Detroit," Zohrob said. "We want Lebanese people and Americans of Lebanese descent to speak for the American-Lebanese community and not the self appointed spokesmen who

pretend to represent this community."

"They will be satisfied in Lebanon that our communities all over the world are concerned about the crisis," he said.

MEANTIME, a raucous crowd of demonstrators, carrying placards, banners and Palestinian flags, assembled at Grand Circus Park in downtown Detroit chanting "Long Live Palestine," and "U.S. out of the Middle East."

Participants marched down Woodward to Michigan, then continued to the Kern Block, where they held a moment of silent prayer for those killed in Lebanon.

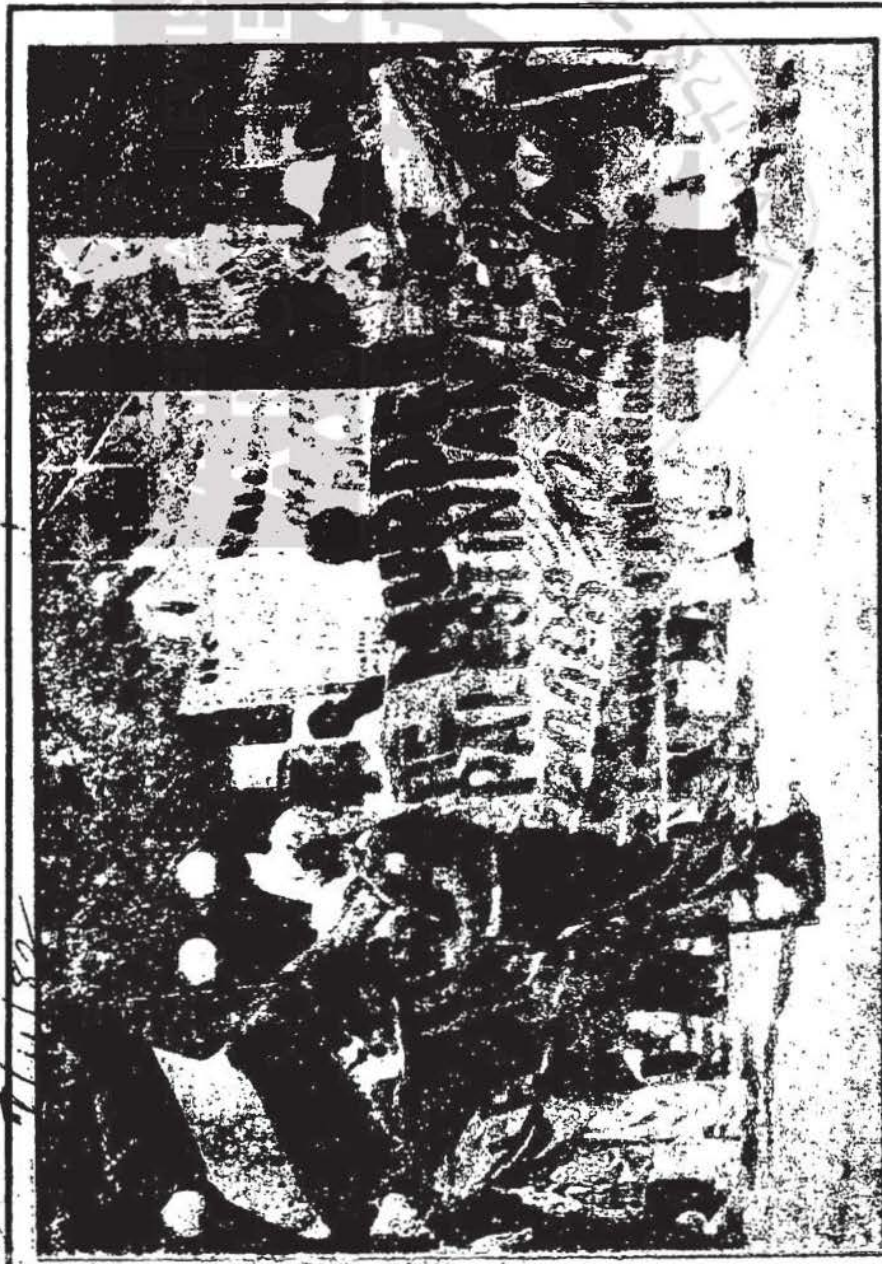
Speakers called for the withdrawal of troops from Lebanon and the negotiated settlement between Israelis and the Palestinians.

The 2½-hour rally was one of the largest demonstrations by Arab people in the area. It was sponsored by the Committee to Support Lebanon and Palestinian people and supported by several other organizations, including the Young Socialist's Alliance, Michigan Socialist Worker's campaigns; the Committee Against Registration and the Draft and members of the clergy. Similar demonstrations were also held yesterday in Washington and New York.

"THE PURPOSE of this rally is to try to stop war, withdraw troops and to allow International Red Cross entry into Beirut to aid the injured and dying," said Ishmael Ahmed, director of resources for ACCESS (Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services in Dearborn.)

Sister Rose Stietz of the Clergy and Laity Concerned led a prayer for peace while other speakers urged the crowd to write letters to government representatives. "telling them we don't want another Vietnam."

A fund-raiser and rally was held Saturday night at St. Andrew's Hall in Detroit. Proceeds will be used to send food and medicine to Lebanon.



NEWS PHOTO/CHARLES V. TIRES

PEACE RALLY — A pro-Palestinian demonstration yesterday in downtown Detroit called for peace in Lebanon and withdrawal of troops. Story on Page 1B. *Detroit News*

11/18

11

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 14, 1982 *Mose Jacobson*
to Staff Advisory Committee
from Abraham S. Karlikow
subject

memorandum

You may be interested in the attached address given by Dr. Arthur Hertzberg on the Jewish Intelligentsia and Their Jewishness at the recent Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture meeting in Paris.



ASK:rd
82-550-32

ARTHUR HERTZBERG

The Jewish Intelligentsia and their Jewishness

The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture

Paris, July 6, 1982

In its modern form a rebellious Jewish intelligentsia has existed since the middle of the seventeenth century, since the generation of Shabtai Zvi and Spinoza. Shabtai Zvi appeared within Judaism itself in the name of an activist Kabbalah, to bring about the end of days. For a brief moment the bulk of the Jewish world believed that he was indeed the Messiah and that the day was near when "the divine commandments would be nullified in the world to come." Even after the great debacle, the apostasy of the Messiah, while the world continued to be grey and painful as always, there were those who continued to believe in him; some even followed him into Islam. Gershom Scholem has insisted that there was a straight line of direct inheritance from the followers of Shabtai Zvi, through the even more radical Frankists in Poland in the eighteenth century, to the founders of Reform Judaism and of the Westernizing Jewish enlightenment, the Haskalah, in the nineteenth century. The direct links are very hard to prove, if they existed to any serious degree, but there can be no question of the essential truth of Scholem's assertion: Shabtai Zvi and his followers established that the most intelligent, learned and passionate of Jewish spirits need not devote themselves to the cultivation of Talmudic learning. The Kabbalah, which contained

within it a tendency to bending or even breaking the law and which the bearers of the Halachah had tried to suppress over and over again, could be revived again as the source of personal freedom and creativity. The man of the Halachah thought of himself as a commentator on the past; Messianists and even some of the Chassidim and, in due course, reformers and enlighteners, much as they differed one from another, were alike in asserting the autonomy of fresh creativity. The Kabbalist, the Zadik, the reformer or the Maskil were now equal to great figures of the past. Thus the individual, not as direct continuation of the accepted Jewish heritage but precisely because he was in revolt, made his appearance within Jewry. One need only to contrast Rabbi Judah, the Chassid, in the Middle Ages, who taught humility and the denial of the ego, to Rabbi Nachman ^{of} Breslow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the great grandson of the Baal Shemtov, whose life was a journey of self-assertion and of the acting out by the Zadik of a role of transcendent significance, to know the difference between the two eras, even among the most pious.

Nonetheless, the more fundamental influences in the creation of the modern, largely rebellious Jewish intelligentsia was that of Baruch Spinoza. Historians of Jewish philosophy have been at great pains to point out that Spinoza's Biblical criticism, for all its radicalism, is based on rabbinic sources and that even his rationalism and universalism bears relation to late medieval Jewish philosophers whose works he knew. Even if such claims are true in all their detail, the case is of only historical and, I would even say, antiquarian interest. Spinoza did not write in Hebrew for Jews, to suggest to them the possibilities inherent in the most radical teachings of

Ibn Ezra on the text of the Bible and Albo on theology. He wrote Latin for the world as a man who, while never leaving his Jewish identity even after he was excommunicated by the rabbis of Amsterdam, presented himself as a philosopher beyond spiritual loyalty to any specific group or tradition. Spinoza succeeded in doing what Uriel d'Acosta a generation earlier had failed to do, because the time was not yet propitious; he lived as neither Jew nor Christian but rather as Jew by birth who had chosen the world of universal ideals, of the moral principles which he had defined as if they were propositions which he could demonstrate incontrovertibly by the "geometric method." Individual traditions and groups, so Spinoza asserted in his book on theology and politics, the one work of his which was published during his lifetime, were equally good and equally bad, for each was full of its own set of group memories, and, Spinoza insisted, they were very often group delusions. The mass of men did indeed need to be governed in separate political structures, and it was even necessary that they be coerced by the state by whatever laws it might find useful, but the intellectual elite was, at least in spirit, beyond such structures. For it there existed only the individual and the universal. Spinoza thus made all cultures into relative values, and he defined an intellectual as one who stood outside society, in unmediated relationship to the good. He thus provided the structure on which the Philosophes built the great edifice of the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment. Its prime value was rationality, and its bearers became the sworn enemies of the faith in the uniqueness of the Biblical revelation and of those who believed in it, especially the Jews.

To be "modern" as an intellectual has thus meant for large numbers in the West as a whole to oppose the past, to regard it as "infamous" in the sense in which Voltaire spent his life decrying it, and to assert that political and social means need to be taken, through revolution of one kind or another, to make a new and better world. To be sure, there was a reaction in the nineteenth century in large segments of the Western intelligentsia against the Enlightenment in the name of history, of group memory and experience as an ultimate value. In politics this was a nationalist reaction against the French Revolution, and it was almost invariably conservative and anti-Jewish, for the Jews had been striking beneficiaries of the political equality that the French Revolution had extended to all, wherever its armies and those of Napoleon came.

The most modernizing segment of the Jewish intelligentsia thus remained throughout most of the nineteenth century in opposition to nationalist romanticism. It continued to look back to the Enlightenment and to the French Revolution. Historic memory and group loyalty, as freshly cultivated by the nationalism of most of the Gentiles, meant that the exclusion of Jews from the older societies would be remembered and defended, in order to keep these societies "pure" and authentically themselves.

The entry of the Jew into Western economy and culture required a new beginning -- so many of the modernizing Jewish intellectuals thought -- and so Jews were very prominent in the vanguard of all the revolutionary movements in politics and culture in Europe in the nineteenth century. If older memory and identity was an enemy of equality for Jews, then their own

specific memory and identity should be abandoned as the first step, indeed the first offering, to help usher in the new world. Thus, the most striking figures of Jewish origin in the intellectual world of the nineteenth century, men such as Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud, thought ill of religion in general and the Jewish religion in particular. For Marx it was the expression of the capitalist spirit and it would disappear with the end of capitalism, when Jews would find their proper place as individuals within a new and more just economy. For Freud religion in general was an illusion; man could be cured of it if he worked out an aware and healthy relationship to his father. The Jews needed to deal with a particularly traumatic version of such Oedipal revolt, for they had suppressed, so Freud insisted, the memory of doing away with the archtypical father figure whom they had adopted and doubly rejected, Moses. Marx and Freud, the supreme teachers and models of large elements in the modern Jewish intelligentsia, thus stood outside Jewish tradition and society, like Spinoza, and, again like Spinoza, they were devastatingly critical of the essence of Jewish loyalty, the faith in the moral validity and uniqueness of the Jewish tradition, in the name of their own definitions of universal value.

Several kinds of Jewish intelligentsia have resisted this attack. At the very beginning of the modern era, in the days of the French Revolution, there were Jews who opposed accepting political equality, out of the fear that this might erase loyalty to Jewish specificness. The men who held such views were certainly no less intelligent and self-aware than the modernizers. These included such varied figures such as some Dutch Jews who preferred not

to be emancipated by the Batavian Republic in the late 1790's (their position almost gained the day); the Chassidic leader, Shneiur Zalman, who preferred Czarist oppression which would keep the Jews Jewish to freedom under Napoleon, and Sampson Raphael Hirsch, the founder of neo-orthodoxy in Germany, who accepted and even worked for the political emancipation, while insisting that the entry of the Jew into modern society was a political but not a spiritual event, and must be kept totally separate from absolute and undeviating adherence to their revealed religion. In this he echoed enthusiastically the teachings of Moses Mendels^Sohn a generation earlier, with one difference: Mendel^Sohn was a man of the Enlightenment who tried to live in both worlds, even intellectually, whereas Hirsch, as believer, was much more single-minded and therefore more effective.

By the middle of the nineteenth century some Jewish intellectuals such as Fraenkel in Germany, Luzatto in Italy and Krochmal in Galicia themselves became part of the prevailing nationalism. They began to assert group and history as an ultimate value and to insist that the Jewish historic experience was unique. Heinrich Graetz was soon writing, in the third quarter of the century, his massive history of the Jews based on the assertion that the Jews have always been and remain a specific people unlike all others. The most striking of these Jewish spiritual nationalists was Moses Hess, who had been one of the founders of European socialism in the 1840's. He returned from such universalism to assert his commitment to Jewish national identity and even to suggest the return of the Jews to Palestine, to refound their national state and refashion their inherited tradition. The universalism of the Enlightenment was thus being resisted after the middle of the nineteenth

century by several circles of the Jewish intelligentsia. This effort included orthodox figures such as Moses Schreiber, the rabbi of Bratislavia, who pronounced any innovation, even in dress or manners, to be totally forbidden by divine law, and a newer intelligentsia, which had pronounced itself to be devoted to Jewish national ideals. Such men found in the Jewish experience itself, both in its possibilities ^{and} in the present, the highest expression of universal justice and the highest perfection of any human society.

Zionism ^{too} itself, in its Herzlian version, contained a strong element of universalism, with little saving regard for the specificness of Jewish culture. What the young Herzl wanted to accomplish was to regularize the situation of the Jews in a state which would enable them to act out the European roles denied them in Europe. The mainstream of Zionism was, however, rooted in spiritual nationalism, of one or another variety, in the assertion that Jewish experience, even if it had to be recast and even if much of it needed to be discarded, remained a prime good and that the task of Jewish intellectuals was to lead in the effort to change and reinterpret the Jewish tradition for the modern day. Such was the self-awareness of Ahad Ha-Am, A.D. Gordon, and even of ~~Harav~~ Kook, who discarded nothing of the past but instead dared to innovate by including even the secularism and the atheism of the present as part of the divinely intended reality. Such men and their followers constituted what was called in its formative period the "national Jewish intelligentsia".

Unfortunately for the Jewish people, many more modern minded Jews followed Marx and Freud than were the disciples of Ahad Ha-Am and Kook. There is no point to asking whether this happened because the ideas of Ahad Ha-Am and Kook were less ~~enticing~~ ^{convincing} than those of Marx and Freud, for the issue was not decided on these grounds. In simple fact, the bulk of world Jewry chose to stay in the Diaspora.

What has been absent in recent decades is an announced doctrine of assimilation, though it is untrue to say the conscious and willed assimilation has not taken place. It is generally said that the Jewish response to the Holocaust was to strengthen Jewish consciousness. This is, of course, true, though there is no one involved in the Jewish community who cannot recall at least one instance of a survivor who decided, after the tragedy, to vanish from the Jewish community in the hope that his descendants might escape some future reenactment of these horrors. Such negation was the response of a very small minority. The majority of world Jewry intelligentsia has been affirming its Jewishness, but it has nonetheless been in a state of creeping, unidological assimilation. If intermarriage is an index -- and it is -- then the rate for world Jewry is probably now one out of three; among the intelligentsia, the professors and the professionals, it approaches one in two (at least this is what a whole host of sociological studies tend to establish). If leaving the Jewish community once meant a clear-cut and painful act of apostasy to some other religion, it can now be accomplished by gradations of evaporation, relatively painlessly, while often looking backwards, especially at moments of crisis, with warm and even passionate feelings of identification or reidentification. This is the situation to which contemporary Jewish statesmanship must address itself.

