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# The American



## Jewish Committee

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

July 8, 1980

TO: Area Directors, CRCs and Federation Directors  
FROM: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum and Abraham Karlikow  
RE: The Vatican Declaration on Jerusalem

The Vatican has just made a major statement of its position regarding Jerusalem which it submitted to the UN Security Council for circulation as the Council was closing its recent debate on the Status of Jerusalem. That statement, published simultaneously in the June 30th issue of L'Osservatore Romano and issued to the press in New York, was clearly intended as a political document intended to stake out a primary role for the Vatican in the unfolding negotiations over Jerusalem.

There are a number of issues in this document that give reason for concern. We wish to alert you to these since they may arise in inter-religious or other discussions in which you participate with Catholic representatives. We do not recommend that you become involved, at this stage, in any action or programs involving this Vatican statement; and should any such action be proposed by others please check with us first. We do recommend that you report immediately to us any indications that Catholic or pro-Arab personalities or groups may be seeking to advance or promote those points in the Vatican statement that trouble us, described below.

That is not to preclude any broader discussions designed to increase Christian understanding of the deep historic and religious ties that bind the Jewish people and Judaism to a unified Jerusalem. In fact, where appropriate, we would encourage that such dialogues on Jerusalem be planned, and that evangelical and moderate Protestant leadership who are sympathetic to Israel's position be included.

The Vatican document recognizes that Jerusalem is "deeply united by nature." At the same time, however, it goes on to insist on Jerusalem's "religious plurality" as a basis for arguing that "all three religions"

(over)

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must be ensured "a level of parity" concretely, publicly and juridically.

In line with this, the Vatican calls for an appropriate juridical system to protect "the city" (our emphasis). This approach patently ignores the character of the modern urban municipality of Jerusalem. It represents a major shift in emphasis: for since the late 1950s the Vatican has given the impression--and in 1957, explicitly informed the AJC and others--that its concern was with the "Holy Places" and the parts of the city in which they are located, not the "city" as a whole. The Vatican further calls for a "special statute" to protect the city and connected rights that would be "guaranteed by a higher international body."

The Vatican resurrects the scheme of "internationalization." It does so in a historical vein in order to bolster its arguments for an internationally guaranteed juridical system. But it makes a point of stating that the UN position of 1948-50 dealing with "territorial internationalization" of Jerusalem and a corpus separatum ("separate body," such as a Vatican City) "does not appear at least as yet to have been formally revoked." While the Vatican does not explicitly advocate a return to the "corpus separatum" proposal in this document, it does suggest that it remains as a latent UN option, while favoring some form of "international statute" for the entire city. The Vatican appears to be directing its message "to require any power that comes to exercise sovereignty over the Holy Land to assume the obligation...to protect not only the special character of the City, but also the rights connected, on the basis of an appropriate juridical system guaranteed by a higher international body."

The document, while couched in terms of the "deep religious significance and spiritual values" of Jerusalem for Christians, Jews and Moslems, in fact clearly makes or implies several political statements in conjunction with the thrusts outlined above.

It argues that the situation of the different religious communities--that is, of the Christians and Moslems, since the situation of Jews differs substantially in today's context--"cannot fail to be a matter of concern for all." The three communities, then, "should be partners in deciding their own future," and, as pointed out previously, "on a basis of parity." One has here, then, a stand taken on behalf of the Moslems and, implicitly, of the Arabs of East Jerusalem as well as on behalf of Christians. It remains unclear as to what such partnership signifies--equal governance of Jerusalem, a Jewish-majority city in which Arabs are a minority? Or Arab governance of East Jerusalem alone?

It argues that Israel alone (Israel per se is not mentioned but clearly is meant) cannot provide the necessary guarantees re Jerusalem. For the appropriate "juridical safeguard," it says, cannot "derive from the will of only one of those parties interested." The responsibility for Jerusalem, it continues, "goes well beyond the states of the regions...surpass(es) the interests of any single state or bilateral agreements between one state and others." Thus, for the Vatican, even an agreement reached under the Camp David accords would not be enough.

It, in effect, challenges Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem more sharply than before. The "positions of the two sides on the question of sovereignty over Jerusalem are known to be very apart," the Vatican paper declares, thus, in effect, equalizing Israeli and Arab claims. It goes on to warn that "any unilateral act tending to modify the status of the Holy City would be very serious."

This paper, therefore, represents a Vatican move away from Camp David, a more pro-Arab position than indicated hitherto and a challenge and warning to Israel regarding exercise of sovereignty.

A last point. The Vatican on this occasion, as often before, purports to speak on Jerusalem, at least implicitly, for all Christians; and makes mention in this document of the presence in Jerusalem not only of Catholics but of the Greek Orthodox, the Armenian and the other eastern communities, as well as of Anglican groups and others springing from the Reformation. In fact--one should be very much aware--it is the other non-Catholic groups that hold or are responsible for well over 70% of the properties and areas held by Christian elements on which the holy places are located; and that other Christian groups have in the past, and may perhaps again on this occasion, resent the Vatican unilaterally presuming to represent their interests.

But the major thrust of the entire document is that it is not just these areas that are in question: that, according to the Vatican, "the Jerusalem question cannot be reduced to mere 'free access for all to the holy places'." The sense of this Vatican paper, of the Vatican's intervention at the UN with this document, is that it shall have its say on the disposition of Jerusalem as a whole.

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# Pope's Address on Terrorism

ROME (NC) — Here is an NC News translation of the Vatican text of Pope John Paul II's French-language message to participants in the conference of the Christian Democratic World Union, held Feb. 18-19 in Rome. The message was read at the meeting, which took place during the pope's trip to Africa.

Ladies and gentlemen,

My welcome goes out to all of you, members and representatives of the Christian Democratic World Union. You have political responsibilities in the governments and parliaments of your respective nations. In various ways, you represent your countries in international and continental councils. You all have undertaken and continue to participate in political activity within the framework of democracy, while taking your inspiration from Christian principles.

1. I must first of all tell you of my esteem and give you my encouragement for the responsibilities that you assume. Is not your task that of helping, at the juridical and political level, to build an order of justice among men and women within societies that have freely elected you for that end, or which you desire to serve for that end, as well as among states constituting the general community of nations. The two touchstones for the worthy exercise of power are: protection of the life of every citizen, of his dignity, of his inviolable rights; and the search after the common good of society.

Democracy requires that such power be exercised "with the moral participation of the society or the people" (cf. "Redemptor Hominis," no. 17), in the interests of the citizens as a whole and with respect for fundamental liberties. This likewise is at the basis of a Christian spirit, with deep concern for the common good and care to make good laws. These ought to aim at establishing more equitable relations among citizens, but also at encouraging human values and guaranteeing the ethical values of the moral order.

All this requires clear-sightedness, competence, honesty, disinterestedness and courage. It shows the greatness of your commitment.

2. But I will not go any further into that today, for I am thinking rather of the very topical theme being considered by the international conference that sees you gathered here: "Terrorism, political violence and the defense of democracy and human rights."

We feel the demand for such a responsibility as I have mentioned in a particularly acute way when we have to face the senseless phenomenon of terrorism within a state and beyond the frontiers of a state. Terrorism is the antithesis of everything that you try to promote as democrats and as Christians.

Terrorism is against law and reason. Terrorism seeks to cripple and destroy persons and society by means of acts which are fundamentally acts of violation: violation of human values guaranteed by the law as well as violation of human dignity and human life (cf. my discourse to the Union of Catholic Jurists, Dec. 6, 1980).

3. But, first of all, what is it that gives terrorism today its extent, its impact, its perilous and worrying character?

There is certainly no lack of analyses of the phenomenon, and I will not discuss them here in any exhaustive way.

Everyone knows, in the first place, that terrorists are able to make use today of formidable weapons which they can obtain too easily. This helps their destructive work, but it is not enough to explain the roots of the phenomenon, nor its acuteness.

There is above all the fact that terrorism has been able to become an effective psychological weapon thanks to the immediate and thorough repercussion that it can count on gaining through the mass media, which make it their duty to report the news.

Going deeper, it still has to be explained why human beings have recourse to this deplorable means. Drives toward violence have always slumbered in the hearts of men, together with drives for peace and love.

The former are undoubtedly more aroused today. Is it the recrudescence of injustices or fresh awareness of them that stirs up such

violent reactions? But how can the cause just mentioned justify such a method? There is above all the more and more frequent diffusion of ideologies of violence, of hateful strife, which deform consciences to the point of removing all scruples from those who order or who execute such barbaric acts. More, they are led to justify themselves to glory in such acts as duty or good deeds. Evil is deep in man's thought and heart.

Then there is the complicity of a whole international network of terrorism, finding support or secret incitement in one power or another. Certainly there are several sorts of terrorist. Some invoke justice for a cause that cannot gain a hearing. But justice deserves peaceful means. Or they invoke rights of peoples gravely offended in the past or present, and choose as targets persons or symbolic institutions, often outside their own countries. Others have the downright wish to create panic so as to destroy the bases of the society of their country, which they judge to be unjust and decadent.

They have no regard for democratic institutions already in place, and they have no constructive spirit.

4. After that summary analysis of roots, causes or pretexts, it is time to turn to an ethical evaluation of terrorist behavior.

Whatever the roots of terrorist activity may be, whatever attempts at justifying it there may be, we can only repeat again and again: Terrorism is never justified in a civilized society; it is a sophisticated return to barbarism, to anarchy.

It is always a manifestation of hatred, of ideological confusion. It always has the intention of sowing uncertainty and fear in national and international life (cf. my discourse to the Roman Curia, Dec. 22, 1981, no. 12). It seeks to justify its end — often a miserable end — by means unworthy of man. It goes against goods and a precious inheritance without any regard for the rights that persons or society have over them lawfully.

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Above all — and this may not be allowed under any pretext — it makes its assault in a base manner, by means of abduction, torture and murder. It assails the human life of defenseless innocents, who have nothing to do with the cause in question or are simply the symbol of a responsibility or power that the terrorists are against.

5. When we think of the number of innocent persons, heads of state, political men, policemen, industrialists, labor leaders or religious personalities, who all had contributed to society through their responsibilities and become victims of terrorism, we are at least struck with astonishment at these crimes.

When we see how the structure of society, so patiently built up, so zealously preserved by honest citizens and responsible leaders, can be plundered and destroyed, we really have cause to be alarmed.

When we consider the fact that these acts of terrorism are not limited to a single country, but seem to be the result of an insidious network, with international intrigues and aims involved, then we must take up the challenge boldly and unite in the name of all peoples to overcome the forces of hatred and evil and avoid letting them replace order and justice, the patient routes of reasonable negotiation and the difficult search after democracy. We must stop these being replaced by a system of arbitrary settling of scores, like fights to the death in the jungle.

Violence only begets violence. In the end, terrorism will destroy itself, for it bears the seeds of its own destruction in its blind and senseless hatred. Nonetheless, we must hasten its defeat and the conversion of its followers by cooperation among all, each at his own level of responsibility.

6. It is not enough to take note and lament. There is need to take up the challenge. One must act and act effectively. An adequate remedy must be applied to this evil which is undermining our societies. And the remedy must be at several levels.

At the international level, solidarity among states must be made to progress, so that every act of terrorism may be unanimously unmasked, denounced, condemned and penalized with sanctions, whatever pretexts for it may be offered. Terrorism is a savage, inhuman method to be absolutely banned. A state that encourages such a method and makes itself the accomplice of its perpetrators disqualifies itself from speaking to the world about justice.

At the level of each society remedies must be applied which result from a lucid analysis of the causes of terrorism. It is certainly more necessary than ever to protect the lives and rights of innocent individuals — through laws, decrees and appropriate security measures, which belong partly to the domain of your responsibility — just as it is necessary to protect the lawful rights of democratic institutions, to prevent those who have chosen not to respect them and to put these people in a position of not being able to do harm.

But, while recognizing that part of subversion which comes from the exterior, the question must be asked: Why does terrorism continue to recruit so many members among men and women of this generation? Everything must be done to give attention to rights that may have been offended, to establish or re-establish equitable relationships among the various partners in society, to accomplish honest service at all levels, notably among those holding power, those who wish to retain or to assume political responsibilities. In this way we can deprive terrorists of a pretext that they offer for winning certain sympathizers.

At the same time, while maintaining healthy liberty of opinion, a special climate must be created in which teachers and publicists cease to kindle hatred, cease to present violence as a remedy, cease to despise the rights of others, cease to foster a belief that only the radical destruction of society can enable a more humane society to be founded. Are not terrorists of today the product of a certain education?

Educators must be formed who will show how to build a more just society through peaceful means and in accordance with authentic responsibility.

Yes, definitely, the best response to political violence is always and everywhere a kind of society where laws are just, the government does everything to meet the legitimate desires of the populations concerned, and citizens are able to live together in security and peace and build their own future together with that of their fellow countrymen.

7. Such a society assuredly requires very great honesty at all levels, as I have already mentioned, above all on the part of rulers. Without such uprightness of character in political leaders, every act of government rapidly becomes suspect and the social atmosphere deteriorates.

Is there need to emphasize that such honesty, such trustworthiness, such disinterestedness concerns not only members of governments but

members of parliaments and officials in the various institutions as well, and, in a particular way, persons working in the information field at all levels.

Citizens have the right to expect those with responsibility to be honest. They have a right to know the truth, free of alteration and manipulation. Lies, tendentious insinuations and erroneous statements rend society and prepare the field in the long or short run for the absolutely senseless actions of terrorists.

8. This capital and permanent task of cleansing and overhauling the functioning of ruling circles in the service of the people in every nation calls greatly for tenacity and coolness of mind, in spite of incomprehension, unjustified criticisms or violence. The admirable qualities required may even discourage those who devote their talents and lives to the task. We know how the word "discouragement" is not worthy of man, still less of a Christian.

I meditated much on the mystery of evil during the days following the event of May 13 and during my long convalescence. I considered its sometimes contagious expansion, but I also meditated on the even more astonishing mystery of people's solidarity in good and in construction and reconstruction of a society and civilization founded on love and sharing. I was helped in this meditation by the incalculable number of expressions of sympathy which I received.

The well coined phrase of St. Paul often came to my mind: "Do not be conquered by evil, but conquer evil with good" (Rom. 12, 21).

Dear friends, I hope you will end your meeting in Rome and depart from this encounter with renewed convictions and energies. If all who bear responsibility at various levels of the life of each nation or in international life will at last agree to join hands, to constitute a chain of solidarity, to do away with the frightful plague of terrorism and prevent every reason for it to rise again, then we can believe in the future of the world and the coming of a truly humane civilization.

And, since I am speaking to Christians, I invoke the light and the power of God to be for you and with you, so that you may advance courageously and calmly along the ways of what may authentically be called peace, liberty, responsibility, democracy and justice. I bless you with all my heart.



