

CD-1047 Transcription

70th Annual Hadassah Convention address regarding Jewish-Christian relations. 29 September 1984.

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The following was recorded at the Hadassah 70<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention, held September 26<sup>th</sup> through 29<sup>th</sup>, 1984 in San Francisco.

Rose Matzkin:

It is nine o'clock. This is the last formal session before the luncheon, and really almost the closing session of this convention, and I think it is particularly fitting that we close with a problem, and one with which we hope to have some solutions. I'm going to introduce the dais to you in just a moment, after I kill about another minute because this is almost the last time that [Frida?] will be here as the president. Our president-elect is sitting in the front row. I know you would want to show her -- show her your appreciation for the fact that she's here and on time. (applause) [01:00] And now let me introduce those who are on the dais. I think we're setting another record here this morning. This is probably the smallest dais at this convention. (applause) And if Hadassah is not going to be known for anything else, and of course it will be, it will

be known as the organization with the longest, and most beautiful daises in the organized world. (applause)

Occasionally, those daises are brightened by handsome males, and I want also to pay tribute to the gentlemen who are in the audience because they're not used to this late night business, and all the partying, and I appreciate the fact that so many of them are here. To my right is Carmela Kalmanson, newly elected national vice president and Zionist affairs chairman for Hadassah. (applause) [02:00] I am not going to introduce the gentleman at this moment. All of you know that he's Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, but I will give him a more formal introduction in a moment. To my left is Barbara Goldstein, national chairman of Jewish Education. Barbara. (applause) And Eleanor Barrett, who is the National American Affairs Committee chairman. I am Rose [Matzkin?], your chairman for this morning. (applause) You can do better than that.

This is called "An Interfaith Dialogue," and it might seem almost a peculiar title since we are talking to ourselves. I don't think there's any interfaith here because I refuse to believe that Reform, Conservatives, and Reconstructionism, and Orthodox are different faiths. They are all facets of one. [03:00] (applause)

And since we did have a very full and interesting lecture on the ethos and the beliefs and the habits of the Muslim world, nevertheless, I don't think anybody here is part of the Muslim faith, so that our interfaith dialogue usually concerns itself

with Christianity, one of the great religions of the world, and one with which we are all too familiar, although many of us coming from big cities, where there are large Jewish populations, can go through life almost untouched by the non-Jewish world outside. Those of us who live in smaller communities very often do not socialize with non-Jews, and therefore, are in need of knowing why and how, and interfaith dialogue is, [04:00] and can be, and should be of the utmost importance to us since we live in an age where such dialogue is possible.

A wise man said once that destiny aids and helps along those who recognize her. The blind, she drags. We have recognized destiny, and we know that we are living in a time and during, and in a place, during a time and in a place when the opportunities for solving some of the problems which religion in its worst form has exacerbated through the ages. There was a time when Jews dared hardly address a non-Jew. Certainly, had nothing to do with him face-to-face, and lived in as narrow and bigoted a world -- if I'm stealing anything from you, Rabbi, stop me -- but it is possible to imagine. (laughter)

[05:00] The Jewish problem, as all of us are only too well aware, is really a Christian problem. We don't have problems with our Jewishness. The very fact that all of you are at this convention, and think of the subjects which we have covered in this decade of days is really a remarkable manifestation of the fact that we recognize that destiny has made it possible for us to be here, to

recognize, and to grapple with the problems which face us. For a few minutes yesterday, I watched television, and I listened to Jerry Falwell, and I listened to Father Drinan. Two extremes who were discussing the problems of schools, of release time, of the various candidates about whom [06:00] we do not speak in terms of those for whom we are in favor, and of those for whom we will not vote. But it is interesting to observe that both of them in their attack on Louis Farrakhan, and in their attack on certain ideas and [ideas?] which are being promulgated made the Middle East and the Jewish citizenry of the United States their principal subjects in the discussion. We are a small people, which has had such an enormous, tremendous impact upon the history of the world, that sometimes each one of us must wonder, why, since we are such a great people who have given the theory, the belief, the faith in the one God to the world, which has seen it adopted by other religions, should nevertheless be the target [07:00] of so much that has been evil, even in the most exquisite of religious tenets and beliefs.