Are there principles of continuity? Yes: a case can be made for the paradox that the economic role of Jews in the last two centuries has been remarkably stable amidst all the changes in our hectic modern history, and that, indeed, the Jewish economy is not far different from what it was in pre-modern times. We continue, as in the ghetto, to work much more with our heads than with our hands. World Jewry is not assimilating; it is not "normalizing" its economic structure, but rather moving increasingly and by now even definitively into white collar occupations which require a high degree of education. The role of Jews in the Western economy has thus remained definably unique.

This is a community which, to use a Marxist term, nowhere controls the means of primary production on any large scale, or the sources of the raw materials which are used in such production. So, for example, Jews do not own uranium mines, but atomic energy was first harnessed by a team of physicists in the United States who were overwhelmingly Jewish; for that matter, so was the competitive group in the Soviet Union. The very presence of Jews in outsized numbers in the walks of life in which people work with their heads rather than their hands creates both a visibility that anti-Semites attack, and a comraderie of helping each other. On a world-wide scale today, mathematics and biochemistry are fields of study which are peopled by an extraordinarily large proportion of Jews; so are Medicine and Law, wherever there is a Jewish community of any size. Increasingly the technical elites of several of the newest industries which used to be almost entirely non-Jewish, are becoming the place for what I would almost call new Jewish communities. It is well known that this is true of the electronics industry and of television in the United States. Such concentrations mean that we are now witnessing communities of Jews involved

psychologically and socially primarily with each other, even as the overt Jewish component in their lives becomes less. Marranos once used to associate more with each other than anyone else; there is even a study to prove that Jews who turn Christian tend for a generation or so to associate primarily with other Jews in the same position and to marry among them. The current situation can be viewed as a kind of false sunset, the red afterglow of a sun that has already set, or as the remaining subterranean strength for a new beginning. It is probably a good bit of both.

It is of course true that this outsized concentration of Jews in the pursuits of those careers which are made by use of the head has not gone unnoticed by either friends or foes. The modern Jewish intelligentsia has from its very beginning been in competition with non-Jews for visible and desirable places in the general society. In the twentieth century the Russian Revolution made room for many thousands of such Jews, even as it destroyed the Jewish community, because this was the only readily available pool of such talent which had not been used by the Czarist regime. The prospect for this intelligentsia has been increasingly negative in Russia in recent decades, as the regime has been pushing it aside in order to train gentiles whom it trusts more and for whom it does not have ingrained anti-Semitic hatred. Thus the Russian Jewish intelligentsia, which by now remembers its Jewish origins largely because of such exclusion and attack, has now been fighting to leave Russia, in order to find opportunities to maintain its class status, especially for its children. Israel began with the notion of the creation of a healthy, normal economy, which would have required that the majority of the Jews remain in primary production. The drive of its citizens into intellectual

and academic pursuits has created a social structure in which there are now more workers with their head than the economy as presently constituted can easily absorb. Therefore, there is mounting pressure within Israel for the transformation of the economy into one that centers on the export of high technology in a wide variety of fields, and there is, alas, a marked component among the Yordim of highly trained professionals.

In the United States the watershed was World War II and its aftermath, when the economy of the United States began rapidly to double and redouble. Here too Jews were an immediately available source of trained manpower who had not been admitted to place in the older structure. After World War II the universities were a growth industry; therefore the faculties, which had had very few Jews in the late 1930's, very rapidly became ten percent Jewish on a national scale and one-quarter to one-third Jewish in the leading schools.

The economic and social roles of the Jewish intelligentsia are now less secure than they were a generation ago, for the very obvious reason that they have often occupy high-visibility positions which others covet. One of the principles of continuity of modern Jewish history, even after large-scale cultural assimilation as taken place in various countries, has been the persistence of the Jewish problem. That problem has evoked some solidarity even among Jews who no longer care very much, in a positive sense, and continuing effort by the organized community to help even its most marginal members. Now, a generation after the end of World War II, in the midst of some substantial economic contraction in various parts of the West, Jews, especially the most highly trained, can no longer take their new role in society quite for granted.

It is not at

all clear that in the Diaspora the Jewish intelligentsia will succeed in adapting economically to changing circumstances, or whether it will have to engage in radical economic restratification. The Jews may have to go back to business again, and out of the professions, in order to keep hold on that share of power which is the essential minimum, perhaps even for their very survival. Several generations ago when Jews were poor and on the move, it was the common coinage of Jewish discussion to think about the role of Jews in the economy and what the Jewish community could do to better it. At a far different moment, today, that discussion needs to be resumed and some pointed questions, in the mode of a new Zionism, need to be asked. One must of course be concerned with the destiny of the intelligentsia in the Diaspora with helping it maintain its role. But is it not perhaps true that in the very short long-run a substantial proportion of it will maintain its class ethos best in Israel, if only Israel were restructured to use their talents as its central commodity?

What has just been said amounts to a restatement in the language of today of a classic Zionist theme: that the socio-economic otherness of the Jews in society, their unique structure, creates rubs and discomforts which are best solved within an all-Jewish society. However, short of ^{total Jewish} large-scale, quite overt anti-Semitism, this argument, in all of its permutations throughout the last century, has not ever succeeded in persuading the bulk of the Jews on the move, and especially not the bulk of the intelligentsia, that their place is in Zion. The majority has, whenever it has imagined it to be possible, attempted to act out its destiny on a wider stage. What is within our hands today is to make Israel a more attractive option, but the issue still remains for the bulk of the Jewish intelligentsia: how do we persuade its assimilating near-majority to want to be Jewish in a serious, affirmative way?

In confronting this, the most fundamental of all questions, a distinction needs to be made among the various kinds of Jewish intelligentsia. I have been using the term in this essay, in its broadest possible meaning, to describe all of those Jews who make their living out of a substantial higher education in the universities. There is, of course, a difference between those for whom the very issues of value and meaning are their central concerns, the humanists and the artists who are Jews, and those academically trained Jews in various professions and in business for whom the issues are more oblique and more usually situational. Many professional have made no choice to downgrade their Jewishness; they simply live within faculties, or Medicine, or Law, or in the business community, more intensely than they live within Jewry.

Perhaps even more important is the distinction between those who entered modernity bearing with them a very substantial baggage of Jewish learning and those whose opportunity to join any kind of intelligentsia appeared only in the era of mass migration, when millions of deprived and not very learned Jews were on the move Westward. The encounter with modernity by the East European Jewish intellectuals who turned Zionist was, in a famous phrase of the early years of the twentieth century, a "tear in the heart," a tension between rabbinic learning of their youth and Western values; for most of these men the resolution of the problem was liberal, universalizing Zionist nationalism. In America the present intelligentsia, both literary and professional, is almost overwhelmingly descended from immigrants a couple of generations ago whose Jewish culture was that of a petit bourgeoisie or the proletariat, in Yiddish rather than in Hebrew. It represented more family feeling than high Jewish culture. The grandchildren of these immigrants are

now the professors and the lawyers, having encountered a serious intellectual tradition for the first time in the process of their rising within the American open society. The grandfather that they remember, is, at his most Jewish, Tevye, and not the rabbi beside whom he dreamt he would sit, "if I were a rich man". The counterposing of family memory and folk feeling, generally as guilt, to the more spacious world of the gentiles, is thus the recurring theme of American Jewish literature. The issue of contending values, Western or Jewish, has not yet been posed. Thus the approach to the American Jewish intelligentsia is all the more difficult because there is no dormant Jewish intellectual tradition that can be reevoked.

What, then, is to be done?

In approaching the Jewish intelligentsia, a reasonable case can be made for the proposition that no individual lives in unmediated relationship to ideals, that each of us achieves his human status and personal concreteness in relationship to some community and tradition and that the individual separated from community is often a candidate to join an encounter group, or a mob. The commitment to universalist morality or to worldwide revolution has been translated before our eyes all too often into a pervasive, worldwide materialism and hedonism. The universal value that is cultivated these days by many technocrats and professionals is the desire to possess manicured lawns rather than the dedication to selfless service. Community at its best evokes idealism precisely because it is a commitment to sharing and to caring about something other than oneself. The paradox is true; individualism is often the enemy of the individual; he saves himself best in community. For all of its power, this suggestion does not make it inevitable that a half-assimilated Jewish intellectual must necessarily

choose to commit himself to the Jewish group. Such an intellectual may assert his community among professors, or artists, or among those who are politically active, or even among marginal people who prefer to live together outside the constraints of an older, rooted, group commitment. Such a Jewish intellectual may even argue that Jews become most interesting and creative in a modern sense not inside the Jewish community but precisely out of the tension created by their path away, and that such creativity is preferable to rootedness. On the lowest level the enjoyment of this world may be, and is indeed being asserted as, the Diaspora version of Jewish normalcy. Authenticity that is to be found within Judaism is not always persuasive to those for whom the world began in their own lives and who hear within themselves no echo of older Jewish values.

By the same token, no matter what we may offer in terms of socio-economic defense or emotional comfort, this will not preserve the Jewish intelligentsia for Jewishness, except marginally. The experience of the American Jewish community is almost a laboratory experiment to prove this assertion. For a century its characteristic institutions have been created to battle anti-Semitism and to give social and psychological encouragement to Jews. These activities have been carried out with magnificent success. Cumulatively they have aided Jews in making a comfortable transition into the wider society; they have not checked assimilation.

The fundamental issue between the Jewish community and its intelligentsia remains the one that first arose between Spinoza and the rabbis of Amsterdam. In the language of that seventeenth century confrontation, they were arguing about whether the Bible was divinely revealed, which Spinoza had denied. At stake, as both sides knew, was the issue of the reason for Jewish existence. The great divide between those who are on their way

to assimilation and those who choose to remain Jews is not, in the modern era, over the issue of religious fundamentalism. On the side of assimilation are those who agree with Spinoza that all historic identities are mistakes and illusions; on the side of Jewish existence are those who assert, whether overtly or obliquely, that the Jews represent a deep and abiding mystery, a unique journey through human history, the meaning of which we understand only very partially, if at all. This faith is essentially not arguable, for it exists largely among those who have had some exposure to Jewish text and Jewish traditions. This is a state of mind that runs counter to both the best and the worst of modernity, to universal idealism and universal hedonism; it is therefore enormously difficult to establish such commitment among the contemporary Jewish intelligentsia, but it is not impossible.

I have no illusion that even the greatest efforts will affect large numbers, and yet the task which was once attempted before World War I in Central Europe by intellectuals such as Buber and Rosenzweig is waiting to be attempted again these days. The Jewish communities of the world require now that text be taught without any preconceptions, except one, that those who would listen to the text, no matter what they bring to it, are likely to be transformed. There is sufficient hunger for spiritual value among younger Jews so that such an endeavor in every major center of Jewish population, especially in those places where there are major universities, would make a difference. This suggestion looks back, of course, to the stirrings in Germany in the early decades of this century which culminated in the educational center created by Franz Rosenzweig in Frankfurt. What needs to be happening now is something comparable, a return to sources, taught and studied with Jewish passion. Substantial resources of the Jewish community should be committed to such endeavors.

Some of this effort needs to be spent to encourage many more circles for Jewish text by faculty members in the colleges and universities, for their own sakes and especially because, for the bulk of our young people, worldwide, Jewish faculty members are their role models, at an impressionable age, when ties with family and community are loosening.

A whole host of other things need to be done. Experience has shown that, to the degree to which we increase the amount of time that Jewish young people spend in Israel, they are more likely to go on aliyah or, even if they do not, remain intensively Jewish in the Diaspora. We must invest much effort and resources in bringing ever larger numbers to suitable programs in Israel for at least a year before they have finished their high-school education. The emphasis on education in the Diaspora must shift everywhere, in all denominations of Jewry, both secular and religious, to day school education. A radical turning must take place in the Jewish communities all over the world in the direction of making such education universally available without regard to ability to pay.

May I add here a favorite idea of mine, that everywhere in the Jewish world annually the communities should mount a campaign to speak with each Jewish family, asking that the children be enrolled in some form of Jewish education and that the adults take part in some regular form of Jewish association. We do try, everywhere, to "cover all the cards" for fund raising; why not do exactly this to ask people for their hearts and minds?

One could go on making specific suggestions as to what might be done, even while adding the caution that whatever means we may take against the growing danger from assimilation will help only in part. There are, one must hope, other suggestions, both in substance and technique, that can and will be made by other, fresher minds. The issue at this moment is not whether one or another suggested remedy has any serious hope of being effective. The task now is more fundamental; it is to move the issue of assimilation from one over which we wring our hands in the corridors of Jewish meetings, as we go on to the supposedly real, serious and tangible business of Jewish life: politics and money. In numbers and in the nature of the truly committed, the Diaspora is decreasing, both in quantity and in

quality. Were this to be happening in favor of Israel, the process would give us joy, but it is not. Too much of Jewry's best energies are simply evaporating out.

It is striking, and sad, that the world Jewish community has not yet called an international conference on assimilation. This overorganized community, which meets frequently for the defense of Israel and to plan strategy against anti-Semitism, has essentially ignored the question of how to plan its overall strategy for preserving its numbers and its inner self. The Memorial Foundation has done great service for many years in helping innumerable specific, constructive endeavors, but it has not yet asked itself, properly, the question which led to its being created. This body exists because, after the destruction of central and east European Jewry, we felt the loss not only of numbers but also of creative, affirming Jewish energies. Despite all we and others have done, a generation after this effort began, it is clear that we are in danger of losing almost as many Jews to assimilation as we lost a generation ago to murder.

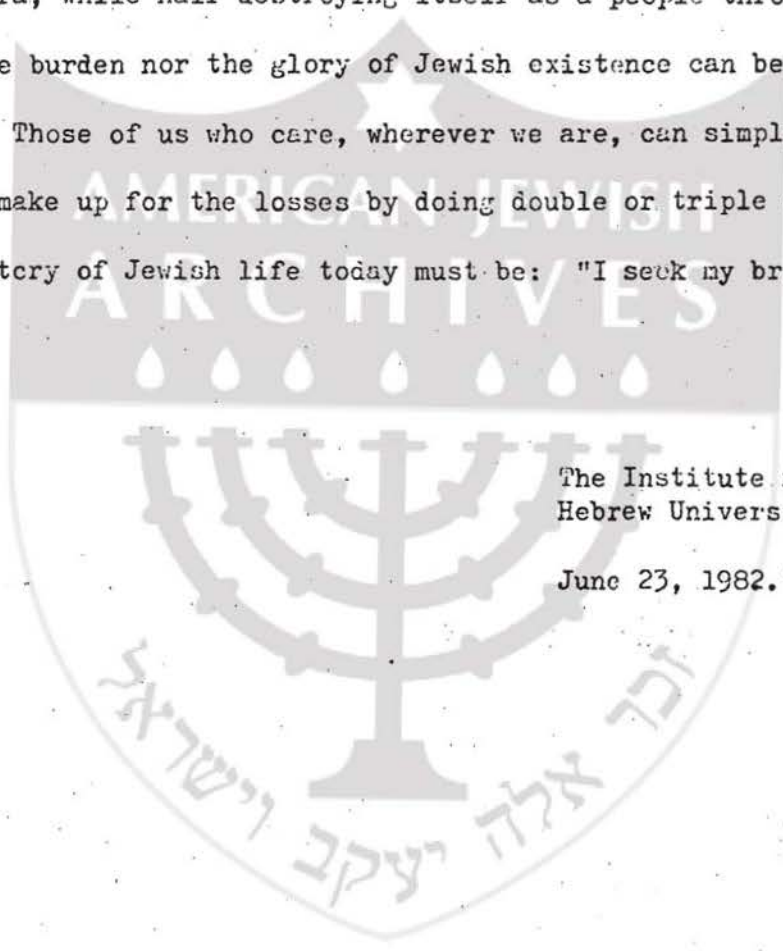
Let the call go out from this table to convoke, soon, an international conference on assimilation. Let the Memorial Foundation charge itself with preparing for such an event and with enlisting the major Jewish organizations and the government of Israel to share in the deliberations and in guiding the effort. From such joint endeavors we will, hopefully, learn to use our present resources more wisely and, more important, we will find new ways with which to meet the problems caused by ongoing erosion of Judaism.

Almost a century ago, Ahad HaAm contemplated the Jewish people of his time and cried out: "If a land is laid waste, its people will rebuild it;

if a people is destroyed, who will rebuild it?" At this moment in Jewish time, a minority of our people is rebuilding its land, and its burdens, amidst war and political tensions within and without, seem sometimes to be straining that segment of our people beyond even the most heroic limits. The majority of world Jewry is all too often at ease, or pretended ease, in the Diaspora, while half destroying itself as a people through erosion. Neither the burden nor the glory of Jewish existence can be borne by a minority. Those of us who care, wherever we are, can simply not care hard enough to make up for the losses by doing double or triple duty. The central outcry of Jewish life today must be: "I seek my brothers".

