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

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 48, Folder 4, Vatican - Israel, 1973-1980.

 The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies

Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey 07079
Phone (201) 762-9000, Ext. 491

January 5, 1978

Dear Marc,

Shortly before Thanksgiving, Gerry Strober called me after years of silence. He wondered whether I had seen the evangelical statement that just appeared as a full-page ad in the New York Times and then went on to wonder aloud whether or not a Catholic statement of the same kind should be issued.

My first reaction was unfavorable. I said that I did not think full-page ads had enough impact to warrant the expense, further that I had never given it any thought, since such an ad was far beyond the means at my disposal.

Gerry went on to say that he had someone interested in such an ad, with the money for it, and whether I would be willing to write it and sign as its coordinator.

Since I had looked for the opportune moment to speak out, I did not offer much resistance but let Gerry talk me into it. In consequence, I stayed home for the Thanksgiving weekend and wrote the enclosed statement. I even had to get a special typist. I mailed it posthaste to Gerry and to the patron he had mentioned.

I thought that if a statement is to be made, it is to be made right away. But the patron went first on one vacation, then on another. Though he thanked me on the phone and seemed very much interested, nothing has happened. Gerry gives me one excuse after another. I realize his situation. Dependence on some benefactor is usually difficult.

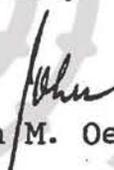
Still, I am disgusted. I do not want to see my

effort go to waste. Most of all, in the next ten days or so, Israel needs our support more than ever. (It seems I wrote the statement with some clairvoyance of the things-to-come, ie, the problems Israel is facing now.)

I do not want to lose any more time. Would you be interested in helping me gather signatures and publishing the statement in some form or other? Perhaps at a press conference?

I hope I am not imposing on you. Soon I will be without a secretary, probably for one or two weeks-to-come. If you think that this statement could do some good, and that you could take some part in its publication, please give me a ring. If possible, this afternoon.

As ever,



John M. Oesterreicher

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th St.
New York, NY 10022

cc: Gerry Strober

jmo:ln

CATHOLICS CONCERNED
FOR THE FUTURE OF
ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS

"The Lord is the God of the whole earth,
the mountains of Judah belong to Him,
to the God of Jerusalem.
The Mount of Moriah Thou hast favored, Lord."
-- Inscription in a burial cave about 700 BC

With millions of Americans of many faiths, the undersigned Catholics stand in awe of the wonder of creativity that is modern Israel. From the days of the first ^{Jewish} Zionist settlement till now, Israel's farmers -- men and women working side by side -- have made dead soil live again; they have even managed to multiply crops so that certain fruits are being harvested three times a year. Its engineers are able to turn brine into refreshing water; more than elsewhere they harness solar energy. Its soldiers have bravely defended the land; though outnumbered, they have again and again changed "certain" defeat into victory. Yet they have not become slaves to martial ways. Its physicians have brought new methods of healing to all its inhabitants; they offer medical assistance to all those who seek it, even those from across its borders. Its scholars, writers, and educators have enveloped the country in a lively intellectual climate. Its musicians, singers, and dancers have spread joy over all the world.

We marvel even more at the courage and sense of solidarity of Israel's founders who committed the country to "a life in dignity,

freedom, and honest toil" for any Jew who wishes to live within its boundaries. No less inspiring is Israel's promise given in the Proclamation of Independence, to safeguard the social and political rights of "all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race, or sex." Equally impressive is its offer of "freedom of worship, conscience, language, education, culture" for all its citizens. In the name of the young state, Israel's founders pledged to remain true to the prophets' message of "freedom, justice, and peace." We honor Israel for having spared no effort to create a fair, compassionate, humane society.

✓ Admiration and respect are not the only ties that unite us to Israeli Jews. There is an even deeper bond to the Jewish people. According to the liturgy of the Easter Vigil, Christians share in the dignity of the people of Israel, their dignity being that of a covenanted people. The land promised and entrusted to them was a token of that covenant, God's love gift to those He drew close. That in our day, Jews regained that land and established on it a new Jewish state is, we believe, a sign that God's covenant with them is alive. We acknowledge that the kinship springing from a shared covenant obligates us to care for our brethren, the Jews, and accept some of the responsibility for Israel's existence.

At this juncture in history, conscience impels us to speak out more loudly than ever. In a daring move, President Sadat has, we hope, put an end to the automatic alternation of war and ceasefire agreement and thus allowed freedom rather than fate to shape Middle East history. He and Prime Minister Begin met in an atmosphere of

mutual respect, immediacy and openness hitherto unknown. Their conversation at Jerusalem, bound to be continued elsewhere, bears a genuine promise for friendly relations among all the members of the Middle East family. The United Nations General Assembly-- the initial vision of peace and cooperation gone -- does not tire to hurl its old condemnations at Israel; PLO leaders threaten to ostracize President Sadat, chase him to the end of the earth, or have him assassinated. While this happens, our Administration pursues a naive and romantic policy, ~~lacking in direction and~~ *lacking in direction* at least.

As we plead with all our hearts for a just peace in the Middle East and the world, we must warn that peace cannot be had by disregarding the integrity and the sovereignty of Israel. We do not think it our responsibility to draw the borders between Israel and its neighbors; this is the work of the partners of a peace conference. Without fear and pressure from any of the great powers, but mindful of the past and the future, and of the well-being of all concerned, the negotiating partners will have to determine the frontiers of tomorrow.

Time and again, we are told that the core of the Middle Eastern conflict is justice for Palestinian Arabs. We affirm that, together with all other men and women, Palestinian Arabs have a claim to the fullness of human rights. We deny, however, that they have an inalienable right to independent nationhood. To set up its own state is not one of the rights innate in every group, tribe, or people. None of the present powers -- great or small -- lives by such a rule. Only Israel is supposed to accept the principle of the self-deter-

mination of peoples as an absolute one and guarantee its exercise by the PLO. The Arab governments have constantly refused to grant that right to the minorities within their borders, Iraq for instance to the Kurds. The great powers, too, and the new African states-- all of whom like to speak of "the legitimate rights of Palestinian Arabs"-- fail to honor the principle they proclaim. The latter have persisted in retaining the artificial borders drawn by their former colonial masters.

If these and other nations can, for reasons of unity and security, deny independence to those of their citizens clamoring for it, why should Israel consent that part of the territory it holds be turned into a hostile state, ~~not to speak of the whole land.~~ Whenever the PLO has been active in one of the Arab states, it became a threat to it. An independent PLO state would but multiply this danger. For all these reasons we implore all who exercise power or influence in the Middle East to find better ways to solve the problem of Palestinian Arabs than the erection of a volcano in the heart of the Middle East.

As believers, we have no exact blueprint to offer for the solution of the Middle East conflict. As friends of Israel, we hope, pray, and work for the day when Isaiah's vision of a united Middle East comes true. He saw the countries of that region linked to one another in a spirit of friendship and service, Israel as a blessing in their midst. And he heard the Lord say:

Blessed be Egypt, my people,

Assyria, the work of my hands,
and Israel, my very own. (Is 19:25)

Pray for the Peace of Israel and
its neighbors.
Write to your Congressman, Senators,
President Carter, and Secretary
Vance, telling of your support
for Israel.
Try to place this statement in a news-
paper of your choice.



To voice your agreement with this message, write to the coordinator
of this ad, Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher, So. Orange, N.J., 07079.

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 29, 1976
to Marc Tanenbaum
from M. Bernard Resnikoff

subject

I thought you would be interested to see how Ha'Aretz deals with latest developments in the Vatican. The enclosed article by Eliahou Salpeter, published January 29, speculates about the timing of the Vatican's recent announcement about Jerusalem.

encl:
cc: Morris Fine



A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "M. Resnikoff", is written over the bottom right portion of the watermark logo.

The Vatican's graceful worry:

They speak of building in Jerusalem and do not take notice of the murder of Christians in Lebanon:

By: Elihau Salpeter Ha'aretz 29.1.76 (Translated by: Rena Golan)

It is hard to suppose that the Vatican's hand intentionally planned the publication the same week of a collection of diplomatic documents by the Head of the Catholic Church in 1943 and, also, the feature article in the Vatican journal " Ousravatura Romano" attacking building in Jerusalem. Without intentional planning, this randomness impresses and enlightens.

Regarding Jewish matters, these diplomatic documents deal principally with two items: the requests and increasing pleas that were directed towards Pope Pius XII to interfere with the Nazi's slaughter of Jews in Europe (which in 1943 began to be intensive) and the increased worry by top people in the Church that " Palestine will fall into Jewish hands " (- the words of one of the top assistant's of the Pope to the Vatican's representative in Washington). The hour that millions of Jews were on their way to the gas chambers, the Vatican representative wished to emphasize that from the point of view of the Church, the establishment of the Jewish State held many complications regarding " realization visions of the Messiah " which would make Catholics all over the world not happy.

The developments brought forth " justified complaints" from the Holy See and they were bringing back evil instead of good, as the " graceful worry " of the Holy See towards the fate of Non-Aryans. (By the way, it is interesting to note that the Vatican then accepted the racist non Catholic definition of Aryan and Non-Aryan, taken from the dictionary of the Nazis).

As to the dimensions of " graceful worry " and its profoundness - these revealing words are taken from a Protocol of a meeting between the Secretary of State of the Vatican and the German Ambassador the day after the rounding-up of Roman Jews (from 1,600 who were caught that day only 15 returned from the camps). The Ambassador was told that " the Pope doesn't wish to be faced with the need to make his reservations heard". When the Ambassador made it clear that the order came from Hitler himself " the Secy. of State was quick to agree that it was best not to forward the "protest" to Berlin.

In order that one should not think that the Vatican was much too busy in the War with the saving of Jews and too little, with its fears about the establishment of a Jewish State, the second subject is emphasized by the Church Historian in the introduction.

It is no wonder that the balance between eternal words and the needs of the hour torments the Catholic Church with regards to everything that relates to the Jewish People. But it seems that this connection appears every time the conscience of the Church is put to a test.

Here, the Satan has his wish and the feature article in "Ousravatura Romano" concerning the matter of building in Jerusalem is published - during the time that Muslim gangs are slaughtering Christian women and children in Lebanese villages.

People who thought the Vatican's discretion is reserved only for incidents in which Arab terrorists murder Jews have learnt in the last weeks and months that, in essence, it is not spoken of as: Anti-Semitism. Also, when the Arabs of "Tomorrow's World" murder christians and even, Arab Christians, the Holy See prefers to keep silence.

It is much more comfortable at such an hour to speak of the architectural dangers to the Universality of Jerusalem from Israeli building activities than to criticize the activities of Arab " progressive forces" which the Church now wishes to gain their credit.

Perhaps, then, this is what is in common to the documents of 30 years ago and to the article published a week ago: Both are published now, in order that the Vatican can, also, join in with the Anti-Zionist forces that have become the fashion in the Third World.

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

MEMORANDUM

TO: Diocesan Ecumenical Officers

FROM: Eugene J. Fisher

RE: Middle East Negotiations and Reaction of the
Catholic Community

DATE: November 1977

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

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

I trust this will be of some help to you.

Shalom!

enc. -1

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

Introduction:

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

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

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

Activities of Advisory Committee Members

1. Personal Contacts : October 3, 1977

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

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

It should be emphasized that this informal network, while not

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

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

2. Letters to the President and to Jewish Leaders

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The Catholic Press

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. General Reactions

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

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

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

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

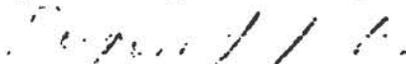
"If Christians want to be honest with themselves they simply have to come to some conclusion about the enormity of that anti-Semitism which permitted, if not promoted, the death of about one-third of the entire Jewish people (under Hitler). Christians must confront the question of the meaning of the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

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

5. Conclusions

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

Respectfully submitted


Dr. Eugene J. Fisher
Executive Secretary

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
EUROPEAN OFFICE

~~50, rue La Boétie, 75008 Paris~~
999.69.11

NOV 3 1980

Dear Marc,

I am sending you herewith the report of the meeting in Rome which took place last week.

This report was drafted jointly by Dr. Riegner and myself soon after the meeting, but was not edited.

I was glad to hear that Dr. Brocke's appearance at the Executive Committee Meeting was successful.

Sincerely yours,



Zachariah Shuster

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
The AJCommittee
165 E 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

REPORT ON ROME MEETING
BETWEEN IJCIC REPRESENTATIVES AND VATICAN AUTHORITIES

On October 21, 1980 there took place at the Secretariat for Christian Unity in Rome a meeting between IJCIC representatives and four representatives of the Vatican. The Vatican representation consisted of Mgr. Ramon Torrella, Acting President of the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews and Mgr. Jorge Mejia, its Secretary. The other two Vatican representatives were Mgr. Audrys J. Backis, Undersecretary of the Council of Public Affairs (Deputy Foreign Minister of the Vatican) and Mgr. Francesco Monterisi, head of Middle East Desk of the same body. On the Jewish side, the following were present: Prof. Shemaryahu Talmon, Chairman of IJCIC, Mr. Fritz Becker, WJC Rome Representative, Dr. Joseph Lichten, ADL-Bnai-B'rith Rome Representative, Mr. Zachariah Shuster, American Jewish Committee European Consultant, Dr. Gerhart M. Riegner, Secretary-General WJC.

It should be emphasized that this was the first time that officials of the highest policy-making body of the Holy See, together with the highest officials of the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews have met in a formal meeting with members of IJCIC.

The discussion concentrated on two major topics:

1. Procedural: at a prolonged preparatory session of the IJCIC representatives we agreed that it was essential to widen the horizon of our contacts with the Vatican and that we should try, in addition to our relationship with the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, to achieve more or less formal communication with the highest political authorities of the Holy See on matters of vital concern for the Jewish Community.
2. Substantive: to seek clarification of Vatican policies on matters of current interest for us, and primarily concerning the recent Vatican declarations on its position regarding Middle Eastern problems and particularly Jerusalem.