It is therefore, I think, a very fitting last session at this convention that we should have with us one who has been in the forefront of this interfaith dialogue, and Christian-Jewish relations. The name of Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum is known to all of you. I told him that I am not given to long and wholesome introductions, and he said he would prefer to have the time for his own speaking, and for the questions which will follow.

However, I once did one of the most popular things of my public

career. I eliminated my own speech, and my own introduction of the speaker from a program [08:00] in Washington many years ago. It was so well received that I have never, ever done anything like that again. (laughter)

And so I will not skip just the few things I want to say about Rabbi Tanenbaum. He is the director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee, and has a long and distinguished career in international human rights, world refugee problems, world hunger problems, and foreign relations concerns. He was formerly the National Interreligious Affairs director, and was designated in a recent, national poll as one of the 10 most influential and respected religious leaders in America. A cover story in *New York* magazine has described Dr. Tanenbaum as the foremost Jewish ecumenical leader in the world today. (applause)

[09:00] Dr. Tanenbaum was invited by President Jimmy Carter as the American Jewish leader among 10 national religious and academic spokesmen to discuss the state of the nation at Camp David summit meetings in 1979, and he is a member of the advisory committee of the President's Commission on the Holocaust. Dr. Tanenbaum is a founder and leading member of the Joint Liaison Committee of the Vatican Secretariat on Catholic-Jewish Relations, and the International Jewish Committee for Inter-Religious Consultations, and a similar body in the World Council of Churches. He served as consultant to the NBC TV nine-hour special *Holocaust*, and earlier was consultant to the special *Jesus of Nazareth*. He has lectured at major universities, [10:00]

seminaries, religious and educational bodies in the United States, Europe, and Israel, and at numerous national, and international conferences. He's the author or editor of several published books, and of numerous articles, and despite all of this, Rabbi, I think I am safe in saying that nowhere will you have found a more interested, a more informed, or an audience more eager to hear what you have to tell us. Rabbi. (applause)

**Marc Tanenbaum:**

[11:00] If that was the walkie-talkie of a physician, it may be very reassuring to know that there is a doctor in the house. That was one of the most spectacular introductions, setting the stage for a discussion, and one of the most graceful, sophisticated formulations of the issues that I've heard on any platform, and I want to tell Ms. Matzkin how much I not only appreciate that, but how much I deeply needed that kind of confirmation which she just gave to me. (laughter, applause)

I've literally come here just after a few days of [12:00] having spent two growing weeks in travel in South America, in Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, where I had the privilege of meeting this past week with President Alfonsín, the new hope of democratic reform in Latin America, and with his foreign minister, Dante Caputo, with whom it is critical to discuss the role of Latin American countries, particularly Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and others, in the United Nations in a major effort we have undertaken to begin to mobilize nations around the world to give

up their obscene doubts, when Israel and Jews are being attacked in the most anti-Semitic ways, and anti-Israel ways at the United Nations. But my point in telling you that [13:00] going through schedules which have involved starting off with breakfast meetings at eight o'clock in the morning, and some strange travel custom of starting dinner in Latin America at ten o'clock at night, it does something to your *kishkes*. (laughter) So, I need all the consolation I can get, and reinforcement, and I feel that this whole setting of being at home in this great *mishpaka* of Hadassah gives me that kind of *neshama yetera* that [next?] to the soul which I so desperately need.

Ms. Matzkin, I think, quite rightly confined herself to the subject at issue, and didn't want to waste much time, nor do I. But I cannot begin this presentation to you this morning without acknowledging the profound sense of appreciation [14:00] that I have had throughout my entire life for the role, the model, the inspiration, the dedication that Hadassah has given to the Jewish people, to Israel, to Soviet Jewry, and Jews throughout the world, and I've come here really to say thank you for all the extraordinarily contributions you've made to Jewish life. I'm a native of Baltimore, Maryland, and so my bonds go back at least to Henrietta Szold who I didn't know, but whom I knew as a legend in Baltimore. And beyond that, one of your former presidents bears my *mishpaka*, named Bernice Tanenbaum. And I have had the privilege of being associated, not as closely, often as I would've liked to, but frequently enough to know the

extraordinarily leadership that Charlotte Jacobson has given in the president's conference of the World Zionist Organization, and she is really responsible for my being here [15:00] today, and I am indebted to her for the privilege of that invitation.