03-09-82

## U.S. Jewish leader notes emerging Christian policy against proselytizing Jews

By Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Special to Religious News Service

The consultation in Vatican City from March 2 through March 6 of some 40 Catholic and other Christian clergy and lay leaders who met to study the present state of Christian-Jewish relations was significant for a number of reasons.

First, this was the first time that experts in Christian-Jewish relations from throughout the world were assembled on an official basis under Vatican auspices to review the progress made in understanding between Christians and Jews on a global basis, as well as to probe means for dealing constructively with outstanding problems of a theological, sociological, and political character.

Second, the statement by Pope John Paul II before this conference in which he called for the abandonment of "any and all attempts to convert the Jews" is the first time that any pope in the 1,900 years of the Roman Catholic Church has officially and explicitly proclaimed an end to the missionary pressures on the Jewish people.

The importance of that declaration is underscored by the pope's providing a theological rationale to the effect that "the special relations (of Christianity) with Jews exempts them from being subject to the Gospel commandment to evangelize the world."

That unprecedented repudiation of the traditional Christian mission to convert the Jews could well mark a turning point in the anguished 2,000-year encounter between Christendom and the Jewish people.

While addressed primarily to some 720 million Catholic peoples throughout the world, the fact that representatives of the World Council of Churches, Eastern Orthodox, world Anglican and Lutheran church bodies were present to hear the pope's statement cannot be without substantial influence in the attitudes and behavior of non-Catholic churches and peoples toward Jews.

Indeed, the World Council of Churches, representing world Protestantism and Eastern Orthodoxy, is in the process of adopting a far-reaching set of "Guidelines for Jewish-Christian Dialogue" which similarly rejects proselytism. The WCC guidelines, in whose drafting I was privileged to participate in June 1981 in London,

"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."

Pope John Paul II also condemned anti-Semitism. We were informed that the pope spoke in a warm and feeling way when he confessionally acknowledged "the terrible persecutions inflicted on Jews by Christians" and that "finally (these persecutions) have opened our eyes and transformed our hearts."

He then called on the Christian experts "now to be concerned about transforming . . . the misunderstandings, errors and even offenses" that Christians inflicted on Jews into "comprehension, peace, and reciprocal esteem."

In seeking to translate the papal pronouncements into practical programs, the Christian specialists on Jewish-Christian relations then spent three and half days examining the following key areas in Jewish-Christian relations:

(a) How the Bible can help Christians understand more accurately and truthfully contemporary and ancient Judaism; (b) "the inalienable ties of Judaism to the Land and the Jewish people;" (c) problems of theological differences; and (d) images of Jews and Judaism in Catholic and other Christian teachings.

It will be some time before a full report of the Vatican deliberations will be made public, but it is now clear that the Vatican authorities with whom Jewish leaders have been meeting regularly every year since Vatican Council II have kept good faith with the Jewish people.

In October 1981 and again in December 1981, a group of Jewish leaders met with the Vatican Secretariat of State in Vatican City, and in Geneva with the Vatican Secretariat for Religious Relations with the Jews. At both those consultations we discussed our concerns over the rise of anti-Semitism, violence and terrorism — among other human rights concerns — in Europe, Latin American, the United States, and the Middle East.

The Vatican authorities listened attentively to the facts we placed before them and promised that they would undertake a major effort to counter anti-Semitism, especially in countries where Catholicism predominates. This consultation, and particularly the Pope's stirring and potentially historic address, is a gratifying response to our Vatican-Jewish dialogue, and augurs well for the

future of Jewish-Christian relations throughout the world.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum is national inter-religious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee and a founding member of the joint Vatican-International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC). He was among a group of world Jewish leaders who participated in the first audience with Pope John Paul II in March 1980 in Vatican City.*



## BACKGROUND REPORT POPE JOHN PAUL II, THE VATICAN AND THE JEWS

By Marc Tanenbaum

(Editor's note: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum is the national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee and a founding member of the joint Vatican-International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations. He was among a group of world Jewish leaders who participated in the first audience with Pope John Paul II in March 1980 in Vatican City.)

NEW YORK, March 9 (JTA) -- The consultation in Vatican City March 2-6 of some 40 Catholic and other Christian clergy and lay leaders who met to study the present state of Christian-Jewish relations was significant for a number of reasons.

First, this was the first time that experts in Christian-Jewish relations from throughout the world were assembled on an official basis under Vatican auspices to review the progress made in understanding between Christians and Jews on a global basis, as well as to probe means for dealing constructively with outstanding problems of a theological, sociological, and political character.

Second, the statement by Pope John Paul II before this conference in which he called for the abandonment of "any and all attempts to convert the Jews" is the first time that any Pope in the 1,900 years of the Roman Catholic Church has officially and explicitly proclaimed an end to the missionary pressures on the Jewish people.

The importance of that declaration is underscored by the Pope's providing a theological rationale to the effect that "the special relations of Christianity with Jews exempts them from being subject to the Gospel commandment to evangelize the world."

### A Possible Turning Point

That unprecedented repudiation of the traditional Christian mission to convert the Jews could well mark a turning point in the anguished 2,000-year encounter between Christendom and the Jewish people.

While addressed primarily to some 720 million Catholic people throughout the world, the fact that representatives of the World Council of Churches (WCC), Eastern Orthodox, World Anglican, and World Lutheran Church bodies were present to hear the Pope's statement cannot be without substantial influence in the attitudes and behavior of non-Catholic churches and peoples toward Jews.

Indeed, the WCC, representing world Protestantism and Eastern Orthodoxy, is in the process of adopting a far-reaching set of "Guidelines for Jewish-Christian Dialogue" which similarly rejects proselytism. The WCC guidelines, in whose drafting I was privileged to participate in June 1981 in London, declares:

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Pope John Paul II also condemned anti-Semitism. We were informed that the Pope spoke in a warm and feeling way when he confessionally acknowledged "the terrible persecutions inflicted on Jews by Christians" and that "finally (these

persecutions) have opened our eyes and transformed our hearts." He then called on the Christian experts "now to be concerned about transforming ... the misunderstandings, errors and even offenses" that Christians inflicted on Jews into "comprehension, peace, and reciprocal esteem."

### Key Areas Were Examined

In seeking to translate the Papal pronouncements into practical programs, the Christian specialists on Jewish-Christian relations then spent three-and-a-half days examining the following key areas in Jewish-Christian relations:

How the Bible can help Christians understand more accurately and truthfully contemporary and ancient Judaism; "the inalienable ties of Judaism to the Land of Israel and the Jewish people;" problems of theological differences; and images of Jews and Judaism in Catholic and other Christian teachings.

It will be some time before a full report of the Vatican deliberations will be made public, but it is now clear that the Vatican authorities with whom Jewish leaders have been meeting regularly every year since Vatican Council II have kept good faith with the Jewish people.

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### REPORT PLO ESCALATING TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN GERMANY, WEST EUROPE

By David Kantor

BONN, March 9 (JTA) -- Interior Minister Gerhard Baum has warned the Bundestag that the Palestine Liberation Organization is escalating its terrorist activities in West Germany and other parts of Europe and cited several recent cases of cooperation between the PLO and German terrorist groups.

In a written report to the Bundestag's Interior Committee, Baum predicted further violence by the PLO but said the police were prepared to cope with it. He attributed these developments to conflicts among the rival factions within the PLO.

Baum also reported that Arab guerrillas from Syria have been active recently in the Federal Republic. He said it is assumed that they are out to assassinate leaders of a Moslem fundamentalist organization that opposes the regime of President Hafez Assad in Damascus. The organization has its headquarters in Aachen, near the Belgian border.

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JERUSALEM (JTA) -- The latest developments in the field of medical technology will be unveiled at Medex '82, Israel's second international medical exhibition, May 23-26 in Jerusalem. Some 300 local and foreign manufacturers and distributors of medical apparatus, aids and drugs will display their most recent innovations.



11-3-82

## NC DOCUMENTARY: POPE ON CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS (1,220)

VATICAN CITY (NC) -- Here is an NC News translation of the Vatican text of Pope John Paul II's French-language address to delegates of Catholic bishops' conferences and other Christian churches on relations with Judaism. The talk was delivered March 6 at the Vatican.

You have gathered here in Rome from different parts of the world to explore the important matter of relations between the Catholic Church and Judaism. The importance of this problem is also emphasized by the presence among you of representatives of the Orthodox churches, the Anglican Communion, the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches. I am glad to be able to greet all these especially and to thank them for their collaboration.

I likewise express all my gratitude to you who are bishops, priests, Religious and Christian laymen. Like your commitments in pastoral activities or in the field of biblical and theological research, your presence here shows the degree to which relations between the Catholic Church and Judaism touch on various aspects of the church and her activities.

This is easily understood. The Second Vatican Council said in its declaration on the church's relations with non-Christian religions, "Nostra Aetate" (no. 4): "As this sacred synod searches into the mystery of the church, it recalls the spiritual bond linking the people of the new covenant with Abraham's stock." I myself have had occasion to say more than once: Our two religious communities "are linked at the very level of their identities" (cf. Discourse of March 12, 1979, to representatives of Jewish organizations and communities.) Indeed, and I again quote the text of the declaration "Nostra Aetate" (n. 4):

"The church of Christ acknowledges that, according to the mystery of God's saving design, the beginnings of her faith and her election are already found among the patriarchs, Moses, and the prophets...The church therefore cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through this people...She ever keeps in mind the words of the apostle Paul about his kinsmen, 'who have the adoption as sons, and the glory, and the covenant and the legislation and the worship and the promises; who have the fathers, and from whom is Christ according to the flesh' (Rom. 9:4-5), the son of the Virgin Mary."

This is as much as to say that the links between the church and the Jewish people are grounded in the design of the God of the covenant, and that as such they have necessarily left traces in certain aspects of the church's institutions, especially in the liturgy.

Certainly since a new bough appeared from the common root 2,000 years ago, we know that relations between our two communities have been marked by resentments and a lack of understanding. If there have been misunderstandings, errors and even insults since the day of separation, 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. Thus Christians are on the right path, that of justice and brotherhood, when they seek, with respect and perseverance, to gather with their Semitic brethren around the common heritage which is a wealth to us all.

Is there any need to point out, above all to those who remain skeptical or even hostile, that such rapprochement should not be confused with a certain religious relativism, still less with a loss of identity? For their part, Christians profess their faith without equivocation in the universal salvific character of the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth.



Yes, clarity and awareness of our Christian identity are an essential basis for achieving authentic, fruitful and lasting relationships with the Jewish people. I am happy to know that in this regard you are making many efforts, by studying and praying together, to grasp better and formulate more clearly the often difficult biblical and theological problems raised by the progress of the Judeo-Christian dialogue. Imprecision and mediocrity in this field do enormous harm to such a dialogue. May God grant 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.

Such relationships can and ought to help enrich the knowledge of our own roots and to bring more to light certain aspects of this identity which we have. Our common spiritual heritage is considerable. Help in better understanding certain aspects of the church's life can be gained by taking an inventory of that heritage, but also by taking account of the faith and religious life of the Jewish people, as professed and lived now as well. This is the case with the liturgy. Its roots have still to be more deeply traced, and above all need to be better known and appreciated by the faithful. This is true at the level of our institutions, for they have been inspired ever since the beginning of the church by certain aspects of the synagogue's community organization. Finally, our common spiritual patrimony is above all important at the level of our faith in one sole and unique God, who is good and merciful, who loves men and makes himself loved by them (cf. Song. 11:24-26), who is master of history and of men's destinies, who is our Father, and who chose *fraxi*, "that good olive tree onto which have been grafted the wild olive branches of the gentiles" ("Nostra Aetate," 4; cf. also Rom. 11:17-24).

This is why you have been concerned during your session with Catholic teaching and catechesis in regard to the Jews and Judaism. You have been guided on this point, as on others, and have been encouraged by the "Guidelines and Suggestions for Implementing the Council Declaration 'Nostra Aetate' (n. 4)," published by the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews (cf. Chapter III). It is necessary to get to the point where such teaching at the various levels of religious instruction and in catechesis with children and adolescents 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 and, even more, with a lively awareness of that heritage that we have broadly outlined.

Finally, it is on such a basis that close collaboration will be able to be established -- it is already making itself very happily felt. Our common heritage impels us toward this, our common heritage of service to man and his immense spiritual and material needs. 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 (cf. Rom. 11:1), to reach true brotherhood in reconciliation, respect and full accomplishment of God's plan in history.

I am happy to encourage you, dear brothers and sisters in Christ, to continue on the path you have taken, giving proof of your discernment and confidence, as well as your very great fidelity to the magisterium. In this way you provide an authentic service to the church, flowing from her mysterious vocation, and contribute to the good of the church, the Jewish people and all of mankind.

END



SEVEN ARTS FEATURE SYNDICATE  
WORLDWIDE NEWS SERVICE  
165 W. 46TH STREET  
NEW YORK, NY 10036

FOR REL: March 19, 1982

POPE JOHN PAUL II, THE VATICAN, AND THE JEWS

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

EDITOR'S NOTE: Rabbi Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, was the only rabbi present at Vatican Council II. He was among a group of world Jewish leaders who participated in the first audience with Pope John Paul II in March 1980 in Vatican City.)

The three-day meeting in Vatican City (March 2-6) of 40 experts in Catholic-Jewish relations was an event of potentially historic importance.

This was the first time in 1,900 years of the Roman Catholic Church that the Vatican officially brought together the key Catholic experts in Christian-Jewish relations to examine systematically the state of Catholic-Jewish relations on a global basis. They also developed a program for furthering mutual understanding throughout the world, including the drafting of a Vatican Catechetical Directory on Catholic-Jewish Relations.

The positive spirit of the consultation was climaxed by an important address delivered in French by Pope John Paul II. The Pope repudiated anti-Semitism, acknowledging with emotion (as Catholics who were present told me) "the terrible persecutions inflicted on Jews by Christians" and that "finally (these persecutions) have opened our eyes and transformed our hearts." The Pope then strongly emphasized the need for Catholic educators "in the catechism taught to children and adolescents" to "present the Jews and Judaism not only in an honest and objective manner, without any prejudice and without offending anyone, but even more with an active consciousness of the heritage we have already outlined."

With delegates from world Protestant and Eastern Orthodox bodies participating, the Catholic experts also studied "the inalienable ties of Judaism to the land of Israel and the Jewish people."

At a time when anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism is on the rise, it is heartening to know the Vatican-Jewish dialogue over the past fifteen years is bearing real fruit..

March 21, 1982

"SEATTLE CLERGYMEN, THE POPE, AND THE PLO"

WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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The recent junket to Lebanon of five liberal Protestant clergymen from Seattle on a wholly-subsidized PLO trip for meetings with Yasir Arafat betrays the moral confusion - and ethical bankruptcy - that exists in parts of the liberal Christian community.

Virtually impervious to the staggering public record which stamps indelibly the PLO as the foremost terrorist organization in the world, the Protestant clergy returned to apotheosize Arafat and his band of murderers as "dedicated" and "moderate."