I. (Procedural)

The IJCIC representatives strongly stressed the point that problems of Jewish interest cannot be considered exclusively from the religious point of view and that frequently religious and political considerations are so intertwined that it is difficult to separate them. We said that while our relationship with the Commission for Religious Relations is satisfactory, there are issues which fall outside the competence of this body, and that an effective way of dealing with these problems would be the possibility for the Jewish representatives to discuss them with the political authorities of the Holy See. In support of our contention, we cited the example of the Regensburg Liaison Committee meeting where we desired to raise several issues with our partners of the Commission for Religious Relations but could not do so because they felt that this was outside their frame of reference.

The first reaction of the representatives of the Council of Public Affairs to the Jewish request was completely negative. They said that there was a clear distinction between religion and politics and that political matters are dealt with by the Secretariat of State only with states and their diplomatic representatives but not with private groups. Institutionalized dialogue on a political level was out of the question. Not even Catholic organizations have access to the Council of Public Affairs. They conceded that in the Jewish concept a sharp separation between religion and politics did not exist. We as Jews could not impose on them our concept. They also stated that although there are no diplomatic relations, the Holy See had quite cordial relations with Israeli diplomats in Rome and political matters were dealt with them.

The Jewish side stated that certain developments had led to an attenuation of the conceptual differences and the increasing preoccupation of the Church with social and political problems and its growing involvement with social responsibilities had brought the two communities nearer to each other. The Jewish side also stated that they may wish to raise certain political matters with the Vatican

which were not on the agenda of the Israeli authorities which, by the way, do not formally speak for the Jewish Community outside Israel.

In the course of the discussion Mejla stated that even assuming that there is a distinction between religion and politics, there are issues which belong to an area which is neither exclusively political nor religious.

After further extensive discussion Backis said that there are such areas which are outside the competence of the Commission for Religious Relations and that some way must be found to deal with these problems through special arrangements. He proposed that the Commission for Religious Relations devise ways and means of achieving this objective. In effect this was a recognition on their part that our request is a reasonable one and deserves serious consideration although no concrete proposal was formulated.

II. (Substantive)

It should be pointed out that in the introductory remarks of the Jewish representatives attention was called to a number of substantive matters which are of deep concern to us. Particular mention was made of the recent Vatican declarations on Jerusalem; the relations between the Vatican and the Palestinians as manifested by the official audiences granted to a high PLO official; the re-emergence of Islam as an important political factor; the contemplated dialogue between the Church and Islam; the concern of the Jewish Community about the activities of Mgr. Capucci; the resurgence of violent anti-semitism and neo-nazism in a number of European countries.

In view of the prolonged discussion on the procedural issues, the rest of the time was taken up with an intensive discussion seeking clarification of the recent statements of the Vatican on Jerusalem and particularly the document submitted to the United Nations on December 3, 1979 and the "Osservatore Romano" article of June 30, 1980

We asked for clarification of the Vatican request for an international statute for Jerusalem, what was the meaning of the statement submitted to the UN, "whatever solution be found to the question of sovereignty over Jerusalem

(not excluding the hypothesis of the 'internationalization' of the City)...", what is meant concretely by "appropriate juridical safeguards", who is supposed to be the parties to such a juridical document, is the Vatican supposed to be one of the parties, and what is the significance of the phrase that the three religious communities of Jerusalem "should be partners in deciding their own future". We also raised the question why there was no reference in the Vatican documents to the present measures taken by Israel to safeguard the Holy Places in Jerusalem and to assure the rights and positions of the various religious communities in Jerusalem.

Mgr. Monterisi, the specialist on this subject, attempted to explain the meaning of the vague terms used in the Vatican documents. The gist of his observation was that the major interest of the Holy See is not so much the internationalization of the territorial entity of Jerusalem but to see that the religious communities in Jerusalem preserve the rights and position hitherto enjoyed and to assure and permit their future growth and development.

He further stated that the Holy See did not want to take a position with regard to the problem of sovereignty of Jerusalem. A solution would have to be negotiated by the states concerned, but whoever had sovereignty had to submit to certain rules. He made some references to Pius XII support to a scheme of internationalization but did not give a clear explanation why this reference of the hypothesis of internationalization recurs in the text. He made it clear that the Holy See was thinking of an international convention which was not necessarily to be concluded within an UN framework. He left it open who should be the partners to such a convention, but made it clear that the Holy See was not desirous to be a party. With regard to the present situation in Jerusalem, he said that the text was not polemical and critical of Israel but that the situation was not satisfactory in every respect and he mentioned vandalism against Christian institutions, the law against proselytism and the violent attacks against the Catholic Church in the Knesset debate of this law.

Mgr. Backis completed the Catholic exposition of the policy of the Holy See by explaining that the Vatican statements on

Jerusalem as is the whole policy of the Vatican in general were motivated by the desire of not taking sides in conflicts but rather to build bridges.

The discussions were at times rather tense but became relaxed at the end. There was a feeling expressed on both sides that it was a worthwhile exchange of views and might lead to positive results. Backis said that "a seed was sown today" and that with some watering and good soil it would grow.

III. Conclusions.

- a. We feel that this meeting with representatives of the two Vatican bodies was most useful in as much as we brought to their attention problems of great importance to us as well as our request for developing direct relations with the political authorities of the Catholic Church.
- b. The Vatican representatives were obviously impressed and surprised by the firmness of our request for direct contacts with the political authorities of the Holy See and they recognized the existence of problems which go beyond the purely religious aspect of our relationship. It should be pointed out that our request was made not in a spirit of presenting grievances but by pointing to existential issues which need serious consideration on a high political level.
- c. While we do not expect a change in attitude in the future for the reason that the Holy See is committed to making a distinction between religion and politics, we have ground to hope that our presentation made an impact both on our partners of the Commission for Religious Relations and on the officials of the Council of Public Affairs, and that some arrangement will be probably devised for meeting the political authorities of the Holy See from time to time on appropriate occasions.
- d. We would like to note that it is at this stage absolutely unlikely that we shall be able to obtain an audience with the Secretary of State. All high personalities in the Church whom we have approached in recent weeks

unanimously felt that such an audience cannot be expected.

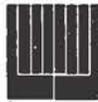
We are, however, not excluding the possibility of a future meeting with the Secretary of the Council of Public Affairs (the foreign minister).

e. In accordance with the decisions of our Toronto meeting, in recent weeks IJCIC representatives have met with cardinals and Vatican dignitaries to whom they presented our concerns with regard to the two major topics discussed above. Among the personalities approached are Card.J.Ratzinger of Munich, Card.R.Etchegaray, President of the Bishops Conference of France and Archbishop of Marseilles, Card.C.M.Martini of Milan, Card. T.J.Cooke of New York, and Card.W.W.Baum of the Roman Curia as well as Archbishop J.Hamer, Secretary of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. They all expressed understanding and sympathy for our objectives and promised further enquiries regarding these matters. We believe that our representations have been most useful and we are confident that the Secretariat of State has been made fully aware of our concerns.

It is our considered opinion that we should abstain, for the time being, from further similar demarches with Church personalities as such demarches may be counter-productive.

Rome, October 22, 1980.

The report was compiled by Dr.Riegner, Mr.Shuster and Mr.Becker and was approved by Prof.Talmon.



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September 24, 1980

Dear Marc:

Please accept my best wishes for the new year.

Enclosed for your information is a copy of our correspondence with the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, D.C., The Most Reverend Jean Gadot.

I am also enclosing a proposed draft of our response to his letter of September 8th for your comments and consideration. I would be deeply appreciative if you could give us your comments with all due and deliberate speed.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Michael Berenbaum

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

MB/pk

enclosures

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The Most Reverend Jean Gadot
 The Apostolic Delegation
 339 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
 Washington, D. C. 20008

Your Excellency:

Thank you for your letter of September 8th. Permit us for the sake of frankness and in the name of dialogue to comment briefly on four points made by His Eminence Cardinal Sassaroli.

1. The problem of free access to the holy places in Jerusalem should not have been painful to the Jewish people alone. Indeed, all religious communities should have been outraged and outspoken in opposition to that fundamental violation of religious freedom. Free access is no longer a problem for Christians, Muslims or Jews in Jerusalem. We do not submit that the problem of Jerusalem should be limited solely to the question of free access. But neither can we accept a solution which might reverse the judicial and legal safeguards which exist today and which fulfill virtually all of the Vatican's goals. We share with you a concern for an imaginative and just solution.
2. The responses of a government to acts of vandalism and to violations of religious freedom and a government's determination to prevent such outrages must be considered before assessing blame. To hold the government of Israel responsible for the acts of a fanatical few of diverse religious persuasions is equivalent to holding the American government responsible for the desecration of churches and synagogues in this country. Those responsible for such reprehensible vandalism in Israel have been punished to the fullest extent of the law for their violations of religious freedom.

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3. Similarly, there is a significant difference between statements made in Parliamentary debate and the actions of a government. Indeed the Jewish community did not assume that all statements made in the Councils of Vatican II while considering the statement on the Jews reflected the Church's position toward the Jews. Neither do we contend that the behavior of Archbishop Cappuci while on papal assignment was a statement of Church policy.
4. For twenty-three centuries the Jewish people have called themselves by one of two names: the children of Israel or the Jewish people. The reference in your letter to the "Hebrew people" seems arcane and inappropriate. That reference denies Jewish history from the moment "the Hebrew people" ceased to be wanderers and became a nation called in the Bible the "Children of Israel."

We are grateful for your clarification of the statement's timing and for your implied understanding of the need to keep Jerusalem a united city. We know that this need for a unified city with free access to all the holy places will form the cornerstone of any solution to the problem.

Again, we offer these comments in the service of truth and with the conviction that honesty is the cornerstone of dialogue in God's service.



3339 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 2326/80/8
.....

September 8, 1980

This No. Should Be Prefixed to the Answer

Rabbi Michael Berenbaum
Executive Director
Mr. Bert Silver
President
Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington
1522 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Rabbi Berenbaum and Mr. Silver:

Upon receipt of your thoughtful letter of August 12, 1980, about the status of Jerusalem, I forwarded a copy to Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Prefect of the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church.

In a letter dated August 26th, the Cardinal requested me to convey the following considerations by way of response.

The Council noted with regret that the article had provoked an unfavorable reaction. The intention was to foster a spirit of impartiality and moderation and facilitate the drawing closer of the parties to the debated question of Jerusalem. Hopefully, it would do so on the basis of faith in one God which is professed by the adherents of the three great religions in order that they might make it a Holy City again based on an equality of conditions. Moreover, such a manner of proceeding is the duty of these very religions to Jerusalem.

In particular, Cardinal Casaroli noted the following points:

1. The attachment of the Hebrew people to Jerusalem was sufficiently emphasized in the article. In any case, a fuller development of the theme could also have been made with regard to the Christians and Moslems.

2. It is not possible to limit the whole question of Jerusalem solely with the problem of free access, even if it has been, for a period, a painful issue for the Hebrew community.

Rabbi Berenbaum and Mr. Silver
page two
September 8, 1980

3. The article did not enter into the question of the present conditions of freedom for the religious groups in the Holy City. If this concern had been broached -- it would have been impossible to avoid mentioning incidents of intolerance -- such as the attacks of vandals against ecclesiastical institutions and personalities, restrictions and control of the activities of the Church, some anti-Christian speeches delivered even in the Knesset, during discussions on the "anti-missionary" laws.

4. A return to the division of the city or the necessity of the internationalization of Jerusalem does not follow from the article in question. Other solutions remain open and possible.

5. The timing of the article was dictated by the discourse of the Holy Father to Jimmy Carter since it was a commentary on this speech. It was also dictated by a desire that the delicate question of Jerusalem not be placed in a position, as unfortunately happened with the recent deliberations of the Israeli parliament, of unilateral actions which give rise to polemics and which reveal themselves as being contrary to the resolutions of the international community and which have also been deplored by governments friendly to the State of Israel such as the United States and Canada.

With the hope that the foregoing will be of assistance to you and with cordial regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Jean Tadot

Apostolic Delegate



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The Most Reverend Jean Gadot
The Apostolic Delegation
3339 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Your Excellency:

We have taken the liberty of communicating to you our deep concern over the Holy See's recently published Document on Jerusalem. It is our fervent desire and prayer that our community's sense of disappointment in the document can be communicated through you to the Secretary of State of the Vatican.

Our Jewish community recognizes a historic, spiritual kinship with the Catholic community. Indeed, both of our traditions provide to us the imperative of reflecting on revealed wisdom and applying that wisdom to the evolving and politically sensitive human world.

In that spirit, the Jewish community welcomes the Holy See's recognition of the unusual historical and religious significance of the Holy City, Jerusalem. Similarly, the Jewish community recognizes, as does the Holy See's statement, the unusual character of this city holy to so many of the world's faiths.

But in that same spirit permit us to express our disappointment over the Holy See statement's incomplete portrayal of the centrality of Jerusalem in Jewish thought and philosophy and the historical reality of religious freedom in Jerusalem in recent decades.

Jerusalem's Mayor, Teddy Kollek, has said of Jerusalem, "This beautiful golden city is the heart and soul of the Jewish people. You cannot live without a heart and soul. If you want one simple word to symbolize all of Jewish history, that word would be Jerusalem."

Indeed, even the most casual of review of Jewish literature and theology points up this unusual significance. The name " *ירושלם* " (Yerushalayim) in Hebrew means "city of peace" and has symbolized the monotheistic quest for peace. Jews are warned of wrathful punishment if they "forget Jerusalem" or fail to place the return to Zion "above your chiefest joy". Jewish national identity and aspiration, Zionism, was named after the Biblical reference to Jerusalem as Zion. The Jewish people have gathered in synagogues for thousands of years to mourn the sacking of the city in

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ancient times. To this day Jews observe the normative date of expulsion from Jerusalem as a day of worldwide fasting, prayer and recommitment to the ideals personified by the City of Peace. Mourning rites recall our grief over the anguish of Jerusalem while daily prayers express our yearning to return.

To describe the monumental, central, theological and historical significance of Jerusalem only as the locus of much of Jewish history and as being "in Jewish thought down the centuries" is to oversimplify an extremely broad range of Jewish thought, ideology and theology to an unrecognizable degree. To mention the holy places of Islam and Christianity without parallel mention of Jewish holy places is unfair. To note unbroken Christian and Muslim presence without mention of parallel Jewish presence in Jerusalem is misleading.