When I was a child growing up in an Orthodox Jewish home in Baltimore, we used to sit around in the *Shabbos* afternoon at home, and I recall once, on a Saturday afternoon of sitting with my mother and father, and we began talking about Jewish (inaudible), Jewish soul, Jewish psyche, Jewish humor, and I recall turning to my mother, [*elayah?*] *shalom*, and asking her, "What's Jewish humor? What is so distinctive about Jewish humor? Tell me what a Jewish joke is?" And my mother turned [16:00] to me in her rather wry way, and she said, "Well, my son, I'll tell you what a Jewish pleasure is. A Jewish pleasure is a cool, young kipper." (laughter) And that's the sense which I should like to suggest represents the realistic grasp of the importance of the issue that we are now about to examine together, a grasp that does not swing between fantasy, illusion, pessimism, or utopia at the other end, [17:00] but an effort to come to terms with a profound human, social, political reality which Jews cannot afford to understand with precision and (inaudible).

Let me begin at the outset with something that Rose Matzkin suggested to you today. If we begin looking at the issue of Jewish-Christian relationships from a traditional way of looking at it, we will assure ourselves that we will not leave this room

with anymore insight or information than we came into it. Namely, if we begin looking at the question of our relationships with the Christian world, and say, these Christians think, these Christians believe, these Christians do, we will be faulty of -- we will [18:00] be guilty of the same genetic fallacy, as philosophers would call it, as when Christians say, these Jews, these Jews own all the banks, these Jews do this, these Jews killed Christ. It begins with those kinds of sweeping generalizations. And so the first point of departure, if we come away with nothing else, is to begin to understand the complexity and the diversity of the world which we talk about when we talk about our relationships with the Christian world in the Jewish-Christian dialogue, and Jewish-Christian network.

So, let me just take a few moments to do the topography, the lay of the land, what we're talking about. In the United States alone, in terms of the diversity of the Christian world, there are an estimated 50 million Roman Catholics in this country. And interestingly, the greatest concentration of Jewish [19:00] population in the United States, in major urban, industrial centers, inside those are the major concentrations of Roman Catholics in the United States. So that in many communities in our major urban centers, when one talks about Jewish-Christian relationships, one is talking very heavily about Catholic-Jewish relationships.

Then there are the mainline liberal Protestants in this country, of whom there are an estimated some 45 to 50 million as well. Most of the major Protestant denominations, the Baptists, the Lutherans, the Episcopalians, the American Baptists, are affiliated with the National Council of Churches, about which I will have something to say in a few moments.

Beyond that, there's some six million Greek Orthodox in the United States, who, somewhat like the Jews, while small in numbers, are fiscally and politically potent. And we have begun a relationship that I would refer to a little bit along the way because they have very serious implications for relationships in the Middle East, for Israel and her Arab [20:00] neighbors.

And finally, there is the group of Christians with whom we began the most recent set of relationships, beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the evangelical Christians in the United States, and they number today something like 50 million people in this country. They are the fastest-growing churches in the United States. While liberal Protestants have gone through a period of significant decline, loss of membership, loss of income from their members, the evangelical Christians, who are, as we know, heavily conversionary, missionary, enterprising, proselytizing, are growing faster than any other Christian body in this country. It is no accident that Dr. Billy Graham, who I'm going to say something about in a few moments, who happens to be a very deep friend of the Jewish people, and of Israel, and for the Jews, and

of the cause of standing against anti-Semitism, which I will come to in a few moments. [21:00] Evangelical Christians are believed to convert every Sunday morning an average of 8,000 Americans to the Southern Baptist churches alone. In fact, one of my friends in the Southern Baptist Convention said to me, "You know, sometimes I think we have more Baptists than we have people."  
(laughter)

Now, in that diversity, it is also important to keep in mind that there are other kinds of cross-cutting influences in understanding what is going on in each of those major religious communities. There are, first of all, in every community, Roman Catholic, mainline Protestant, evangelical Christian, even Greek Orthodox. A broad diversity of ideological and political views from liberals and conservative. Even from radical to radical right, and therefore, as one approaches each of those communities, one must do so with some careful analysis of (inaudible) [22:00] to those communities one is relating to. Liberal Protestants, conservative Protestants, liberal Catholics, traditional Catholics, and what are their agenda as they impact on Jews, and on America.