The Institute for Advanced Studies
Hebrew University, Jerusalem

June 23, 1982.



- 1) - Live in secure, basically democratic societies
- 2) - ^{Universalism} Sense that Jewish values have been part of these general societal values -
- 3) - So we can assimilate ^{not} ~~out~~ out of fear but out of comfort
- 4) - Another question becomes what are the special values that Judaism gives us for today. Third question can well ask: why remain Jewish

Rubbin

We may take them for granted -
 But why should the third generation
 Return unwillingly

SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 15, 1982.

TO: Milton Ellerin
FROM: Sherry Frank
SUBJECT: re: Mary Zumot

I attended a meeting on July 14th of the Atlanta Chapter, of the United Nation Association. The program was titled "Crisis in Lebanon". The speaker was Mary Zumot. In checking around I found the following facts about Mrs. Zumot.

She was born in Arman, Jordan and is a Christian Arab. She is a graduate of Baylor University, Southern Methodist University and Arizona State University.

She has been on the faculty of Mercer University of Atlanta since 1980, and teaches Politics of the Middle East. I also learned that she is married to Fahed Abu-Akel. He is an Israeli Arab and a minister. He works for the Presbyterian Center and has close ties with the Christian Council of Atlanta.

Both Fahed and Mary share the same views on the Middle East.

Attached is a list of the Executive Committee of the Atlanta Chapter of the UN Association, which lists Mrs. Zumot & Fahed and their positions with this group.

She was preceded on the program by Sam Suboh. He gave a very distorted "history" of the present crisis in Lebanon. I don't know anything about him. He also responded to some of the questions asked and was very hard line in his statements.

Beth Sugarman, President of the Atlanta Chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women attended with me.

I have discussed Mrs. Zumot with Marion Glustrom, a Sociology Professor at Mercer and the only Jewish person on their faculty. Marion is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Atlanta Chapter of the American Jewish Committee.

cc: Larry Lowenstein
Beth Sugarman
Ted Fisher
Marian Glustrom
Marc Tanenbaum ✓

Stu Lewengrub-
Marvin Schpeiser
William A. Gralnick
Sheba Mittelman
George Gruen

Summary of key points made in Speech given by Mary Zumot, July 14, 1982
Crisis in Lebanon

There are more than 600,000 refugees now in Lebanon

Over 1 million in Lebanon are in need of relief

75% of the people in Lebanon are Lebanese

The blood spilled is not only the fault of Israel, but Reagan, Haig, Congress, etc.

When she calls and writes to US officials and urges people to speak out, they all receive the same unsatisfactory response as if it were a broken record...US has a long history of support for Israel, etc. She was very critical of this US position

She cited that food, water and electricity had been cut off by the Israelis in West Beirut

She argued that there is no Arab propaganda-the truth is telecast on TV each day...the killing of women and children

She said, "This Holocaust has been perpetrated by those who remind us of their Holocaust each year"

She said, "Israel is the 3rd most powerful military machine in the world"

She belabored the point that US foreign aide, loans or grants, all become grants. She pushed the fact that "We pay taxes for this"

Our sons could be maimed and killed fighting Israeli expansionism.

American taxpayers are allowing this to happen

Americans are humanitarians but not when it comes to the Arabs

The people who said they wouldn't fight in Viet Nam, said they would fight in Israel

She said, "I'm a Christian Arab. I came to a Christian country to find relief. I'm still 'hit' because I'm an Arab"

She made a few remarks about Israel's use of US arms and the cluster bombs

The Palestinians are the most important element of the Middle East.

The US and Israel must talk to the PLO

She said, "You could kill all of the PLO but the Palestinian problem will still exist"

She said, "Putting the Palestinians in Jordan won't solve it. I won't allow people to take my country from me. Jordan won't become a Palestinian State. Gaza and the West Bank will"

She referred to UN Resolution 508 and 509

She discussed Israel's statements regarding the 25 mile security area.

She questioned whose security was at risk. She asked "Is Israel secure or its neighbors?"

Are my relatives in Jordan secure from an Israeli attack--No"

Arafat is willing to accept a state on the West Bank and Gaza. The US won't sit down with PLO and hear these things. The PLO is a government in exile. You don't hear this in the U.S. The U.S. covers only the Israeli view

Jews won't sit at the table with Palestinians. Israel is on a continuous path of aggression. If they sit at a table they'll have to admit to their guilt for all of their crimes of aggression.

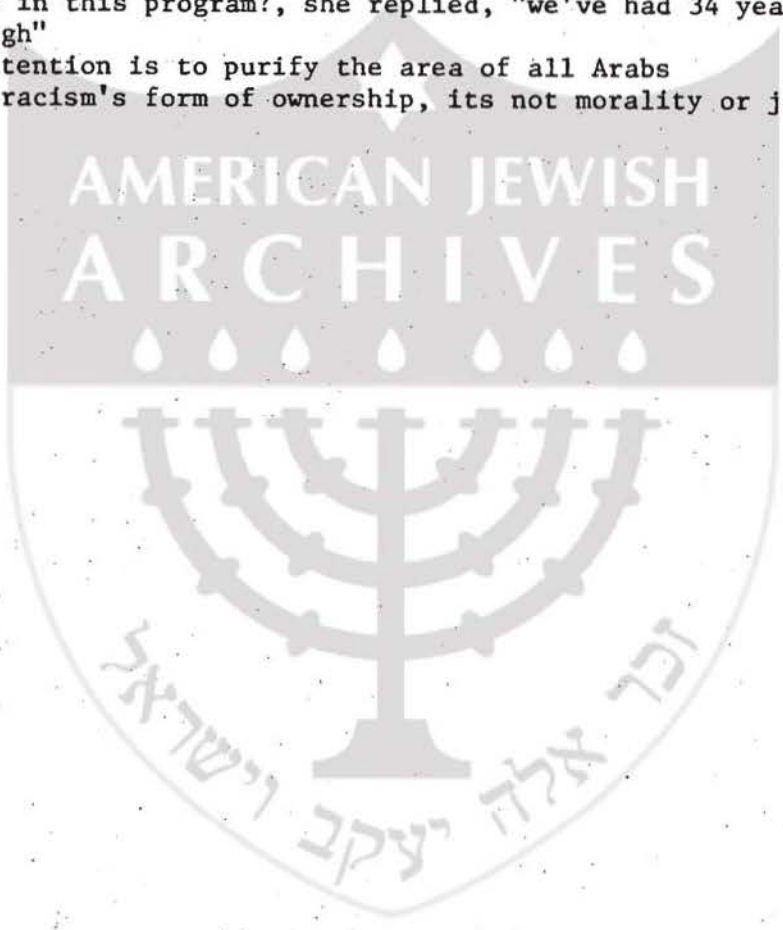
The Palestinians that went to Lebanon, went in hopes of returning to their home. Israel wouldn't take them back. Israel caused the problem of Lebanon today. Lebanon has been victimized as much as the Palestinians
Israel wants all of Palestine

Mrs. Zumot kept speaking about "my fellow Arabs" on the one hand, and pushing the point that she was an "American citizen" on the other hand. When

questioned about this dual role, she replied, "Jews talk as Israeli citizens. What are you? They say Israeli, not American".

When asked, "what is your long term solution to the problem?", Mrs. Zumot prefaced her remarks by saying that some will disagree with my view which is... "Arab countries should recognize Israel. Israel is there to stay. Israel should recognize the Palestinian people. There should be a state on the West Bank and Gaza", when asked why aren't both sides being presented in this program?, she replied, "we've had 34 years of it-isn't that enough"

Israel's intention is to purify the area of all Arabs
Zionism is racism's form of ownership, its not morality or justice



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July 19, 1982

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Enclosed is a copy of the latest draft of the WCC Guidelines, which was distributed at last month's IJCIC meeting by Dr. Riegner. He urged that this text not be referred to in public.

With best wishes,



Mark Friedman

MF:rp
Enc.



SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE
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MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 23, 1982

TO: Milton Ellerin
FROM: Sherry Frank
SUBJECT: re: Mary Zumot

I am continuing to pick up more information on Mary Zumot. It seems that there are 3 key people pushing the "Arab Line" in Atlanta. They are, Mary, Sam Suboh and Omar Lattouf, he's a resident at Emory Medical School, his brother is at Oxford University, and a Palestinian.

I have recently written to you about Mary. Sam is employed at Scientific Atlanta, a company owned by Sidney Topol, a member of AJC. Sam led the 3 or 4 demonstrations held in front of the Israeli Consul General's office in Atlanta in the first weeks of the Israeli invasion into Lebanon. He is the PLO's spokesperson in this area.

The enclosed articles from Creative Loafing, July 17, 1982, and the Atlanta Journal July 18, 1982, provide additional information on their activities over this past weekend.

Finally, I want to correct some information from my July 15th memo.

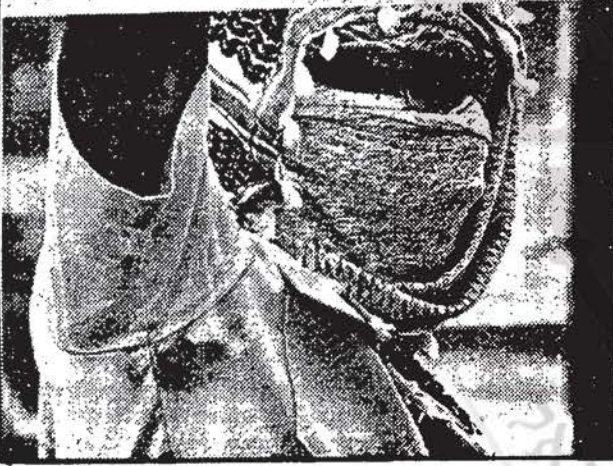
1. - Marion Glustrom is not the only Jewish Professor at Mercer, there are many visiting professors who are Jewish.
- 2 - Fahed Abul Akel is a minister at the First Presbyterian Church.

cc: Larry Lowenstein
Beth Sugarman
Ted Fisher
Marian Glustrom
Marc Tanenbaum ✓

Stu Lewengrub
Marvin Schpeiser
William A. Gralnick
Sheba Mittelman
George Gruen

DISARM

BEGIN



KELLY WILKINSON/Staff

A CHER: Arabs walked to Israeli consulate.

Palestinian sympathizers march down Peachtree

By Plu Tribble
Staff Writer

More than 100 Palestinian sympathizers, carrying flags and placards and chanting anti-Israeli slogans, went largely ignored during a Saturday afternoon "peace march" down Peachtree Street to the Israeli consulate office.

Pedestrians accepted literature from the marchers without protest or comment and went on their way during the well-organized walk from Colony Square to 5th Street, site of the Atlanta Israeli consulate.

A few curious people came out of buildings along Peachtree, glanced at the marchers and then went back inside to the air conditioning.

Doors to the building where the Israeli consulate is located were locked, and no Israelis appeared to answer the Arab-Americans, chanting slogans including "Hitler, Reagan are the same — only difference is the name."

Placards called for the United States to stop aid to Israel and for Palestinian self-determination.

Robert D. Joseph, president of the National Association of Arab-Americans, said before participating in the march that Americans must be better educated to the situation in the Middle East.

"We are lobbying Congress heavily for aid to Lebanon and for Israel withdrawal.

The Israeli tactics must be stopped. They are killing and maiming citizens, many of them women and children, most of them civilians. Estimates are that 15,000 are dead and 50,000 wounded so far," Joseph said.

U.S. aid has made the current Middle Eastern conflict possible and turned Israel into a war machine, said Joseph, who was born in the United States.

"Without us, Israel could do none of this," Joseph said. "This is costing \$100 million a day — more than \$3 billion to date, and the amount goes up every day. Where is it coming from? From us. From the taxpayers of this country."

Several Arab organizations, all members of the Arab-American Society, sponsored the march and a fund-raising dinner Saturday night. Joseph, keynote dinner speaker, said the funds will be used to help Lebanese victims of the conflict between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, based in west Beirut.

Joseph said other Arab countries are refusing to allow the PLO to relocate in their lands to bring the plight of the Palestinians to the attention of the world.

"The Lebanese want the PLO out, but they must have some place to go, and that place is Palestine. The Israelis don't want that to happen. The Palestinians of today are the Jews of yesterday, and the Jews have done this."

Correction & amplification

A story in Sunday's Journal-Constitution incorrectly stated that a group of Palestinian sympathizers chanted a slogan, "Hitler, Reagan are the same — only difference is the name," during a march Saturday afternoon. The marchers actually were chanting, "Hitler, Begin are the same — only difference is the name," referring to Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

It is the policy of this newspaper to correct errors of fact that appear in our news columns. Corrections normally run on Page 2A.

Atlanta Journal 7/19/82

July 17, 1982 Creative Loafing 27-A

• **MUSIC BY THE ATLANTA SYMPHONY BRASS QUINTET & String Quartet** will be offered in the Terrace Fare Food Court at Shannon Mall, July 26, 7PM. The mall is located at exit 12, I-85 in Union City.

STAY COOL & learn how to keep that way at a free seminar sponsored by the Ga. Solar Coalition, July 28, 7:30PM. Standard Federal Savings & Loan, 1149 Ponce de Leon. Don Abrams, energy consultant with Cambridge Energy Corp., will speak about earth-cooling tubes, a technique to bring low-temperature air from deep in the ground to cool living areas. 525-7657

"THE BLACK FAMILY: MEETING CHALLENGES & CRISES" is the subject of a seminar sponsored by the Atlanta Barristers Wives & National Barristers Wives, July 27, 10:45AM-12N. Downtown Marriott Hotel. Details: 658-3088.

• **THE ATLANTA SKI CLUB** will hold a summer membership meeting July 22, 7PM, the Grand Ballroom, Colony Square Hotel, P'tree & 14th St. Movies, door prizes, live music & a cash bar are featured. Details: 892-1286.

• **"READING FOR FUN"** will be the topic July 18 by author Jacqueline Glasser beginning at 3:30PM. Children age four and up are invited to the Oxford Book Store, P'tree Battle Shopping Center. Details: 262-3332

THE FERNBANK SCIENCE CENTER'S Planetarium will be closed through Sept. 15 for maintenance & repairs. Other programs & classes will continue. Details: 378-4311

HELP US TO LET PEOPLE know they can overcome fear in their lives! Support the "Wake Up Good" campaign. Lou: 633-9703.

A MEMORIAL DINNER/break-fast for Palestinian & Lebanese civilians suffering from the war in Lebanon will be held July 17, 8PM. Blue Room, Emory Univ. Cox Hall cafeteria, N. Decatur Rd. \$15 adults, \$7 students & children. Details: Omar Lattouf - 633-3201; Sam Suboh - 925-1232; Mary Zumot - 874-4132.

"MAKE YOUR OWN BREAK SHOW" - It's a dumpy road to stardom & you can see how some artists trip & fall & others succeed during this show to be taped for Public Access CCTV, Channel 16, 8-10PM, July 14, V's II, 3131 Campbellton Rd. 875-0075



4/10-11/83



THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

WASHINGTON REGION

BROTHERHOOD THROUGH EDUCATION

Kalman C. Szekely
Executive Director

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July 23, 1982

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

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

I regret that we were unable to arrange a longer meeting while at the Holocaust and Genocide Conference in Tel Aviv to talk further, but I am delighted to learn from Arthur Abramson of your interest and possible availability as a speaker for the Seattle Holocaust Conference on April 10-11, 1983. The Conference is currently co-sponsored by NCCJ and Seattle University, a Jesuit college; plus several other denominations and organizations.

The intent of the Conference is to study the lessons of the Holocaust, examining the political, economic, philosophical, moral and ethical implications and to equate these lessons to the events in the world community today. The objective is, of course, to understand how and why the Holocaust occurred in order to prevent any possible recurrence. Art assures me that he has discussed the interfaith climate here in Seattle with you in order to sensitize you to the issues that are specific to Jewish-Christian relations here.

The conference design currently would have you speak for one hour to the entire assembly on Sunday and then lead a workshop for a specific population group (e.g.; clergy; legal/judicial) on Monday. More details will be forthcoming as the format develops. Other scholars invited to participate are Robert Jay Lifton, Franklin Littell, Walter Laqueur, and Hubert Locke. We are awaiting confirmation from them.