We strongly disagree that discussion of the contemporary reality of Jerusalem cannot be reduced to free access for all to the holy places, as the Holy See document states. Indeed, prior to 1967, under nineteen years of Jordanian occupation, that is precisely what occurred — Jews were denied free access to Jerusalem. The oldest Jewish cemetery, located on the Mt. of Olives, was desecrated. The Hurva synagogue was transformed into a latrine for Jordanian troops. As the world remained silent Jews were denied entry into the old city, to all Jewish shrines. Until 1967 that was the contemporary reality of Jerusalem for Jewry. After 1967, when Israel reunited the city, and for the following thirteen years, the contemporary reality changed quite radically. For since 1967 the Government of Israel has provided juridical safeguards to ensure a basic justice for all people:

1. There is free access to all the Holy Places, which are administered by their adherents.
2. Everything possible is done to ensure unhindered development of the Christian and Muslim ways of life and to ensure the practical religious, cultural, and commercial governance over their own daily lives.
3. Everything possible is done to ensure equal governmental, municipal and social services in all parts of the city.
4. Continuing efforts are made to increase cultural, social and economic contacts among the various elements of Jerusalem's population.

The contemporary reality of the last thirteen years is regarded by all non-biased observers as a marked improvement over the preceding two decades, indeed, over the preceding centuries. We most strongly believe that the juridical freedoms now guaranteed

to all are just. Nothing should be done to replace this great moral progress by an historical regression to inequality.

The Holy See quite rightly perceives a monotheistic universality which transcends the single or bilateral interests of states. However, in describing the good for which all must strive, the Holy See must also describe the evil which must be resisted. What the Holy See's statement seems to call for is a return to the evils of history — internationalization and the division of the city — ignoring both the rejection of such proposals in the past, and the reversal of those evils which exists today in unified Jerusalem.

Finally, we are disturbed that the Holy See has chosen to make public its views on Jerusalem to the UN Security Council, and to do so at this time. That tactical decision only serves to bolster those forces dedicated to destroying world peace. Those anti-peace forces should not be dignified by the Vatican and they should not be encouraged to continue their irresponsible and destructive UN antics.

In a true sense of brotherhood and love, we offer our views to you. We respectfully request that you forward our views to the Vatican, and we look forward to an opportunity to discuss this matter with you in greater detail.

Sincerely,



Bert Silver
President



Rabbi Michael Berenbaum
Executive Director

BS:MB/shs/jsl

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Original documents
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bc: Harold Applebaum, Jim Rudin, Marc Tanenbaum
(All w/enc)

December 27, 1977

Dr. David W. A. Taylor
The Presbyterian Center
341 Ponce de Leon Avenue NE
Atlanta, GA 30308

Dear David:

Your thoughtfulness in sending me Father Angell's piece is greatly appreciated. You have been a good friend and patient teacher. Our Interreligious Affairs Commission will discuss the article at an early date with a view towards utilizing it as you suggest.

Father Angell's writing contains many of the problems that we see in the writings of such friends. The major flaw, as I see it, is his political inaccuracy. Of course, with events changing so rapidly, it is clear now that he politically misread Mr. Begin when he wrote this article. All that considered, the basic concept of the "philosophy of the land" from a religious-historical perspective is an important element in Jewish/Christian dialogue.

My best to you and your family for a healthy, happy new year.

Warmest regards.

Cordially,

William A. Crainick

WAG/lm

cc: Thomas J. Asher
William W. Epstein
Ted V. Fisher

WORLDVIEW

VOLUME 20, NUMBER 12

DECEMBER 1977

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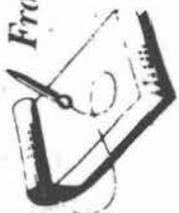
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DEC 14 1977

12/12/77

From the desk of

DAVID TAYLOR



Bill
 Have you seen the cover?
 A statement such as this,
 whether it not one agree with
 the author, would provide
 material for a useful Jewish
 Christian dialogue. A
 theology of the land could
 scarcely be avoided in such
 a discussion.
 David

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EXCURSUS II

Charles Angell on
**Difficult Days Ahead
for Jewish-Christian Relations**

There are troubled days ahead both for the religious dialogue of American Christians with Jews and for the political relationship between the governments of the United States and Israel. The new Begin government in Israel is formulating policies that are in direct conflict with the stated position of the American churches and present U.S. governmental policy. Begin, like the PLO, wants all of the old Palestine Mandate. These two extremes mutually exclude each other and have, as a matter of fact, denied the existence of each other in the past. The clear position of both the American churches and the Carter administration is that there are two recognizable people in the Palestine area—Israelis and Palestinians—and it is only through mutual recognition, mutual negotiation, and mutual compromise that a peaceful settlement will be achieved.

When, in 1947, the United Nations recommended a partition of the old Palestine Mandate west of the Jordan River, the Jews were to get 56 per cent of the country and the Palestinians the rest; but after the 1949 hostilities the new State of Israel ended up with 77 per cent of the land within the cease-fire lines that it occupied. These lines held in general until Israeli forces conquered the remaining 23 per cent in the 1967 war. It is this remnant—23 per cent of the old Palestine—that is now being suggested as a homeland for the Palestinian people and which the State of Israel refuses to relinquish. There are roughly three million Israeli Jews and three million Palestinians (a half-million within the 1967 borders of the State of Israel who are citizens of that country, a million on the West Bank and Gaza, and a million and a half scattered throughout the Arab states).

American Jews have long called upon the churches here to "recognize the Legitimacy of the State of Israel." But which Israel is it that we are called upon to legitimate? The 1948 Israel with 56 per cent of the country? the 1967 Israel with 77 per cent of the country? the 1977 Israel with 100 per cent?

Historically, American Christians have been vocal on both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict. On the Arab side there have been many of our churches, especially those who worked with Palestinian refugees in the camps of Jordan and Lebanon, who were strong in their demand that justice be done for a dispersed and disinherited people. Even Pope Paul in his Christmas message of 1975 said: "Even if we are well aware of the tragedy not so long ago that has compelled the Jewish people to seek a secure and protected garrison in a sovereign and independent state of their own—and because we are properly aware of this—we would like to invite the children of this people to recognize the right and legitimate aspirations of another people which also has suffered for a long time, the people of Palestine." But many Christian Arab apologists went much farther, refusing to see legitimacy in a State of Israel.

Still other Christians, especially those engaged in Christian-Jewish dialogue, conscious of the tragedy of the Holocaust that had occurred in the face of what must be termed at best inadequate Christian opposition, and reflecting upon the long, sad history of Christian anti-Semitism, championed the cause of a sovereign Israel as the necessary expression of a resurrected people. Some of these Christians tended to equate support for Israel with support for whatever the government of Israel said or did. A number of them were guilt-ridden mouthpieces for press handouts of the Israeli information ministry.

But the record of the American churches in their official statements regarding the Middle East is a different picture indeed. Recently I had occasion to survey all the statements the American churches published in recent years on Israel, and I was tremendously impressed by the striking consensus in what they have to say. While I think it fair to state that specific recognition of Palestinian nationhood



has come about more recently as the Palestinians became more articulate in expressing their self-identity (an identity I believe is a form of Zionism in reverse), it is true to say that for over a quarter of a century the American churches have consistently expressed their support for *both* Palestinian and Israeli rights and encouraged a peaceful compromise solution.

Since the 1973 war seven U.S. churches, the United States Catholic Conference of Bishops, and the National Council of Churches have all issued statements. All but two (Antiochian Orthodox Church, with largely Arab-American membership, and the American Baptist Convention) specifically affirm the right of Israelis and Arab Palestinians to self-determination. Four statements (Antiochian Orthodox, Presbyterian Church, United Methodist Church, and the Church of the Brethren) endorse PLO participation in negotiations. All but one of the statements (Antiochian Orthodox) reflect a startling consensus of the American churches: There are two peoples claiming the same land, both entitled to self-determination insofar as a compromise can be achieved. Thus the statements reject both the official position of the Palestine Liberation Organization—which claims for itself the right to organize a secular democratic state in all of the old Palestine Mandate west of the Jordan—and the current position of the State of Israel—which refuses to relinquish the occupied territories. American churches have consistently shown concern for all the people in the Middle East and have refused to back all-or-nothing solutions for either side.

Typical of these statements are two: that of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Churches (issued in September, 1974) and the statement of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (adopted in 1973 and subsequently reaffirmed). The former states: "The love of Christ constrains us to speak from the depth of our Christian conscience. We call upon the Arab nations, Israel and the Palestinians to renounce their use of violence and to engage actively in negotiations to achieve an equitable and lasting peace.... We call upon Israel and the Palestinians to recognize the right of the other party to the same self-determination which they desire for themselves. We affirm the right of Israel as a free nation within secure borders. We equally affirm the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a national entity. We urge our own government and the government of the Soviet Union to serve as partners on the path to peace, maintaining a posture from which they can carry on meaningful dialogue with Israel and the Arab states. Furthermore, we call upon the United States to develop more open contacts with leadership of the Palestinians, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as a means of furthering prospects for peace...."

The Catholic position includes: "(1) Recognition of Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state with

secure boundaries; (2) Recognition of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, including their partnership in any negotiation, acceptance of their right to a state, and compensation for past losses by Israel and all those responsible for the 1948 partition plan; (3) Acceptance, as the basis for negotiations by all parties involved, of the stipulation set forth in U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 in November 1967; (4) Recognition of the need for 'continued restraint and continuing responsible diplomatic involvement' by the Soviet Union and the United States; (5) Continuing reliance on the United Nations; (6) Insured access to the city of Jerusalem through a form of international guarantee and the assurance of Jerusalem's continued existence as a religiously pluralist community and equal protection of the religious and civil rights of all citizens."

Thus the time has come for American Christians to face frankly the fact that the stated policies of our churches, and the present policies of the American Government, are directly opposed both to the present position of the Begin government in Israel and the position of the PLO. In the case of the Arabs, opposition is nothing new. In the case of Israel it most certainly is new and can only mean increasing difficulties for Jewish-Christian dialogue in the U.S.

A fundamental shift occurred after the 1973 war and brought new challenges to the moral conscience of American Christians. The failure of the Arabs to eliminate Israel led them eventually to shift their tactics. They began to speak of a solution to the conflict based on United Nations resolution 242, which called for a return to the 1967 lines by Israel and a recognition of Israel's sovereign security in exchange for peace. Thus for the first time since the conflict began the churches were hearing appeals for a peaceful settlement from the Arab side. Hitherto it had appeared to them that the sentiments for peace came entirely from the Israeli side. When, in 1977, it became evident that the Begin government was unwilling to withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza, and unwilling to countenance the establishment of a Palestinian homeland west of the Jordan even in exchange for peace, American Christians were faced with a new moral dilemma.

If Christians now oppose the Begin government and say quite frankly that we are morally opposed to a continuation of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, with its consequent denial of self-determination for the Palestinian Arabs there, will we be disloyal to the Jews with whom we are engaged in friendly dialogue in the U.S.? And will we be turning our backs on the people of the State of Israel we have supported since their independence? What is worse, will such opposition to the Begin government provide the occasion for all those latent, unfortunately still-existent, anti-Semitic elements within the Christian churches to reemerge like cockroaches from the ecclesiastical woodwork? My experience in the interreligious dialogue in Israel as well as in the United States has given me, I

believe, an insight into this problem.

In America the Jewish community frequently appears to the Christian as a monolith. I think this is so because, as a minority with a tragic history of persecution in the all-too-recent past, they tend to stick together in the conversations with outsiders. In Israel quite the opposite is true. There Jews are in the majority and Christians are a small minority. A prominent Israeli Jew once remarked to me: "A Jew can afford to be wrong only in Israel." There is a marvelous pluriformity of opinions vociferously expressed. It would be impossible to persuade an Israeli Jew that opposition to the current government is somehow un-Jewish. While there is fierce loyalty to the State of Israel itself, and particularly in times of outside threat, there is still in that democratic nation a tremendous freedom of expression and diversity of opinion even after almost thirty years of danger and warfare.

American Jews don't like to admit that they can differ among themselves, much less differ with the official government position of the present regime in Israel. But that is what they are going to have to do if the dialogue here is to be anything but an exchange of press releases. When I, an American Christian, say that the Begin regime is biblical irridentism run rampant, I am saying nothing that is not being said quite freely in Israel's own free press. And indeed there are American Jews who vigorously oppose the Begin position. *Breira* is an organization of American Jews that advocates a peaceful solution of the conflict based on some recognition of Palestinian rights. *Breira* also recognizes the impossibility of a fortunate outcome to the continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

I consider myself a friend of Israel, and let me state quite frankly what I envision if the present Begin policies are followed. Israel is at present a Jewish democratic state. Israel's half-million Arab citizens have shown increasing restiveness in recent years, as indicated by the serious riots that took place in 1975 in the Galilee. These riots were fueled by the increasing expropriation of land by the Israeli Government to enforce increased Jewish settlement in that region, in which Arabs are beginning to outnumber Jews. Several Arabs were killed in the riots, riots that amazed me because never before had I detected serious civil disorders among those Arabs who have been Israeli citizens since 1948. They had come to the end of their rope; they felt they no longer controlled their own destiny. The Jewish government was insensitive to their needs. I ask what will happen when the million Arabs on the West Bank and in Gaza are added to the half-million Arabs already within the borders of pre-1967 Israel? Their birth rate is such that well before the end of this century there will be an Arab majority in the expanded Greater Israel that Begin now controls and insists on keeping. What will an Arab majority mean for a Jewish democratic state? Either Begin's policies will result in a PLO secular democratic state in reverse, if the state grants civil rights to all (thus

ceasing to be a Jewish state) or Begin will deny Arabs the vote or seek to expel them by some means. In any event, the resulting state will no longer be democratic. You cannot have a Jewish democracy with an Arab majority.