First principal then is that of the diversity and the pluralism in each of those communities. The second major principal, which is an operating principal, in terms of how we relate to these communities in terms of our agenda is that we ought not get ourselves into the bind, which I believe some of us do, even our

leadership from time to time, that somehow we are involved in a kind of either major romance, (inaudible) the Christian community, and a total love affair with total commitment on everything? I'm about to get to (inaudible). Which relationship? Total marriage or divorce? I think that has to do, not only in terms of [23:00] the Christian world, it has to do with ethnics, it has to do with race, it has to do with our own personal lives. I want to establish simply and quickly, there is a very deep literature in social science which deals with the way in which Americans realize their purposes in American life, and it is summarizing the term "selective participation." In the diversity of American life, no single American realizes all of his or her purposes in any one institution anymore. There was a time in the early history of America where Christians, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony of the seventeenth century, and later, realized all of their life purposes in the life of the church, and Roman Catholics did so as well. Jews did so as well in the synagogue. You went to the synagogue. It was the *Beit Knesses*. It was a place for *tefilla*. It was a place you went to study, to learn. Your whole social life was there. In the diversity of America, and the pluralism of America, the segmentation of our lives, which has raised all kinds of problems, we realized different purposes [24:00] and relationships to different institutions, so that some people join the rotary club, and some joined the lions, and some joined the Masons, and some joined the Chamber of Commerce. In each way, we're realizing some other aspect of their life's needs.

Probably the only organization that defies that is Hadassah, and Hadassah, (inaudible) *ve'hakol [bar?]* get involved in that, and everything is in there. And I see that, in some dedication which is magnificent to see. It is a traditional form of commitment, but in much of the segmented life of America, that is selective participation, and what I want to suggest as a matter of policy and approach, at least one which I follow, is that in every relationship to every community, one deals selectively with Roman Catholics. There are certain things that one can do with Roman Catholics in terms of coalition, and joint relationship. There are things where we're certainly not going to have that kind of relationship. Thus, for example, every community has its own agenda. [25:00] The Jews sometimes become defensive. They say that Christians, and those who are not exactly friendly to us, or people in the society generally, all Jews care about are Jewish issues. All they care about is Israel, Soviet Jewry, anti-Semitism. They don't care about anybody else, or anything else. In some cases that may be to an extremist. But let me tell you something, it is a kind of dirty, ugly secret of America, the Roman Catholics have a Catholic agenda, and don't feel ashamed about it. It is abortion, it is aid to parochial schools, it is some aspects of church-state relationships, there is a Catholic agenda, in which Catholics come to their dialogue table. Mainline Protestants who think of themselves as universalists, they have a mainline Protestant agenda, and a mainline Protestant agenda primarily has to do with race relations, because the problem of

black-white relationships is essentially taking place in the mainline Protestant community, because of the 23 million blacks in the United States, 17 million of them are Protestants, and they have been working out the [26:00] problems of race relations in the mainline Protestant denomination, and Protestants come to the table with the issue of race relations, which is one of their agenda items. They also come with other third world issues. Their relationships with South Africa, Africa, Asia, etc. That, while it sounds universalist, it is a very particular Protestant agenda. And the evangelicals have an agenda of their own too. The evangelical agenda is to try to save America by prayers in the public schools, free access for religious classes, and proselytizing, that's what that's about, in the public school system. And then other issues, abortion, anti-ERA, those kinds of questions. And Jews come to the table, legitimately and unashamedly, with a Jewish agenda of a concern for the fate and welfare of three million of our brothers and sisters of Israel, three million Jews in the Soviet Union who are suffering oppression and harassment, as no other community in the Soviet Union, plus the problems of anti-Semitism, which we face in new forms now, with anti-Zionism, [27:00] with the PLO, and the Soviet Union, and the United Nations. But having said that, coming clearly with that awareness that every group in the pluralism of America comes without an agenda, at the same time has a responsibility for the common welfare, which is what pluralism ultimately is about, as I shall come to at the end of my remarks.

Let's take a look now at our agenda, and its relationship with the Christian world. These items on the Jewish agenda are Israel, the support and welfare of Israel, the support and welfare of 3 million Jewish men, women, and children in the Soviet Union, and their human rights, and their right to leave, and the problems of anti-Semitism in the United States, Western Europe, Latin America, and elsewhere. How are we fairing in relationship to the Christian world today?