To their credit, a group of Evangelical Christian leaders organized by TAV Evangelicals co-directors, Douglas Krieger and Douglas Shearer, promptly condemned the liberals for "their obvious imputation of Christian legitimacy to one of the world's most ruthless and unprincipled terrorist bands."

But the most damning repudiation of the liberal Protestants' soft-mindedness on terrorists came from Pope John Paul II, who knows what it means to be a victim of Arafat-type fanaticism. In a powerful address delivered in Rome in mid-February before the Christian Democratic World Union, the Pope declared, "Terrorism is the antithesis of everything that you try to promote as democrats and as Christians. Terrorism is against law and reason. Terrorism seeks to cripple and destroy persons and society by means of acts which are fundamentally acts of violation, violation of human values guaranteed by the law as well as violation of human dignity and human life."

The Pope then appealed to governments and citizens for "solidarity so that every act of terrorism may be unanimously unmasked, denounced, condemned and penalized with sanctions, whatever pretexts for it may be offered. Terrorism is a savage, inhuman method, to be absolutely banned."

The Seattle clergymen would do well to study the Pope's text and become "born again."

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\*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.



# On the March— U.S. Version of Peace Crusade

**This time it's the middle class, not college radicals, leading an antiwar movement. Though quieter than European protesters, activists in rising numbers alarm officials worried about a Soviet edge in nuclear arms.**

Even as President Reagan presses the largest peacetime military buildup in the nation's history, a peace movement demanding a first-step global freeze on nuclear arms is quietly picking up support across the U.S.

Still a faint echo of the much louder antinuclear outcry that has shaken Western Europe—but potentially more far-reaching—the American campaign is starting to draw attention in Washington. Government officials warn that it might undermine the nation's efforts to keep the Soviet Union from gaining superiority in strategic weapons.

At the same time, the movement is mustering important political support. On March 10, Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Mark Hatfield (R-Oreg.) led 139 members of Congress in aligning themselves with the drive to halt the nuclear-arms race. The lawmakers announced that they would seek a resolution of both houses asking Reagan to negotiate an atomic-weapons freeze with the Soviets. Three days before, former Vice President Walter F. Mondale gave his support to the freeze initiative.

Barely a year after the U.S. ban-the-bomb drive formally began, more than a million Americans have endorsed its aims with their signatures or votes in state referendum or resolution campaigns, and the support is expected to pass the 1.5-million mark by June.

Still in its formative stage, the peace crusade remains largely uncoordinated; it includes more than 75 groups with varying aims. Yet the movement's backers claim a far broader and more influential following than the largely young and defiantly anti-establishment activists who spearheaded the opposition to the Vietnam War. Dedicated recruits to the new peace movement include substantial numbers of the middle-aged and the elderly, blue-collar workers and professionals as well as homemakers. The most significant enthusiasts: A broad spectrum of clergy of all faiths.

Signals of the newly emerging pacifism across America—

■ The Nuclear Weapons

Freeze Campaign—based in St. Louis and working to ban testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons by the U.S. and Russia—has 20,000 volunteers working in 149 offices in 47 states. Moves are afoot to put statewide nuclear-freeze referendums on the ballot in California, Michigan, New Jersey, Montana and Delaware. Resolutions of support have passed legislatures in Oregon, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine and Vermont.

■ In a series of mid-March town meetings in New Hampshire, 33 of 44 participating communities voted for a nuclear-arms freeze. Earlier, 161 of 192 Vermont towns did so.

■ The Fellowship of Reconciliation, a 66-year-old interfaith pacifist group, has more than doubled its 1970s membership and on request from local churches has distributed some 500,000 brochures on peacemaking.

■ The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, known as SANE, which has been working for a quarter century to halt the arms race, reports that its paid membership has jumped 88 percent in the last year to 16,000.

■ Ground Zero, an organization dedicated to informing the public on dangers of nuclear arms, is publishing 200,000 copies of a paperback book—*Nuclear War: What's in It for You?*—and planning a nationwide Ground Zero Week in April featuring community discussions and other events.

## "Latent Fear of Nuclear War"

Cited by organizers as evidence of the emerging mood is a recent Gallup Poll that shows 72 percent of Americans questioned favored a U.S.-Soviet pact not to build any more nuclear weapons. Says George Gallup, Jr.: "The latent fear of nuclear war among the American public should not be minimized. It is clearly something to reckon with."

While some leaders of the new pacifists are veteran antiwar protesters, the bulk appear to be ordinary people convinced that the nuclear-arms race has careened out of control and is leading to the mutual destruction of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Opponents of the movement, both inside and outside government, argue that the protesters at best are naïve about the Kremlin's intentions and at worst could derail an American military buildup that is essential for the nation's world position if not for its very survival.

Latest estimates show that the U.S. leads in nuclear warheads with 9,208 to Russia's 7,000, but Russia is well ahead in delivery systems, 2,498 to 1,944, and in missile payload, 11.75 million pounds to 3.385 million pounds.

Americans in increasing numbers are not only signing petitions for peace groups but also helping to finance them. The Fund for Peace reports a 25 percent increase in contributions over last year, for an operating budget of 1.9 million dollars.

A crucial early test of the crusade's strength is under way in California, where a coalition of activists is seeking a statewide referendum on a nuclear-arms freeze by both superpowers. The California drive in three months has reached its initial goal of collecting 500,000 signatures to assure getting the issue on the No-

Recruits to the new American peace drive stretch from clergy members to professionals to children.





vember ballot. Backers hope success in California will, like the state's Proposition 13 tax-limitation referendum in 1978, spark a citizens' movement that will sweep the country.

Business executives, musicians, women's groups and even children are involved in the drive against atomic weapons. The Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., of New York's Riverside Church, a leading figure in the anti-nuclear-arms campaign and a veteran of the Vietnam protests, notes the sharp differences in membership of the two movements: "The white collar seems to have taken over where the blue jeans left off. Now, it is doctors, scientists and lawyers on center stage instead of people from campuses and the arts."

A 20-year-old group called Physicians for Social Responsibility is drawing upon its 10,000 members in 40 states to conduct a series of symposiums on the medical consequences of nuclear war. The Union of Concerned Scientists sent members to 150 college campuses late in 1981 to conduct teach-ins on the danger of atomic arms.

Most of today's job-oriented students have not yet shown the same zeal for banning the bomb that their predecessors did for stopping the Vietnam War. But a new group called United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War will stage a nationwide convocation on some 200 campuses on April 22, as Congress debates the Reagan budget that calls for a drastic cutback in student-loan programs and record levels of military spending.

Participants in the new peace movement have a wide variety of goals, ranging from opposition to local nuclear testing or weapons installations in certain Western states to doing away with all the world's atomic arsenals. Some old-line pacifist organizations insist on banishing even conventional weapons or, in the words of one analyst, "turning every last sword into a plowshare."

Most activists, however, favor a U.S.-Soviet nuclear freeze as a practical first goal. As Dorothy Eldridge, head of New Jersey's SANE group, explains it, this stance "provides the average citizen with a common-sense handle on a complex, deeply threatening problem. By comparison, the pros and cons of SALT II were so technical and confusing that the mass of citizens could only shrug and leave it to the experts, who got us into our present fix."

## Laying the Foundations

The American peace movement is a subdued one compared with the strident street marches and rallies in Europe. For the most part, the U.S. crusade has emphasized quiet discussions, showings of antinuclear films and prayer. Organizers term this period the "consciousness raising" phase—one they hope will lay the foundation for later efforts to influence policy by demonstrating popular strength.

Already, however, signs of a more dramatic and muscular approach are emerging in the form of scattered direct challenges to authorities. In Seattle, Catholic Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen announced that he would withhold half of the tax on his 1981 personal income as a protest against the U.S. nuclear buildup, calling it "a grave moral evil." He urged other Catholics to do likewise.

Bishop Leroy T. Matthiesen of Amarillo, Tex., exhorted Catholic workers in a nearby nuclear-weapons plant to "seek new jobs or something that they could do which would contribute to life rather than destroy it." To assist workers who quit, an order of Catholic priests in St. Paul, Minn., sent the bishop \$10,000.

In Livermore, Calif., in early February, police arrested 170 members of a peace group for trying to block the gates at a government atomic laboratory. Those jailed included Daniel Ellsberg, who was instrumental a decade ago in releasing the Pentagon Papers on the U.S. role in Vietnam.

Some pacifists call such gestures "premature" and "po-



In town meetings, a heavy majority of communities in Vermont and New Hampshire endorsed the nuclear-freeze proposal.

tentially harmful." Others welcome tough challenges to the authorities as a headline-grabbing way of awakening public concern and gaining new supporters.

## Behind the Latest Drive

What is fueling this new American peace crusade? Is the movement controlled by European activists, groups sympathetic to Communism, or former Vietnam War protesters?

There is no evidence that the recent growth was generated simply by a few score former Vietnam activists in staff positions. Nor are there any signs that pro-Communist sympathizers exert any significant influence. One delegation of 15 American activists has visited Europe to talk with organizers of antinuclear activity there—some of the Americans even marching in at least one large demonstration—but its members insist that no help was sought or given.

The key force behind the American antiwar crusade consists of leaders of most of the nation's churches.

At a meeting in Washington in late 1981, an appeal for nuclear disarmament by Archbishop John R. Roach of St. Paul-Minneapolis, elected leader of U.S. Catholic bishops, drew strong support from among the 263 bishops attending, 69 of whom have specifically endorsed the nuclear-freeze proposal. The United Methodist bishops have called the threat of nuclear holocaust "the most crucial issue facing the people of the world today" and pledged to help build a U.S. groundswell for peace on the European model. Many Presbyterian and Lutheran leaders have stepped up their antiwar activity, while the governing synod of the United Church of Christ has thrown its backing to "unilateral initiative by the United States" if that is necessary to begin the process of nuclear disarmament.

Three historic "peace churches"—Mennonites, Society of Friends (Quakers) and the Church of the Brethren—have challenged their members to renew their commitments with radical acts including civil disobedience.

Evangelist Billy Graham said recently in an interview: "I am not a pacifist and I don't believe in unilateral disarmament, but I do believe in [eliminating] nuclear weapons. As long as any of these weapons exist, there is a danger."

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national interreligious-affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, joined with five prominent members of the Episcopalian clergy in pledging to help organize "millions of co-religionists" into a massive force to help avoid nuclear disaster.

In the face of this ecclesiastical militancy, Michael Novak, scholar in religion and public policy at the conservatively



oriented American Enterprise Institute, has warned Catholics against following the pleas of the "peace bishops," saying: "These clergymen appear unaware that Russia has been pushing a tremendous atomic-weapons buildup over recent years, while the U.S. was tapering off. To call a halt now would leave us at a serious disadvantage in numbers of military aircraft and with no antiballistic-missile system such as the Soviets possess."

## A Test of Strength

Late this spring, the fledgling American peace movement is scheduled to spread its wings in what backers hope will be a major demonstration of power. The target: A special United Nations session on disarmament opening in New York on June 7. A week before, on May 28-31, the churches will test their strength as peace services are conducted in some 3,000 churches and synagogues. Then groups from as many as 30 states are to head for Manhattan by chartered bus and plane to join delegations from Western Europe and Japan at a World Peace Day on June 12. Organizers hope the turnout will top 200,000.

The major factor in triggering the country's new outburst of pacifism has been the breakdown of U.S.-Soviet efforts to control strategic weapons, starting in 1979 with the Senate's failure to ratify the Salt II treaty.

Compounding this concern, peace campaigners say, are the stance and policies of the Reagan administration—the harsh anti-Soviet rhetoric, the coolness toward strategic-arms-control negotiations with Russia and the flurry of high-level talk last year of fighting a limited nuclear war in Europe.

Explains David Brunell, head of the anti-nuclear-arms campaign of the Union of Concerned Scientists: "To many of us, the arms race between the U.S. and Russia is like two kids standing up to their knees in a room full of gasoline. One has 10 matches, the other eight. Neither kid says he will feel safe unless he has more matches; yet each has many more than he needs to blow the place up. That's why people don't feel more secure with more missiles."

Such talk brings quick retorts from American officials. Secretary of State Alexander Haig told a Senate subcommittee on March 10 in relation to proposals for a nuclear-arms freeze: "This is not only a bad defense policy, but it is a bad arms-control policy as well. The effect of a U.S. acceptance could be devastating." He said the freeze proposal would hinder current U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva on limiting nuclear missiles in Europe.

Peace spokesmen say they believe Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev was sincere in suggesting to an Australian disarmament group in February that there be a bilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons. They say he has three good reasons: Almost all the nuclear weapons outside Russia are aimed at the Soviet Union; the arms race is a massive drain on the Russian economy, and a freeze would halt the escalation into counterforce weapons—an area where the U.S. is said to be several years ahead.

Most pacifists stress that they see the freeze only as a first step toward mutual arms cutbacks. They add that they would insist on satellite surveillance and other verification of Soviet weapons reductions. "There is a calculated risk involved," admits Randy Kehler, coordinator for the national

freeze campaign, "but we think a start must be made soon and somewhere."

Critics of the Kremlin voice a sharply different view. Says Gerald Steibel, director of national security at the National Strategy Information Center, a private group promoting a stronger U.S. defense: "A joint nuclear-freeze agreement between the U.S. and Russia at the present levels would give the Soviets an overwhelming advantage in Europe. It would leave our Western allies there vulnerable not only to nuclear and conventional attack but to nuclear blackmail."

What are the prospects that the American peace movement will gain enough mass support to influence national policy? Analysts concede that the crusade is growing steadily but note that it is still fragmented and has the potential for blowing apart over differences in goals and tactics.

Says one organizer: "There's no question we are gathering steam. But I don't think we are going to know enough about whether we have something really big going here—something capable of moving Washington and Moscow—until we see what happens in the months just ahead." □

By DAVID B. RICHARDSON

## Why Join the Peace Movement?

*Some typical supporters of the drive to freeze nuclear arms talk about why they joined the campaign:*

**Dana Lindley, 33, Indianola, Iowa, homemaker:** "My commitment began when my church asked me to head a committee to find ways of working for peace. The more I read and studied, the more I was convinced this was not just another routine activity. I became terrified at the immensity and horror of the nuclear-arms danger. Suddenly, doing what I could to avoid a nuclear war began to supersede all social and housewifely things."

**Dick Peterson, 45, Lincoln, Nebr., lawyer:** "I am a lifelong Republican and not normally a person who goes in for causes. But soon after Reagan came into office, I became alarmed at this administration's bellicose posture and massive escalation of arms spending."

**Harold Willens, 66, Los Angeles business executive:** "My generation remembers the atomic horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The way things are going, we think it's high time to blow the whistle before we're all blown to hell."

**Dick Riley, 61, Des Moines, Iowa, retired Navy captain:** "I saw enough war to give me a bellyful. I don't want my grandchildren to go to war, or any other individual on this earth. I strongly believe a nuclear deterrent is a 'must' until we can make our adversaries agree to jointly disarm. But no form of arms control is realistic that allows others to expand their nuclear weaponry."