When I pressed this dilemma with Samuel Katz, the official representative of the Begin government shortly after its election, he assured me that nothing of the sort would eventuate. In the first place he was convinced that the present Jewish emigration from the State of Israel, which currently exceeds Jewish immigration into the country, would be reversed by the more favorable economic circumstances consequent upon the Begin government's return to a free economy and its desocialization of many aspects of Israeli life. He claimed that the economy was stagnant because of misguided governmental policies of the past. Increased prosperity would bring more Jews, and it would make the Arabs' lot happier too. In addition he felt certain that as the new government extended social services to all inhabitants of Israel on an equal basis (he did not explain how the government could accomplish this financially), the present discontent among Arabs would dissipate. Thus he felt confident of a continued Jewish majority with at least a minimally contented Arab minority. I remain unconvinced.

In Israel such a position is popular only because a recent poll of Israelis showed that 88 per cent feel that the Arabs are out to destroy them no matter what they say. It is this feeling that any surrender to the Arabs means the beginning of the collapse of the State of Israel and a consequent new Holocaust that causes many Israelis to say "we can do nothing else." They see no alternative to the present stalemate (and, indeed, the irresponsible and unstable PLO leadership has done nothing to dissipate this fear). If I sound discontent with Begin's position, I am even unhappier with the PLO.

For American Jews the situation is further complicated by the fact that they are unused to anything but a minority status. In Israel there is some sense of Jewish responsibility for being the Establishment; but in America it is difficult to convey the idea that for the first time in two thousand years Jews do have some power and the options and responsibility that go along with it. I do not believe that the American churches can be faulted with "a conspiracy of silence" in regard to the Middle East conflict in light of the record of the two public statements I have cited and their long-standing involvement in Middle East affairs. Nor do I think they have been morally insensitive to the complex and difficult issues involved. But I am sure that both these charges will be leveled by Jews at the American churches when it becomes apparent that our views and theirs do not converge.

There will be difficult days for Jews and Christians in this country, and we should face them together with candor and understanding. I hope that we will both remember the old adage that a friend is not somebody who tells you what you want to hear but a

person who has the confidence and sense of mutual esteem to tell you what he or she really thinks.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS
BISHOPS' COMMITTEE FOR ECUMENICAL AND INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
SECRETARIAT FOR CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. ● WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 ● 202-659-6857

MEMORANDUM

TO: Rabbi Tanenbaum

FROM: Gene Fisher *EF*

RE: Attached Proposed USCC Statement on the Middle East

DATE: October 24, 1980

The attached statement will be up for action by the bishops at their meeting this Nov. 10-12. Since our two agencies have enjoyed such a close working relationship over the years, it was felt appropriate to share this with you for your advice concerning its possible impact on Catholic-Jewish relations in this country, as well as to consult with you concerning its contents.

Since the Bishops' meeting is coming up so soon, I would appreciate your reply as soon as possible so I can share with the appropriate folks in our shop as soon as possible. Fr. Bryan Hehir, of our staff, has also indicated his willingness to talk personally should you wish.

EJF:lm
Encl. (1)

DRAFT STATEMENT ON
THE MIDDLE EAST: PRESENT REALITIES
AND FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

1 . The Middle East is now, as it has been for over three decades,
2 at the center of world politics and at the heart of interfaith
3 relations. All the major themes of international relations are
4 visible in the Middle East: the quest for peace in a world of
5 conflicting states and competing superpowers; the contrasting
6 claims, moral and political, between nations and peoples striving
7 for security, territory and prosperity; the drama of human develop-
8 ment in societies rushing through a century of change in a decade;
9 the meaning of interdependence symbolized by the significance of
10 oil in world affairs.

11 In the same geographical area which contains these secular
12 themes, the three monotheistic faiths, Judaism, Islam and Christianity,
13 find their roots. For each of them the bond with the Middle East
14 is not simply a remembrance of the past, but a reality of the present.
15 The religious factor, the way in which the objectives of all the
16 parties to the Middle East dispute are shaped by religious themes,
17 is an abiding dimension of this region.

18 The problem of the Middle East, therefore, has a unique
19 character. While it is comprised of distinct local and regional
20 issues, it arouses universal concern. This is particularly true
21 in the United States, a nation which has special ties with and
22 specific responsibilities for the course of events in the Middle
23 East. No one disputes the significance of U.S. policy for the Middle
24 East, although the specific direction of that policy is often the
25 cause of much dispute.

1 As Catholic bishops the basis of all our statements on the
2 Middle East has been to fulfill our teaching function: we are
3 concerned with the moral dimensions of U.S. policy and we are pastors
4 of a faith community rooted in the history of the Middle East.
5 Hence, we address ourselves to the issue of justice and peace in
6 the region of the Holy Land, seeking to contribute to the public
7 debate in our nation and to commend the questions of the Middle
8 East to the prayerful consideration of our church.

9 I. The Framework: Since 1973 we have advocated an approach to
10 the Middle East comprised of five major elements. Without repeating
11 our earlier statements (1973: Toward Peace in the Middle East;
12 1978: The Middle East: The Pursuit of Peace with Justice) we
13 summarize here our basic principles. We support the right of Israel
14 to exist as a sovereign state within secure and recognized boundaries,
15 a state whose legitimacy must be acknowledged, de jure and de facto
16 by its neighbors and by the international community. We support
17 the rights of the Palestinians to a homeland and to participate in
18 negotiations determining their future in the Middle East.

19 We find U.N. Resolution 242 a valid basis for negotiation in
20 the Middle East. We call for the recognition of the religious
21 significance of Jerusalem for Jews, Moslems and Christians and the
22 protection of this status by an internationally recognized statute
23 guaranteeing both access to the Holy Places and a religiously
24 pluralist citizenry within the city. We believe the problem of
25 Lebanon must be seen and solved in the context of the larger Middle

1 East question, but its resolution cannot be delayed until other
2 issues are settled.

3 While these principles remain the foundation of our policy
4 they need to be specified in light of the current situation in
5 the Middle East.

6 II. The Actors: The Middle East is essentially a global problem.
7 The actors who influence daily events are not confined to the
8 region. In a special way the superpowers, the United States and
9 the Soviet Union, continually affect the region by word and deed,
10 by what they do and by what they abstain from doing. The range of
11 the political and moral issues in the Middle East cannot be
12 adequately understood if the role of the superpowers is overlooked.
13 Nor can one understand or address the Middle East if the role of
14 the United Nations is sleighted.

15 At the heart of the drama in the Middle East, however, is the
16 interaction among Israel, the Arab states and the Palestinian
17 people. Each of these actors pursues political objectives and
18 each is convinced of the moral legitimacy of these objectives.
19 It is the clash of these moral claims and political goals which
20 constitutes the dilemma of the Middle East.

21 Israel, because of the history of its people and the present
22 reality of its geographical position, places primary importance
23 on the need for security. Secure, defensible boundaries are the
24 precondition of the Israeli negotiating position. Security is
25 the essence of Israeli policy since it is the basis of Israel's

1 existence as a society shaped by its religious and political values,
2 a Jewish state with a democratic constitutional tradition and practice.
3 We support this desire and demand of Israel for security. It is
4 morally and politically necessary and it is an essential element in
5 a comprehensive approach to the Middle East.

6 Both Israel and its supporters, however, face a problem: the
7 relationship of security and territory. This is not only a political
8 question, i.e., how much territory guarantees real security; it
9 is also a moral question, i.e., whose territory is at stake? Since
10 1967 the occupied territories have been at the heart of the Middle
11 East question; this unresolved issue has been exacerbated in recent
12 months by the Israeli policy of settlements. While supporting
13 Israel's need for security, we cannot and do not support the present
14 settlements policy being used to pursue security.

15 The present reality is that the Palestinians are the crux of
16 the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors. If Israel,
17 because of its history, places primary emphasis on security, the
18 Palestinians, because of their history, have a principal concern
19 for territory. The clash of security versus territory defines the
20 essence of the political-moral conflict. We support the Palestinian
21 claim for a homeland, for territory recognized as legitimately their
22 land. Because we believe this claim to be justified and essential
23 to a Middle East settlement, we have supported the right of the
24 Palestinians to participate in negotiations affecting them. The
25 road to participation, however, involves a correlative moral re-

1 sponsibility: the Palestinian pursuit of legitimacy and territory
2 should be joined with a clear, unequivocal affirmation by them of
3 Israel's legitimacy as a state with a permanent place in the Middle
4 East.

5 III. The Issues of 1980: The conflicting political and moral
6 claims to security, territory and legitimacy are the enduring
7 elements of the Middle East problem. These elements in 1980 must
8 be viewed in the context of the Camp David accords, the Jerusalem
9 question and the conflict in Lebanon.

10 A. Camp David: In 1978 we supported the Camp David agree-
11 ments between Israel and Egypt as valuable measures because of
12 what they achieved substantively and because of what they signified
13 about the possibilities of peace in the Middle East. At that time
14 we also identified two limitations in the agreements: a failure
15 to address adequately the problem of the Palestinians and the
16 status of Jerusalem.

17 In 1980 we still support the achievements of Camp David and
18 we desire the extension of the process begun in 1978. But we
19 believe that precisely the two limitations specified in our previous
20 statement remain the essence of the negotiating problem. Unless
21 Camp David can go beyond its present status, even its accomplish-
22 ments are endangered. But going beyond Camp David means addressing
23 the full dimensions of the Palestinian question and acknowledging
24 that the Jerusalem issue requires the same kind of negotiation among
25 pertinent parties that other issues in the Middle East demand.

1 Conflicted claims do not find long-term resolution through unilateral
2 actions.

3 B. Jerusalem: The status of Jerusalem illustrates the way
4 in which political and religious themes are joined in the Middle
5 East. For each of the three monotheistic faiths Jerusalem symbolizes
6 much more than geography, jurisdiction or shrines.

7 The statement of the Holy See on Jerusalem (30 June 1980
8 in Osservatore Romano) specifies the significance of Jerusalem
9 for Jews, Moslems and Christians, and proposes principles to insure
10 that Jerusalem will retain its unique status for all these com-
11 munities of faith. The Holy See's position must be taken in its
12 entirety; here we wish to highlight three salient points.

13 First, access to the Holy Places is a central objective
14 for all three faith communities. In this regard we wish to acknow-
15 ledge the efforts of Israel to protect and facilitate this objective.
16 Second, while the right of access is important, the question of
17 Jerusalem cannot be reduced to this point. The status of Jerusalem's
18 inhabitants, regardless of their ethnicity or religious beliefs, is
19 even more important. This status involves the full exercise of
20 religious freedom not only regarding worship but also in conducting
21 educational and social activity. Third, the unique status of
22 Jerusalem requires an internationally recognized statute guaranteeing
23 the city's special character.

24 The fulfillment of these objectives requires negotiation
25 among the pertinent parties. The question of Jerusalem is so sacred

1 for each of the parties that each should participate in its
2 resolution.

3 C. Lebanon: The conflict in Lebanon continues and in fact
4 has deteriorated since our 1978 statement. The causes of the
5 conflict are well-known. There are internal factors of a political,
6 economic and religious nature. There are external forces which
7 have become part of the Lebanese problem and which tie it in-
8 extricably to the broader issues of the Middle East.

9 We have described these elements in previous statements
10 and see no reason to change our analysis. But no statement on
11 the Middle East should be issued, least of all by Christians, which
12 does not raise up for the attention of the church and world the
13 tragic situation of all the people of Lebanon.

14 The needs of Lebanon are well-known: its freedom, indepen-
15 dence and territorial integrity must be preserved; the central
16 government must be supported and strengthened; the pluralist
17 religious character of the country must be maintained; most urgently,
18 the fighting and killing must be halted and national rehabilitation -
19 the building of a new society - must be begun with the help of
20 generous outside assistance.

21 Although the causes of the Lebanese crisis and the needs
22 of the nation are well-known, its fate, indeed its very existence,
23 is severely threatened by a precarious balance of forces at this
24 time. Lebanon needs more explicit attention from several key
25 sources. It will take a major effort of political will, within

1 the country, on the part of other states, and by the United Nations,
2 to preserve this pluralist and productive society. The U.S. govern-
3 ment has a special relationship to the Lebanese crisis; we call
4 again on our government to give Lebanon the urgent attention it
5 requires. The resolution of the crisis cannot be delayed until
6 other problems in the Middle East are resolved.

7 As bishops we promise again to the church in Lebanon and to
8 all its citizens, our moral and material support in these days of
9 severe trial. We commend again the efforts of the Catholic Relief
10 Services, the Catholic Near East Welfare Association and the
11 Pontifical Mission for Palestine in alleviating the suffering of
12 the victims of the Lebanese conflict, and we urge the continued
13 support of their endeavors.

14 The Middle East is today a complex, conflicted and dangerous
15 center of world attention. But these adjectives, however true,
16 cannot exhaust the meaning of that region. The Middle East is
17 also a sacred place, a region which has fed the spirit of believers
18 for centuries. For us it is the place where the Lord lived, taught,
19 ministered, died and rose. We invoke His blessing on all the people
20 and nations of the Middle East and we pledge Him our continued
21 efforts for justice and peace there.

22 Question: Does the Administrative Committee approve this statement
23 and authorize its release?

24 NCCB Ad-Hoc Committee on the Middle East

25 Bishop Flanagan, Chairman

Archbishop Bernardin

Bishop Mugavero

 The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies

Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey 07079

Phone (201) 762-9000, Ext. 361

October 7, 1980

Dear Mark:

This is a multipurpose note.

(1) Thanks for the mailgram. I hope to be at the Waldorf to hear Teddy Kollek. To make it to New York early in the morning, during rush hour, is not easy. I trust I will make it on time.

(2) I wonder whether you got my answer to Mr. Harsch's hostile article in the Christian-Science Monitor. To be sure, I will send you another copy. Should you want to distribute it among those attending Teddy Kollek's briefing, it is yours to use it.

(3) Do you know that I have not received the A.J.C.'s regular mailings to its friends for many months?

(4) Only two days ago, I heard that you conducted services here, at Oheb Shalom, on Yom Kippur. What a pity that I did not know. I would have liked to see, hear, and speak with you.