Next year, October 1985, to be exact, will mark the twentieth anniversary [28:00] of the adoption by Vatican Council II of the Vatican declaration, (inaudible), Latin for "in our time," as the words begin of the declaration. It is the Vatican Declaration on Catholic-Jewish Relations. I know something about that declaration. I spent a good part of three years of my life in Rome, with one of my colleagues, Zachariah [Shuster?], battling against some of the most reactionary elements in the Catholic Church, and a coalition of Arabs and Muslims who tried to destroy that declaration. That declaration was promulgated after three years of intensive debate, and as Ms. Matzkin rightly said, quite remarkably, one of the central issues of the Vatican Council, 2,500 cardinals, bishops, archbishops, from all over the world, were [set?] up together in Rome to deal with the problems of the world, and one of the central major issues is the question of the relationship [29:00] of the Catholic Church to the Jewish people, and for good reason.

That Vatican declaration was, I can tell you from my own personal experience and observation, the greatest course in Catholic-Jewish relations in the history of anti-Semitism in 1,900 years of Christian history. To sit in some (inaudible) basilica, and see cardinals, and bishops, and archbishops, and experts from all over the world, Asia, Africa, Latin America, Western Europe, even Eastern European countries, sitting and hearing experts talk about Hadassah, 1,900 years of anti-Semitism in which the Christian world played such a central role in the teaching of contempt, and as the late blessed Pope John XXIII declared, [30:00] "It is no longer permissible for the Catholic Church to regard itself as a church which preaches the gospel of love, and in fact, become the gospel of hatred to the people for which the church owns everything." And Pope John XXIII used to say to us, "We owe everything to you. Jesus was Jewish. The Virgin Mary was Jewish. The disciples were Jewish. The Bible is your book. Even the New Testament. Only two books of the New Testament was not written by Jews. Everything belonged to the Jews. The vision of God. The vision of the dignity of man. The vision of social responsibility and social justice. And we're not doing this as a favor to you. We're doing it for our own self-purification." And they carried out that process, the beginning of that process, of self purification, and the Vatican Council declaration was promulgated on October the 20<sup>th</sup>, 1965. Pope Paul VI, for the entire Catholic world, 800 million Roman Catholics [31:00] around the world were given a new set of marching orders, the first time

in 1,900 years of history that the entire Roman Catholic Church faced frontally the question of Christian responsibility for the Christ killer charge, for the nursing of the wandering Jews that (inaudible) to the end of time as punishment by God because they did not accept Jesus as the Messiah, and all of those other lovely teachings of love. And the Vatican Council, my friends, I can tell you as a result of that proclamation, as a result of the fact that in 1974, after we had set up a joint commission with the Vatican, issued a set of guidelines which became specific instructions, in *mamaloshen*. "It's not enough general principals that this church affirms its common patrimony with the Jewish people to whom we owe so much. It must have (inaudible)." And this is what we put to the Vatican. These general principals are fine, but our Vatican declaration [32:00] will end up as one of 12 million books in the Vatican library, unless it becomes real. And specific instructions were given to the Vatican guidelines: change textbooks, remove the Christ killer charge, tell the truth about the Jews as they are, as a living people today, not as some footstool who ought to be removed from history with the coming of Christianity. And over the period of the past 20 years, I can tell you as a result of work that we and others have done in relationship to the Catholic Church, we have made greater progress in overcoming anti-Semitism, negative images toward Jews, Judaism, an understanding of the Holocaust, the beginning of an understanding of a profound moral, spiritual, and historic bonds between Jews and Israel, greater progress and understanding of those fundamental issues between the Roman Catholic Church, or

the Jewish people during the past few decades, than at any time in the past 1,900 years, and that is no exaggeration.