I am personally gratified to be working with you again, remembering vividly the very successful program on Jewish-Christian dialogue in Orlando, Florida in December of 1976. The community there still recalls that evening with you and Walter Berghardt and I am certain that this program in Seattle will be equally as effective and far-reaching in its impact.

Thank you for your prompt response.

Sincerely,

Louise Franklin
Project Consultant

LF:mb

cc: Art Abramson

cc: Seymour Samet
 Eugene DuBow
 Harold Applebaum
 Ernest Weiner

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 26, 1982
to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
from Art Abramson
subject

As I mentioned to you when we spoke at the AJC annual meeting in May, a conference on the Holocaust will hopefully take place on April 10 and 11, 1983 in Seattle. Louise Franklin, who has worked with you before, is the project consultant. The National Conference of Christians and Jews and Seattle University, are the major co-sponsors. (Seattle AJC is also a co-sponsor).

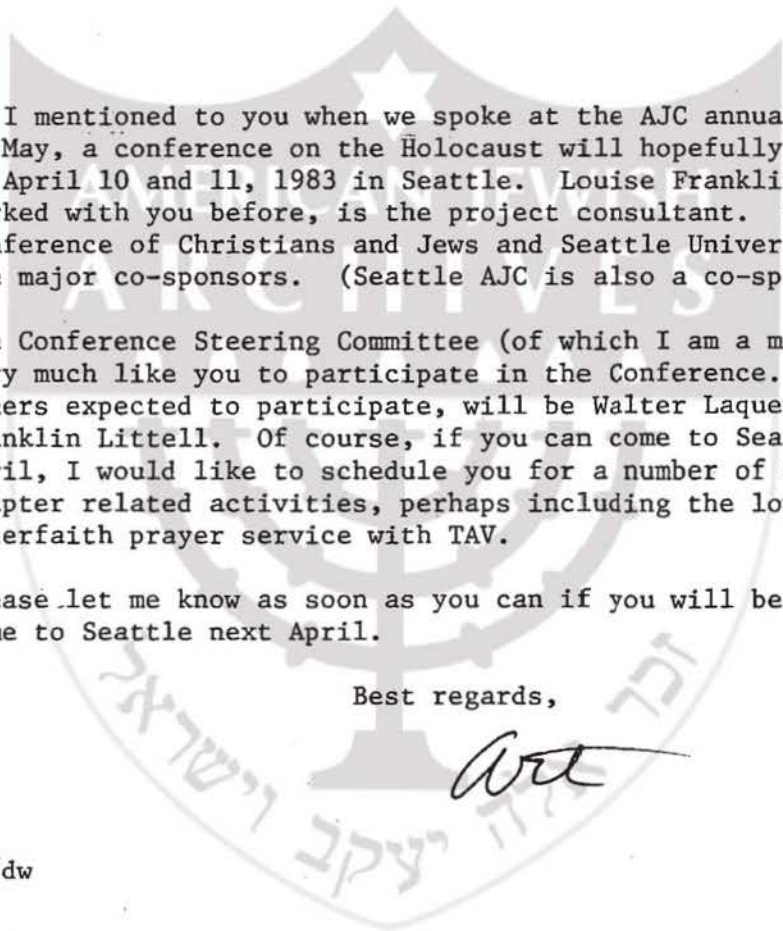
The Conference Steering Committee (of which I am a member) would very much like you to participate in the Conference. Among others expected to participate, will be Walter Laqueur and Franklin Littell. Of course, if you can come to Seattle next April, I would like to schedule you for a number of additional chapter related activities, perhaps including the long-delayed interfaith prayer service with TAV.

Please let me know as soon as you can if you will be able to come to Seattle next April.

Best regards,



AA/dw



9/13/82



The American Jewish Committee

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

August 23, 1982

TO: Members of the Foreign Affairs Steering Committee
FROM: Rita E. Hauser, Chairperson

I look forward to seeing you at the next meeting of our Steering Committee on

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, at 10:30 A.M.

Our agenda will include:

- I. An update on the situation in Lebanon and its impact on Israel and the U. S.
- II. A report on the situation in France.
- III. A report on the upcoming International Conference on Soviet Jewry in Paris.
- IV. A report of the FAC/Latin American subcommittee.
- V. Good and welfare.

As you are aware our meeting will take place before the Board of Governors meeting, and we must start promptly.

DG/EL
enclosures

#82-550-33

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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

aje

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 RELEASE WHEN APPROPRIATE

STATEMENT BY MAYNARD I. WISNER, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE,
ON THE START OF THE PLO DEPARTURE FROM BEIRUT

World terrorism has been dealt a crushing blow with the defeat of the PLO. The capture of hundreds of terrorists from Europe, Asia and Africa -- trained in PLO bases and profiting from its huge cache of Soviet bloc weapons -- provides ample proof of how the PLO sought to overthrow pro-Western governments even as it strove to destroy Israel.

Israel, in standing firm in its demands for PLO withdrawal from Lebanon, has served American interests as well as its own. Its action makes possible an independent Lebanon free of outside forces, a goal of American policy. Soviet influence in the region has been weakened, and its arms shown to be inferior.

The peace process is well served. With an independent Lebanon at peace, with PLO and Syrian power to intimidate and obstruct diminished, moderate Palestinians will have a greater chance to emerge and the Camp David peace process a greater chance to move forward. To give the PLO any semblance of a political victory now that it has been defeated militarily will be to impede this process. Let us not waste what has been won in Lebanon.

President Reagan is to be congratulated for his steadfast concern for Israel's security and Lebanese independence. A special debt of gratitude is owed to Ambassador Habib for his perseverance and diplomatic skills.

* * * * *

8/18/82
82-960-257

Maynard I. Wisner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert L. Pelz, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Donald Feldstein, Executive Vice President

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CSAE 1707

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 18, 1982
to Dr. Donald Feldstein
from David Geller
subject President's Conference meeting - Ambassador Arens

Ambassador Arens has recently returned from Israel and the Lebanon. He said that even for someone as well-briefed as himself, seeing Lebanon was a tremendous shock in terms of what he had been led to believe by the media. He is not certain as to how lasting the effect of the distorted media coverage will be, but it remains a serious problem. In the areas in and around West Beirut which were heavily shelled recently, there were few, if any, civilians killed since they had left as a result of repeated warnings by Israel. There is no doubt that military pressure was necessary and there is also no doubt that the Israel army had taken great risks and incurred casualties in order to avoid civilian casualties.

As for Israel, he stated it was not true that there was great dissension. In fact, there was a wide consensus on the necessity of the operation in Lebanon.

Regarding the PLO departure, the feeling in Israel is "We will believe it when we see it." But in general, there is optimism now. Several objectives have been achieved:

- 1) Northern Israel is out of range of enemy artillery.
- 2) There is much greater possibility now for an independent and secure Lebanon that could eventually sign a peace treaty with Israel.

There were also achievements for the United States. International terrorism was dealt a severe blow. Perhaps of equal importance (and according to Arens, not yet fully appreciated in Washington) is that there has been a major change in the East/West power balance in terms of the conventional force ratio. The previous perception that Soviet conventional forces far outweighed those of the West has been proven now to be untrue. One of the most effective weapons produced by the Soviets - SAM Missiles (surface-to-air missiles) - have been effectively destroyed during the Lebanese situation. 19 SAM-6 were destroyed in one day with no Israeli losses. The more-advanced SAM 8's which were rushed to the Syrian forces were destroyed on the same day they were introduced, with no

Israeli losses. 9 of the Soviet T-72 tanks, rated by NATO to be the world's best, were destroyed by armor-piercing weapons and 84 of the Soviet's best fighter bombers were downed by the Israelis.

Furthermore, the stock of the USSR has dropped precipitously in Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and the Gulf states and there is no doubt that if Israel and the U.S. work in tandem, they can keep the USSR at bay.

Regarding U.S./Israeli relationships, there are now, in fact, great opportunities. The goals outlined by President Reagan - removal of the PLO; an independent Lebanon; and withdrawal of foreign forces - are the same as that of Israel and there is great promise that they will be achieved. It should be remembered that the heavy price of achieving these goals has been paid by Israel in terms of its casualties. The Reagan-Begin correspondence did not concern differences as to whether the PLO should leave but rather how to get them out and throughout this period, Israel had a better appreciation of the situation "on the ground" than Washington.

There has been a great deal of talk about linkage between removal of the PLO and progress in the negotiations regarding autonomy. As far as Arens is concerned, it's a question of "Why make things difficult when you can make them impossible?" In other words, the problems are so complex that to link them to the complex problems in the Lebanon would add to the difficulties in both areas.

Regarding Syria: Syrian forces before the Lebanese operation controlled 65% of the country. They still control almost 50% of Lebanon and their presence remains a very difficult issue. It is hoped that the reconstituted Lebanese government would ask them to leave. It might also be suggested to the Lebanese government and other interested parties that the removal of Israeli troops from Southern Lebanon would be synchronized with a Syrian withdrawal.

Some further points were made by the Ambassador in response to several questions:

- 1) We must be very forthright in opposing any face-saving device for the PLO - they are a terrorist group responsible, among other things, for the murder of 5 U.S. ambassadors.
- 2) The chances are better now for Jordan to join the peace process, but there is no indication of when that might occur.
- 3) Re Egypt. Mubarak is taking advantage of the present situation to ingratiate himself with other Arab countries by making extreme statements regarding the PLO, Palestinian rights, etc.

DG:en

cc: Abraham Karlikow
George E. Gruen

Hyman Bookbinder
Lois Gottesman

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**date** August 17, 1982**to** Abe Karlikow/George Gruen
from M. Bernard Resnikoff**subject**

An 18-hour day was spent on August 16 on a field day into Lebanon, for the purpose of refining information and clarifying program targets.

For this purpose, I organized a party of three in order to keep the group small and mobile. The other two members in my group were two Christian journalists, both of whom made the trip in order to have up-to-date information for their national publications.

In advance of the trip, I consulted with the staff of J.D.C.-Israel, members of the Southern Baptist Convention, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the spokesman for the I.D.F.

The very first thing one notices after a routine and simple crossing of the border are the roads that were recently improved. All the potholes have been filled and, it is made clear, that they have been filled by Israeli authorities. Two miles into Lebanon, one reaches a UNIFIL outpost and our Israeli guides smiled at each other knowingly as we passed this military unit, armed to the teeth, and with nothing to do.

Our first main stop is the Rachidiye refugee camp. While this is now becoming a kind of a refugee "showplace" and, hence, correspondingly less significant, it is definitely worth a visit. Refugees are streaming back and one quickly sees the festering conditions under which all of them lived. What impressed us deeply were the remnants of clearly visible concrete bunkers and gun emplacements that were subjected to bombardment, but the remnants are there plain to see. Clearly, they were originally placed right smack in the middle of centers of population. We talked to the village elder, who was clearly in charge, and he surprised us by his candor when he told us, flatly, that the population of the camp do not wish UNWRA help. He charged that UNWRA delivers only 25% of the allotment, and then sells the other 75%. He specified a Mr. Skinner who was the most objectionable UNWRA official of them all. (I have all this on tape.) On the other hand, he was able to say that Red Cross does a good job. I must add that, in the population of some 8000, we freely mingled with the populace who were uniformly friendly, the children smiling, the adults looking at us with frank curiosity. The three of us were much encouraged when our guide, armed with a Uzi gun, felt free to leave us to take off on his own and, taking the hint, we all split up without concern or worry about our safety. This feeling of comfortableness was to stay with us all day.

TYRE

Now a peninsula, once an island, Tyre is about 25 miles north of Israel and its population has been swollen from 20,000 to about 45,000 (10,000 Christians). On entering the city, the first thing we checked was the main street where we found confirmation of a report received earlier: one side of the street is completely razed whereas the other side is standing perfectly. Clearly, this could not be the result of any kind of rocket or naval bombardment. We were later to learn, as alleged in a Jerusalem Post story, that the Tyre administration, retaliating against the Palestinians, took some \$30,000 given to them by J.D.C. for rehabilitation and razed all the Palestinian shops on the right side of the street. This was later to be denied by the I.D.F. spokesman but the evidence remains insinuating. Elsewhere, the people of Tyre are cleaning up with a zeal that is totally commendable. The harbor is being cleaned out and a fishing industry restored for the first time in years. Resumption of this industry was heralded by a local festival. Relationships between the military personnel and the townspeople is said to be very good. There are invitations to coffee, home hospitality, the eating of bread as a sign of "the extended family". But, they do ask, "when will you leave?" But, they are quick to add, "but don't leave until you finish your job." Clearly, the Lebanese are more pleased with the Israelis than are the Palestinians.

The government offers the city of Tyre a variety of services but it excludes refugees served by UNWRA. Sewage, telephones, school refurbishing and the like, are some of the things requiring immediate attention. In this connection, at the request of my Christian friends in Jerusalem, I called upon the Rev. Salim Awad, pastor of the local Presbyterian church. His church was damaged by bombs and his school suffered a direct hit from a naval bombardment. His car was demolished, and three out of the four church walls had to be replastered. His home, housing a family of five plus two teachers, was also badly damaged. I mention all this because, despite all this depressing damage, I must say that his attitude was wholesome and one detected no signs of hostility whatsoever - only a realistic appraisal of what needs to be done. This is especially true in the school, which houses a population of 950 children from the ages of 3 to 16 and this school suffered extensive damage. What was stirring here was the frank approach of the school mistress. With school opening in six weeks, I would judge that the task before them is hopeless. And yet, she described her needs without sounding hopeless and, in fact, her whole staff was working hard, sleeves rolled up, straightening, clearing, cleaning, pour cement, etc. I found myself saying over and over again, "what an industrious people". For these great people, I will bring back an important message for their opposite numbers in the Church of Scotland in Jerusalem.

SIDON

Located about 60 kilometers from the Israeli border, this is the third largest city in Lebanon and has a population of some 150,000, most of whom are Moslems. The I.D.F. spokesman gives an upbeat report. He states that military government tries to stay in the sidelines, that they work through the civil administration and that nothing happens without them. After going through the first stage, consisting of first-aid, the south Lebanese, "who are really self-sufficient", do things on their own but need help only from time to time. Right now, it consists mostly of economic resources. Thus, for example, in the month of July, economic help amounted to the equivalent of \$4,000,000. By this time, Sidon has resumed exporting to such countries as Italy and Africa. Regional Lebanese officials are said to cooperated and, in answer to my question, the colonel briefing us stated flatly that he felt perfectly free to go anywhere in the city, before curfew, without fire-arms if necessary, and without concern. The only real problem facing the community is private housing, in which area the Lebanese are on their own and, in which need, it is studied opinion of a number of experts that the problem is so enormous that the people themselves cannot do the job without help. And there is a job to be done. While the city is not nearly damaged as one would imagine from media reports, there is damage in certain sections of the town. If you look at the city from a hilltop, it looks perfectly serene, and standing without blemish, something like when you approach the Kansas City skyline; but when you go through the streets, there is much needing repair. I also asked the attending colonel about the attitude of the people of Sidon towards Israeli military and he said that it continues to be good, that Israelis are looked upon as "liberators" and he would not confirm information I received elsewhere that, as the P.L.O. threat recedes, the attitude of the Lebanese correspondingly changes towards the Israelis.

Suitably primed, I asked the colonel for permission to visit the nearby refugee camp of Ein-el-Hilwoue. He did not think it was necessarily a good idea. Yes, I persisted, but could we visit it nevertheless? He thought not. Why? Because it is a security matter. This was a surprising kind of answer but it was not pursued. Later in the day, totally by accident, we found ourselves driving through the refugee camp and one now understands why visitors are discouraged from seeing it. It is a scene of total devastation. One thinks of the woodcuts and old editions of Dante's Inferno; better yet, 18th century illustrations of the Biblical Sodom and Gomorra. That it was a P.L.O. headquarters is clear; that vast amounts of ammunition were stored there is known; that vast concrete underground tunnels were built in the midst of the population is still evident; but this doesn't diminish the impact on the eye - and the stomach.

After leaving the refugee camp, we wended our way up to the mountain where, on the top of the mountain, we visited the Christian village of Mieh-Mieh. There we met the mayor of this village of 4,000 Christians who was named Dr. Simaan Bou-saba. Now a professor of political science at the University of Sidon (6,000 students) I made contact with the mayor because his brother is

now being treated for cancer in a Haifa hospital under the care of a Baptist friend who is part of our Interfaith Committee. Dr. Bou-saba is a gem of a human being; an oasis in the wilderness. He helped us see that what we are witnessing in Lebanon is a consequence of a country having operated seven years without a government. Who has authority over whom? Who does one turn to for services or for having a need met? In point of fact, one had, for the last seven years, a number of governments, like a series of principalities, or fiefdoms, resulting in a kind of chaos - limited only by the Lebanese virtues of industry and business acumen.