(5) I wonder whether you know of our forthcoming convocation. I am hoping against hope that you will give us the honor of your presence. Have you ever thought of having a joint Symposium again?

With warm regards,

Yours


John M. Oesterreicher

JMO/ehe

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Director
A.J.C. Dept. of Interreligious Affairs
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Enclosures (2)



THE INSTITUTE
OF JUDAEO-CHRISTIAN STUDIES

September 1980

Dear Friend:

Fifteen years ago, on October 28, 1965, Pope Paul VI promulgated Vatican II's Declaration on the Church's Relationship to non-Christian religions. The core of the Declaration was a Statement on the Church's Bond to the Jewish People. Prior to the promulgation, 2221 bishops had voted in favor.

Pope Paul saw in that Declaration a sign of the Church's vitality. "The Church is alive," he exclaimed. "Well! Here is the proof, here her breath, her voice, her song." He was often accused of being aloof and cold; his warm approbation of the Council's message, however, reveals his passion and love for all who bear a human face.

Referring to the Statement on the Jews or, in the words of Paul VI, "our kin in Abraham," he summed up its challenge in these words: "We must not reject the Jews, not mistrust them! We must always respect and love them, place our hope in them."

The promulgation of the conciliar document is a milestone in the life of the Church and in the history of Jewish-Christian relations; the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies is happy, therefore, to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of that event.

You are most cordially invited to join us in an academic convocation

on Sunday, October 12, 3 PM

at the Student Center on our South Orange Campus

Critics, Archbishop Lefèvre among them, maintain that the Council's message is not consonant with Scripture. We have, therefore, chosen as our theme:

THE JEWS AS SEEN BY THE NEW TESTAMENT WRITERS

The noted Jewish historian Professor Ellis Rivkin, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, will speak on

"Antisemitism in the Gospels?"

Our own Father Lawrence E. Frizzell, Chairman of the University's Graduate Department of Judaeo-Christian Studies, will treat

"St. Paul and the Jewish People"

We would be greatly honored and pleased were you to find it possible to be with us and to bring some of your friends.

I hope to see you on October 12,
Cordially,

Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher
Distinguished University Professor Emeritus

Christians in Jerusalem

An Answer to Comments by Joseph C. Harsh

In your issue of August 26, 1980, Joseph C. Harsh gives a bleak picture of the life of Christians in Israel, particularly in Jerusalem. There is nothing wrong in relating grim facts, if their tale serves truth or justice. Would that Mr. Harsh's story conformed to this rule; yet, his particular indictments and his total vision do not match reality. In fact, the Jerusalem and Israel he criticizes are not the city and land I know and love. Hence this modest attempt to correct some of your correspondent's impressions.

Mr. Harsh is quite correct in speaking of tensions between Palestinian Arabs--Muslims as well as Christians--and the Jews of Israel. Hardly anyone is unaware of tensions even among Jews there. Israel, after all, is not a never-never land but one inhabited by people of flesh and blood. Only in an uncaring society, whose members are indifferent to their own well being and that of their fellows, are tensions lacking. Unless malevolently inflated, tensions can even be creative.

Permit me to draw on some of my experiences. I remember a conversation with a taxi driver, several years ago. He complained that as an Arab he was discriminated against. When I asked him to elaborate, he said that whenever he happened to be near an explosion, Israeli Security police would detain him for two hours or more, which meant a considerable loss of income. I then tried to make him see that he was the victim of terrorists, not of the police, whose duty it was to investigate the crime and search for the culprit. He did not understand what I had told him but kept saying, "It's only because

"I'm an Arab." He was right, and yet wrong. He was interrogated because the people who had placed or thrown a bomb were Arabs; he was not held because the Jews of Israel hate Arabs.

Another instance, the father of a large family in the Old City told me how much he loathed life in Israel. When I asked why he disliked it so, he answered: "Taxes." In Jordan he had never paid taxes; now his pay had risen, but his higher income had brought with it that devilish institution of taxes. He was determined to join his brother in the USA where he hoped to make lots of money. Now, the desire for a better livelihood is indeed legitimate. (It is the reason for the many Christians' leaving, in the last decades, any one of the Near Eastern countries for the West.) But to mask the wish for greater comfort with ideological arguments, as is often done, is hypocritical.

Even worse is the twist Mr. Harsh "reports": "Non-Arab Christians (Europeans, Greeks, Armenians, etc.) believe, correctly or incorrectly, that Israel is pursuing a deliberate policy of pushing them out." The charge is preposterous. Though I know many European and Armenian Christians, I have not even once heard that charge. On the contrary, leading Armenian Christians have told me how much they appreciate life in Israel. Ever since the Israeli Defense Forces rebuffed the attack by King Hussein's army in 1967, recovered Old Jerusalem, and thus ended the unnatural division of the City, their spiritual life has flourished. They have been able to add to their theological seminary a specialized biblical institute; their priestly vocations have increased in an undreamed-of measure. Whether this is sheer coincidence or whether a correlation exists between a Jewish Jerusalem and a greater dedication to a life of faith, I cannot determine. In any case, Armenians living

in their quarter of the Old City do not plan to depart, nor do they feel unwelcome.

Yet, it is quite possible that some zealot expressed the wish to rid the land of all non-Jews or that a bureaucrat made immigration for one or the other Christian difficult. Why should the Jewish people be without fanatics and the State of Israel without "bumbledom." True, God summoned and summons Abraham's descendants to holiness but the nations of the world as well as individual non-Jews have no right to demand of Jews a life of perfection they themselves make no effort to attain.

Israeli authorities are as fallible as all human authorities. Still, we ought not forget that the first official act of the present government was to admit to Israel's shores Vietnamese refugees that had been abandoned on the high seas by the rest of the world. Do I have to remind the readers of this presentation that it was the same government, in the person of its Prime Minister, that invited President Sadat to make his historic visit to Jerusalem?

I am sure, however, that most readers of The Christian Science Monitor have not heard the following story on the manner in which Israeli authorities treat Christians residing in the land. During the War of Independence in 1948, "Notre Dame Hospice" was severely damaged. The owners of that guest house for pilgrims, the Assumptionist Fathers, lacked the resources for its restoration. When in 1967, Jerusalem became one again, the renovation of the ruin standing at the line that had severed the City, became pressing. Hence the Assumptionist Community accepted an offer by the Hebrew University to buy the dilapidated building and turn it into a student hostel. Soon after the transaction was made public, Vatican authorities

declared the sale a violation of Canon Law, and thus invalid. Though Ecclesiastical Law obviously does not obligate Israeli authorities, they returned the property to the Assumptionist Fathers. I cannot think of a more eloquent example of official magnanimity.

Your correspondent seems unaware of the many small wonders that have happened in Israel. Instead he speaks of the suspicion that Israel "is methodically erasing . . . remnants of early Christianity." A Western photographer is said to have wanted to take a picture of the road leading to Emmaus. It had disappeared beneath a newly-built housing complex. Strange that the Christians in Israel had to await the arrival of an outsider to realize that the road was gone. I am not very fond of high-rise buildings in Jerusalem or elsewhere. But my antipathy does not entitle me to attribute sinister motives to their builders. In fact I welcome efforts to relieve the housing shortage in Jerusalem. If the road to Emmaus had indeed vanished, I am sorry. But my faith in the resurrection of Jesus is unaffected by it. It does not depend on the visibility of the road the Risen Christ walked with two of his disciples. Moreover, if Mr. Harsh thinks of the building of high-rise houses on sacred ground as a grievous offense, why did he--and others with him--not protest when Pan American in cooperation with the Jordanian authorities built a luxurious hotel with its night club on the Mount of Olives? Only total spiritual insensitivity could have built a luxury hotel on the ground consecrated by Jesus' agony.

With the vagueness that is, I am sorry to say, Mr. Harsh's trade mark he speaks of friction between the Israeli military authorities and two Arab universities. I cannot discuss a complaint that is not concrete. I am sure, however, that the disagreement is not a revival of the age-old antagonism

between Jews and Christians. To give a true perspective of their amicable encounter in the academic world, Mr. Harsh might have recounted the fact that the famous Pontifical Institutum Biblicum, some German theological schools--Catholic as well as Protestant--the Dutch Reformed Church, Scandinavian Lutheran Churches, and others, are sending their students to Jerusalem for one year of study at the Hebrew University or at institutes established for that purpose. The land of the Jews has been called "the Fifth Gospel," because it, too, tells--though not in human words--of Jesus, indeed of the whole history of salvation, of patriarchs and prophets.

Here I should speak of some of the leading Christian figures in this new encounter of Christians and Jews. There is, for instance, Dr. J. Coos Schoneveld, who earned his doctoral degree from the University of Leyden with a dissertation on "The Bible in Israeli Education," a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, or Dr. Michael Krupp, a German Lutheran who represents Aktion Sühnezeichen, a group of young Christians of Germany determined to make amends for the wrongs done to Jews, or Fr. Marcel Dubois, O.P., former superior of Beit Yeshayahu, a Dominican House of Studies, one of the several places where the Eucharist is celebrated in modern Hebrew. Other sites are the Catholic parish in Haifa with the noted Carmelite, Fr. Daniel Rufeisen, as its pastor; another in Beer Sheva, whose spiritual leader, Fr. Jean Roger, died recently, and Ein Karem, the birthplace of John the Baptist, where the Sisters of Our Lady of Zion have a convent. A small group of the Sisters lead a contemplative life; to hear them chant the Divine Office in Hebrew is a spiritual delight seldom equalled.

Fr. Marcel Dubois, who had been teaching philosophy at Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for twelve years, has just been appointed head of the Department of

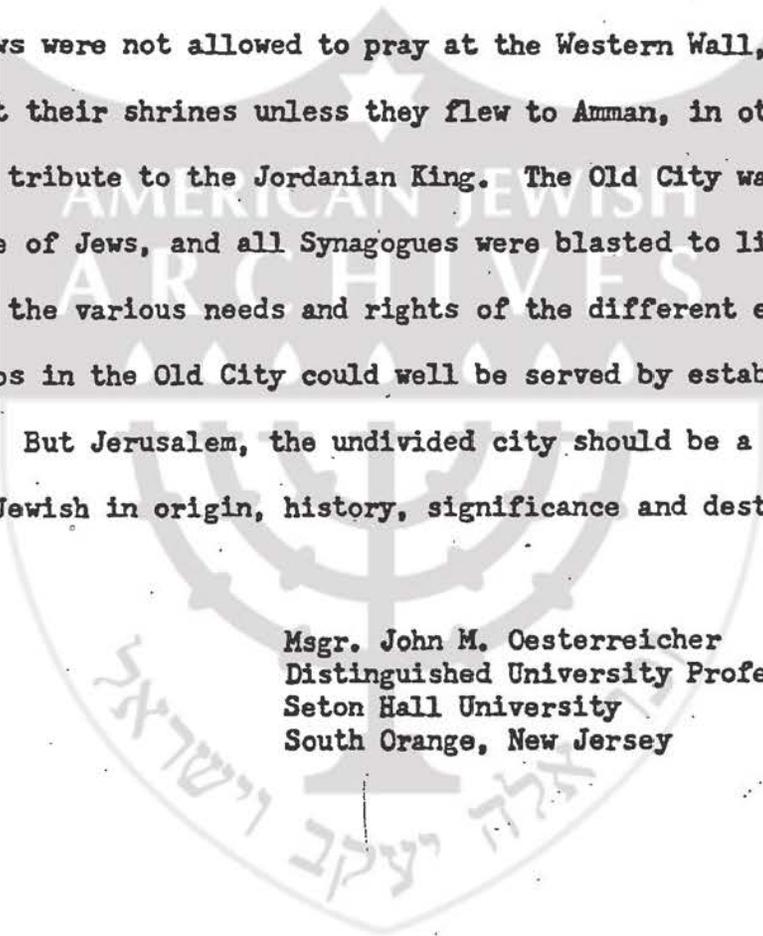
Philosophy. That a Dominican priest heads a major department of a well-known Jewish institution of higher learning contradicts all attempts to describe the religious climate in Israel as that of a cold war. Similarly, Bar Ilan University, near Tel Aviv, the citadel of Orthodox Zionists, invited the Catholic Theologian of the University of Freiburg, Germany, Bernard Welte, to read a paper on "Religious Experience and Consciousness of Meaning in the Present Age." Later it appeared in Hebrew in the Jerusalem periodical Petahim, a review of Jewish thought.

These are giant steps toward realizing the brotherhood of Jews and Christians. To complete the picture of Christian life in Israel, I still have to mention the Ecumenical Research Fraternity, a society of Christian Theologians and other scholars who meet regularly to exchange their ideas and findings in the fields of Scripture, early Judaism, primitive Christianity, rabbinic literature, Jewish-Christian relations, and others. The Fraternity publishes Immanuel, a journal of religious thought and research in Israel, edited jointly by Jewish and Christian experts in the various fields. It is the special service of this journal to make modern Hebrew insight accessible to Christian scholars elsewhere. Another sign of the new spirit that breathes among Jewish and Christian intellectuals is the Rainbow Group, an association of about 30 Jewish and Christian thinkers who seek to learn from one another.

A final point. Mr. Harsh wishes us to know that Arab Christians would, if need be, "accept international control over the walled city," but "favor a restoration of Arab sovereignty over East Jerusalem." Maybe so; yet, "international control" is one of the least intelligent political measures. No internationally controlled city has ever served the cause of peace; more likely than not, such a city becomes a hellhole, the home of all kinds of

criminals, and the trysting place of international spies. Again, a "restoration of Arab sovereignty" is a slogan with very little foundation in fact. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan held sway over Old Jerusalem from 1949, when the King and the Jordanian parliament annexed the Holy City, till 1967 when the Jordanian army was repulsed in its attack on Israel. The annexation had never been accepted by the Community of nations. Our country, even the Arab League refused to recognize the legitimacy of that incorporation. It is important to remember that while Jordan ruled Old Jerusalem, freedom of worship was denied: Jews were not allowed to pray at the Western Wall, Christians could not visit their shrines unless they flew to Amman, in other words unless they paid tribute to the Jordanian King. The Old City was made judenrein, free of Jews, and all Synagogues were blasted to little pieces. In my opinion, the various needs and rights of the different ethnic and religious groups in the Old City could well be served by establishing several boroughs. But Jerusalem, the undivided city should be a Jewish city because it is Jewish in origin, history, significance and destiny.

Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher
 Distinguished University Professor Emeritus
 Seton Hall University
 South Orange, New Jersey



ZIONISM

When Theodore Herzl, founder of Zionism, approached Pope Pius X in January 1904, seeking his assistance for the Zionist undertaking, the Pontiff said:

"We cannot favor this movement. The Jews did not recognize Jesus, Our Lord, and we therefore cannot recognize the Jewish people. If you came to Palestine and settle your people there, we will be ready with priests and churches to baptize all of you." (Alex Bern, Theodore H JPS, 1945 see P. 470

Luke 21:24 "They will fall by the edge of the sword, and be led captive among all the nations; and Jerusalem will be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the time of the Gentiles are fulfilled"

The Church has never looked officialy with favor upon the establishment of a Jewish state.

Pius XII, like most of his predecessors, strongly defended Jewish survival, but felt that Jewish prosperity or independence ran counter to Scripture and therefore ought to be curbed.

(Innocent III Italy endeavors

P. 269 Von Bergen, Germany's Ambassador to ~~XXXXX~~

1922 - "Thus it seems that both spiritual reasons, concerning the power of the Church, as well as secular reasons, concerning

the _____ for Italy, have induced the Curia to take a stand hostile to the concept of Jewish

Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, _____

N _____ meeting with Benedict XV (May 16, 1917)

This exceptional mark of friendship manifested, according to a Jew and Zionist ~~xxxxx~~ _____ with such promptitude a private audience which lasted so long and with much cordiality and all the assurance of sympathy, both for the Jews in general and for Zionism in particular, prove at least that we are not going to have insurmountable obstacles on the part of the Vatican.

Msr. Pacelli was helpful in obtaining and preparing a Papal _____ for Zionism.

277. The theological implications of a "return of the errant Jew" were quite staggering, since the Church _____ clearly stated that the loss of Jewish sovereignty, the destruction of the Temple, and the Diaspora were part and parcel of the Divine punishment for the Jewish crime of deicide.

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.

MHT/AK:bf

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

PARIS OFFICE: 30, Rue La Boetie, Paris 8, France • Elysees 69-11, 83-63 • Cable: Wishcom, Paris

Abraham Karlikow, European Director

to MHT 5/8

FO-Eur
May 6, 1973

MAY 8 - 1973

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10021.

Dear Marc:

I am sending you the original document of the declaration of the French Bishops which brought forth many reactions both in France and elsewhere. I am also sending you a short report on the most important reactions.

Yesterday, I received a copy of your letter to Brickner et al with regard to the draft letter to the Secretariat for Christian Unity. I am in full accord with your position that the kind of arrangements proposed for the office of Catholic-Jewish relations would isolate it and perhaps vitiating it altogether. I also share with you your indignation that this was done without prior consultation.

I was glad to hear of the decision of the Blaustein Institute to contribute \$5,000 to SIDIC in Rome. I shall be going to Rome in a short while and discuss with our friends the program for which this sum would be utilized.

I shall get in touch with you within the next few days. Meanwhile warmest wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Zael
Zachariah Shuster.

Enclosures- French document sent to M. Tanenbaum only

c.c. Mr. Gold
Dr. Lachman

File



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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Abraham Karlikow, European Director

FO-Eur

May 4, 1973

MAY 8 1973

MEMORANDUM

To: Marc Tanenbaum

From: Zachariah Shuster

Subj: Reactions to the French Bishops' Declaration on Judaism.

The declaration of the Episcopal Committee in France with regard to attitudes of Christians towards Judaism was widely commented upon by leading Catholic and Jewish circles and by the general press. Most of the comments pointed out that the declaration is a far-reaching amplification of the declaration of Vatican Council II and emphasized in particular the stand taken by the Episcopal Committee on Israel. Arab States accredited to the Vatican and to France immediately issued protestations against this declaration. Following these protests French Church leaders attempted to attenuate the political implication of the declaration by explaining first, that this was not the expression of the entire French Episcopate but only of one Episcopal Committee; second, that it was not intended to take a political position on Israel but to utter a view within a religious context. Explanations to this effect were given by Monsignor Elchinger, Chairman of the Episcopal Committee which drafted this declaration and Archbishop of Paris Cardinal Marty.

Violent condemnation of the declaration was made by left-wing Catholic weekly, Témoignage Chrétien, the editor of which is George Monteron who organized the anti-Israel Christian conference in Beirut a few years ago. This publication claims that most of the Churchmen of France would not agree to the pro-Israel position of this document.

A critical stand was also taken by conservative Cardinal Jean Danielou in an article published in the Figaro. He expressed agreement with the statement that it was wrong to believe that Judaism was a religion of fear and Christianity a religion of love. He also agreed that it is false to see in the persecution of the Jewish people an act of punishment. However, he criticizes the document on two grounds. First, he says that by giving the State of Israel a theological significance it creates a dangerous confusion between the political domain and the religious domain, a confusion which Vatican Council II wanted to dissipate in the text on religious liberty. He also said that in the declaration the French Bishops get involved in a controversy with regard to the Jewish people in the history of salvation. He takes particular objection to the passage saying .../

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that the Jewish people have not been deprived of its election. Cardinal Danielou says "the Jewish people have been the chosen people for 2,000 year in view of a mission they had to accomplish, but this election was provisional in the sense that it was not meant as an exclusive privilege but to share it with all other people."

La Croix, the Catholic daily of France, in a front-page editorial made the following three points:

a) That the document of the French Bishops goes further than the Vatican Council II declaration inasmuch as it states that the existence and the vitality of Judaism are for Christians "a given fact which permits them to have a better comprehension of their own faith and to enlighten their lives."

b) It considers the just comprehension of Judaism as an indispensable key to a new look of Christians at the Jewish people: the Catechism ought to affirm the present value of the entire Bible, without minimizing in any way the Old Testament; Christians cannot be indifferent to Jewish liturgy, to the daily life of Judaism and^{to} the religious view of Judaism on its history, past and present.

c) The Episcopal document does not speak about Israel as a State within a community of nations as it does not mention Zionism by name but it declares, however, that "universal conscience cannot refuse to the Jewish people the right and the means of a proper existence among the nations."

Chief Rabbi of France, Jacob Kaplan, issued an enthusiastic statement immediately after the declaration was made public. He pointed out that during the debates of Vatican Council II the French Bishops played a prominent role by their firm position on the elimination of the "teaching of contempt" and on the need of rendering justice to the Jewish religion and to Jews. The Chief Rabbi then said that the Episcopal text corrects the serious omissions of the Vatican declaration inasmuch as, on the one hand, it explicitly condemns the charge of deicide and on the other hand stresses the permanent vocation of the Jewish people. Expressing appreciation of this "very great act of the French Church" the Chief Rabbi says that this new "friendly and fraternal view will be a potential force in furthering the knowledge and mutual esteem desired by Vatican II."

The Vatican was very reserved in its comments on the declaration of the French Bishops and was careful not to say anything on the substantive points of the declaration. Professor Federico Alessandrini, the official Vatican spokesman only made two rather formal points:

1. The Church already pronounced itself on its attitude on

.../...

Judaism in the declaration of Vatican Council II.

2. That the Pope Paul VI expressed in his Easter message a wish for the return of peace "in the land of Jesus." The spokesman avoided to answer the questions as to whether the French Bishops' Committee consulted the Vatican before publishing the document and whether the Holy See approved the text.

According to the Catholic La Croix, this laconic statement of the Vatican spokesman should not be interpreted as a disapproval by the Vatican. It says that the Bishops themselves have taken the responsibility for this document and the Pope has certainly no intention to express approval or disapproval.

Wladimir d'Ormesson, former French Ambassador to the Holy See and member of the French Academy, published in the Figaro an article entitled "The Holy See and the Recognition of the State of Israel." The central thesis is that it would be wrong to assume that the declaration of the Bishops represents a tangible deviation from the position of the Holy See with regard to Israel. He says that the attitude of the Holy See is based on the fact that it recognizes a State only if it is juridically identified as one. The situation of a country is fixed by bilateral and multilateral accords. In the case of Israel, it is a fact that its neighbours have never recognized it as a State and that the 1948 frontiers are only armistice lines and no treaty was concluded. Thus the Holy See has in no way adopted a special attitude with regard to Israel. It has only acted in line with its traditional principles. There is no doubt, however, that when the State of Israel --- and God will that it should --- will be recognized, then diplomatic relations will be inaugurated between the Vatican and Israel but only of the problem of the Holy Places will receive special treatment.

c.c. Mr. Gold
Dr. Lachman

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No 723
Mercredi 25 avril 1973

L'ATTITUDE DES CHRETIENS A L'EGARD DU JUDAISME

Le Comité Épiscopal pour les Relations avec le Judaïsme, créé en 1969 par l'Épiscopat français, vient de publier à l'intention des catholiques français, des « *Orientations pastorales sur l'attitude des chrétiens à l'égard du judaïsme* ».

Ce texte, extrêmement important, a eu une grande répercussion dès son annonce. C'est pourquoi nous jugeons utile de le reproduire dans son intégralité.

I — L'EXISTENCE JUIVE INTERROGE LA CONSCIENCE CHRÉTIENNE

L'existence actuelle du peuple juif, sa condition souvent précaire au long de son histoire, son espérance, les épreuves tragiques qu'il a connues dans le passé et surtout dans les temps modernes, et son rassemblement partiel sur la terre de la Bible constituent de plus en plus, pour les chrétiens, une donnée qui peut les faire accéder à une meilleure compréhension de leur foi et éclairer leur vie.

La permanence de ce peuple à travers les temps, sa survie aux civilisations, sa présence comme un partenaire rigoureux et exigeant en face du christianisme sont un fait de première importance que nous ne pouvons traiter ni par l'ignorance ni par le mépris.

L'Église, qui se réclame du nom de Jésus-Christ et qui, par lui, se trouve liée depuis son origine et pour toujours au peuple juif, perçoit dans l'existence séculaire et ininterrompue de ce peuple un signe qu'elle voudrait comprendre en toute vérité.

II — LE LENT CHEMINEMENT DE LA CONSCIENCE CHRÉTIENNE

Le 28 octobre 1965, le Concile Vatican II a promulgué solennellement la déclaration *Nostra Aetate* qui contient un chapitre sur le peuple juif. Nous réaffirmons l'importance de ce texte, dans lequel il est rappelé que l'Église se nourrit de la racine de l'olivier franc sur lequel ont été greffés les rameaux de l'olivier sauvage que sont les gentils. Il est de notre charge, en tant que Comité Épiscopal pour les Relations avec le Judaïsme de manifester la portée actuelle de cette déclaration et d'en indiquer les applications.

La prise de position conciliaire doit être considérée davantage comme un commencement que comme un aboutissement. Elle marque un tournant dans l'attitude chrétienne à l'égard du judaïsme. Elle ouvre une voie et nous permet de prendre l'exacte mesure de notre tâche.

Cette déclaration s'appuie sur un retour aux sources scripturaires. Elle rompt avec l'attitude de tout un passé. Elle appelle désormais un nouveau regard des chrétiens sur le peuple juif, non seulement dans l'ordre des rapports humains mais aussi dans l'ordre de la foi. Certes, il n'est pas possible de réexaminer en un jour toutes les affirmations qui ont été proférées dans l'Église au cours des siècles ni toutes les attitudes historiques. La

conscience chrétienne a cependant entamé ce processus qui rappelle à l'Église ses racines juives. L'essentiel est qu'il soit commencé, qu'il atteigne toutes les couches du peuple chrétien et qu'il soit partout poursuivi avec honnêteté et énergie.

III – LA VOCATION PERMANENTE DU PEUPLE JUIF

Il n'est pas possible de regarder la « religion » juive simplement comme une des religions existant présentement sur la terre. C'est par le peuple d'Israël que la foi au Dieu unique s'est inscrite dans l'histoire de l'humanité. C'est par lui que le monothéisme est devenu, quoique avec certaines différences, le bien commun des trois grandes familles qui se réclament de l'héritage d'Abraham : judaïsme, christianisme, islam.

Selon la révélation biblique, c'est Dieu même qui a constitué ce peuple, qui l'a éduqué et instruit de ses desseins, scellant avec lui une Alliance éternelle (Gen. 17,7) et faisant reposer sur lui un appel que saint Paul qualifie d'irrévocable (Rm. 11,29). Nous lui devons les cinq livres de la Loi, les Prophètes et les autres livres sacrés qui complètent son message. Après avoir été rassemblés par la tradition, écrite et orale, ces enseignements furent reçus par les chrétiens sans que pour autant les juifs en soient dépossédés.

Même si, pour le christianisme, l'Alliance est renouvelée en Jésus-Christ, le judaïsme doit être regardé par les chrétiens comme une réalité non seulement sociale et historique, mais surtout religieuse ; non pas comme la relique d'un passé vénérable et révolu mais comme une réalité vivante à travers le temps. Les signes principaux de cette vitalité du peuple juif sont : le témoignage de sa fidélité collective au Dieu unique, sa ferveur à scruter les Écritures pour découvrir, à la lumière de la Révélation, le sens de la vie humaine, sa recherche d'identité au milieu des autres hommes, son effort constant de rassemblement en une communauté réunifiée. Ces signes nous posent, à nous chrétiens, une question qui touche le cœur de notre foi : quelle est la mission propre du peuple juif dans le plan de Dieu ? Quelle attente l'anime, et en quoi cette attente diffère-t-elle ou se rapproche-t-elle de la nôtre ?