I have a woman who works for us in our office, [33:00] who does nothing but read Catholic textbooks at their request of their publishers, to make sure that they say nothing that is unacceptable to the Jews. Today, I can tell you that if you go into any Catholic parochial school in this city, in the United States, you will not find a single Catholic textbook used in elementary schools, and secondary schools, which have a single anti-Semitic reference anymore, and you compare that to -- (applause) And you compare that to the Baltimore Catechism of 1937, (inaudible) the Baltimore Catechism, which was the basic textbook for raising a whole generation of Catholics, begins, tell why the Jews were rejected by God? Why did the Jews suffer so much? Why did they bring so much -- and children were raised on that. So, you see the demonology. What has now begun to take place is nothing less than a revolution, which one of my friends, a Catholic priest [34:00] at Rome, the president of a pontifical university, who came in to see me again just several weeks ago, said, "Vatican Council II has become a revolution in mutual esteem."

To give you some sense of what that means, and why it is of significance to us today. A survey was recently done by a prominent official of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States who has one job. He was set up after Vatican Council II, after

Father Flannery held the position, to do nothing but to devote himself to moving in the Catholic churches on every level, clergy, (inaudible) nuns, adults, youth, to face the sources of anti-Jewish attitudes, and to teach the new teachings of a theology of Judaism that appreciates Judaism in its own terms, not as candidates for conversion. And a survey was done by the National Association of Diocese and Ecumenical Officers, of all of the ecumenical officers in the Catholic Church around the country, including [35:00] this city, asking them how they respond to these new teachings of the Church, which came out of Vatican Council II, and have since been developed. And they found these questions: Do you believe that Judaism still plays a unique role in God's plan of salvation? Ninety-two percent of the ecumenical officers in every community in the United States said yes. They were asked, do you believe that the Jewish covenant of God has never been revoked by God? The Jews remain the people of God? Eighty-five percent of them said yes. Some had difficulty with two covenant theories of theological subtlety. And Dr. Eugene Fischer, who made the survey public, said, "If you had taken that survey 20 years ago, it would've been exactly the reverse." Exactly the opposite in much of the Catholic community today.

[36:00] I was just in Brazil, as I mentioned to you. Brazil is 93% Roman Catholic. No government in Brazil can last unless it has a positive relationship with the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. In every city I went

to, I met with the cardinal, in Rio De Janeiro, Cardinal Sales. I was greeted with a kind of reception that was almost embarrassing. At one point, he almost referred to me as Bishop Tanenbaum. I said, I'm -- (laughter) I turned to him, I said, "I'm not settling for anything less than a cardinal, and I brought my red yarmulke with me." (laughter) We ended up resolving that by saying that the reason I never became the bishop is because I was not unfrocked, I was just unsuited. (laughter) The National Conference of Catholic Bishops of Brazil adopted a long statement; I won't read all of it. [37:00] In this overwhelmingly Catholic country, saying the following, "It is the official teaching of the Catholics of Brazil, after 20 centuries of coexistence which were given a particular hallmark by the events in Europe which preceded and accompanied the Second World War, a new awareness of the origins and history of both Judaism and Christianity, demonstrates the need for reconciliation between Jews and Christians. This reconciliation must take the form of dialogue inspired by a healthy desire for knowledge of one another, together with mutual understanding. It is indispensable for dialogue that Catholics should strive to learn by what essential traits the Jews define themselves, that is to say, as a people clearly defined by religious and ethnic elements. The first constitutive element of the Jewish people is its religion, which in no way authorizes Catholics to envisage them as if they were simply one of the many religions of the world today. It was in fact through the Jewish people that faith in the one, true God, that is to say, monotheism has entered into

human history." And then has a section about acknowledging the deep bonds of relationship between the Jews [38:00] and the land of Israel.

This has happened now in every country in Europe. In West Germany. East Germany has yet to follow. France, Italy, Spain, throughout the whole of Europe, now every country in Latin America has adopted positions like this, of respect and indebtedness of Christians to Jews and Judaism. Some Jews say, so what. I'll tell you so what. Read the speech of Louis Farrakhan about the Jews no longer being the people of God, that the synagogue is a synagogue of Satan, that the State of Israel is a criminal act, the result of lying and cheating, and a kind of attention that gets to the point. It was not enough that the obscenity was once said. It has to be given the megaphone to the world of the National Press Club, with the president of the National Press Club, yeah, he would invite Adolf Hitler too, he said. That's something about the [39:00] moral sensibility of that world in which we live, and that is why (inaudible) today. The Catholic Church, and many liberal, Protestant people in the pews, and evangelical Christians who have this profound moral indebtedness to Jews and Judaism, who know that their identity as Christians based on the Bible, their indebtedness to Jews is profound and unchangeable, becomes all the more important in a world in which there are now forces, when a Farrakhan, who's not acting innocently out of theological speculation, but who comes to stand at the side of Jesse Jackson after having stood four