He was able to describe dispassionately what happened to the people in his village since April 13, 1975 when the P.L.O. moved in. Random killings to keep the villages at bay, the unannounced expropriation of land and homes, the conversion of residential rooftops to anti-aircraft batteries, the discrimination against Christians qua Christians - these and other events disturbed the tranquility of what was a beautiful village. He helped us see the danger to his village as evidenced by this quantity of material taken out when the Israelis arrived: two tons of t.n.t., forty truck loads of ammunition. He was able to add, to our satisfaction, that he is perfectly at ease with the Israelis, that everybody, including the Moslems, are relieved that the P.L.O. is going and that all of them are convinced that Israel really intends to withdraw its forces as soon as possible. And, finally, when I learned that Dr. Bou-saba is coming to the States in the fall to spend some time with his brother, I promptly invited him to meet with my colleagues in the national office in New York City and he readily agreed.

MBR/jw



Handwritten signature

AUG 12 1982

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 5, 1982

to Abe Karlikow
from M. Bernard Resnikoff

subject Israeli citizens in the Lebanese conflict

It does not take much to imagine that the traumatic and sensational events in the Lebanese conflict would dwarf other events and activities that are a direct consequence of the melancholy situation in the neighboring state.

As best as we can monitor here the written and spoken word in the United States, not to speak of what one sees over the t.v. tube, one learns hardly anything about what the citizens of Israel, in their voluntary capacity, have done and are doing to ameliorate the condition of ordinary Lebanese citizens who have been affected in a variety of grim ways by the guns of this August. These are also news-worthy and mirror how the citizens of this land, of all ethnic and religious groups, have responded to these humanitarian needs resulting from military and political actions.

What the Israeli cabinet, the Israel Defense Forces and the several ministries are doing in extending humanitarian assistance to the Lebanese



civilians will be recounted separately. This report will deal exclusively with voluntary organizations. The data appearing below is preliminary in character and was pulled together by seeking out and attending a number of conferences, consultations, organizational meetings, plus a series of field visits to different parts of the country.

Services in the voluntary sector can be divided by those provided inside Lebanon and those provided in this country. Naturally, all such services need to be cleared by the appropriate officials of the Ministry of Defense. But this does not seem to be a problem, other than the usual problems of an under-trained bureaucracy.

In Lebanon proper, services were concentrated in the collection of data, the interview of officials of the Lebanese ministries appropriate to the needs, assessing damage, studying hospital capacities, establishing on-the-spot priorities, especially for food, and making contact with Lebanese social welfare officials for a continuing relationship.

In Israel, efforts were concentrated on the mobilization of resources, the raising of funds, solicitation of volunteer manpower, preparation of housing, shelters and hospital space, and other supporting activities.

As a consequence of this concerted effort, regular shipments from Israel into Lebanon are made frequently, covering all kinds of goods, of which the following are representative: powdered milk, cement, foam rubber mattresses, cooking and eating utensils, building materials, kerosene, flour, Bibles, first aid supplies, crutches, school supplies, and the like.**

In Israel proper, there is by now a systematic way in which Lebanese civilians, suffering from war wounds or ordinary illness, are admitted into the several Israeli hospitals. The majority are those suffering injuries from the war. The number of Lebanese in Israeli hospitals vary from time to time but have already reached into the hundreds, by unduplicated count. The exact number of Lebanese civilians in Israeli hospitals on the day this report was prepared (August 3, 1982), the count was as follows:

Safad Hospital -	70
Three Haifa hospitals -	70
Nahariya hospital -	15
Tel Aviv hospitals -	25

Voluntary organizations have played a major role in servicing the companions of hospitalized Lebanese. A child is rushed from Tyre to an Israeli hospital, together with her distracted mother. The mother frequently comes without clothing; she needs to be housed somewhere in the city where the child is hospitalized, to be with him, or her, for all the days of confinement. Here, services were organized whereby all relatives of hospitalized Lebanese are helped with laundry services for changes of clothing, are provided with shelter, in homes set aside precisely for this purpose, especially in Haifa and in Safad, and are provided with meal tickets whereby hospital food, at low cost, is available for the period of time their kin are in hospital. Much in the same way, voluntary agencies assume responsibility for transporting relatives to and fro across the border.

One of the most remarkable, and most useful, services provided is the location of patients, and the announcement of their whereabouts to interested parties. Given the emergency conditions under which Lebanese are evacuated from their home towns for relocation to Israeli hospitals, it is most noteworthy that any Lebanese citizen can be located via a telephone call. Add to this the fact that bureaucratic efficiency in Israel is not distinguished by excellence and one marvels how the one organization, responsible for this activity, is that quick and responsive. I tried it myself, in trying to locate the brother of a religious leader in Lebanon, and the answer came back in record time.

Most recently, the housing in Haifa and Safad for relatives of patients now accomodates patients as well who have left the hospital, but who have to be in the area for a number of additional days, for final check before final discharge and return home. For this operation alone, more than 4000 American dollars have been raised.

A partial list of the primary organizations involved in the efforts described above follow:

1. The Public Council for the People of Lebanon. This is an inter-faith and inter-racial public body, with main offices in Haifa that includes, as vice-chairman, a parttime staff member of AJC's Israel Office. The Council was one of the first to send volunteers into Lebanon and is responsible for the earliest shipments of goods, including cement, powdered milk and school supplies. Head of the Council is an Israeli Arab of the Moslem faith. Some people view this Council askance because it, allegedly, keeps its eyes open for the political and public relations implications of its actions. But -- I cannot gainsay its humanitarian activities.
2. Jerusalem Inter-Faith Committee for Aid to Lebanese War Victims. This is the oldest of the voluntary bodies to offer assistance to Lebanese citizens and is now six years old, when it was founded by an inter-faith committee, of which I was a member. I am now co-chairman of this organization which, unlike freshly-created organizations, has exhausted its resources over a six year period and no longer has the wherewithall available elsewhere. Meanwhile, the relatively large sum still in our custody has been set aside, by agreement with others, for the exclusive purchase of wheel chairs, artificial limbs and life-giving machines.
3. Ophira Navon, wife of Israel's President, has just formed a public committee to help the people of Lebanon, and especially the children. Sitting on the committee are such distinguished Israelis as a former advisor to the Prime Minister, the former director-general of the Ministry of Social Welfare, and others. This committee is still in formation.
4. The J.D.C., as is surely known, now has a special person coordinating Lebanon relief and, in consultation with appropriate American Jewish bodies, has already received over \$100,000 for Lebanon aid. Massive deliveries of all kinds of goods have already been undertaken as a result of this allocation. Less known are the professional services offered by the agency, including responsible analyses of health and welfare needs as a basis for planning. In addition, the staff of the Israel Office of J.D.C.

makes itself generously available for consultative services with other voluntary bodies.

5. People-to-People. This is a voluntary organization of ordinary citizens, created out of the spontaneous wish to do something. Sitting on the executive committee are social workers, architects, engineers, housewives and others. One of the chief activities of this group at the present time is to station representatives at each hospital housing Lebanese civilians for the purpose of staying in touch with their needs as well as the needs of the attending relatives. Short of funds, they are not short of men and women of good will who are prepared to volunteer hundreds of hours to provide haven and refuge for the victims of the war.

6. The Christian Service Training Center. Housed in Haifa, the Center mobilizes resources in support of the Christian community in Lebanon. The Center serves all Lebanese but concentrates on the needs of the Christian community. But the Center is supported by a wide range of Israelis, with coordination provided by the fact that the Center director is the administrator of our own Inter-faith Committee.

7. City Council Municipality of Jerusalem. As of this writing, the Council is soliciting public funds in order to provide such services as may be required from time to time. The Jerusalem Post has already collected and transmitted something in the neighborhood of 1,200,000 shekels (\$46,000.) for this purpose.

In this humanitarian and heart-warming endeavor, the role of AJC's Israel Office is modest but unique. It acts as a bridge of communication between one voluntary group and the next; it tries to uncover unmet needs and bring them to the attention of the most appropriate body; it serves as a wedge into Israel's bureaucracy on behalf of non-Israeli groups who do not always know their way; it directs foreigners and overseas church bodies to the correct sources for meeting the needs of religious groups; it provides seed money and supporting services for newly-formed organizations; it uses its good offices to arrange for legitimate incursions into Lebanon on behalf of voluntary groups; and it serves as an accessible address for Jews, Moslems and Christians who need verified data in order to know how best to proceed.

**Also shipped into Lebanon are public health supplies -- especially vast quantities of serum to control polio and diarrhea -- two danger areas that are especially troublesome to public health officials on both sides of the border.

MBR/jw

Israel and the War in Lebanon

by George E. Gruen

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

When I arrived in Israel on the third day of what was then still called the "peace for Galilee campaign," life in Jerusalem appeared so normal it was hard to believe a fierce battle was raging across the northern border.

At Liberty Bell Park (Israel's tribute to the American Bicentennial) the annual book fair was jammed, though there were fewer young men about. When the loudspeakers interrupted the music to broadcast Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's announcement of the destruction of the Syrian SAM missile sites without any losses to the Israeli Air Force, the bustling crowd became still.

The following night Mayor Teddy Kollek opened the scheduled outdoor concert—in the amphitheater at the

Sultan's Pool overlooking the walls of the Old City—saying that the City would not allow the enemy to interrupt Israel's peaceful cultural life. All proceeds from the concert were donated to Israeli northern communities damaged by PLO rockets.

And at the Hebrew University, the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations proceeded with a three-day planning conference on the impact of transnational ethnic groups and diasporas on international relations. As a professor discussed the historical significance of the Hu-

George E. Gruen, director of Middle East Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, recently edited The Palestinians in Perspective.



Israeli trucks returning from Lebanon.

guenot migration from France to Germany, a secretary interrupted and called him to the phone. When he returned, he told his colleagues that his daughter's fiance had been wounded, but only slightly. Then an Israeli political scientist, a well-known critic of the Begin government, began his remarks by apologizing that he might not be too coherent because he had been up all night listening to the news: When one of the others snapped, "and do you think that your staying up in any way influenced the government's policy?" he replied, "that is not why I stayed up; my son is in a tank unit on the front lines."

Clearly there was general relief within Israel that the constant PLO threat to the inhabitants of the Galilee had been removed. At the start of the war there was a nearly universal consensus on the need to create a *cordon sanitaire* to keep the terrorists out of range. All the same, there was none of the euphoria that greeted the spectacular victory in the Six Day War in 1967.

As the casualty figures mounted in armored clashes with the Syrians and in operations against PLO outposts, the prevailing mood at home was one of deepening anxiety. Radio and television stations carried the name of each dead Israeli soldier—about as many Sephardim as Ashkenazim—

and announced the time of his funeral. One new phenomenon in this war was the disproportionately large number—more than 30 out of 270—of young men who had been students or graduates of *Yeshivot Hesder*, institutions alternating periods of Torah study with army service. In the past it had been the kibbutzim who had provided more than their share of men killed in service. But as the war dragged on—this one was the longest in Israel's history since the 1948 struggle for independence—most families were either directly scarred by the war or had close friends who had been wounded or killed.

As the war continued and the number of civilian casualties and refugees mounted among the Lebanese and Palestinians, the national consensus began to crack, the first time this had ever happened during a war. More and more people asked whether it was worth the cost to try to create a stable Lebanon—or whether this was even possible. This concern increased even more when it became apparent that the Phalange, the most militant of the Lebanese Christians, while quite happy to see the Israelis free them from the PLO and the Syrians, were unwilling to assume major military responsibilities themselves.

While many questioned the wisdom of Sharon's extensive operations

George Ginn
and the degree to which the Cabinet had approved his grand design, there was general agreement among Israelis that their soldiers had conducted themselves with honor and taken exceptional risks to minimize civilian casualties. Indeed, there was widespread anger at the portrayal in the international media of Israelis as conquerors bent on wanton destruction.

I visited Tyre and Sidon on June 16, immediately after those ancient cities had come under Israeli control and while individual PLO bands were still being flushed out. Lebanese Red Cross estimates, based on Palestinian sources, had initially claimed that 600,000 persons had been made homeless (more than the actual population in all of southern Lebanon) and that as many as 10,000 may have been killed. Others differed. The International Red Cross cut the refugee figure in half and Lebanese government officials estimated 70,000. While I saw extensive destruction along the two cities' main streets—where PLO forces had been entrenched and had stored their caches of weapons—the number of Lebanese civilian casualties was far less than the extravagantly high numbers widely quoted.

Mahmoud Khadra, Director of Civil Defense for Southern Lebanon and a native of Sidon, told me he estimated that fewer than 400 civilians had been killed there. He added that this figure included at least 40 from Tyre, who had fled north to Sidon when Tyre had been shelled in the early stages of the war. The Israelis had appealed to civilians by loudspeakers, leaflets and through local religious and political officials to separate themselves from the the PLO and wait along the seashore for the hostilities to end. Of the 20,000 persons in Sidon who did so, only nine were injured.

Eight days later, Israeli officials put the total number of civilians killed in Sidon, Tyre and Nabatiye, where the heaviest battles took place, at 408 and the number of new refugees in southern Lebanon at 20,000.

In assessing the current damage in Lebanon, one has to bear in mind that much havoc and destruction had been caused during the lengthy civil war, which resulted in 90,000 civilians killed. In fact, some Lebanese have welcomed the Israeli intervention. Nizar Harissi Daghar, a Sidon phar-

macist, pointed out that "the Palestinians had been wrecking this town for seven years. They made us afraid and miserable. Now, we hope, we'll get a strong Lebanese government and a new beginning."

Major Arnon Mozer, an Israeli building contractor from Metulla in civilian life, has been assigned by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to help the Lebanese rebuild Sidon. The first priority, of course, was to bury the dead, but he left this to Muslim and Christian clergy since, he explained, he was unfamiliar with their religious rituals. The next day I heard the BBC begin its report from Sidon quoting the British wife of a Lebanese citizen complaining that the IDF representative, when asked about burying the dead, had answered "that's your problem," leaving the impression of callousness rather than sensitivity. Mozer told me that two generators had been ordered from Beirut and water pipes from Tel Aviv to restore electricity and water as quickly as possible. Flour and fruit were in ample supply. Sidon Mayor Farouk and 600 municipal employees were put to work immediately to help the IDF clear the rubble, assess the damage and restore public services.

Returning south over a temporary bridge erected by the Israelis across the Litani River, we met a convoy of 30 Israeli Magen David Adom ambulances and other vehicles bringing additional medical supplies and equipment to southern Lebanon. There was in fact a spontaneous outpouring of help—clothing, blankets and food—from ordinary Israelis to assist Lebanese civilians caught up in the war, and more than a thousand Israelis opened their homes to Lebanese mothers and children.

The IDF were also apparently quite selective in choosing their targets. For example, while the bridge across the Zahrani River was knocked out, the nearby oil storage tanks at the terminus of the Trans-Arabian Pipe line were undamaged. I also saw many intact villages between Tyre and Sidon—where there had been no PLO forces. Their fields of corn and orange orchards were unscathed and bougainvillea and fragrant jasmine blossoms recalled the natural beauty of a once peaceful Lebanon. And in Sidon itself, two large mosques and

the church I passed were untouched, except for a few broken windows in the church.

An ancient, unused synagogue that was discovered in the Casbah of Sidon was also unharmed. I met an Israeli Army reservist, Albert Cohen, who had been born in Sidon. After the Arabs of Haifa had fled north to Sidon during the 1948 Arab-Israeli fighting, he said the mayor of Sidon retaliated by issuing an ultimatum ordering the city's 200 Jews to leave within 24 hours. Subsequently, the Lebanese government permitted some to return, but by June 1982 only one family remained.

The *Aron Hakodesh* (ark) of the synagogue was kept intact and when Israeli soldiers discovered it, they also found a Sefer Torah reportedly more than 200 years old. Nearby, the homes of four Palestinian families were also undamaged and they attributed their good fortune to the presence of a Jewish holy place in their midst.