**Nan Rodney, 44, Springfield, Va., homemaker:** "The first thing I think about when the neighborhood civil-defense siren goes off in a test every month is my kids. Now, I am working almost full time to try to prevent a real doomsday from ever happening."

GEORGE BRICH



Harold Willens holds California petition for nuclear-weapons moratorium.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** March 25, 1982  
**to** Staff Advisory Committee  
 AJC Area Directors  
**from** Marc H. Tanenbaum  
**subject** Issues of Interreligious Interest

Enclosed please find several documents which deal with issues that figure prominently on the interreligious agenda:

First is the full text of an important address on Catholic-Jewish relations delivered on March 6 by Pope John Paul II in Vatican City. The enclosed brief Seven Arts Syndicate article provides some background about the significant declaration. You may wish to share these materials with your membership.

In addition, Pope John Paul II delivered a very strong address in mid-February before the World Union of Christian Democrats in Rome. In that talk, he powerfully condemned terrorism and violence. The enclosed WINS script on "Seattle Clergy, the Pope, and the PLO" is an example of how the Pope's address can be used to counter those groups that are moving to baptize the PLO as legitimate.

Second, Ken Briggs, religion editor of the New York Times, wrote an excellent front-page story on the Evangelical Christian community -- a copy of which is enclosed. Interestingly, the majority of the people and institutions referred to are centrally involved in AJC's program of Evangelical-Jewish relations. You may wish to share this with interested AJC members.

Third is the U.S. News and World Report survey of "Peace Movement Spreads in America" that appears in the March 22 issue of that magazine. The concern over the spread of nuclear armaments and the efforts to bring about universal simultaneous disarmament is growing among Catholic, Protestant and Evangelical churches. Clearly, it is becoming a major, if not dominant, issue within Christian bodies. Currently, AJC has taken no position on this issue. However, a new National Task Force on Defense and Disarmament is being organized and it is hoped that it will make a recommendation on this nuclear armament issue before long. In the meantime we will keep you informed of Church expression on this subject.

I'd appreciate any thoughts or reactions you might have to these materials and the issues they pose.

MHT:RPR  
 Enclosures  
 82-700-24

*Marc*



# 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 IMMEDIATE RELEASE.....

NEW YORK, Nov. 1... The American Jewish Committee today urged that differences between the Jewish and Catholic communities over the recent audience granted the PLO's Yasir Arafat by Pope John Paul II not be allowed to "impede the advances in understanding and mutual esteem which have marked the relations between our communities for the past several decades."

That view was expressed today by Maynard I. Wishner, president of the American Jewish Committee, in a letter to His Eminence Johannes Cardinal Willebrands, President of the Vatican Commission on Religious Relations with the Jews. In a letter addressed to Mr. Wishner, Cardinal Willebrands recently sought to explain the reasons why the Pope agreed to receive Mr. Arafat. Among other explanations, Cardinal Willebrands said that "the fact that the Holy Father receives someone in audience is in no way a sign of approval of all the ideas and actions attributed to that person."

The Cardinal also wrote that "the Holy Father did not fail to express to Mr. Arafat 'the hope that an equitable and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict should be reached,' a solution which, as he said during the audience, 'should exclude recourse to arms and violence of all kinds, especially terrorism and reprisals.'"

In his response, Mr. Wishner stated that the American Jewish Committee did not question "the honorable and pacific intentions of the Pope."

"The Pope's hope," Mr. Wishner continued, "for an 'equitable and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict' as his stated position that such a solution should 'exclude recourse to arms and violence of all kinds, especially terrorism and reprisals,' are shared by all persons of good will seeking peace in that troubled region."

However, Mr. Wishner added, "We do strongly disagree regarding the impact of the audience with Mr. Arafat on popular opinion and its widespread interpretation as an act of legitimization for the organization which he heads -- an organization which has claimed credit for the murder of innocent civilians, including Christians, Muslims, and Jews, and which has never departed from its stated aim of destroying the sovereign State of Israel."

- more -

Maynard I. Wishner, 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

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq., 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq., 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, 95149, Israel  
South America hq., (temporary office) 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq., Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707



Mr. Wishner took the occasion of his letter to Cardinal Willebrands to repeat calls for recognition of the State of Israel -- both by the Arabs and by the Holy See.

"We fervently share the Pope's hope," Mr. Wishner wrote, "that an equitable and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict will soon be reached and his affirmation that the recognition of Israel by the Arabs is a basic condition for the construction of that peace. The logic of that important affirmation by the Pope does argue, in our judgment, that the recognition of Israel by the Holy See would constitute a model of moral courage and leadership that would advance the cause of peace and co-existence between the Arab nations and Israel."

"We sincerely hope that such Vatican recognition of Israel would be forthcoming in the not too distant future," he added.

Mr. Wishner pointed out that the American Jewish Committee, which he said was "an organization which has been in the forefront of Catholic-Jewish dialogue in the United States and many other parts of the world," acknowledged "the historic importance of Pope John Paul II's affirmative statements on the relations of the Catholic Church with Judaism, and his emphasis on the common spiritual heritage of Christians and Jews."

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

(Attached are copies of the original cable to the Vatican sent by Mr. Wishner, of the letter of response from Cardinal Willebrands, and of Mr. Wishner's response to that letter.)

\* \* \* \*

10-29-82  
82-960-350  
A; CP; EJP; PP; REL



# NEWS

## FROM THE COMMITTEE



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

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

*MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations*

### FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, September 14...Maynard I. Wishner, President of the American Jewish Committee, today sent the following telegram to the Vatican:

"American Jewish Committee deeply distressed over reports Pope John Paul II will grant audience PLO terrorist chief Yasir Arafat. It is incomprehensible that Holy Father who was nearly murdered by terrorist fanatic trained by PLO in Beirut would reward terrorists by giving them implied sanction through privilege of audience in Vatican City. Pope himself decried terrorists in his February 18 address to Christian Democratic World Union saying 'Terrorism is antithesis of everything that you try to promote as Democrats and as Christians.' Holy Father then appealed for 'solidarity among states so that every act of terrorism may be unanimously unmasked, denounced, condemned and penalized with sanctions, whatever pretext for it may be offered.' Terrorism, he added, is a 'savage inhuman method to be absolutely banned. A state that encourages such a method and makes itself the accomplice of its perpetrators disqualifies itself from speaking to the world about justice.' Holy Father's audience with the architect of international terrorism is irreconcilable these moral positions. American Jewish Committee respectfully urges that Holy See reverse its decision and demonstrate to world its unambiguous rejection of Arafat's role in violating sacred image of human person over past decades."

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

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RTV-E, ED, JL, R, US

Maynard I. Wishner, 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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## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000

November 10, 1982

Your Excellency,

I thought you might find the exchange of correspondence between His Eminence Johannes Cardinal Willebrands and Mr. Maynard Wishner, President of the American Jewish Committee of interest.

Your reactions would be warmly welcomed.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
National Director  
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

Enclosures

82-700-100



SECRETARIAT FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN UNITY  
COMMISSION FOR RELIGIOUS RELATIONS WITH THE JEWS

Vatican City - Tel. 698.4386/698.3071

Prot. N.

J 548/82/a

Vatican City, Oct 7, 1982

Mr Maynard I. WISHNER  
President, American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56 Street  
NEW YORK, NY 10022, USA

Dear Sir,

The Holy Father has duly received the cable you sent on the occasion of the audience which he decided to grant in response to the request of Mr Yasser Arafat.

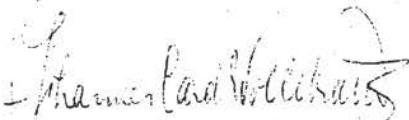
As you know, in the exercise of his high pastoral office, the Holy Father is prepared to receive all men and women who ask for it, intending in this way to manifest his concern for all people, to further the aims of peace and to promote understanding among nations. Many encounters of this kind take place, as did this one, on Wednesdays, the day reserved for the general audience and various meetings.

I am sure that it is clear that the fact that the Holy Father receives someone in audience is in no way a sign of approval of all the ideas and actions attributed to that person. - As was clearly stated in the press release published after Mr Arafat's visit by the Press Service of the Holy See, the Holy Father wished "to show his good will towards the Palestinian People and his participation in their protracted sufferings". On this occasion the Holy Father did not fail to express to Mr Arafat "the hope that an equitable and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict should be reached", a solution which, as he said during the audience, "should exclude recourse to arms and violence of all kinds, especially terrorism and reprisals" and "should involve the recognition of the rights of all peoples, particularly those of the Palestinian people for a homeland of its own and of Israel for its own security". With this last reference the Holy Father wished to affirm that the recognition of Israel by the Arabs is a basic condition for the construction of peace.

I earnestly hope that you will understand the considerations that led to the granting of this audience, and also its meaning. Such considerations and meaning cannot in any way be interpreted as hostile to Israel and the Jewish people around the world; on the contrary, they are a positive development in the sense that they promote dialogue and the prospects for peace in the Middle East. Besides, the attitude of the Holy See towards the Jewish people and its strong opposal to all forms of antisemitism have in no way been changed by this audience.

With sincere appreciation and all good wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

  
+ Johannes Card. Willebrands  
The President

10-29-82  
82-960-D-27

CVCR...





# The American Jewish Committee

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

October 28, 1982

His Eminence  
Johannes Cardinal Willebrands  
The President  
Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity  
Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews  
Vatican City

Your Eminence,

I acknowledge with appreciation your letter to me as President of the American Jewish Committee and your explanation of the reasons for the Papal audience granted Mr. Arafat. The Pope's hope for an "equitable and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict" and his stated position that such a solution should "exclude recourse to arms and violence of all kinds, especially terrorism and reprisals," are shared by all persons of good will seeking peace in that troubled region.

We do not question the honorable and pacific intentions of the Pope. We do strongly disagree regarding the impact of the audience with Mr. Arafat on popular opinion and its widespread interpretation as an act of legitimization for the organization which he heads -- an organization which has claimed credit for the murder of innocent civilians, including Christians, Muslims, and Jews, and which has never departed from its stated aim of destroying the sovereign State of Israel. We can understand the Pope's desire "to show his good will toward the Palestinian people and his participation in their protracted sufferings," but surely you can understand the depth of feeling in the Jewish community over the world-wide dissemination of a photograph of the spiritual leader of the Roman Catholic Church shaking hands with the world's foremost terrorist.

As an organization which has been in the forefront of Catholic-Jewish dialogue in the United States and many other parts of the world, and remains committed to that dialogue despite the strain of recent events, we have acknowledged the historic importance of Pope John Paul II's affirmative statements on the relations of the Catholic Church with Judaism, and his emphasis on the common spiritual heritage of Christians and Jews.

We join you in hoping that the very genuine differences with which we view the decision to grant a Papal audience to Mr. Arafat will not impede the advances in understanding and mutual esteem which have marked the relations between our communities for the past several decades. Needless to say, we fervently share the Pope's hope that an equitable and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict will soon be reached and his affirmation that the recognition of Israel by the Arabs is a basic condition for the construction of that peace.

The logic of that important affirmation by the Pope does argue, in our judgment, that the recognition of Israel by the Holy See would constitute a model of moral courage and leadership that would advance the cause of peace and co-existence between the Arab nations and Israel. We sincerely trust that such Vatican recognition of Israel would be forthcoming in the not too distant future.

With sincere wishes for a healing and constructive continuation of our relationships, I am,

Sincerely yours,

*Maynard I. Wisner*

Maynard I. Wisner  
President



# *International Jewish Committee*

## *on*

# *Interreligious Consultations*

### AMERICAN SECRETARIAT:

Synagogue Council of America  
32 Park Avenue South — Suite 1000  
New York, N.Y. 10016  
tel.: (212) 686-8670

### EUROPEAN SECRETARIAT:

World Jewish Congress  
Rue de Varembe  
211 Geneve 20, Switzerland  
tel.: (022) 34 13 25

### CONSTITUENT AGENCIES:

American Jewish Committee  
65 East 56th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Anti-Defamation League—  
B'nai B'rith  
23 United Nations Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Israel Jewish Council for  
Interreligious Consultations  
2A Koreh Street, P.O.B. 2028  
Jerusalem, Israel 91020

Synagogue Council of America  
32 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10016

World Jewish Congress  
Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

Geneva, March 2nd 1984

His Eminence  
Cardinal Johannes Willebrands  
President, Commission for Religious  
Relations with the Jews  
Vatican City

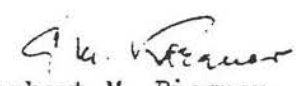
Eminence,

On behalf of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC) we must express our concern at the implications of the recent conference in Lucerne, Switzerland, arranged "in consultation and collaboration with the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews and the American Jewish Congress" and which involved the official participation of a representative of the Commission.

We believe that more significant advantages will be achieved in the international relationship between the Jewish community and the Catholic community through the mechanism developed through IJCIC.

In the best interest of our shared objectives we would respectfully urge that the "special relationship" that has grown between the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews and IJCIC should be more fully utilized in the future to the mutual benefit of both parties.

Respectfully,

  
Dr. Gerhart M. Riegner  
Chairman, IJCIC  
(World Jewish Congress)

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
(Synagogue Council of America)

Mr. Ted Freedman  
(Anti-Defamation League - B'nai B'rith)

Rabbi Marc A. Tanenbaum  
(American Jewish Committee)

Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder  
(Jewish Council for Interreligious  
Contacts in Israel)



SECRETARIAT FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN UNITY  
COMMISSION FOR RELIGIOUS RELATIONS WITH THE JEWS

Vatican City - Tel. 698.4386/698.3071

Prot. N. J 123/84/a

Vatican City, March 20, 1984

Dr Gerhart M. Riegner  
Chairman, International Jewish Committee  
1, rue de Varembe  
CH-1211 Geneva 20

Dear Dr Riegner,

I thank you for your letter of March 2, 1984, expressing the concern of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations "at the implication of the recent conference in Lucerne, Switzerland". You then go on to state your convictions regarding the international relationship between the Jewish and the Catholic communities and you urge the Commission to "fully utilize" the "special relationship" which has been growing along the years between the Holy See Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism and the IJCIC.

In the first place let me say that the Lucerne conference - on the Catholic side - was organised by a Catholic Institute for Judaeo-Christian studies, an academic body of high scholarly standing. This Institute thought its right to ask for "the cooperation and collaboration of the Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism", because of the newness, the importance and the theological quality of the meeting planned. This is nothing extraordinary in itself, from the Catholic point of view. And this is why our Commission did not hesitate in providing its "cooperation and collaboration", as far and as much as it was asked to do. I would like also to make it clear that nobody from the Commission participated in the meeting mentioned in an "official" capacity. Msgr Mejia was invited and took part in the proceedings as a Biblical scholar, the subject theme of the conference being "The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible in Judaism and Christianity". A point which Msgr Mejia himself made, right at the beginning of the conference.