weeks before with Libya's Gaddafi, who we know has given him \$2.9 million for his propaganda in the United States. It is part of a mixing of religion and politics and ideology, that now the Arab world has begun to understand [40:00] that if they can use theological categories and frameworks to demoralize the Jews, delegitimize the Jewish people, delegitimize Judaism, and in the United Nations, delegitimize the State of Israel. And one of the ironies of our time, and it's difficult for us to understand this, at one time, Jews in the '40s and '50s had this utopic vision that the Marxist revolution was going to bring about the utopia, and the Jews became fellow travelers, and it was a classless society. There would be no distinction between men and women, Jews, Christians. That God has failed. But in those days, too, we believed that the Catholic Church was the worst enemy of the Jews, and for some, there are good reasons. Catholics, Lutherans, Germany, they helped set the stage for the Nazis in terms of their imagery, the demonology.

Today, the World Lutheran Federation has adopted a position after we met with them in Sweden in which they rejected all of the anti-Semitic teachings of Martin Luther, and said we must come to the Jewish people impenitence, asking forgiveness [41:00] for the hatred that we have caused against them, which has resulted in the destruction of so much of Jewish life. And what I'm saying now today, without wanting to overstate the reality, but our greatest allies in the world today, and standing against anti-Semitism in all of its forms, especially its most cruel and

illogical forms, the forms which the PLO and the Arab League and the Soviet Union are exploiting systematically, our people in the Catholic, and in the mainline Protestant communities, in the evangelical churches, and in some parts of the Greek Orthodox community today. And it is not a luxury for us to understand that world, and to relate to it. It is a matter of the most tough-nosed geopolitical response to what we're dealing with in this country.

I don't want to take much more time on the details. I don't overstate the problems that I've not dealt with in their fullness in the time we have together. [42:00] We have very real problems. There are issues in which I said before selectively we can join together with the Roman Catholics, and there is great friendship for Jews on the part of many Roman Catholics, especially ethnics, who understand the old world, Italians, and Irish, even some Germans, and Poles, with whom we built the Polish-Jewish coalition. We built coalitions with almost every ethnic group in the United States, including Hispanics now. To build that network of support, because the political support of America will depend on the public [support?] of the United States, and that must be continued to be strengthened. We have problems with the mainline Protestant groups. A leadership in the mainline Protestant group, which is third world-oriented, from the hills of the world of the Sandinistas, and Cuba, and somehow, when I found this past August, a year ago, when I was invited as the first Jewish speaker to address the World Council of Churches Assembly in

Vancouver, 4,000 people, all over the world, the Russian Orthodox delegation, [43:00] not incidentally honeycomb, with KGB agents. So, the long garbs, with men in grey suits following them around. They couldn't sit down to have lunch with anybody, including me, without a KGB agent present. But they began adopting resolutions. They attacked the United States on Central America. They attacked the United States on Granada. They attacked the United States for South Africa. And then some (inaudible) gets up from England, and says, "What about Afghanistan?" Don't rock the boat. "What about Poland?" Don't rock the boat.

In this sense, those who sit at these political conventions, that there are some liberals to whom Russia can do no wrong, and the United States can do no right is accurate. There are some people who don't understand the peril in which constitutional democracies, and human rights, and civil and political liberties are under threat all over the world, and the importance of defending the strength of this country, and the strength of Israel [44:00] as among the foremost allies who uphold these basic liberties, not only for ourselves, but for all people who yearn for freedom, and their human dignity, and their fundamental human rights. And yet, what is interesting for us is, we have found out is, in the pews, the (inaudible) dimension, the Presbyterians, Episcopalians, the Baptists, and the churches, from third world, and [causing?] geo-politics, who look out at Jews, who see what Jews have suffered at the hands of Christians, who know the meaning of anti-Semitism, who've seen what the Klan

has meant in this country, and what American Nazis do, and what the PLO tried to do. Our polls show that even after the worst features in Lebanon, after a month settled down, 67% of the American people, including the liberal Protestants, supported Israel's security, and Israel's welfare, and wanted the United States to continue its aid to Israel.

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