Though it is too early to predict the political consequences of the latest Arab-Israeli conflict, many Israelis—including Professor Yehoshafat Har-kabi, who as a scholar and head of military intelligence has made a lifelong study of the Palestinians, and former Chief of Staff and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin—say that even

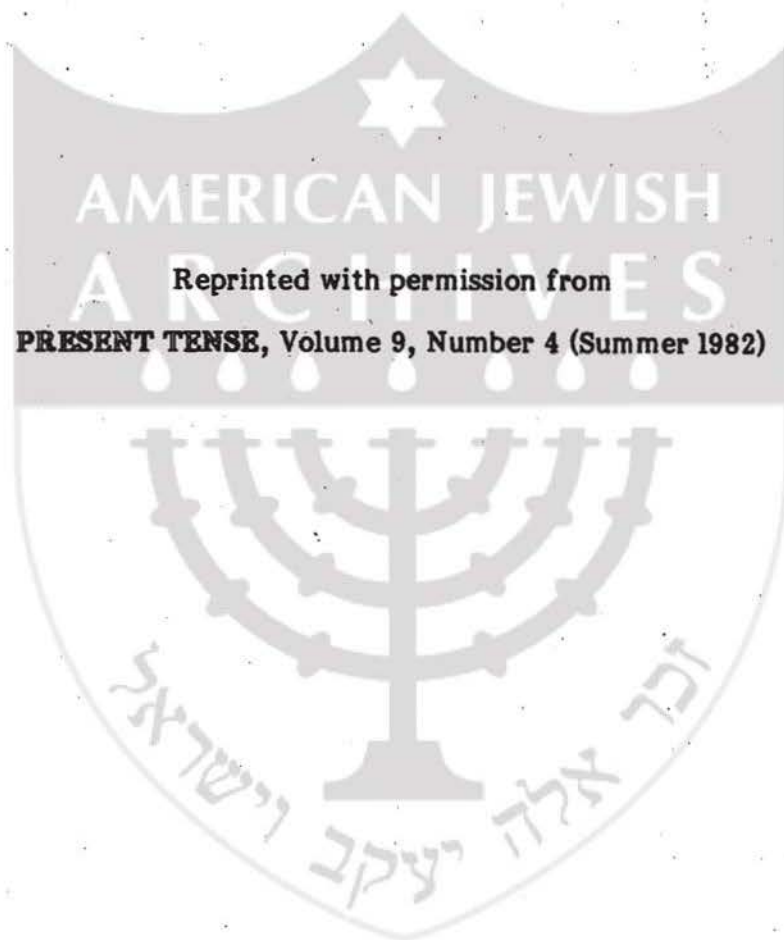
if Israel succeeds in destroying the military and institutional infrastructure of the PLO, the idea of Palestinian nationalism cannot be permanently eliminated.

Simcha Dinitz, chairman of the Davis Institute and former Ambassador to the United States, has urged that Jerusalem and Washington seize the opportunity created by the weakening of the PLO and the Syrians. Specifically he asked that an appeal be made again to the Jordanians and moderate Palestinians in the occupied territories to join in open-ended negotiations based on UN Security Council Resolution 242 and those provisions of Camp David calling for the "participation of the Palestinians in the determination of their future." While few Israelis advocate a separate Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, many in the Labor opposition feel that some form of territorial compromise involving Jordan, Israel and the Palestinians will have to be worked out.

Most Israelis are skeptical that another Sadat will emerge in the Arab world, once again to test Begin's capacity for statesmanship and compromise. Yet only if the cycle of war is broken and the Egyptian-Israeli peace process broadened, will the heavy losses suffered on all sides prove not to have been in vain. □



Israeli Red Mogen David ambulance crossing Litani Bridge



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022



REPORT

From the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee

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

THE WEST BANK: BUILDING UP THE VILLAGE LEAGUES
AS A NUCLEUS OF A NEW AND MODERATE POLITICAL FORCE

Soon after the West Bank and Gaza Strip became Israeli-administered areas as a result of the 1967 war, the late General Dayan, in his capacity as Minister of Defense, and as such responsible for the administered areas, recruited Professor M. Milson from the Hebrew University as his political advisor for the affairs of the administered areas. Professor Milson remained in this job for over two years, in the course of which policy differences gradually emerged between him and his chief. In the end he resigned.

One of the main areas of Milson's criticism was that General Dayan personally, and the entire machinery of the Military Administration, were kowtowing to the extremist elements in the administered areas, whereas those elements who were moderate and in favor of co-existence with Israel, were seeing no reward whatsoever for their moderate views. In the period between 1971 and 1981, when Professor Milson was back teaching at the Hebrew University, he lectured a great deal about the affairs of the administered areas and his criticisms of General Dayan's policies. In his article "How to make peace with the Palestinians" in Commentary of May 1981 he wrote, inter alia:

"To assure its political control over the West Bank between 1948 and 1967, the Jordanian government applied a system of patronage which, in fact, is standard in Arab politics. Economic benefits, prestigious appointments etc. were granted in return for loyalty. In such a system the most valuable prize for a public personality is access to those who hold central power. To deny this privilege is to undercut a leader's position within his constituency and to deprive him of his influence. If a notable or local politician

cannot act as an intermediary between the central authority and his family, town or tribe - a service absolutely crucial in that social and political structure - they will inevitably turn to someone else."

"After 1967 Israeli policies in the West Bank were the very opposite of the Jordanian mode of governing. Benefits and services were given by the Israeli authorities on the basis of non-political, objective administrative rules. Whether a person was a declared supporter of the P.L.O. or a moderate Arab seeking to live in peace with Israel did not matter when it came to the services afforded him by the Israeli government. West Bank personalities known for their moderate political positions discovered that their sensible views did not earn them preferential treatment from the Israeli authorities. In many cases, they were stunned to see persons notorious for their strong anti-Israel public positions faring better in their dealings with Israeli officials than they themselves did. As a result, the public position of extremists and pro-P.L.O. figures was bolstered, and that of the moderate was undercut. In a society where easy access to the authorities is a major political asset, the accommodating attitude of the Israeli authorities to the pro-P.L.O. Mayors and public figures with similar views strengthen their position in their constituency. The same went for the American practice of regular visits with pro-P.L.O. figures and financial support for their projects."

"According to the Israeli and American idea, a spokesman of the other camp who held extreme positions must be genuine and honest, while a moderate and pragmatic spokesman must be either insincere, or unrepresentative, or both. This converged with another conventional notion, that radical leaders represented 'the wave of the future' and therefore should be accomodated."

"Another aspect was that the capacity of the pro-P.L.O. Mayors to influence the population was considerably enhanced by the large sum of money which the P.L.O. began to funnel to them. The Israeli attitude was: what do we care if they build factories with P.L.O. money, so long as they don't build weapon factories?"

This response missed the fact that the money was granted at a political price - support for the P.L.O. All of this was P.L.O. patronage money."

When in November 1981 Professor Milson came back to the West Bank and Gaza in his new capacity as Head of the Civil Administration, he set about reversing this process, and began to build up village leagues as a nucleus of a new and moderate political force in those areas. He began giving the village league the chance to enhance their influence through the dispensation of patronage.

Herewith two examples, as reported in Ha'aretz of August 2, 1982.

Mr. Abu-Ednan of the township of Halhul (south of Hebron) has a son who happened to be studying medicine in Athens, Greece, in 1969 when the Population Census was taken on the West Bank. It was on the basis of that census that identity cards were distributed to the population; Mr. Ednan junior, therefore, did not receive an identity card. Since then he finished his medical studies and went to Abu Dabi where he works as a doctor. A number of times he has wished to visit his family at Halhul, and his father submitted the usual request to have him visit under the "unification of families" scheme. The Mukhtar (mayor) of the township brought back the reply from the Military Government to the effect that the son does not fit into the relevant criteria and he cannot be allowed to come back to the West Bank even for a visit. His father resubmitted the application a number of times and was able to talk directly to the Administrative Officer of the Military Administration. The reply was negative. "Your son is not an inhabitant of this area, and, therefore, we can neither issue an identity card nor allow him to come here. If he were ready to work as a doctor on the West Bank, we would reconsider the application; however, since he is just desirous of visiting you whenever he desires, we cannot help him."

With the help of the mayor, Mr. Ednan was able to meet with the local Military Governor personally and to put his problem to him.

A week later the mayor again told Ednan that the application had been rejected; he added that the governor himself had tried to persuade the committee which deals with such applications, but the final decision had been negative.

In the meantime, Abu Ednan heard that quite a number of applications from people in his township with regard to cases which appeared to him to be more complicated than that of his son were receiving positive replies, as a result of having submitted the applications through the office of the local Village League. He was told that this would cost him a great deal of money, but nevertheless he went to that office and filled out a form. The Secretary assured him that "it will be o.k." Having filled the form, the Secretary asked him to sign another form which says "I, the undersigned, request to become a member of the Village League, and I obligate myself to serve the best interests of the inhabitants and to obey the regulations of the League." He was then told by the Secretary that the League would recommend and view with favor that he would contribute a sum of money to the League. Ednan contributed 500 shekels, and received a receipt. The receipt said that this sum was by way of membership of the League.

Two weeks later Ednan received a positive reply to his request. Friends of his said to him, "you got out of this cheap; there are some who pay thousands and thousands of shekels in order to get this kind of permit."

Another example are permits for summer visits. During the last twelve years every summer tens of thousands of Arabs were allowed to come from any Arab state to the West Bank in order to visit relatives. The Military Administration used to publicize this with great pride and show that people from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Abu Dabi and even Syria were coming freely to the West Bank for visits of three months duration.

This summer, although the final figures of such visitors are not yet in, it is clear that there has been a serious drop in the

numbers. This is no doubt partly due to the war situation in the Lebanon. But another reason is

the attitude towards the Village Leagues. In the past the request for such visits were handled by the local Municipalities or Town Councils which would then submit them to the Military Administration for approval. The Municipalities would then distribute the approved applications to the inhabitants. This arrangement was cancelled this year, and the applications must be submitted through the Village Leagues. However, a good many inhabitants have signified that they are not prepared to deal with the Village Leagues, and in this situation they are prepared not to submit applications altogether.

A great variety of requests for various permits must now be submitted through the Village Leagues, and the latter are in a position to recommend to the Civilian Administration inhabitants who should receive positive replies and recommend others for negative replies. This, obviously, places a great deal of power, as well as a goodly income, in the hands of the Village Leagues. These are now the main link between the population and their day-to-day needs and the Israeli Government of the West Bank.

In the past, if a West Bank person wanted to visit Jordan, all he had to do was to go to the local post office, fill in a form, stamp it with some revenue stamps, and within a few hours he would have the positive reply and he could set out for the Jordan bridge - provided only that there was no specific security risk involved in giving the permit. Today, in order to receive this permit, the inhabitants are told to go to the Village League, and this now costs something between 1500 and 2000 shekels, by way of membership of the League.

When the Governor of the Hebron area recently visited there, he was faced with many complaints on the part of citizens about having to pay heavy sums for various requests and permits whereas in the past these permits were given for very little money indeed.

Thus, the Village Leagues are gradually becoming the center of the real power on the West Bank, under the Civil Administration of Israel.


At the same time, by way of a parallel development, pro-P.L.O. mayors have been deposed by the Civil Administration in seven major centers of populations on the West Bank and Gaza.

August 4, 1982

Gershon Avner



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : July 2, 1982
to : Abraham S. Karlikow
from : Sergio Nudelstejer 
subject : Analysis of Mexican Press concerning Israel's action in Lebanon.

Our office has considered it convenient to carry out a thorough analysis of the opinions expressed in the Mexican press concerning the recent Israeli action in southern Lebanon.

This analysis covers the period of June 4th through June 15th, studying the opinions expressed by the most important press media, either through editorials of said newspapers, or through articles signed by its collaborators.

The analysis of the newspapers gives a 62.3% of negative opinions towards Israel; 21.4% of neutrals and 16.3% of positive opinions. Comparing them with similar studies of previous years, the results are, in all truthfulness, quite alarming.

It is interesting to note that from June 4th through June 7th, the Mexican press was more balanced. The news media -which are extreme left wing-, from the very beginning was pro-palestinian, but during these days, the reaction in the press on the Israeli bombing in Lebanon was of a neutral position, perhaps due to the perfect timing of the Israeli representatives in Mexico who made public their viewpoints and standing.

On ~~July~~^{JUNE} 8th, the Mexican Government condemned the Israeli action, thus being the only Latinamerican country to do so. As of that date, the Mexican press has taken a negative attitude towards Israel, stressing the fact that it supports its Government's standing. At the same time, the PLO office in Mexico concentrated all its efforts to make it known its own viewpoints expressed in the Mexican press who, in turn, was glad to widespread and point out these viewpoints.

On Saturday June 12th, during a regular session of the Mexican Parliament, a condemning resolution on Israel for having invaded Lebanon, was passed. This resolution was presented by deputy Carlos Sanchez Cárdenas, of the Partido Socialista Unificado Mexicano (Mexican Unified Socialist Party) and was supported by deputy Cuauhtemoc Amezcua of the Partido Popular Socialista (Popular Socialist Party), both marxist groups. The original proposition of this condemnation included the petition that the Mexican government should stop its oil sales to Israel, but fortunately this petition did not pass thanks to the intervention of the Presi-

dent of the Great Commission of the Parliament.

This time, it is quite obvious the serious involvement of the Mexican Communist Party. They had a rally just outside the Israeli Embassy on Friday, June 11th, which was also amply commented upon in the Mexican Press. A large ad was published in some newspapers, in which Israel and Zionism is being condemned and it was signed by leftist groups, worker's unions and by a large number of individuals who identify themselves with the extreme left wing.

In much the same way, many of the cartoons which have been published in the daily newspapers have been aggressive, depicting Israel as the aggressor and Beguin with a nazi swastika.

The Mexican Jewish Community thought it best to publish an ad in the Mexican Press, signed by the Comité Central Israelita de México (Central Jewish Committee of Mexico).

Mexico's condemnation of Israel's attack on Lebanon, which was expressed through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, states the following:

"The Mexican Government strongly condemns the invasion carried out by armed forces of Israel in Lebanese territory and supports resolution 509 of the Security Council of the United Nations, unanimously approved, to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli military forces to the recognized international boundaries of Lebanon, as well as an immediate and simultaneous cease-fire of military activities within Lebanon and its border with Israel".


As always, best cordial regards,

SN/eeg

Copies: Milton Ellerin
Bertram H. Gold

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date: July 1st, 1982
to: Abe Karlikow
from: Sergio Nudelstejer 
subject: Pressure exerted to open a PLO office in Venezuela

Held a long phone conversation with Dr. Reuben Merenfeld, President of the C.A.I.V. (Confederation of Jewish Organizations in Venezuela), concerning a series of pressures exerted on the Government of that country, so it recognizes and at the same time authorizes, an office of the PLO to be opened in Venezuela.

Due to the fact that Venezuela is a member of the OPEC and because it keeps friendly relationship with a number of Arab countries, efforts have been made in order to get authorization for such an office to be opened.

Abu Khaled, member of the National Council of the PLO, recently visited Venezuela where he addressed several universities. Also, he held interviews with high ranking Venezuelan officials, among them, the Minister of the Interior.

Having given serious thought to these events, a delegation of some of the members of the C.A.I.V. (Confederation of Jewish Organizations in Venezuela) headed by Dr. Reuben Merenfeld, held a meeting with the Venezuelan Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, who assured them that up till this moment, he has no information whatsoever on this matter, and that neither the Presidency nor the Foreign Affairs Ministry have any intentions of having such an office open its doors. This same delegation also held meetings with the representatives of COPEI (Christian-Social Party) and of the Partido Acción Democrática (Democratic Action Party) who gave them some assurances that they would not support the idea of having a PLO office in Venezuela.

This Jewish delegation, upon meeting with the above mentioned people, handed out to them printed matter that clearly shows the PLO activities carried out in other countries, where it is creating doubt, permanent unrest and continuous terrorist acts. They made it quite clear that they are worried over the possibility of having such an office open under the name of the Arab League or any other such name.

The representatives of the Venezuelan Jewish Community pointed out before the Authorities of that country that they are trying to avoid a decision which would damage the harmony, tranquility and good relationship that the Jewish community of Venezuela has always pursued, thus avoiding the transference to that country of the bitter consequences of the Palestinian conflict.

On the other hand, people of leftists groups published an ad in some newspapers in Caracas asking for consent to have the PLO open its office.

According to what Dr. Merenfeld told me, they have confidence that the present government of President Luis Herrera Campins will not allow such an office to be opened.

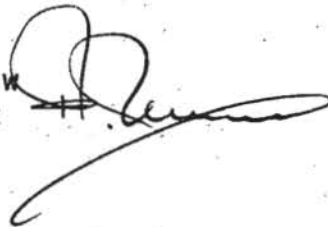
SN/eeg

CC: Bertram H. Gold
Milton Ellerin



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : July 13th, 1982
to : Abraham S. Karlikow
from : Sergio Nudelstejer



subject

Had the chance of holding a long and fruitful conversation with Mr. Pincus Rubinstein, president of the FEDECO (Federation of Jewish Communities of Central America and Panama) who visited Mexico.