It is also the normal policy of the Commission to be present and to participate in meetings and encounters of different kinds and at different levels, when we believe that, by accepting an invitation extended to us, we can either enlarge our own range of experience or help in promoting Jewish-Catholic relations everywhere.

./.



SECRETARIAT FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN UNITY  
COMMISSION FOR RELIGIOUS RELATIONS WITH THE JEWS

Vatican City - Tel. 698.4386/698.3071

lot. N. ....

Vatican City, .....

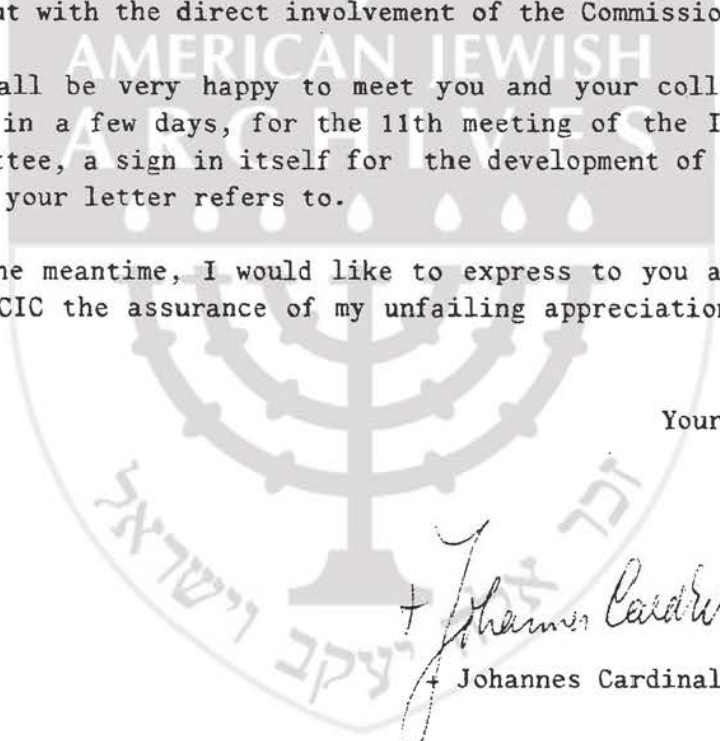
- 2 -

I quite agree with you that the "mechanisms developed through IJCIC" are extremely important and that our "special relationship" should be "fully utilized in the future". It has been so, I am deeply convinced, in the past. And I look forward with eagerness, for this same reason, to the new avenue of relationship which has begun to open between us in the field of a more specialized and technical religious and theological dialogue, under the auspices of the Pontifical Lateran University, but with the direct involvement of the Commission.

I shall be very happy to meet you and your colleagues again in Amsterdam in a few days, for the 11th meeting of the International Liaison Committee, a sign in itself for the development of the "special relationship" your letter refers to.

In the meantime, I would like to express to you and your colleagues of IJCIC the assurance of my unfailing appreciation and sympathy.

Yours sincerely,



*Johannes Cardinal Willebrands*  
+ Johannes Cardinal Willebrands  
President

APR 16 1984

# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

CONGRESO JUDIO MUNDIAL

1211 GENÈVE 20	NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016	LONDON W1Y 7DX	75008 PARIS	JERUSALEM
1, RUE DE VAREMBÉ	ONE PARK AVENUE	11, HERTFORD STREET	78, AV. CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES	P. O. B. 4293
CASE POSTALE 191	TELEPH. 679-0600	TELEPH. 491-3517	TELEPH. 359.94.63	4, ROTENBERG STREET
TELEPH. 341325	TELEX 23 61 29	TELEX 21633	TELEX 650320	TELEPH. 635546-635544
TELEX 289876				

Geneva, April 5, 1984

To: All members of IJCIC

From: Jean Halpérin



## AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Please find attached a copy of the letter received from  
Cardinal Willebrands - not intended for publication or quotation -  
in response to IJCIC's letter to him, also attached.

Hag kasher vesameach.



ADDRESS  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING  
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
JOSEPH CARDINAL BERNARDIN

November 3, 1984

My brothers and sisters, I greet you this evening in a spirit of shalom. Peace be with you! I was very honored to receive an invitation to address you a second time. I sincerely admire the ongoing commitment which the American Jewish Committee has made to improve interreligious relations and to join in action on behalf of civil and human rights. You have truly been pioneers in both areas, each of which remains of profound concern to me.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum has rendered an inestimable service to all of us through his efforts during and since the Second Vatican Council. While I know his work in interreligious affairs has been largely assumed in most able fashion by Rabbi James Rudin, we continue to look forward to Rabbi Tanenbaum's prophetic comments on international affairs. I also wish to acknowledge publicly the quiet, persistent work of Mrs. Judith Banki, who has labored so effectively over many years in bringing to our attention continuing problems concerning religious education and Christian Passion plays.

As I stand before you this evening, I wish to pledge the continued cooperation of the Catholic Church in the United States and, in particular, the Archdiocese of Chicago with Rabbi Rudin

and his colleagues. Currently in Chicago there are four major Catholic-Jewish dialogue groups, and we are actively planning to expand this effort.

I strongly identify with your current national priorities in Christian-Jewish relations. For example, I agree that we need to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of Nostra Aetate during 1985. This historic declaration of the Second Vatican Council on the Church's relationship with the Jewish people set us on a new constructive course after centuries of persecution and mutual antagonism. These celebrations will provide a way of promoting greater consciousness of our respective traditions, forging new bonds of social cohesion, and enhancing Christianity's appreciation of the Jewish tradition which provides such an important context for Jesus' teachings. We hope to cooperate in all this with the Committee and other Jewish groups here in Chicago.

The persistent effort to free Christian and Jewish textbooks of all racial and religious stereotypes must continue in earnest. Though we have made great strides in this since the sixties, the work is not yet completed. We need further careful analysis of our current texts to measure our progress more accurately and identify the remaining problematic areas.

I welcome your recent efforts to prod the conscience of Christian churches regarding persistent prejudicial and stereotyped aspects of some Passion Plays in this country and abroad. Nostra Aetate committed the entire Catholic community to



remove every vestige of anti-semitic teaching from our presentation of the gospel in any form. The primary emphasis of any Passion Play must be on the love and mercy Jesus preached to all, a love and mercy firmly rooted in the teachings of the Torah. Hence we need to listen when you raise questions about alleged gospel representations which fail to portray the profound and positive influence of Jewish tradition on the formation of Jesus' teaching and on the spirit of the early Church.

In regard to another of your priorities, let me highlight the work of the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, headquartered in Chicago and ably directed by Sister Ann Gillen. Without the support of the American Jewish Committee, this Task Force would not have seen the light of day. Its efforts on behalf of Soviet Christians and Jews, whose situation at the moment seems as perilous as at any time in recent memory, merits our wholehearted backing. I am pleased that the Task Force has also focused attention on other groups whose human rights are being violated. Lithuanian and Ukrainian Catholics, in particular, are appreciative of its interventions.

There is one other matter I would like to raise before moving to the heart of my address. The persistence, even the escalation, of anti-semitic outbreaks in several parts of the world has troubled me greatly. I was profoundly affected by my return visit to Auschwitz this past summer. One cannot simply visit Auschwitz. Standing there, we are strongly challenged to face squarely the capacity of humanity for organized mass

destruction. We recognize that we have no alternative but to take a firm stand against such irrational prejudice directed against anyone or any group that differs from us in race, religion, sexual orientation or political outlook.

My experiences at Auschwitz have deepened my commitment to take very seriously any and all manifestations of antisemitism -- no matter how inconsequential they may appear at first glance. The rapid rise of Nazism showed us how quickly an apparently insignificant movement can assume control over a society. For this reason I have spoken with determined voice against the prejudicial statements of Louis Farrakhan. I especially repudiate his "theological" attacks on the integrity of Judaism.

I commend the leadership of American Judaism as well as Israeli political leaders for the manner in which they have unqualifiedly condemned a similar form of racist attack by Rabbi Meir Kahane against Israeli Arabs. This posture must firmly continue. Christian religious leaders of every denomination must show the same courage in repudiating anyone who utters antisemitic statements against Jews.

I wish to focus my major reflections this evening on three very sensitive dimensions of our current relationship: (1) the theological expression of the bond between us; (2) the State of Israel; and (3) current Church-State relations in our nation.



The Theological Expression of the Bond Between Us

Let me begin with the story of the Crucifixion. Throughout the centuries the accounts of Jesus' death unfortunately served as a source of deep conflict between our communities. Many Christians held Jews collectively responsible for Jesus' death, calling them "Christ killers". The Second Vatican Council laid to rest this charge of deicide which contemporary biblical scholarship has shown to be without foundation.

However, this development at the level of official Catholic teaching has not ended all problems at the popular level in regard to the narration of Christ's death. Popular culture frequently reinforces the stereotype of Jewish collective responsibility for Jesus' death.

Besides removing any lingering anti-Judaism in our presentations of the crucifixion, we must help our people to recognize its potential for bringing Jews and Christians closer together. Until this more positive side of the crucifixion story relative to Judaism touches Christian consciousness, the anti-semitic interpretation long associated with it will not be finally excised.

Let me be more specific about what I mean. In relating the story of Jesus' death, we need to stress that the religious ideals, which Jesus preached and tried to implement in the social structures of his day, were shared by the most creative and forward-looking forces in Judaism of that period. Actually, Jesus and his followers stood in concert with a significant part

of the Jewish community in opposing the unjust structures which existed at that time. His death bore witness to many of the same ideals proclaimed by other rabbis.

Another important element in the restoration of the Jewish context of Christianity is a deeper appreciation within the Church of the first part of our Bible -- the Hebrew Scriptures or the "First Testament" as it is called in a recent statement by the Pontifical Biblical Commission. Too often Christians have looked upon the Old or First Testament as a mere prelude to the spiritual insights found in the New Testament. We need to increase our appreciation of the First Testament as a source of ongoing religious meaning for us in its own right. It is part of our heritage, not merely a backdrop for the teaching of Jesus.

The final theological area I want to raise briefly is how our understanding of Jesus, as Messiah, affects our relationship with Judaism. This is a very difficult and sensitive area, for it touches upon the central expression of our Christian faith. Hence Jews must appreciate the fact that Christians will reflect upon this relationship with appropriate caution.

Traditionally Christians have sometimes thought that Jews are no longer favored or loved by God because they failed to acknowledge Jesus as Messiah. This is simply not true. Christian doctrine needs to be stated in such a way as to acknowledge authentic theological space for Judaism. I am pleased to see an increasing number of theologians devoting themselves to this



task, and I urge Christian theologians to give this work a high priority. The restatement which emerges may never be in complete harmony with Jewish self-expression, but, of course, Jews do not need Christian validation for their religious expression! Nevertheless, especially in light of the Holocaust, we have an obligation as Christians to search for ways to express in a positive way -- one that is more in accord with the actual Scriptures -- the close bond between Judaism and Christianity.

The State of Israel

I now wish to address a topic which I know is of central concern to you and the rest of the Jewish community: the continued security of the State of Israel. I know that, despite wide diversity of opinion within your community about its ultimate significance, Israel is pivotal in Jewish self-understanding. However its meaning is expressed, nearly all Jews view Israel as central to their identity as a people.

On the particular question of Israel, we are united in many of our perspectives, but we also differ on some of them.

We both agree on the overriding need for stability and peace. The National Conference of Catholic Bishops in its 1973 statement on the Middle East and again in November, 1978, called unequivocally for the recognition of the State of Israel within secure and recognized boundaries as a basic element of any lasting and just peace. Since those official statements, I have personally and consistently given support to this position in many ways.

I understand and am most sensitive to your continuing concern about Israel's vulnerability. The history of the State has been shaped by the experience of the Holocaust and the documented discrimination that Jews have historically faced in the East and the West. A resident of a kibbutz, a survivor of Auschwitz, poignantly captured this reality for me when he remarked, "This land is our resurrection!"

The complex political realities of the Middle East have been an obstacle standing in the way of full diplomatic recognition of the State of Israel by the Holy See, even though this has been urged by many Catholics and Jews, including leaders of your organization. However, it is important to note that the relationship between the Holy See and Israel has improved significantly over the last decade, a fact not always clearly acknowledged in some discussions of the matter. The Holy See recognizes the State of Israel and receives its representatives.

I would be remiss as a Christian religious leader if I did not share with you some uneasiness about certain aspects of the current Middle East situation and its implications for our dialogue.

First of all, I repeat the note of caution I sounded when addressing the Chicago Board of Rabbis and the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago soon after my arrival in Chicago. Theological statements of support for Israel by some fundamentalist Christian groups are not a valid barometer for evaluating responses



from mainline Christians, including the Catholic community. We simply do not share the same theological tradition with them. We also see a danger in a theological approach which remains isolated from the complexity of Middle East politics: It may too easily lead to a suspension of all concrete moral evaluation. Our tradition of justice and peace requires that we look not only at the theological dimensions of Israel but also at the state of actual relations between Jews and Arabs in that land.

With regard to the present situation in Israel, I would like very briefly to raise two points which need discussion in our dialogue. The first is the seemingly intensified marginalization of the Arab population in Israel proper. Since many of these Arab citizens of Israel are Christians, we cannot ignore their situation. Frankly, no democratic society can truly hope to prosper with such a large, frustrated minority.

The situation on the West Bank is my other concern. I support the positions taken by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Holy See which call for a political solution to this problem. Any attempt by Israel totally to absorb the West Bank through direct or de facto annexation will cause immense tension in the Jewish-Christian relationship. Justice demands that we recognize the necessity for a Palestinian homeland mutually agreed upon by the key actors in the region.

As many of you know, the Bishops' Conference has for many years been part of the public debate about U.S. policy in the

Middle East. We have tried to take the concerns of Israel about security and safety with utmost seriousness; we have also tried to be equally concerned about the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people and the Arab nations.

I want to emphasize that my sharing these concerns is not meant to be contentious. My point quite simply is that these and other related issues merit serious consideration in our dialogue. Our discussions will reach full maturity if we are able to discuss such concerns in a frank, but respectful manner.

Religion and Politics in a Pluralistic Society

My final topic for consideration this evening is one which has occupied a great deal of my attention in recent months. It is the intricate, often emotional, issue of religion and politics in a pluralistic society. I recently spoke on this issue at the Woodstock Theological Center at Georgetown University. It was a long, complex talk, and I will not attempt to summarize it this evening. I merely want to highlight a few points which are relevant to this presentation.

At the outset, I wish to reaffirm in the strongest terms possible my continued commitment to the principles articulated by the Second Vatican Council in its historic statement on religious liberty. In many ways, that document, along with Nostra Aetate, was the most unique contribution of American Catholic experience to the work of the Council.