IV – NE RIEN ENSEIGNER QUI NE SOIT CONFORME A L'ESPRIT DU CHRIST (*Nostra Aetate* 4 § 2)

a/ Il est urgent que les chrétiens cessent définitivement de se représenter le juif suivant des clichés qu'une agressivité séculaire avait forgés ; éliminons à tout jamais et combattons avec courage en chaque circonstance les représentations caricaturales et indignes d'un homme honnête, à plus forte raison d'un chrétien ; par exemple celle du juif qu'on déclare « pas comme les autres » en y mettant une nuance de mépris ou d'aversion, celle du juif « usurier, ambitieux, conspirateur », ou celle, plus redoutable encore par ses conséquences, du juif « déicide ». Ces qualifications infamantes, qui ont, hélas, encore cours de nos jours de façon directe ou larvée, nous les dénonçons et les condamnons avec insistance. L'antisémitisme est un héritage du monde païen, mais il s'est encore renforcé en climat chrétien par des arguments pseudo-théologiques. Le juif mérite notre attention et notre estime, souvent notre admiration, parfois certes notre critique amicale et fraternelle, mais toujours notre amour. C'est peut-être ce qui lui a le plus manqué et ce en quoi la conscience chrétienne a été le plus coupable.

b/ C'est une erreur théologique, historique et juridique de tenir le peuple juif pour indistinctement coupable de la passion et de la mort de Jésus-Christ. Déjà le catéchisme du Concile de Trente avait réprouvé cette erreur (Pars I, cap. 5,11). S'il est vrai qu'historiquement la responsabilité de la mort de Jésus fut partagée à des titres divers par certaines autorités juives et romaines, l'Église tient que *c'est à cause du péché de tous les hommes que le Christ, dans son immense amour, s'est soumis à sa passion et à sa mort, pour que tous obtiennent le salut* (*Nostra Aetate*, 6).

Contrairement à ce qu'une exégèse très ancienne mais contestable a soutenu, on ne saurait déduire du Nouveau Testament que le peuple juif a été dépouillé de son élection. L'ensemble de l'Écriture nous incite au contraire à reconnaître dans le souci de fidélité du peuple juif à la Loi et à l'Alliance le signe de la fidélité de Dieu à son peuple.

c/ Il est faux d'opposer judaïsme et christianisme comme religion de crainte et religion d'amour. L'article fondamental de la foi juive, le Shema Israël, commence par : *Tu aimeras le Seigneur ton Dieu* et se poursuit par le commandement de l'amour du prochain (Lév. 19,18). C'est le point de départ de la prédication de Jésus, et donc un enseignement commun au judaïsme et au christianisme.

Le sens de la transcendance et de la fidélité de Dieu, de sa justice, de sa miséricorde, de la repentance et du pardon des offenses, sont des traits fondamentaux de la tradition juive. Les chrétiens qui revendiquent les mêmes valeurs auraient tort de croire qu'ils n'ont plus rien à recevoir aujourd'hui même de la spiritualité juive.

d/ Contrairement à des réflexes bien établis, il faut affirmer que la doctrine des pharisiens n'est pas l'opposé du christianisme. Les pharisiens ont cherché à ce que la Loi devienne vie pour chaque juif en interprétant

ses prescriptions de façon à les adapter aux différentes circonstances de la vie. Les recherches contemporaines ont bien mis en évidence que les pharisiens n'étaient nullement étrangers au sens intérieur de la Loi, non plus que les maîtres du Talmud. Ce ne sont pas ces dispositions que Jésus met en cause quand il dénonce l'attitude de certains d'entre eux ou le formalisme de leur enseignement. Il semble d'ailleurs que ce soit parce que les pharisiens et les premiers chrétiens étaient proches à de nombreux égards qu'ils se combattirent parfois si vivement quant aux traditions reçues des Anciens et à l'interprétation de la Loi de Moïse.

V – ACCÉDER A UNE COMPRÉHENSION JUSTE DU JUDAÏSME

Les chrétiens, ne serait-ce que pour eux-mêmes, doivent acquérir une connaissance vraie et vivante de la tradition juive.

a/ Une catéchèse chrétienne véritable doit affirmer la valeur actuelle de la Bible tout entière. La première Alliance, en effet, n'a pas été rendue caduque par la nouvelle. Elle en est la racine et la source, le fondement et la promesse. S'il est vrai que, pour nous, l'Ancien Testament ne délivre son sens ultime qu'à la lumière du Nouveau Testament, cela même suppose qu'il soit accueilli et reconnu d'abord en lui-même (cf. 2 Tim. 3,16). On n'oubliera pas que, par son obéissance à la Tora et par sa prière, Jésus, homme juif par sa mère la Vierge Marie, a accompli son ministère au sein du peuple de l'Alliance.

b/ On s'efforcera de présenter la vocation particulière de ce peuple comme la « sanctification du Nom ». C'est là une des dimensions essentielles de la prière synagogale par laquelle le peuple juif, investi d'une mission sacerdotale (Ex. 19,6), offre toute l'action humaine à Dieu et lui rend gloire. Cette vocation fait de la vie et de la prière du peuple juif une bénédiction pour toutes les nations de la terre.

c/ C'est sous-estimer les préceptes du judaïsme que de n'y voir que des pratiques contraignantes. Ses rites sont des gestes qui rompent la quotidienneté de l'existence et rappellent à ceux qui les observent la seigneurie de Dieu. Les juifs fidèles reçoivent comme un don de Dieu le Sabbat et les rites qui ont pour but de sanctifier l'agir humain. Au-delà de leur littéralité, ceux-ci sont pour le juif lumière et joie sur le chemin de la vie (Ps. 119). Ils sont une manière de « bâtir le temps » et de rendre grâce pour la création tout entière. C'est en effet toute l'existence qui doit être référée à Dieu, comme saint Paul le rappelait à ses frères (I Cor. 10,30-31).

d/ La dispersion du peuple juif doit être comprise à la lumière de sa propre histoire.

Si la tradition juive considère les épreuves et l'exil du peuple comme un châtement pour ses infidélités (Jér. 13,17 ; 20,21-23), il n'en reste pas moins que, depuis la lettre adressée par Jérémie aux exilés de Babylone (Jér. 29,1-23), la vie du peuple juif dans la dispersion a eu aussi un sens positif ; à travers les épreuves, le peuple juif est appelé à « sanctifier le Nom » au milieu des nations.

Les chrétiens doivent sans cesse combattre la tentation anti-juive et manichéenne qui consiste à regarder le peuple juif comme maudit sous le prétexte qu'il a été obstinément persécuté. Au contraire, suivant le témoignage même de l'Écriture (Is. 53,2-4), subir persécution est souvent effet et rappel de la condition prophétique.

e/ Il est actuellement plus que jamais difficile de porter un jugement théologique serein sur le mouvement de retour du peuple juif sur « sa » terre. En face de celui-ci, nous ne pouvons tout d'abord oublier en tant que chrétiens le don fait jadis par Dieu au peuple d'Israël d'une terre sur laquelle il a été appelé à se réunir (cf. Gen. 12,7 ; 26,3-4 ; 28,13 ; Is. 43,5-7 ; Jér. 16,15 ; Soph. 3,20).

Au long de l'histoire, l'existence juive a été constamment partagée entre la vie au sein des nations et le vœu d'une existence nationale sur cette terre. Cette aspiration pose de nombreux problèmes à la conscience juive elle-même. Pour comprendre cette aspiration et le débat qui en résulte dans toutes leurs dimensions, les chrétiens ne doivent pas se laisser entraîner par des exégèses qui méconnaîtraient les formes de vie communautaires et religieuses du judaïsme ou par des prises de positions politiques généreuses mais hâtives. Ils doivent tenir compte de l'interprétation que donnent de leur rassemblement autour de Jérusalem les juifs qui, au nom de leur foi, le considèrent comme une bénédiction.

Par ce retour et ses répercussions, la justice est mise à l'épreuve. Il y a, au plan politique, affrontement de diverses exigences de justice. Au-delà de la diversité légitime des options politiques, la conscience universelle ne peut refuser au peuple juif, qui a subi tant de vicissitudes au cours de l'histoire, le droit et les moyens d'une existence politique propre parmi les nations. Ce droit et ces possibilités d'existence ne peuvent pas davantage être refusés par les nations à ceux qui, à la suite des conflits locaux résultant de ce retour, sont actuellement victimes de graves situations d'injustice. Aussi, tournons-nous les yeux avec attention vers cette terre-visitée par Dieu et portons-nous la vive espérance qu'elle soit un lieu où pourront vivre dans la paix tous ses habitants, juifs et non-juifs. C'est une question essentielle, devant laquelle se trouvent placés les chrétiens comme les juifs, de savoir

si le rassemblement des dispersés du peuple juif, qui s'est opéré sous la contrainte des persécutions et par le jeu des forces politiques, sera finalement ou non, malgré tant de drames, une des voies de la justice de Dieu pour le peuple juif et, en même temps que pour lui, pour tous les peuples de la terre. Comment les chrétiens resteraient-ils indifférents à ce qui se décide actuellement sur cette terre ?

VI – PROMOUVOIR LA CONNAISSANCE ET L'ESTIME MUTUELLES (*Nostra Aetate*, 4 § 2)

La plupart des rencontres entre juifs et chrétiens sont encore aujourd'hui marquées par l'ignorance réciproque et parfois par une certaine méfiance. Cette ignorance et cette méfiance ont été dans le passé et peuvent être encore dans l'avenir la source de graves incompréhensions et de maux redoutables. Nous considérons comme une tâche essentielle et urgente que les prêtres, les fidèles et tous les responsables de l'éducation, à quelque niveau qu'ils se situent, travaillent à susciter dans le peuple chrétien une meilleure compréhension du judaïsme, de sa tradition, de ses coutumes et de son histoire.

La première condition est que tous les chrétiens aient toujours le respect du juif, quelle que soit sa manière d'être juif: Qu'ils cherchent à le comprendre comme il se comprend lui-même au lieu de le juger selon leurs propres modes de pensées. Qu'ils aient l'estime de ses convictions, de ses aspirations, de ses rites et de l'attachement qu'il leur voue. Qu'ils admettent aussi qu'il peut y avoir différentes façons d'être juif ou de se reconnaître juif, sans détrimement de l'unité fondamentale de l'existence juive.

La seconde condition est que, dans les rencontres entre chrétiens et juifs, soit reconnu le droit de chacun de rendre pleinement témoignage de sa foi sans être pour autant soupçonné de vouloir détacher de manière déloyale une personne de sa communauté pour l'attacher à la sienne propre. Une telle intention doit être exclue non seulement en raison du respect d'autrui qui s'impose en tout dialogue avec tout homme quel qu'il soit, mais plus encore pour une raison particulière à laquelle les chrétiens et surtout les pasteurs devraient se faire plus attentifs. Cette raison est que le peuple juif a été l'objet, comme peuple, d'une « Alliance éternelle » sans laquelle la « nouvelle Alliance » n'aurait elle-même pas d'existence. Aussi, bien loin de viser à la disparition de la communauté juive, l'Église se reconnaît dans la recherche d'un lien vivant avec elle. Une grande ouverture d'esprit, une méfiance à l'égard de ses propres préjugés et un sens aigu des conditionnements psychologiques des individus sont, en face de tels problèmes, des qualités indispensables aux pasteurs. Même s'il existe, dans le contexte actuel de « civilisation sans frontières », des démarches personnelles qui échappent aux déterminations des deux communautés, le respect qu'elles se portent réciproquement ne doit pas s'en trouver altéré.

VII – L'ÉGLISE ET LE PEUPLE JUIF

a/ Le peuple juif a conscience d'avoir reçu, à travers sa vocation particulière, une mission universelle à l'égard des nations. L'Église, pour sa part, estime que sa mission propre ne peut que s'inscrire dans ce même propos universel de salut.

b/ Israël et l'Église ne sont pas des institutions complémentaires. La permanence comme en vis-à-vis d'Israël et de l'Église est le signe de l'inachèvement du dessein de Dieu. Le peuple juif et le peuple chrétien sont ainsi dans une situation de contestation réciproque ou, comme dit saint Paul, de « jalousie » en vue de l'unité (Rm. 11,14 ; cf. Deut. 32,21).

c/ Les paroles de Jésus lui-même et l'enseignement de Paul témoignent du rôle du peuple juif dans l'accomplissement de l'unité finale de l'humanité, comme unité d'Israël et des nations. Aussi la recherche que fait aujourd'hui le judaïsme de son unité ne peut pas être étrangère au propos de salut de Dieu. Elle ne peut pas non plus être sans parenté avec les efforts des chrétiens en recherche de leur propre unité, bien que ces deux démarches se réalisent selon des voies très différentes.

Mais, si juifs et chrétiens accomplissent leur vocation suivant des voies distinctes, l'histoire montre que leurs cheminements se croisent sans cesse. Leur souci commun ne concerne-t-il pas les temps messianiques ? Aussi faut-il souhaiter qu'ils entrent enfin dans la voie de la reconnaissance et de la compréhension mutuelles et que, répudiant leur inimitié ancienne, ils se tournent vers le Père dans un même mouvement d'espérance, qui sera une promesse pour toute la terre.

La communauté juive de France, forte de près de 600 000 membres, est la seconde d'Europe. Elle est une communauté particulièrement vivante et d'autant plus riche d'avenir que s'opère actuellement au sein du judaïsme français la rencontre entre des juifs venus d'Europe de l'Est, qui ont connu les épreuves de la dernière guerre, et des juifs venus d'Afrique du Nord.

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Christianity Threatened in Israel?

An Examination of Archbishop Ryan's Charges

By JOHN OESTERREICHER

IN THE SPRING OF 1971, Archbishop Ryan of Anchorage pleaded with the bishops of the United States that they help save Christianity in Israel. Immediately, his plea was given or leaked to the press; in the fall of 1972, it appeared again in the anti-Zionist periodical *The Link*. In offering his statement for publication, Archbishop Ryan has entered the arena of open discussion. He must, therefore, expect, even welcome a reply to his ominous predictions. Having just returned from a trip to Israel and investigated as much as I could, the problem of "the possible extinction of an effective Christian presence in the Holy Land" (p. 2),¹ I feel in conscience bound to give my view on the Archbishop's concern.