Concerning the Jewish community of Costa Rica, he particularly stressed the fact of the difficult economical situation which is affecting the Jewish life of that country. For your information, the Colon (Costa Rican currency) was devaluated in the last few months from 8 colones per dollar to 60 colones per dollar.

The first to suffer this impact was the only Jewish School in San José, the capital, because they could not meet the contract of the Dean and his wife. They were Israeli teachers and their contract was in dollars. At present, there is a local Costa Rican Jewish teacher serving as Dean of their school.

In much the same way, it affected the community's wish to bring down a Rabbi, but due to the dollar condition, they had to give up this idea.

As to El Salvador, Mr. Rubinstein told me that in spite of what was expected after the recent elections and change in government in that small country, Jewish families are not returning. The expectations are not too favourable, because the different guerrilla groups have kept up their anti-government position and it is possible that there will be, once again, internal strife.

On Guatemala he informed me that just recently a guerrilla group kidnapped a group of people and among them was a whole Jewish family. He was unable to give me more details on this particular matter, but he did say that the Guatemalan-Jewish community is much concerned and worried.

All this information led me to try to convince him that today, more than ever, it is necessary to have a meeting of the FEDECO (Federation of Jewish Communities of Central America and Panama) in order to study and analyze these fast going events in this particular zone and try to find the appropriate and necessary measures to give some sort of security to these small Central American Communities.

After going through -together with Mr. Rubinstein-, all the prevailing situation, it was clear that a number of representatives from Panamá, Costa Rica, Honduras and Guatemala could possibly be present at a FEDECO meeting.

Mr. Rubinstein offered that upon returning to Costa Rica, he will try to contact by phone, all presidents of the above mentioned communities and if he should get their approval, possibly he would call for a FEDECO meeting for next August in San José de Costa Rica. The FEDECO has agreed to meet every two years and their last meeting took place in July 1980.

Will keep you informed as to the development of this particular matter.

As always, cordially yours,

SN/eeg

copy: Bertram H. Gold

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 24, 1982
to Abraham S. Karlikow
from David Geller *DK*
subject Luncheon with Dr. Li You-Yi on June 24, 1982

It was a fascinating luncheon. Almost all the participants were AJC staff. Rita Hauser was the chairperson and Leo Nevas also attended.

Dr. Li avers that there are many more Jews in China (Oriental Jews) than is generally known. Dr. Li believes that there are some 10,000 such Jews, many in the area of Kaifung but others in several coastal cities in China. While the earliest records extant date from the 16th century, these records indicate that Jews came to China at least 1,000 years earlier. Dr. Li believes that these original Jews came from India. The Chinese emperor in the 6th century welcomed the Jewish immigrants who were composed of seven family units. The emperor assigned them Chinese names which directly or indirectly related to their Hebrew names. For example, Dr. Li believes his family name was Levi.

Jews in China know of their identity because it is communicated to them by their parents. While almost all of these Jews practice other religions -- Buddhism, ancestor worship, Confucianism, etc. -- as well as those who are atheists, many Jews still retain a positive feeling for their Jewishness. Until the early 50s, according to Dr. Li, there was a roving rabbi who performed the rite of circumcision and who taught members of the various communities some of the basic traditions of Judaism. Since that time there has been no rabbi nor has it been possible to invite any Jewish teacher to educate those who are interested. In China if you are a distinct and recognizable minority the government will support certain activities such as education, the provision of ritual necessities, etc. However, since there is no rabbi nor synagogue, nor any group of people who maintain specific cultural traditions, Jews are not afforded minority status by the Chinese Government. Furthermore, those few Jews who are interested in preserving their traditions and transmitting them to their children are reluctant to ask for minority status because they have been led to believe that they would be refused, due to fear of adverse Arab reaction. There also remains in today's China great reluctance to allow scholars in China to maintain close connections with people outside. For example: the Chinese Government is currently planning a new encyclopedia. As part of that project, there is

a journal called Encyclopedia to which scholars contribute definitive articles on various subjects which will eventually become part of the encyclopedia. A Chinese woman scholar wrote an article (which interestingly was published) under the title, "I am a Jew." The article aroused significant interest among scholars in China, some of whom indicated that they, too, were Jewish. It also brought a good deal of attention from some scholars outside China, a few of whom were Chinese, who wrote to this woman asking for additional information, etc. The woman was called in by the Government and warned not to correspond with people outside and to desist from expressing her interest in Jews and Judaism in such a public manner.

Dr. Li feels that there is sympathy for a Jewish study program but this is not the time to push it actively. Rather, it must be done on a step-by-step basis. Dr. Li indicated that the Chinese are sympathetic to Israel and that, in fact, there are Israelis in China who carry passports other than Israeli who are currently working in China. However, because of China's need for petrodollars and political leverage, China will in the foreseeable future remain publicly hostile to Israel.

Dr. Li hopes to study Hebrew and, in fact, has already begun to attend classes at the branch of the Hebrew Union College in Los Angeles. Dr. Li expressed his gratitude to the American Jewish Committee for their interest and assistance.

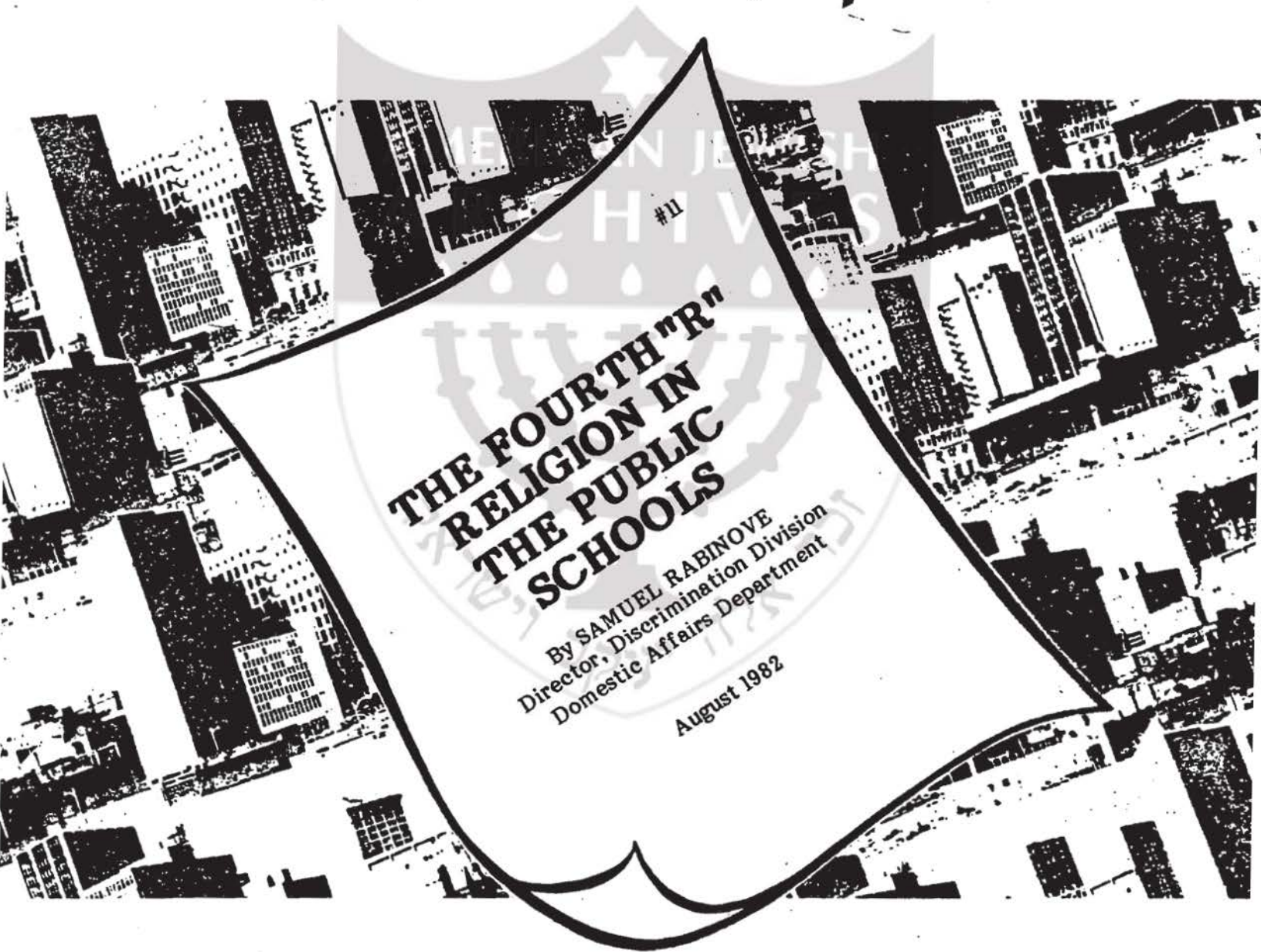
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OUR STAKE IN THE URBAN CONDITION

Pertinent Papers



#11

THE FOURTH "R" RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By SAMUEL RABINOVE
Director, Discrimination Division
Domestic Affairs Department

August 1982



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022



SAMUEL RABINOVE, Director of the Discrimination Division in the Domestic Affairs Department of The American Jewish Committee, provides legal guidance and counsel to AJC staff and community relations councils in the areas of civil rights and anti-Semitism. He also coordinates AJC's participation in litigation of concern to minority groups in general and Jews in particular such as religious liberty, freedom of expression and discrimination in education, housing and employment.

PREFACE

In his book, AN ALMANAC OF LIBERTY, former Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court William O. Douglas states:

The more one studies the religions of the world the more he comes to appreciate the wisdom of the First Amendment in accommodating all of them. They are in many ways distinctive. But they have many common threads, and even patterns. Each honors truth, justice and charity. Each has the Golden Rule. Each teaches that inward peace comes from surrender to something bigger than self.

In its seventy six-year history the American Jewish Committee has pioneered in bringing together men and women of different faiths to advance an understanding and acceptance of such views. The separation of church and state mandated by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution has provided the firm basis for these values to be taught in the home, church and synagogue and appreciated in an atmosphere of religious freedom unequalled in any other land.

Today, in part because of a deep concern for an apparent erosion of morality in our society, it is being urged by some that these religious values also be taught in the public schools, thus encroaching upon the principle of separation of church and state.

This "Pertinent Paper" by Samuel Rabinove focuses on the history and current emphasis of the national debate on religion in the public schools.

Seymour Samet, National Director
Domestic Affairs Department
The American Jewish Committee

THE FOURTH "R": RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Introduction

A major campaign is under way to reintroduce religion into American public schools. This campaign is fueled partly, but not exclusively, by the religious "New Right," and has been given a considerable boost by President Reagan, who strongly supported school prayers as a candidate and has proposed a Constitutional amendment to overcome the Constitutional barriers to such activity.

Simply put, the rationale for this drive is the belief that this country has suffered a massive breakdown of public order and morality, and that this can only be cured by restoring to our children the traditional faith, values and respect for authority upon which the nation is founded.

Large segments of "Middle America," people devoted to God, country and family, have been deeply disturbed by many contemporary trends in our society. There is a widespread conviction that things have gone too far, that liberty has become license, and that individual rights and freedoms are exalted at the expense of other, equally important values, such as order, security, responsibility, civility, courtesy, and consideration for the rights and freedoms of others. Faced with serious social, political and economic problems at home and abroad, many people yearn for the "good old days" (which frequently seem far better in memory than they were in reality), and want to believe that school prayers, Bible-reading and similar proposals will help our society cope with its complex ills. Hence the appeal of the religious New Right and its simplistic rhetoric and remedies.

While large numbers of Christian Americans recognize the threat to religious freedom inherent in the President's proposals and the "New Right" pressures, others do not understand how any group can consider them wrong. A brief look back into American history may help provide some answers.

In 1843, in New York City, religion was an accepted part of the public-school curriculum. When a group of Jewish parents took issue with the use of a particular textbook, American Popular Lessons, for religious instruction, the committee appointed by the Board of Education to look into the matter rejected the protest, reporting to the Board that it had "examined the several passages and lessons alluded to... [and had been] unable to discover any possible ground of objection, even by the Jews, except what may arise from the fact that they are chiefly derived from the New Testament and inculcate the general principles of Christianity." That some Americans might reasonably object to having their children taught "the general principles of Christianity" evidently did not even occur to the committee members. But is clear that it did occur to the framers of our Constitution.

In the Constitution of the United States there is no mention of Jesus Christ.*

*Beginning in 1864, a religious group called the National Reform Association labored for many years, without success, to amend the Preamble to the Constitution to declare the lordship of Jesus Christ.

In fact, nowhere in that document is there any mention of God. These omissions scarcely could have been inadvertent since most of the Founding Fathers were God-fearing Christians.

The men who framed the Constitution were painfully aware of what happened to "heretics" and "dissenters" in the many lands where church and state were joined. They knew that the United States was settled in large part by refugees from religious and political despotisms, and that many of these same refugees had later denied to others in the New World the freedom of worship they themselves had left the Old World to secure. The Puritans, for example, driven out of England by the Anglicans, saw nothing wrong with driving the Baptists out of the Massachusetts Bay Colony some years later. It was the Baptist Roger Williams who founded in Rhode Island the first American colony that rigorously separated church and state and granted full religious tolerance to all its inhabitants.

A major factor in the development of freedom of conscience in the U.S. was a paper written by James Madison in 1785, entitled Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments. In this historic document, which helped shape the First Amendment to the Constitution, Madison insisted that support of religion must be voluntary, warning that tax-supported religion would create enmity and endanger freedom.

It is the First Amendment which is at the heart of the legal separation of church and state in this country -- a separation that has been challenged and upheld repeatedly over the years. In 1947, in the case of Everson v. Board of Education, the United States Supreme Court, while upholding public busing of religious school pupils as a welfare benefit to children, unanimously enunciated a rule of law which was unanimously reaffirmed in three subsequent cases: "The 'establishment of religion' clause of the First Amendment," the Court held, "means at least this: Neither a state nor the federal government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another.... No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the federal government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice-versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect 'a wall of separation between church and state'."

It goes without saying that public schools are tax-supported state schools.

Religious Instruction in Public Schools

Shortly after the Everson case, the Supreme Court was confronted with a different kind of school case involving religion. Mrs. Vashti McCollum of Champaign, Illinois had challenged the right of the local Board of Education

to hold weekly classes in religion during school hours for pupils whose parents had authorized them to participate. The classes were taught by instructors specifically brought in to teach children of their respective faiths. The time of the class was taken out of the regular school day and children who did not attend religious instruction were given other work to do during that period. In 1948, in McCollum v. Board of Education, the U.S. Supreme Court by a vote of eight to one held that this program was unconstitutional, because the cooperation between the public school and religious authorities made use of the state's compulsory education system to help religious groups to spread their faith.

Four years later, in 1952, a similar problem was presented to the Supreme Court, in Zorach v. Clauson. This case involved a "released time program" set up by the New York City public schools to release pupils early from classes at the request of their parents to receive religious instruction away from public-school premises. Because there was no use of tax-supported public-school classrooms in this instance, the Supreme Court decided, by a vote of six to three, that the New York City program was a reasonable accommodation to the religious needs of the people. The Court majority noted that there is no constitutional requirement for government to be hostile to religion. "Released time" programs are still in operation in many school districts throughout the country.

Organized Prayer in Public Schools

Two major cases in 1962 and 1963 brought the issues of prayer and Bible reading in the public schools before the Supreme Court. In both Engel v. Vitale (1962) and Abington School District v. Schempp (1963), the Supreme Court held (6-1 and 8-1, respectively), that, under the First and Fourteenth Amendments, it is not the business of the state to compose or to sponsor prayer or Bible reading for American school children.* These decisions caused considerable furor at the time, and were widely denounced as being anti-religious and un-American; but they have gained a large measure of public acceptance over the years, and none of the numerous Congressional attempts to amend the Constitution to permit public school prayer have thus far succeeded in mustering the requisite two-thirds majority in each House of Congress. Nevertheless, public opinion polls indicate that most Americans do support school-sponsored prayer on a "voluntary" basis (on this issue the Moral Majority actually is a majority). In a good many school districts, particularly in rural areas of the South and Midwest, organized prayer and Bible reading continue despite the Court's rulings; but the practice is far less common today than it was 25 years ago. (Of course, there is nothing in the Supreme Court rulings to prevent any pupil from spontaneously uttering a genuinely serious prayer [or a less serious one such as, "O God, how I wish the bell would ring!"], provided only that the school does not officially program for this purpose.)