In this spirit I would like to offer some observations regarding the role religion and religious leaders ought to play in the public life of our nation. This question has engendered strong feelings during the current presidential campaign, and the discussion will continue. The proper role of religious groups in the shaping of public policy is one of the most challenging issues facing the American public in these last years of the twentieth century. Our future as a moral voice in the world may well depend on how it is resolved.

This is not a new theme in our history as a nation. From Washington's first inaugural to Lincoln's second inaugural, from the Declaration of Independence to the decisive issues of this election, the themes of religion, morality and politics are woven through the American experience. Intellectually and politically, the key question in every stage of the American civil experiment has not been whether these themes should be discussed but how to structure the debate for the welfare of the Church and the State.

Let me hasten to add that there is a legitimate secularity of the political process just as there is a legitimate role for religious and moral discourse in our nation's life. The dialogue which keeps both alive must be careful conversation which seeks neither to transform secularity into secularism nor to change the religious role into religiously dominated public discourse. At the same time, this discourse is structured by religious pluralism.

Some mistakenly attempt to limit morality to personal matters. Religion cannot be so constricted. The founding principle of our society is the dignity and worth of every individual. Religious values include recognition of the dignity and worth of all people under God and the responsibilities of a social morality which flow from this belief.

Catholic social doctrine is based on two truths about the human person: Human life is both sacred and social. Because we esteem human life as sacred, we have a duty to protect and foster it at all stages of development from conception to death and in all circumstances. Because we acknowledge it is social, we must develop the kind of societal environment which protects and fosters its development. All the interventions of the United States Catholic Bishops on a spectrum of social issues are based on this belief.

Some assume that the development of public policy is a purely secular and political endeavor, or merely economic and technological in scope. If this were the case, then the Church and religious leaders would have no specific role in the development of such policy. However, as a society, we are increasingly confronted with a range of issues which have undeniable moral dimensions. It is not possible to define, debate or decide these policy issues without addressing explicitly their moral character. The issues span the whole spectrum of life from conception to death, and they bear upon major segments of our domestic and foreign policy.



Two characteristics of American society which intensify the moral urgency of this range of issues are the global impact of our policies and the technological character of our culture. The role of human rights in U.S. foreign policy, for example, has specific consequences each day for people from Eastern Europe through Southern Africa, from South America to Asia. But the formulation of a human rights policy is not a purely political or technical question. It requires sustained moral analysis from case to case.

I recognize that not all of you may agree with the framework I have just outlined. The discussion of religion and politics will continue in earnest after the election. I truly encourage this. I hope that it will take place in a context permeated by the spirit of our common religious heritage, "Blessed indeed is it when brothers and sisters dwell together as one."

---

My dear friends, this evening I have come to you as your brother. I have spoken honestly and frankly as is appropriate among brothers and sisters. We have so much in common. But ultimately it is our faith in God, who created us in his image and likeness, that unites us more than anything else. So may we always celebrate that unity, while respecting our different traditions, and working with each other, in love, for the betterment of ourselves and the entire human family. Please accept my presence among you this evening as a sign of the great respect and affection I have for you, as well as a reaffirmation of my

commitment to dialogue with you and work with you.

May the Lord bless you and keep you.

May his face shine upon you, and be gracious to you.

May he look upon you with kindness,

and give you his peace. Amen.





[start]

Original documents  
faded and/or illegible



The time is short; year follows year, and the world is passing away.

In the interest of the immortality you seek, why not take a moment to consider that at one time the Jews were so favored of God that He lavished miracles on them, that when He commenced them, He continued them, and that it is now a long long time, centuries, since Jews received such gracious tokens of His care.

Where, one asks, are the wonderful supernatural events with which He supported the Jews of old? Where are the miracles since Titus drove them from Jerusalem? Josephus refers to a sword-shaped constellation over the City before the Romans destroyed it.

Now look at the Catholic Christian side, where some of Heaven's choicest deeds have appeared, deeds that began in Apostolic times with the Star of Bethlehem, if you will pick up the New Testament. And they have continued. I list a few that randomly come to mind:

First, that Star of Bethlehem, explained by Kepler and accepted by many astronomers, as an astonishing conjunction of the planets Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars at the time of Jesus' birth. Not explained in natural terms was its appearance at that particular time, and its utility for guiding the Three Wise Men.

The host that turned to flesh in Lanciano, Italy in the 8th century, while the contents of the chalice turned to clotted blood. Both are said to be still visible. (1)

The event in Bolsena, Italy in the 13th century when a host bled on an army corporal during a Mass offered by a priest who doubted the Real Presence. (2)

The event of the host in Amsterdam, Holland on Mar. 18, 1845: thrown in the fire, the host hovered above the flames. (3)

The event in Guadalupe, Mexico when an exact image, in full color, of the Virgin appeared on the cloak of Juan Diego on Dec. 12, 1531. (4)

Preservation of the body of Francis Tregian of England, found incorrupt on exhumation in 1625 after 17 years in the grave. (5)

"The Incorruptibles" is the title of a book on 101 saints and beati whose bodies were found to be incorrupt years after burial. Available in Catholic book stores.



The stigmata of the crucified Jesus borne by Anne Catherine Emmerich from 1812 until her death in 1824. (6)

The deeds of Fr. Vincenzo Pallotti, who died in 1830 in Italy, including the multiplying of money, the knowledge of which sick persons were to die and when, etc. (7)

The multiplication of food, fuel, and money in modern times by men like the Cure of Ars and Don Bosco. (8)

After 76 years in the grave Pius IX, who died in 1878, was found to be in an almost perfect state of preservation. (9)

The shower of roses that fell on the bed of Therese of Lisieux (1897). (10)

The Shroud of Turin was for centuries thought to be Jesus' winding sheet, yet it was only in 1898 that it was photographed, and there on the photograph was seen the image. (11)

The dancing sun at Fatima, Portugal on Oct. 17, 1917 was witnessed by 70,000 people, many of whom had come to scoff. (12)

The Bishop of Almeria, in Spain, in the Spring of 1936 who had petrol poured over his body preparatory to burning but it would not ignite. (13)

The movement of the head of a statue of a Madonna in 1948 in Assisi, Italy, observed by thousands of people. (14)

The Ghost miracle in Czechoslovakia in 1949, comprising a crucifix that bowed to the people. (15)

The tears flowing from a small terra-cotta statue of Our Lady in Syracuse, Italy in 1953. (16)

The miracles at Lourdes, France. See Louis Monden, "Signs and Wonders", Desclee, N.Y., 1936. In one case on Nov. 19, 1955 a French Court of Appeals recognized a miracle. (17)

The seeping of blood from a statue of the Virgin in Rmaich, Southern Lebanon. (18)

The story of the hermit Charbel Makhlouf of Lebanon in recent times. (19)

The Holy Coat at Treves.

The events at Garabandal, Spain in 1961.

The material of the Lombard crown at Monza.

The motion of the eyes of the pictures of the Madonna in the former Roman States.

The "standing miracle" of St Januarius of Benevento comprising the liquefaction of blood, a still-current happening of which there are records for the past 400 years. The saint died about 305 A.D. (20)

Many many accounts of extraordinary events may be found in the published records of the canonization trials, available in Rome.

Many accounts may be found in "Butler's Lives of the Saints", Kenedy, N.Y.

A few notes.

1. Any number of people will refuse, scornfully, to consider the evidence of such events. That hardly means that such people are right but rather that their imagination usurps the functions of reason; and they cannot bring themselves even/as a hypothesis (all that they are asked to do) a thought contrary to that vivid impression of which they are the victims.

2. These events were "not done in a corner". Many persons witnessed them. Thousands, in some cases. Some are still visible.

3. Why yield to negative dogmas like the impossibility of the event, or random abuse, or declarations of "pious fraud" or "hysteria"? They add nothing.

4. Even Protestants allow that miracles have been wrought in Apostolic times, and also later, as by Catholic Evangelists like St Gregory in Pontus, or St Martin in Gaul, although they seem to laugh at the idea of miracles occurring at this day, based on a mere opinion of theirs.

5. Besides miracles, there have been interventions of Providence, or providential "favors" or "graces". Who knows their extent?

6. In the Catholic Church there is a vast tradition and testimony about miracles, and of course an accompanying literature.

Yours truly

January 16, 1935

Some of the foregoing remarks are from J. H. Newman, used verbatim.

*Albert G. Lisle*

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**AUSTRIAN DEFENSE MINISTER APOLOGIZES FOR WHAT HE CALLS A 'MISCALCULATION'**

VIENNA, Jan. 29 (JTA) -- Defense Minister Friedrich Frischenschlager apologized to Chancellor Fred Sinowatz "and to the public" today for what he called "this miscalculation," his characterization of the personal greeting he extended last Thursday to Nazi war criminal Walter Reder on his return to his native Austria after nearly 40 years in prison in Italy.

Frischenschlager's reception of Reder touched off the worst political storm in Austria's recent history. It threatened the survival of Sinowatz's Socialist-led coalition government of which the Defense Minister's small, right-leaning Freedom Party (FPÖ) is a partner. Last night, Sinowatz ordered the Defense Minister to cut short a three-day official visit to Egypt -- begun last Saturday -- and to return home to explain his action.

His journey to Graz to meet Reder, a 69-year-old former SS Major convicted of the mass murder of civilians in Italy in 1944, triggered demands for his resignation across the entire political spectrum. In particular, it infuriated leaders of world Jewry, assembled in Vienna for the first time since World War II to attend a meeting of the Governing Board of the World Jewish Congress.

**Evolution Of Apologies**

Sinowatz's initial reaction to the affair was to call it a "grave mistake." Later, in a message to WJC president Edgar Bronfman, the Chancellor said, "I am profoundly sorry" about the Reder incident. In the course of his prepared address to the WJC gathering Saturday night, Sinowatz told the delegates, "The fact that this transfer (of Reder to Austria) made for personal contact between the Defense Minister and Reder was a grave political error."

He called it an "isolated event" from which "we should not draw conclusions" and stressed Austria's dedication to democracy and its long-standing role as a haven and transfer point for refugees, including many thousands of Jews from the Soviet Union.

The Chancellor's explanation did not sit well with many of the Jewish leaders who felt the issue was a moral one, not simply a "political error."

Frischenschlager, who had made clear he would not resign under pressure, gave his apology to Sinowatz at a Cabinet session. "I am sorry for this miscalculation and I can only offer my regrets to you, Chancellor and to the public," his statement said. It was read to reporters today by Sinowatz.

**BLACK AFRICAN DIPLOMAT SAYS THERE IS A 'CRISIS OF MISUNDERSTANDING' BETWEEN JEWISH PEOPLE AND THIRD WORLD**  
By Aviva Cantor

VIENNA, Jan. 29 (JTA) -- There is a "crisis of misunderstanding" between the Jewish people and its aspirations and the Third World, Ambassador James Jonah of Sierra Leone told delegates attending the World Jewish Congress Governing Board here.

Jonah, Assistant United Nations Secretary General and Secretary General of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, described in considerable detail his efforts at explaining to other Africans the concept of Zionism as intrinsically anti-racist and anti-ghetto, in the context of the successful efforts to head off the inclusion of the Zionism-equals-racism equation in the final declaration of the Second World Conference on Racism, held in Geneva in 1983.

While this formula was not included, several paragraphs condemning Israel's "racial discrimination against Palestinians" in the occupied territories, and the increased relations with the "racist regime" of South Africa were included.

**Points To A Key Factor**

Jonah pointed to the "high profile" of Israel's relations with South Africa as a key factor in the Black African nations' refraining from diplomatic relations with Israel. "Your agony in thinking about the Holocaust is exactly the African feeling about apartheid," Jonah said. "Your experience in the Holocaust frightens the Africans."

Responding to Jonah, Dr. Gerhart Riegner, former Secretary General of the WJC and now co-chairman of its Governing Board, said that it is "our duty to come back to the UN Decade (Against Racism) on all fronts." (The WJC had withdrawn from the First Decade Against Racism 1973-1983 after the UN General Assembly adopted the Zionism-equals-racism resolution in 1975.)

Paraphrasing Chaim Weizmann's 1939 statement about fighting both the Nazis and the British White Paper, Riegner added: "We will fight against racism as if the anti-Israel clauses (in the final declaration of the Second World Conference on Racism) did not exist. We will fight the anti-Israel discriminatory clauses as if the fight against racism didn't exist."

**'No Selective Struggle Against Racism'**

Rabbi Arthur Schneier, chairman of the WJC Third World Commission, spoke of how the Holocaust began with racism. Jews, he said, were the first historical victims of racism "and we are its victims still in many parts of the world. This is why as a matter of survival we identify with the struggle waged by other victims of racism."

In a strong statement, Schneier said: "There cannot be a policy of differentiation in the struggle against racism. One cannot condemn apartheid and condone anti-Semitism. One cannot condemn anti-Semitism and condone apartheid. There must be no selective struggle against racism."

**Cites Changes In Activities For Soviet Jewry**

On a parallel track, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, declared that the oppression of Soviet Jewry cannot be considered a "strictly internal affair, not any more than we can consider South Africa's apartheid laws to be strictly an internal affair."

Speaking of the dangers in activities for Soviet Jewry becoming "cold warriors and urging an acceleration of the arms race," Schindler said that "we reject



the damning caricature of the Soviet Union as an 'evil empire' totally devoid of all humanity," a reference to this description by President Reagan.

While expressing criticism of the Soviet Union for not living up to its ideals, Schindler was against Jews falling into the trap of "joining the shrill voices of those who wish to sink Russia and America ever more deeply into incendiary rhetoric and reciprocal military confrontation." He said this would be totally counterproductive to the cause of increasing Soviet Jewish emigration, which diminishes "when Soviet-American relations are strained."

#### Non-Jews Lauded For Aiding Ethiopian Jews

In a closed session, Ambassador Moshe Gilboa, director of the world Jewish affairs division of Israel's Foreign Ministry, reportedly lauded non-Jews who had helped Ethiopian Jews, as latter-day Wallenbergs, who could not be mentioned by name. (The reference was to Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat, who was instrumental in saving tens of thousands of Jews in Hungary during the Holocaust and who disappeared in the Soviet Union 40 years ago last week.)

The Ethiopian story, Gilboa reportedly said, has "brought to the world a new feeling of Israeli daring and courage" not seen since the days of the Entebbe rescue in 1976 and the capture of Adolf Eichmann in 1960. The majority of the African press has been full of "praise, understanding and expressions of solidarity," Gilboa said.

Franz Cardinal Koenig, the Primate of Austria, who addressed a session on Christian-Jewish relations, announced the contribution of 100,000 Schillings (\$5,000) for Ethiopian Jewry relief.

Premier Shimon Peres of Israel said, from Jerusalem, during a closed-circuit TV dialogue between himself and the WJC Governing Board delegates, that a key issue Israel will be focusing on in the near future will be the absorption of Ethiopian Jews. He pointed with pride to the fact that the Ethiopian Jews, "a forlorn tribe, divorced and isolated from the mainstream of Jewish history for 2,000 years and under extremely heavy oppression," had remained Jews.