* A number of Jewish organizations, including AJC, supported the plaintiffs who challenged these practices.

It should be noted that the Supreme Court has often drawn a distinction between an accommodation to religion in higher education and such an accommodation in elementary and secondary schools, reasoning that concerns about religious indoctrination are not nearly as great in colleges and universities as they should be in elementary and secondary education. For one thing, school attendance beyond high school is not required by the state, nor is the state required to provide such education. Moreover, college students are considered mature enough and more inclined to evaluate critically the teachings and values to which they are exposed, and to resist attempts at religious proselytization. Thus, more recently, on December 8, 1981, the Supreme Court, in the case of Widmar v. Vincent, struck down a regulation adopted by the University of Missouri that prohibited the use of university property "for purposes of religious worship or religious teaching," holding, eight to one, that a state university that permits student groups to meet on campus for secular activities must also allow student religious groups to meet for worship and religious study. The university regulation had been challenged by an evangelical Christian student group that was denied the use of a room for its weekly Saturday evening meetings. The Court based its ruling on the students' constitutional rights of free speech and association, rather than on their right to the free exercise of their religion.

Since the Widmar ruling applied only to truly voluntary religious practices at state-supported universities, it indicated no change in the Court's view that the Constitution bars officially sponsored or approved prayer in public schools. Thus, on December 14, 1981, in the case of Brandon v. Board of Education of Guilderland School District, the Court refused to hear an appeal by a group of high-school students from an upstate New York town who were denied permission to hold voluntary prayer meetings on school property before the official start of the school day. (The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit had upheld the school board's policy of disallowing the prayer meetings as a violation of the separation of church and state.) And, on January 25, 1982, in the case of Treen v. Karen B., the Supreme Court unanimously upheld without a written opinion a U.S. Appeals Court ruling that a Louisiana law authorizing local school districts to adopt a prayer period of up to five minutes at the beginning of the school day was unconstitutional. The state law, enacted in 1980, provided that a teacher or a student volunteer could lead a class in such prayer, and that students who did not wish to participate could leave the room.

Another decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit on March 11, 1982, Lubbock Civil Liberties Union v. Lubbock Independent School District, also held that a school district policy that permitted students to meet voluntarily*

* The question of what constitutes "voluntary prayer" was addressed in two Washington Post columns in the winter of 1981 when the Senate was debating the issue. Liberal Richard Cohen, in a column entitled "Birds of Pray", wrote: "There is simply nothing voluntary about it. When you're eight years old and everyone around you bows their heads, you bow your head. When everyone is mumbling words, you mumble words. When they pause for a moment of silence

for religious purposes, before or after regular school hours, violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. The court said:

The school district claims that since there is no coercion in this case -- the meetings being voluntary -- the challenged provision does not advance religion. This contention, however, finds no support in case law. As the Supreme Court stated in Engel v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421 (1962), "Neither the fact that the prayer may be denominationally neutral nor the fact that its observance on the part of students is voluntary can serve to free it from the limitations of the Establishment Clause." Furthermore, the fact that the meetings take place before or after "regular hours" does not mean that the state compulsory education machinery is not involved. It is that machinery that draws the students to school and provides any audience at all for the religious activities, whether or not the school day has "officially" begun.

On May 17, 1982, President Reagan formally proposed a constitutional amendment to permit organized prayer in public schools. The President's proposed amendment states:

Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit individual or group prayer in public schools or other public institutions. No person shall be required by the United States or by any state to participate in prayer.

In his message to Congress, Mr. Reagan said that the amendment would "restore the simple freedom of our citizens to offer prayer in public schools and institutions." As might be expected, the proposed amendment was warmly

* (continued from previous page)

you do the same. And you do this not because you want to, but because you do not want to make a spectacle of yourself. What eight year old is going to raise his or her hand and say to the teacher, 'I have a constitutional right to be excused and I would like at this moment to do so'?" And conservative James J. Kilpatrick, in a column entitled "Oh, For God's Sake, Shut Up!", wrote: "The trouble is, as I see it, that the Supreme Court was exactly right in prohibiting the official prayer prescribed by the New York Regents in the Engel case. The Court was right again in banning the Bible readings that Pennsylvania required in Abington Township v. Schempp. The state simply has no business in the religion business. It is irrelevant that sessions of the Senate and House are opened with prayers. What does that have to do with the issue at hand? We are talking about state-sanctioned prayer in public schools where attendance is compulsory. It is pure sham to contend that in such circumstances 'prayer and meditation' can be made 'voluntary.' Only the boldest children, willing to make themselves conspicuous, will walk out."

endorsed by Rev. Jerry Falwell and other leaders of the religious "New Right," as well as by many political conservatives. On the other hand, it was sharply denounced by numerous organizations and individuals, liberal and otherwise, including the National Council of the Churches of Christ, the Synagogue Council of America, the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs and the American Civil Liberties Union. As of this writing, a major battle is shaping up on this issue.

Attempts to Limit Federal Court Jurisdiction over School Prayer Cases

Ever since Chief Justice Marshall's famous decision in Marbury v. Madison in 1803, the Supreme Court has been acknowledged as the ultimate judge of how the Constitution is to be interpreted. President Reagan's proposed Constitutional Amendment is not the first effort to get around the Supreme Court's school prayer decisions. In 1971, the American Jewish Committee urged the defeat of another proposed Constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court's prayer decisions as "at best superfluous and at worst an invitation to religious conflict, bitterness and recrimination." Because such proposed amendments have consistently failed to win the necessary backing of two-thirds of the House and the Senate, the religious "New Right" has launched a drive to accomplish its goal another way--by seeking legislation to curtail the power of the Federal courts to rule on school-prayer cases originating in the states.

This move threatens to upset the delicate balance of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government set forth in the Constitution -- a balance which has been the cornerstone of this country's political system almost from its beginnings as a nation.

While Congress does have the power under Article III of the Constitution to make exceptions to the Supreme Court's appellate jurisdiction, this authority has traditionally been interpreted very narrowly. As many Constitutional scholars, both liberal and conservative, have testified, the proposed legislation would exceed the power of Congress by undercutting other provisions of the Constitution and supplanting the Supreme Court as the final arbiter of the Constitution.

The current effort to bypass an amendment to the Constitution also intrudes upon the role of the states as co-participants in the amendment process which is such a vital part of that document. If the jurisdiction of the Federal courts over this class of Constitutional claims were restricted as proposed, state courts would have the final say in all such cases. While such measures may appear to give the states more power than they presently enjoy, there could be as many as 50 divergent interpretations of the religion clauses of the First Amendment. The sponsors of the bills obviously feel, with good reason, that many state courts will enforce Constitutional rights with less vigor and effectiveness than their Federal counterparts. The U.S. Supreme Court as well as the Federal lower courts generally have traditionally been more receptive to claims of Constitutional rights than have state courts, and also more effective in implementing those rights. Most state judges, unlike their colleagues on the Federal bench, are elected to office. They are less free from political pressures, and they do not have the security of life tenure. They are therefore far more vulnerable

to the public mood. The First Amendment, it must be stressed, is, first and foremost, a safeguard for the minority against the "tyranny of the majority."

If Congress were to enact a law barring the Supreme Court or other Federal courts from reviewing cases involving school prayer, -- the Voluntary School Prayer Act of 1981, for example -- no provision in the Bill of Rights would ever be truly secure again. For at any time that a decision of the Supreme Court or a lower Federal court seriously offended a majority of both Houses, the jurisdiction of the Federal courts to hear the issue would be eliminated. These fears have been expressed in testimony not only by the American Jewish Committee and other Jewish organizations, but also by the American Bar Association, eminent constitutional scholars, and religious leaders of virtually every major Christian denomination, including Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, Baptist, United Church of Christ and Lutheran. Judge Robert Bork, for example, a staunch conservative who served as Solicitor General of the United States under Presidents Nixon and Ford, and who was appointed by President Reagan to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, warns that Congressional restrictions on court jurisdiction represent "a cure that may set a precedent more damaging. . . than wrong Supreme Court decisions."

"Scientific Creationism"

Another effort to involve the public schools in the teaching of religious doctrine is the powerful drive to compel the teaching of "scientific creationism" in public schools and to discredit the theory of evolution. In 1968, in the case of Epperson v. Arkansas, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that a statute which made it unlawful to teach the theory of evolution in public schools violated the Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses of the First Amendment. "Scientific creationism" is an attempt to cloak fundamentalist religion in the language of science. Public-school systems are being pressured to revise biology curricula to promote the Biblical account of creationism as an explanation for the origin of life and of the universe.

In the past few years, bills requiring public schools to offer material that supports the story of creation as depicted in Genesis have been introduced in at least 18 states. Thus far, only two such bills, in Arkansas and Louisiana, have been signed into law. In several other states, however, including Texas and Iowa, evolution may now be taught only as a theory, and teachers must present other theories, such as creationism, as possibly just as valid.

The "scientific creationism" movement is led by three groups: the Creation Research Society of Ann Arbor, Michigan; the Creation Science Research Center and the Institution for Creation Research; both of San Diego. These groups, which publish and market numerous books, pamphlets and audio-visual materials, all subscribe to the following statement of belief:

The Bible is the written word of God, and because it is inspired throughout, all its assertions are historically and scientifically true. . . this means that the account of origins in Genesis is a factual presentation of simple historical truths.

The two pivotal points of conflict between the creationists and the evolutionists concern the beginnings of mankind and the age of the earth. To the creationists, any theory that man evolved from lower forms of life is anathema, because of the Biblical account of God's special creation of Adam and Eve. They believe that all basic plants and animals were created directly by God during the single week of creation, as revealed in Genesis. And while evolutionists cite scientific evidence that the earth is several billion years old, creationists place the earth's age at about 10,000 years.

While scientists overwhelmingly believe that evolution is the very foundation of the biological sciences, the creationists believe that the world and the human race were created out of nothing (ex nihilo) by act of God. And though they no longer insist that any mention of evolution be prohibited in public school classrooms, they demand that school boards be forced to give "scientific creationism" equal standing with evolution theory in science classes.

The attack on evolution, coupled with the drive to restore organized prayer in public schools, is part of a much broader attack by the religious "New Right" on what they call "the religion of secular humanism." They view the teaching of evolution, at bottom, as an attempt to undermine the Bible and traditional religious belief and value systems.

Of course, any scientific theory should be subjected to critical scrutiny, with evidence for or against adduced, examined and either accepted or rejected. But "scientific creationism," as perceived by its proponents, is not really a theory, but an article of faith. While those who presently accept evolution are free to change their minds if new scientific evidence were uncovered, the creationists cannot consider any evidence that casts doubt on their beliefs since to do so would be to reject what they consider the word of God.

As noted earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court in McCullum v. Board of Education outlawed religious teaching in public schools. Despite the effort to cloak "scientific creationism" in scientific garb, there can be no serious question that it is a religious doctrine, and that teaching it in public schools violates the Constitutional separation of church and state. In 1971, in Lemon v. Kurtzman, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that for a statute to pass Constitutional muster under the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment, it must meet three tests: it must have a secular purpose; its primary effect must neither advance nor inhibit religion; and it must not foster excessive government entanglement with religion. Bills requiring the teaching of "scientific creationism" in public schools fail all three tests.

The Arkansas "balanced treatment" law was struck down by a U.S. District Court on January 5, 1982, in the case of McLean v. Arkansas, and the State Attorney General concluded that it would be fruitless to appeal the decision.* Judge

* The American Jewish Committee was one of 23 organizational and individual co-plaintiffs in this suit, which included, among others, the Episcopal, Methodist and Roman Catholic bishops of the State of Arkansas, as well as the American Civil Liberties Union, the Arkansas Educational Association and the National Association of Biology teachers.

William Overton ruled that "creation science," as defined in the statute, was religion masquerading as science, and that, as an advancement of religion, it was barred by the First Amendment from being taught in public schools. The Arkansas statute, Judge Overton declared, "was simply and purely an effort to introduce the Biblical version of creation into the public school curricula."

Conclusion

The opening paragraphs of this paper briefly summarized the rationale for the campaign to restore religion in our public schools. There is, of course, much more to be said. This country is experiencing a powerful religio-cultural backlash against what is perceived as the excesses of liberalism and secular humanism. The traditional and cherished American and Christian values seem to be threatened by developments in our society that many people find acutely distasteful. The list of irritants is virtually inexhaustible: the epidemic of violent crime, the growth of the drug culture, the emergence of a militant feminist movement, the rising tide of divorce, the soaring rate of teenage pregnancy, the demand for abortion at will, the growth of "gay liberation," the decline of public patriotism, inflation, high taxes, corruption and many other political, social and economic problems.

The more one contemplates this list of dissatisfactions, the clearer it becomes that the public schools of America, hard pressed to provide their young charges with the basic skills essential to economic and social survival in our complex society, cannot be expected also to cope with all of that society's ills. Yet that is precisely the demand that many Americans are making.

This is not to say that it is not the job of our schools to inculcate in our children the values of our American tradition and culture. But for reasons of law and national harmony, those lessons, in the public-school classroom, may not be couched in religious terms.

Religious teaching belongs in the home, the church, the synagogue and the parochial school, but not in the public school. What does belong in the public school is the teaching of common core values which are broadly shared by religious believers of all denominations and of secular humanists as well. Lessons that explain the origin and meaning of religious freedom make it clear that Americans include people of many religious faiths or none, and stress that it is the genius of American democracy to welcome and respect religious diversity. An understanding of the impact of religion on our civilization is also intrinsic to a well rounded education; indeed, it would be impossible to teach adequately about the Crusades, the Inquisition, the Reformation, and the colonization of America, as well as the Second World War and the Holocaust, without underscoring the religious factors involved in these events. Nor should the Bible be omitted from courses in literature or the religious influences which illuminate the study of art or music be ignored.

Consider, for example, the values that the Maryland State Values Commission has suggested the public schools foster:

Character Values

1. Personal integrity and honesty rooted in respect for the truth, intellectual curiosity, and love of learning.
2. A sense of duty to self, family, school and community.
3. Self-esteem rooted in the recognition of one's potential.
4. Respect for the rights of all persons regardless of their race, religion, sex, age, physical condition, or mental state.
5. A recognition of the right of others to hold and express differing views, combined with the capacity to make discriminating judgments among competing opinions.
6. A sense of justice, rectitude, fair play and a commitment to them.
7. A disposition of understanding, sympathy, concern, and compassion for others.
8. A sense of discipline and pride in one's work; respect for the achievements of others.
9. Respect for one's property and the property of others, including public property.
10. Courage to express one's convictions.

Citizenship Values

1. Patriotism; love, respect, and loyalty to the United States of America, and the willingness to correct its imperfections by legal means.
2. An understanding of the rights and obligations of a citizen in a democratic society.
3. An understanding of other societies in the world which do not enjoy the rights and privileges of a democratic government.
4. Respect for the U.S. Constitution, the rule of law, and the right of every citizen to enjoy equality under the law. An understanding of the Bill of Rights and a recognition that all rights are limited by other rights and by obligations.

5. Respect for legitimate authority at the local, state and federal level.
6. Allegiance to the concept of democratic government as opposed to totalitarian rule. A recognition that such government is limited by the separation of powers and by the countervailing role of other institutions in a pluralistic society -- principally the family, religion, the school and the private sector of the economy.
7. Recognition of the need for an independent court system to protect the rights of all citizens.
8. An acceptance of all citizenship responsibilities at the local, state, and national levels and a commitment to preserve and defend the United States and its democratic institutions.

In sum, it is indeed the task of the public schools to reflect and help inculcate the highest moral and ethical values of our society, and to develop character and responsible citizenship.* Young Americans must be taught to respect others and to judge all people according to their individual merits. While certain moral and ethical values are central to all religions, these values do not have their sole sanction in religion. Moreover, while many people hold that the values which guide human conduct stem from the great religions, other believe that these values derive chiefly from human experience. It is therefore important for public schools to make clear that Americans who are not religiously affiliated are not morally suspect.

What is most significant is the broad consensus that exists in our country around a common core of shared values -- values that can be articulated throughout the public-school curriculum, but that are best taught by adult example and the day-to-day behavior of parents, religious leaders, school principals, teachers and all the other role models that children look to for lessons in what is important.

* AJC is now working with the Constitutional Rights Foundation, the American Bar Association and others to promote effective citizenship education programs in public schools. These programs are designed to help teachers help their pupils to appreciate the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democratic society.

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