#### Peres: Who Is A Jew Question Is A 'Futile Effort'

On another matter, Peres called the Who is a Jew question a "futile effort" and an "unnecessary question." He expressed gratification that the Knesset "had the wisdom and responsibility not to choose the kind of answer that would divide our people." The Knesset, on January 16, voted 62-51 against an amendment to the Law of Return demanded by Israel's Orthodox religious establishment.

In answer to a question on the subject, Peres suggested a "summit meeting" of the major streams in Jewish life "to work out a formula of spiritual coexistence." In his opening statement on this issue, the Premier emphasized the importance of accepting the concept of pluralism in Jewish life. "We can argue, debate, suggest, and we can remain together," he said. "We can be different in our views, but united in our destiny."

Immediately following the conversation with Peres, Rabbi Emanuel Rackman, president of Bar Ilan University and an Orthodox spokesperson, rose and commented that "not all Orthodox Jews support a change in the Law of Return." Rackman, a former president of the Rabbinical Council of America, said that many of the groups of "modern Orthodox"

with which he identifies "strongly oppose changing the law and are perfectly content with the Law of Return as it stands today."

The session with Peres was scheduled to be followed by a Holocaust memorial service at the Stadttempel (Seitenstettengasse Shul), and two receptions, one of them tendered by Vice Chancellor Norbert Steger of the Freedom Party, to which Defense Minister Friedrich Frischenschlager also belongs.

That reception was being boycotted by the Austrian Jewish delegation to the WJC Governing Board as well as by some other delegates, including WJC vice president Kalman Sultanik, in protest against the Defense Minister's greeting of Nazi war criminal Walter Reder.

#### WITHDRAWAL OF EQUIPMENT FROM AWALI RIVER LINE IS VIRTUALLY COMPLETED

By Hugh Orgel

TEL AVIV, Jan. 29 (JTA) -- Military sources said today that the withdrawal of equipment from the Awali River line, until now the forward position of the Israel Defense Force in south Lebanon, has been virtually completed as the first stage of the three-stage withdrawal of the IDF from Lebanon progresses.

According to the sources, all heavy equipment and moveable installations have been pulled back to the new line on the Litani River. Army engineers are preparing to blow up fixed installations which neither the Lebanese army nor the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) have offered to buy.

The engineers are also destroying the underground bunkers built by the Palestine Liberation Organization before 1982 when the PLO was in virtual control of south Lebanon.

An IDF officer told Israel Radio today, "It does not really matter now whether we hand over to the Lebanese army or to UNIFIL because there is nothing left to hand over." The first stage of the withdrawal is expected to be completed by February 18.

#### NO PROGRESS IN TABA TALKS

TEL AVIV, Jan. 29 (JTA) -- Three days of talks between Israel and Egypt over the future status of Taba ended at Beersheba tonight with little progress to report, save that the two delegations agreed to meet again in about a month. No date was set.

Taba is a tiny strip of beach on the Gulf of Aqaba claimed by both countries. Egypt broke off the negotiations two years ago and they have only just resumed. Zvi Keddar, head of the Israeli delegation, told reporters he was not certain where the talks stand at the moment.

Abdul Halim El-Badawi, leader of the Egyptian delegation, said Cairo was ready to continue the talks but wants third party arbitration. The joint communique issued by the Israelis, Egyptians and U.S. observers said only that the talks would be continued at a time and place yet to be fixed.

#### ISRAEL'S CHIEF RABBIS DECLINE TO EASE RELIGIOUS DIVORCE LAWS

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, Jan. 29 (JTA) -- Israel's chief rabbis have politely refused to do anything to ease the religious divorce laws which often impose severe hardships on women. There is no civil divorce in Israel.

The two Chief Rabbis, Avraham Shapiro, Ashkenazic, and Mordechai Eliahu, Sephardic, received a delegation representing women's organizations today to hear their plea for change. But according to Arye Rosenzweig of the Tel Aviv University law faculty, one of three Orthodox lawyers who discussed the problem



with the rabbis, Shapiro and Eliahu were "sympathetic" but claimed there was little they could do. Of about 15,000 divorce petitions filed each year in Israel, only 5,000 are resolved. In many cases one partner, most often the woman, has to wait years for a divorce decree because the other spouse refuses to agree to terms. The religious courts, which have sole jurisdiction, usually will not grant a divorce if one spouse refuses to agree.

Rosenzweig said at a press conference here today that the rabbis were unable to comprehend the problems of the secular public in Israel and are not willing to tackle them. He said the women's delegation tried to persuade the Chief Rabbis that halacha (religious law) could be used to change the situation but the rabbis rejected that idea.

#### NCSJ WELCOMES SOVIET INVITATION TO BRONFMAN BUT WARNS OF POSSIBLE PROPAGANDA PLOY BY THE USSR

By David Friedman

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29 (JTA) -- Morris Abram, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, welcomed today the invitation the Soviet Union has made to Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, to go to the Soviet Union.

But he warned that if Bronfman receives only "token gestures," his visit, scheduled for late March, would serve only for "propaganda" for the Soviet Union rather than be a means of easing the plight of Soviet Jewry.

"I am glad that any representative of any Jewish organization is invited to the Soviet Union to discuss the problems," Abram said at a press conference at the NCSJ office here. But he added that the invitation does not "indicate" the USSR "is going to change its fundamental policy" of restricting Jewish emigration and officially approved anti-Semitism.

"If the Soviet Union intends only to release a few persons," Abram said, "but continues the vast persecution, the nationwide persecution; if it intends to continue to restrict emigration; if Soviet Jews like Anatoly Shcharansky and Josef Begun remain in jail and if the Hebrew language continues to be repressed barring even the printing of Hebrew books on Karl Marx, then whatever palliative or token gesture they make will be of only propaganda use."

But Abram added that he hoped the conversations Bronfman has "will be substantive and touch all the elements which the Soviet Union should be doing without being asked" because it has signed international agreements such as the Helsinki accords.

In a recent letter to The New York Times, Abram criticized Bronfman for a column in which the WJC leader said the Soviet Jewry issue was turning the Jewish community into "cold warriors."

The press conference and a meeting Abram had later with Secretary of State George Shultz were in preparation for the NCSJ's day-long "Emergency Action For Soviet Jews" gathering scheduled for Capitol Hill tomorrow. Participants will include members of Congress and a broad spectrum of American religious and ethnic leaders, and will feature a symbolic "prisoner lunch" of potato soup and black bread.

#### Wants To Thank Shultz

Abram said he wanted to thank Shultz for keeping his pledge to the NCSJ last year that in all meetings with the Soviet Union, the U.S. would raise the issue of Soviet Jewry, including the meeting Shultz

had with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in Geneva earlier this month. Lionel Olmer, Undersecretary of Commerce for International Trade Administration, also raised the issue of Soviet Jewry during recent trade talks in Moscow, Abram said. He noted that Olmer told him he spent an evening with a Soviet Jewish refusenik and found it an "extraordinary experience."

Jerry Goodman, NCSJ executive director, said the NCSJ believes that if there are to be improved cultural, scientific and trade relations between the U.S. and Soviet Union, it required if not "explicit, implicit preconditions," that there be improved conditions for Soviet Jews including increased emigration. He said this view is shared by the Reagan Administration.

Abram said the Jackson-Vanik Amendment which links trade to immigration is not written in "concrete" and Jews would not oppose changing the amendment if the Soviet Union would honor the Helsinki accords. But he stressed the Jackson-Vanik Amendment has not been a barrier to emigration but may have assisted it since 51,000 Jews emigrated from the USSR in the year it was adopted. Emigration last year was below 900.

#### Anti-Semitism, Anti-Zionism Continues Unabated

Abram suggested that the coming Geneva talks on disarmament may lead to improved conditions for Jews in the USSR. But he stressed that the persecution of Jews continues now especially against teachers of Hebrew. He noted that when he was a representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in 1964 he showed the commission a book printed in the Ukraine, "Judaism without Embellishment" which was anti-Semitic.

Last November, in Leningrad, a 27-minute documentary was broadcast on television called, "Hireling and Accomplices" which Abram said was intended to warn Jews to keep away from contacts with people in the West and to turn non-Jews against Jews.

The film, which was shown at the press conference and will be shown again tomorrow, portrays Zionism as an anti-Soviet movement serving Western imperialism and aliya as a means of bringing Soviet Jews to Israel for "cannon fodder for Israel's continuing offensive against the Arab world." American and other Western Jews are portrayed as seeking to convince Soviet Jews to betray their country in return for material rewards.

#### NEW ACTIVIST GROUP FORMED IN ISRAEL

JERUSALEM, Jan. 29 (JTA) -- A new activist group which wants to re-arrange government priorities in favor of social issues has emerged here, calling itself "Combat '85." One of its first demands is the transfer of monies allocated for new settlement building on the West Bank to the needy.

The group is composed of young city dwellers and some not so young who were active in the now defunct Black Panthers movement in the 1970's. Their immediate goal is to lead the social struggle in slum neighborhoods, inhabited mainly by Oriental Jews, which long have been considered strongholds of Likud and other rightwing parties.

Two of its leaders, Saadya Marciano of the Labor Party and MK Charlie Biton of the Hadash Communists, are both former leaders of the Black Panthers.



# GOVERNMENTS TO OPEN ARCHIVES TO YAD VASHEM SCHOLARS

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 29 (JTA) -- The governments of West Germany, Poland, Hungary and Rumania have independently agreed to share their heretofore confidential archives of the Holocaust period with scholars from Israel's Yad Vashem Martyrs and Heroes Remembrance Authority, it was announced by Abraham Spiegel, chairperson of the Los Angeles Martyrs Memorial and Museum of the Holocaust, its West Coast affiliate.

"We are very anxious to have access to this material," Spiegel noted, "for it will enable us to make significant advances in repairing the patchwork of the history of the period. We will be able to trace the fates of individuals, of communities, of the development of a genocide which should never again happen to any people on earth."

The German state central archive in Ludwigsburg, which contains essential information on Nazi war criminals, will be available for researchers to take whatever is considered necessary back to the Yad Vashem research facility. While the Polish archives have been accessible to scholars for about three years, they, like those of the other Eastern European countries, will be open to exchange with the Jerusalem-based facility.

It is estimated that hundreds of thousands of documents are contained in these resources, which include those of the Jewish communities as well as the state. "We don't know why these materials have been opened up to us at this point," Spiegel stated. "We must act quickly lest the opportunity be withdrawn. Let us hope that this marks the beginning of a new understanding of peoples."

## ITALY'S DEFENSE MINISTER SAYS THERE MUST BE A CAMP DAVID II

NEW YORK, Jan. 29 (JTA) -- Italy's Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini told a large audience at Columbia University last Friday that "Israel without question is the only democracy in the Middle East," and "those who care about democracy in Western Europe must care about the democracy in Israel."

Speaking at Columbia University's School of International Affairs, Minister Spadolini said that "Camp David was a good first step toward negotiating peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors, but there must now be a Camp David II." He addressed an audience composed of mainly Italian academics, civic and business leaders, and media people.

A three-man delegation from the American Jewish Committee was present during the lecture. The subjects of Israel, Palestinians, Middle East peace and terrorism dominated the question-and-answer period.

At the invitation of the Italian Embassy in Washington, the AJC representatives held a brief, private meeting with the Italian Defense Minister at Casa Italiana. The AJC group consisted of Theodore Ellenoff, chairman of AJC's Board of Governors; Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, AJC's director of international relations; and David Harris, deputy director.

During an hour-long lecture in Italian, Spadolini said that the European Economic Community (EEC) should play "a constructive role in seeking to promote negotiations and peaceful coexistence between the Arabs and Israel." He stated that

"the EEC should coordinate its policies with the United States and not compete with the U.S." Spadolini also said that diplomatic means must be found to help save the remaining Black Jews in Ethiopia and the Sudan. He added that Italy and the EEC will try to contribute to that humanitarian cause. Italy now holds the presidency of the EEC and Spadolini indicated that Italy would use the next five months of its EEC presidency to advance these objectives.

Spadolini then condemned international terrorism as a major threat to world peace. He singled out Libya as a primary exporter of terrorism. The counter-ing of global violence and terror, he said, was a major subject of his consultations with U.S. Government officials.

During their private meetings, Ellenoff commended Minister Spadolini for his positive views on Israel and Middle East peace, the rescue of Ethiopian Jews, and on combatting terrorism. Tanenbaum proposed a meeting for fuller discussion of these concerns with Spadolini in Rome during the week of February 10 to 14 when a high-level delegation of AJC leaders will be on a mission to Italy. Spadolini agreed to such a meeting.

## SOVIETS REJECT AN ISRAELI PROPOSAL

JERUSALEM, Jan. 29 (JTA) -- Israel proposed to the Soviet Union that the two countries resume cooperation on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany this year. But the idea was flatly rejected by the USSR, Premier Shimon Peres told a meeting of high school students here yesterday. The Soviets broke diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967.

Peres said Israel's message was conveyed to the Kremlin by Armand Hammer, the American oil magnate who is well connected in Moscow through his extensive business dealings with the Russians. The reply was that a development such as was suggested by Israel would depend on relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S.

Peres revealed the exchange of messages shortly after Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, announced at the WJC Board of Governors meeting in Vienna that he had been invited to the Soviet Union later this year in his capacities both as businessman and WJC president.

## RUTH FELDMAN DEAD AT 52

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29 (JTA) -- Ruth Feldman, who served as executive director of B'nai B'rith Women from 1983 to 1985, died of cancer last week at her home in Buffalo, N.Y. She was 52 years old. She resided in Washington during her service to B'nai B'rith Women and had only recently returned to Buffalo.

Prior to her arrival in Washington, Feldman was executive director of the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra for five years. An accomplished pianist and registered music therapist, she served as director of social rehabilitation and creative arts therapies for the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene prior to her work with the Buffalo Philharmonic. She also taught creative arts therapy and grantsmanship at the State University College at Buffalo.

Feldman was the co-author of a book and wrote several articles examining ways arts organizations can best serve the hearing impaired. In 1980 she was named "Woman of the Year" by the State University of New York at Buffalo.

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Catholic Bishops, and by the chief adviser to the Vatican on relations with the Jewish people."

The dispute within the Jewish community over the Vatican conference first surfaced several weeks ago, during the meeting in Rome.

The 22-member Jewish delegation at the Vatican was composed largely of American Jewish leaders, but also included leaders from Europe, Latin America and Israel. In addition to meeting with the Pope, the delegation held a series of meetings with its Vatican counterpart, the Commission on Religious Relations with the Jews. The two groups closed the conference with a pledge to continue Catholic-Jewish dialogue in an effort "to overcome the residues of indifference, resistance, and suspicion."

#### Vatican in Control

Nevertheless, the WJC's Singer charged that the conference was "completely on the Vatican's terms" because it did not deal with issues such as the Vatican's non-recognition of Israel and the Pope's meeting with Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat two years ago.

Singer said he objected to the fact that the Catholic-Jewish dialogue had focused almost entirely on theological issues. "Jewish organizations should be raising the issues of social and political relations between us. We should be talking about what pains us and them."

Besides Israel and the PLO, "I would have thought a subject such as the rise of fundamentalism around the world would have been the most important item on the agenda," Singer said. "Why was there no discussion of racism, which we have seen in both Jewish and Christian forms?"

Tanenbaum, who attended the Vatican conference, termed charges that Jewish-Catholic relations were not moving forward "nonsense" and "ignorant drivel."

Tanenbaum said that the continuing willingness of the Pope and other high Catholic officials to denounce anti-Semitism "is of critical importance."

"The greatest threat we face today is political anti-Semitism from the Soviet Union, the Arab world, the PLO and many Third World nations," he said. "To have the Pope saying to 800 million Catholics that anti-Semitism is unacceptable is one of the most powerful resources we have to fight the Zionism is racism slander."

Tanenbaum stressed his belief that the Pope has gone forward despite advice from some "ultra-conservatives" in the Vatican to slow down the dialogue with Jews. Failure to maintain and develop the exchange could possibly lead the Vatican to move closer to the Muslim world, he said.

Both Tanenbaum and Rabbi Mordecai Waxman, president of the Synagogue Council of America, said they were satisfied that the Pope and Church leaders understood the impatience of the world Jewish community with their continued non-recognition of Israel. Both asserted Church leaders were moving behind the scenes to broaden contacts with Israel.

Tanenbaum said, "If one looks at the attitude of the Catholic church today as compared to what it was before *Nostra Aetate*, there is no question they have moved right years. It took 2,000 years for all of that anti-Semitism to build up; and only 20 years to dismantle it."

Noting that he planned to attend

a November interfaith meeting with the Catholic bishops of Brazil in Sao Paulo at which the bishops will denounce anti-Semitism, Tanenbaum asked, "Do you have any idea how important this statement is for the small Brazilian Jewish community, who lives among five million Brazilians of Arab ancestry? They are ecstatic. The Catholic bishops recently made similar statements in Argentina and Uruguay."

Tanenbaum said that the Church's opposition to anti-Semitism had also had a dramatic effect in the U.S. "All anti-Semitic references have been wiped out of Catholic textbooks," he said. "Catholics and Jews have held interfaith meetings in every state in the union. Catholic clergy have marched in the thousands on behalf of Soviet Jewry and Syrian Jewry."

#### Church Monitoring Mideast

Tanenbaum said highly placed sources in the Vatican had informed him they are watching developments in the Middle East very closely—and that if Israel is successful in negotiating a peace treaty with Jordan, the Church will move to establish ties with Israel.

He said the Vatican officials justified their non-recognition of Israel by saying they have a policy of not recognizing countries in a state of belligerency and whose borders are in dispute.

Tanenbaum also said he believes the Vatican is hesitating to recognize Israel out of concern that an announcement of diplomatic relations "could lead to a massacre of Christians in the Middle East. They have to be aware of the implications of any such step for the Christians in a part of the world where extremism is growing."



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*WJC's Israel Singer demands an apology from AJC's Marc Tanenbaum for a personal attack on WJC officials*

## Vatican Politics

By Martin Pomerance

WEST PALM BEACH—A dispute between the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee heated up last week over the question of how best to conduct relations with the Vatican.

The dispute, which has been simmering since last July, erupted suddenly in November when World Jewish Congress (WJC) officials Edgar Bronfman and Israel Singer bluntly and publicly criticized both the Vatican for not establishing diplomatic ties with Israel and a Jewish delegation for not forcefully enough pressing the Israel issue when the delegation met with the Pope and other Vatican officials in October.

Responding to that criticism two weeks ago at an American Jewish Committee (AJC) meeting in Miami, Marc Tanenbaum, international affairs director for the AJC and a member of the October delegation, lashed back at Bronfman and Singer, accusing them of embarrassing Catholic officials and of jeopardizing what Tanenbaum described as a steadily improving Catholic-Jewish relationship.

Speaking bluntly at the time, Tanenbaum also personally attacked both Bronfman and Singer. Describing Singer as "narcissistic" and Bronfman as "inex-

perienced" in Jewish affairs, Tanenbaum then charged that Singer writes Bronfman's speeches and is motivated by an egoism "that makes Singer believe that before he came onto the scene, nothing happened in Jewish affairs."

Clearly angered by Tanenbaum's personal remarks, Singer reported during an interview with *Jewish World* last week that he has demanded a formal apology from Tanenbaum for what Singer characterized as a "vicious" attack on WJC officials.

"As the chief operating officer of the World Jewish Congress, I've asked the chief operating officer of the American Jewish Committee, David Gordis, for an apology from Tanenbaum, and I expect one," Singer added.

Although Singer said he did not want to engage in any personal attacks, he emphasized, "Tanenbaum's insults to Edgar Bronfman are particularly remarkable because they're directed at a man who has headed the World Jewish Congress for the past five years and has had more international experience and has met more heads of state than any other Jewish leader. To call him inexperienced and to try to portray me as his ventriloquist is outrageous."

Singer also defended his public criticisms of Vatican-Jewish diplomacy,

noting, "Tanenbaum sees significant forward movement in Catholic-Jewish relations since 1965, while I see none or very little movement since that time."

Referring to the world synod of bishops meeting in Rome last week to back up his argument, Singer pointed out that Cardinal Willebrands, the Vatican's liaison to the Jewish community, refused to present a letter to the synod, which had been signed by "thousands" of Catholics, asking the synod to issue a document "forgiving" Jews and asking it to establish diplomatic ties with Israel.

"I think Cardinal Willebrands' refusal even to deliver the letter proves our point that pussy-footing with the Vatican—which is what Tanenbaum is urging—simply isn't working. And don't forget, Willebrands is our biggest friend in the Vatican," Singer explained. "There is a point—and I believe we've reached it—where quiet diplomacy simply doesn't work."

He added, "Ever since 1965, we've been dealing with the Jewish division of the Vatican, which is like dealing with the Jewish liaison in the White House. On important, substantive issues like Israel, we can't be dealing with a liaison; we've got to be dealing with top-level policy makers."

Referring to Tanenbaum's call for a policy of quiet diplomacy, rather than public criticism of the Vatican, Singer said, "It is like dealing with the head of any state. We should always start with quiet diplomacy. First, we speak quietly. They promise to do something, so we wait a year. We speak quietly again; and they promise again, so we wait a second year. But if nothing happens then, we must go public."

Singer also reported that the World Jewish Congress is currently polling a number of international Jewish communities to determine whether they agree with Tanenbaum's quiet diplomacy approach or whether they too "want to go public" in their criticism of the Vatican. "Based on preliminary results of the poll," Singer added, "there is little doubt" that these communities will reject Tanenbaum's approach.

"I think most international Jewish communities recognize now that there is an actual retrenchment taking place in the Catholic Church—a move to the right-wing—and that Jewish concerns

will be affected," Singer said.

"This is not the time to celebrate Catholic-Jewish relations but rather a time to reassess those relations. We need our own synod," he added.

"With respect to statements made by the Pope last Easter and just two weeks ago—that Jews stood around cheering while Jesus was being killed—how can he say he wants to outlaw anti-Semitism, on the one hand, while he continues to repeat the very lie that causes anti-Semitism," Singer continued.

"What he does is to privately and quietly say he's sorry for anti-Semitism. He tells this to small groups of rabbis who then go home and tell Jews that the Pope is sorry. . . . The point is that we can't allow him to have it both ways—to make private statements and then go out and tell Catholics that Jews cheered while Christ was dying. . . . The Vatican has learned to take advantage of our quiet diplomacy," Singer explained.

He also expressed surprise at what he called an "about-face" in Tanenbaum's position on this issue. "Last July, at a meeting of Jewish leaders, Tanenbaum was the one who predicted the movement of the church to the right and said that Jewish issues would be carried along with the tide if we continued to deal with the Vatican on these terms. . . . Now, he suddenly reverses himself," Singer added.

Referring to Singer's and Bronfman's criticisms of Jewish diplomatic efforts, AJC's David Gordis said this week, "We regret the fact that some disagreements as to the participation of the Jewish community in discussions with the Catholic Church have led to some excesses of language and accusations which are not helpful and, in fact, are damaging. . . . We regret that in the matter of the most recent discussions. . . . at the Vatican some Jewish leaders chose to attack and disparage the important work over the past 20 years in Catholic-Jewish relations."

Then referring to Tanenbaum's criticisms of Singer and Bronfman, Gordis added, "We also regret some of the excesses of language that followed those statements." Gordis said he intends to call a meeting of "all the parties involved" in order to try to restore "a tone of civility."



## VATICAN DIALOGUE CRITICIZED

# Jews Disagree Over Message to Pope

BY WALTER RUBY

Quiet criticism by Jews of the Catholic Church's failure to recognize Israel burst into the open earlier this month when the president of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) called upon New York's Catholic Archbishop to convey the Jewish community's concern on the issue to the Vatican.

The blunt remarks by Edgar Bronfman came at a tribute dinner for Archbishop John Cardinal O'Connor sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith, of which Bronfman is a vice chairman. They were in line with earlier criticisms by WJC officials of the recent Jewish-Catholic conference at the Vatican celebrating the 20th anniversary of *Nostra Aetate*, the document in which the Church officially denounced anti-Semitism and disavowed the idea that Jews as a group bear responsibility for crucifying Christ.

Bronfman's comments, which were carried on the front page of *The New York Times* the next day, were a direct call for assistance from the Cardinal in getting the Vatican to move on the diplomatic relations issue. Bronfman also made clear immediately afterwards in remarks to this reporter that he agrees with earlier charges by WJC General Secretary Israel Singer that the October Vatican Catholic-Jewish conference, which included a brief meeting with Pope John Paul II, was "demeaning for the Jews."

Several Jewish leaders who attended the Vatican seminar responded by charging that the attack by WJC leaders was needlessly imperiling a fruitful Catholic-Jewish dialogue which has helped lessen anti-Semitism among hundreds of millions of Catholics around the world.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, international affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, termed Singer's criticisms "outrageous" and "irresponsible." Jewish critics of the Catholic-Jewish dialogue were "playing directly into the hands of those ultra-conservatives in the Vatican who would prefer to slow down this developing dialogue with world Jewry," said Tanenbaum.

Bronfman made his public call

upon the Cardinal while acting as master of ceremonies at the glittering dinner honoring O'Connor. The WJC president seemed to surprise not only the Cardinal but also the ADL leadership on the dais when he said to O'Connor, "Your Eminence, please convey to Rome the importance to Jews everywhere of normalizing relations between the Vatican and Israel, which is the home for so much Jewish culture and so many of the world's Jews."



Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

According to reliable sources, neither O'Connor nor leaders of the ADL had been informed that Bronfman would make a public appeal to the Cardinal on the issue.

In an apparent allusion to the Jewish-Catholic Vatican seminar, Bronfman said, "I believe we should be considering not only historical and theological issues, but also questions of overarching political and social urgency such as hunger, intolerance and fanaticism, as well as mutual recognition of each other as we see ourselves." Added Bronfman: "No dialogue which excludes Israel can be effective."

Bronfman stressed the point afterwards in his interview with this reporter, saying, "Any dialogue that excludes one-fourth of the Jewish people is not a full dialogue. And anything less than a full dialogue is demeaning."

### Reexamination Necessary

Bronfman commented: "Instead of a celebration of *Nostra Aetate*, there should be a reassessment. It is all well and good (for the church) to say year after year that they oppose anti-Semitism; but the fact is that there is more on the agenda than

anti-Semitism. We have come a long way together, but there is a long way we have not gone—and we should not be satisfied to stand pat where we were 20 years ago."

He added, "If the Vatican has problems recognizing Israel because of Jerusalem, then we should talk about it. If we are going to have a dialogue, let's have an open discussion of the issues that matter the most to us."

### O'Connor Popular

Since assuming his position as Archbishop of New York in 1984, O'Connor has won many friends in the Jewish community for his strong support for Soviet Jewry and Catholic-Jewish dialogue. In his speech, O'Connor said that Jews and Christians "need to exchange our deepest feelings with each other, to say what makes us hurt and what gives us joy," though he made no direct reference to Bronfman's remarks. O'Connor said he had been sensitized to the Jewish condition by a visit to Dachau concentration camp in West Germany several years ago. In this spirit, he sent a pastoral letter to all priests in the New York area asking them to light candles for Soviet Jews on Nov. 19, the first day of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Geneva.

Asked after the event whether he would bring Bronfman's appeal for diplomatic relations to the atten-



Edgar Bronfman

tion of the Vatican, O'Connor replied, "Bronfman used the words 'normalize relations' and not 'diplomatic relations.' Asked if there was a difference between the two, O'Connor said, "I don't know. I am only responding to the term which was used. I would have to think through that term."

O'Connor continued, "I don't think there is any question that the Holy See is sensitive to the issue...this is a question that is being prayed over, and is certainly not being ignored. There is clearly a de-

Israel to defend itself."

Asked if he would urge the Pope to establish relations with Israel, O'Connor said, "It would be presumptuous of me to do more than express (to the Vatican) the feelings of the Jewish community here and in different parts of the country."

He said later, however, "It would be grossly inappropriate for me to say, that I was publicly asked at a dinner to say this, and that I am going immediately to Rome to tell the Holy Father something he doesn't know. (The Pope) is exceedingly sensitive to the needs of Israel and to the problems of the Palestinians in the Middle East."

Informed of O'Connor's comments, Singer said, "When Edgar used the term normalizing relations, he meant that if the church is to normalize relations with the Jewish people, it must establish diplomatic relations with Israel, which is the home of one-quarter of the Jewish people. However, we were very pleased that the Cardinal said that the Vatican accords *de facto* relations to Israel. This is the first time a Cardinal has stated that publicly, and we consider that a good beginning."

Asked whether it was appropriate for Bronfman to have appealed to O'Connor publicly, without having discussed the issue with him first, Singer said, "We tried to set up a private meeting three weeks ago, but were unable to arrange it."

Abraham Foxman, international relations director of ADL, said he did not believe that Bronfman's public appeal to O'Connor had cast a pall over the dinner. "I think the dinner went very well, and the Cardinal's speech was very moving. In any case, the call for establishment of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel is a position that the ADL has stated and restated."

Foxman added, however, "There is a question of tactics and style. One can debate whether this is the best setting to have raised this issue."

Asked whether he agreed with Singer that the Cardinal's public statement of *de facto* recognition was important, Foxman replied, "No, I don't think that changes much. *De facto* recognition has been the situation for many years now."

Joe Zwilling, a spokesman for the New York Archdiocese, agreed, saying, "From what I've been told, that has been stated several times in the

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