Arab Christians have left and will continue to leave Israel, the Archbishop holds, so that soon "Bishops and Priests of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches [will] preside over historic—but empty—museums" (p. 9). I cannot imagine a follower of Jesus who did not care whether or not Christians would and could go on living in the land of Abraham, their father in faith, but I do not think that his primary interest would be in the *number* of Christians to be found in Israel. Yet, throughout his brief, Archbishop Ryan seems to be pre-

occupied with the quantity rather than the quality of Christian life. Its true measure is not crowded churches but unselfish service.

The Hidden Problem

TRUST I WILL not be misunderstood. I do not suggest that we look stoically forward to an ever increasing number of empty churches in Israel or anywhere else. What I wish to say is that no lament or clamor—"Speak up and speak now" is Archbishop Ryan's appeal to the bishops (p. 22)—will fill churches, unless the worship be so designed as to make the people part of it.

I do not pretend to any firsthand knowledge of the religious life of Arab communities. Yet, on my last visit to Israel in October 1972, sisters and priests who possess that experience have given me this impression of Latin parishes in Israel: In most of them, the celebration of the Eucharist has not benefited from the liturgical renewal the Council initiated. There is little or no lay participation, except in paraliturgical devotions like the Palm Sunday procession. Catechetical instruction is not rooted in the Scriptures or concerned with the problems of this day; it still follows old patterns which do not give the faithful, beyond the motivation

of their hearts, that intellectual understanding needed to withstand the onslaught of modern unbelief.

In Jerusalem, I discussed life under Israeli rule with a number of Arabs. Only one, a Latin Catholic whose home in the Old City I was privileged to visit, mentioned the religious situation. We had hardly been introduced to one another when he expressed his determination to leave for the United States. As one of the reasons for this move, he cited the alleged fact that, since East Jerusalem had become part of Israel, the religious life was no longer what it had been before. Obstacles were put in the way of Christian worship, he maintained. I asked at once for some concrete proof; the only instance my host was able to offer was an alleged change of the procession that seeks to retrace Jesus' triumphant entry into the City on the Sunday before His passion. When East Jerusalem was in Jordan, my host declared, the Procession was most beautiful, lasting from one to six o'clock. All this was different now, he maintained; but he made no attempt to tell what had changed.

I felt that little would be gained by pressing him further for I could not help but mistrust his whole attitude and thus his story. When I checked it later with Christian friends who had lived in East Jerusalem for many years, I learned that the Palm Sunday procession now was the same as before. Still starting at Bethpage, it moves through El-Tur, Gethsemane, and St. Stephen's Gate to St. Anne's Monastery. It begins, not at one, but at two-thirty. Though lasting for quite some time, it has never taken five hours, unless one uses, as my Arab host obviously had, the portal-to-portal principle of modern working men that includes the hours spent at the procession as well as the time needed to get from one's house to the procession's point of departure and, again,

that from the terminal point back to one's home:

In recalling the conversation, I do not accuse my Arab host of lying, rather do I think that prejudice, not to say antagonism, so obscured his vision that the shape of things had become blurred. This brings to mind the response of an influential Latin Catholic priest to my question about the present relations between the State of Israel and the Church. "They are good," he said, "one big difficulty, however, is the mentality of Arab Catholics." If I may add my own interpretation, Arab Christians are a small minority; they see themselves squeezed in between two huge blocks: Jews and Muslims. My host, who gave the impression of being unhappy about the religious atmosphere surrounding him, also complained about the financial straits he was in. Though his income is, according to Israeli standards, quite comfortable—2,400 Israeli pounds per month—he has a large family of thirteen to feed. When I suggested that he change his position, he replied that he now worked for Christian proprietors but would never do so for Jews or—here he was even more vehement—for Muslims. Yet in the same breath, he declared that, once in the United States, he would open an Oriental restaurant in Miami Beach! How he could manage this—if, at present, he lived from hand to mouth and his future clientele would in all probability be Jewish—is a bit puzzling.

What may look like a political problem, is fundamentally a pastoral one. If the Arab faithful so easily fall prey to their resentments and yield to dreams of "more money," this is a task for priests and bishops. If it were true that Arab Christians are leaving Jerusalem *en masse*, then, I fear, the shepherds would not have done their duty. If something goes wrong with our lives, is it not healthier to look first for the ad-

verse forces within, and then for possible culprits outside?

Despair or Hope

A SERIOUS EXAMINATION OF conscience on the pastoral responsibilities of the Church in Israel and on the execution of these responsibilities would help all concerned a thousand times more than the exercise in hyperbolic speech Archbishop Ryan engages in. He makes his own the characterization of the alleged exodus of Christians from Israel as a "distressing stampede without hope or joy" (p. 17). These words are originally those of the Melchite Archbishop of Galilee, Joseph Raya, who, no matter what he treats, prefers impassioned speech to soberness. On my last trip across Israel and the West Bank, I have found many different moods and attitudes among Arabs. Nowhere have I witnessed anything even slightly resembling panic.

There is one Christian community in Israel that flourishes more than ever: the Armenian. The better socio-economic standard—it is three times as high as it was under the Jordanian administration—the security of weekly wages, the rights of workers who are no longer at the mercy of their employers, all this has not estranged them from things spiritual. On the contrary, as one of their bishops told me, church attendance is greater than ever; there is no emigration today, there are even some who are returning; there is a steady increase in vocations; a new theological seminary and a new biblical institute are being built—to be used by Armenians from all over the world.

When I realized how well the Armenian Church has fared under Israeli rule, I wondered if the different histories of the Armenian and Arab peoples did not account for their different developments. Armenians were the first people in modern times to suffer genocide, at

the hands of the Turks. It may be this experience that has made them, or at least their leaders, particularly sensitive, indeed sympathetic, to Israeli aspirations as well as achievements. Arabic speaking peoples were not massacred by the Ottoman rulers as were the Armenians, but neglected, harassed, and at times brutally oppressed. It may be this past experience, together with the anti-modern orientation of Islamic culture, that has taken from Arabs the gift to respond to a new situation. Could it be that, at least in part, they project their hostile feelings against the Turks of yesteryear onto the Israelis of today, whose several victories may make them look, to Arab eyes, very much like their old masters, even though in reality there is no resemblance at all? I do not know.

But this I do know: There is no reason for despair. Christianity is not doomed in Israel, unless it commits suicide. If pastors helped their parishioners form an enlightened conscience; if they shielded the latter against the spell of bombastic oratory; if they made the faithful face the real world instead of fleeing into a land of dreams; if they assisted them in becoming, not subservient but cooperative citizens, the Church will not only survive but grow in spirit and thus in stature.

I trust that those responsible for the future of the Church will rise above past errors—among which a triumphalist attitude is not the least—to new heights. I trust that they will be responsive to the offer of no less a man than Abba Eban, Israel's Foreign Minister who, in the summer of 1971, stated in the *Knesset*, the country's parliament, the ideas that guide the policy of the national and municipal governments regarding Jerusalem:

The City is open to constructive initiative of Jews, Christians, and Muslims the world over in the furtherance of its de-

velopment, especially of its cultural and spiritual assets, and in increasing the number of institutions and enterprises testifying to the City's historical uniqueness and special mission of promoting faith, progress, and peace. . . .

Our policy is: safeguarding the religious, cultural, and social life of the City's population and of those who enter its gates, including Christian, Muslim, and other pilgrims. One may hope that all those to whom the wellbeing of Jerusalem is dear will fully appreciate these gains . . . as well as the intention to continue to work in this direction, that harmony and mutual respect may reign in Jerusalem among its inhabitants and communities.²

The Witnesses

SMALL WONDER THAT Archbishop Ryan pays little attention to statements like the above. He has been closely associated with the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, an organization that has not distinguished itself by a spirit of fairness, much less of affection, for the people and state of Israel. Still, I am amazed that the Archbishop would so compromise himself as to number among his authorities on what he, with Archbishop Raya, calls "a distressing stampede without hope or joy," men like the Superior of the *Lebanese Maronite Order*, the Cardinal-Archbishop of *Algeria*, the President of the Reformed Church of the *same country* and still others who live outside Israel and are, therefore, unable to have first-hand knowledge on the shift of population in Israel.

Archbishop Ryan also cites the Anglican Primate, with his See in *Canterbury*—but not the Anglican Archbishop of Jerusalem!—pastors living in *Jordan*, the Coptic Patriarch of *Egypt*, the Melchite Patriarch Maximos V, residing in *Damascus*, and the indomitable Fr. Joseph L. Ryan, S.J. of these *United States*. All these "witnesses" have no im-

mediate experience of the problem but rely solely on hearsay. That a Cardinal-Patriarch who lives in Cairo, under the watchful eyes of President Sadat and his police, should be a dispassionate witness—only the most gullible person would assume.

The story of Patriarch Maximos V is even stranger. While he was still Archbishop of Galilee, he, together with his priests, joined the *Histadrut*, the Israeli Federation of Labor, a most unusual act for a bishop.³ More than that, he submitted to one of the preparatory commissions of the Second Vatican Council a proposal for a *Decretum de Judaeis*, so radical that it eclipsed all other suggestions. Unsparingly, he listed all the past sins of Christendom toward the Jews and gave detailed rules for a reform of the Church's thought and action that might be unfair or harmful to the Jewish people. As soon as the Arabic speaking fathers of the Council declared themselves, one after another, against the contemplated decree on the Jews, the Archbishop, who before seemed determined to right old wrongs, dropped into an embarrassed silence, which he maintained throughout the Council.

As to Father Ryan, he is called "an experienced and scholarly Arabist and former academic Dean of the Jesuits' Baghdad College in Iraq" (p. 16). This is an artful euphemism for an educator who, having served with distinction for years, was expelled by a regime hostile to Christian education. Nowhere in Archbishop Ryan's brief is there the slightest hint of repressive measures against Church institutions by the various Islamic nations. Yet, the Archbishop speaks alarmingly of an Israeli law under consideration that will permit the administration in the occupied areas "to approve, or disapprove, teachers in private schools and even to close such schools for reasons of 'security'"

(p. 13). The law, he adds, conveniently omits a definition of "what the government means by 'security'" (*ibid.*).

This aside, with its innuendoes, tells more of the Archbishop, the nature of his concern as well as of his knowledge, than he realizes. To put security between quotation marks displays either prejudice or unfamiliarity with the actual situation in the Middle East. Archbishop Ryan cannot cite a single case of Israeli government interference in Christian education, nor any encroachment upon the legitimate exercise of a teacher's work, and yet he casts a shadow on the goodwill of Israel's government. In fact, the Israeli Ministry of Education has scrupulously upheld the freedom of Catholic schools.

How the Archbishop's aspersion contrasts with the tribute by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, Benedict II! When on May 12, 1972, the Russian Orthodox Patriarch Pimen visited Israel, the Greek Patriarch said in his address of welcome:

We now live in the State of Israel. It is our duty to acknowledge that, from the very start, the State has shown absolute respect for the status quo of the Holy Places, for . . . pilgrimages, monasteries, churches, the clergy and the people, for our rights and privileges. It has been ready to heed our concerns and respond to our demands regarding the Sacred Shrines, the Patriarchate itself, its Christian people, as well as others.⁴

True, this encomium makes no specific reference to Christian schools, but it is so all-encompassing as to include their freedom.

I cannot close this section on witnesses without mentioning a very significant event. Though it has no immediate connection with educational problems either, it testifies to the sincerity of the Israeli government, which Archbishop Ryan seems to doubt. During the last century, the French Assumptionists built

a hospice outside the City walls. The recent growth of an Israeli hotel industry, on the one hand, and the lack of modern conveniences in the hospice, on the other, led to a point when that once useful enterprise no longer paid for itself. Nor were the Assumptionist Fathers able to carry the institution as a shelter for homeless people or any other worthwhile purpose. They decided, therefore, to sell the property. The Hebrew University was interested in acquiring it as a residence hall for its students. *Keren Kayemeth le-Yisrael*, the "Jewish National Fund," which is usually responsible for the redemption and development of uncultivated soil, acted as the legal purchaser. The contract was signed and the University ready to take possession.

Arab Christians complained that by this sale they would "again be abandoned to the Jews," whereupon the Holy See intervened, contesting the validity of the purchase before an Israeli court. An ironical situation emerged. So far, the Vatican has not accorded diplomatic recognition to Israel; yet, by its suit, it dealt with an Israeli institution as a legal entity. The challenge was based upon Canon Law which does not permit the sale of Church property, without the consent of the Holy See. In Israel, Canon Law regulates questions of personal status for Catholics, marriage for instance, but it is not applicable to real estate matters. Had the suit gone through, the Holy See would have lost; the court might even have disqualified itself. Even had the case been taken all the way to the International Court of Justice, the Holy See could not have won. Hence, as a gesture of goodwill, the Israeli government settled the litigation out of court. Its Minister of Justice intervened, the contract was revoked, and the property returned to its former owner.⁵ This turn of events has

given rise to bad blood among some Jews and Christians; worse still, it has not earned Israel the honest acknowledgment of its more than friendly conduct toward the Church by men like Archbishop Ryan.

Facts and Figures

ARCHBISHOP RYAN ERRS and thus misinforms his readers, not only by some of his expressed statements, but also by the many things he leaves unsaid. Those for whom the Archbishop's charges are the first piece of information about emigration from and within the Middle East, will undoubtedly come to the wrong conclusion that it entered the area with the founding of the State of Israel. Population change is not a new demographic phenomenon in the Middle East but a fact of life that has been going on for a great many years. The greatest number of Christians to leave their native countries were those from Syria and Egypt. Again, not so long ago, the majority of Lebanese were Christians; today, because of their constant exodus and a larger birth-rate among Muslims, the latter are presumed to have surpassed the former in numbers. (I say "presumed" because the Lebanese government has deliberately avoided the taking of a census; thus no reliable figures exist.)

Even more telling is the demographic situation of Jerusalem at the time of, and after, the annexation of the Old City by Transjordan. In 1948, at the end of the British Mandate, there were 25,000 Christians in the City. In 1946, two years before the mandate was terminated, Jerusalem's population included over 31,000 Christians. The sharp decline was caused by Arab disorders, which broke out on November 30, 1947, shortly after the United Nations had decided to partition Palestine. The extensive fighting that followed—the shelling of Jerusalem by Arab irregulars and

by the Transjordanian Arab Legion, in those days still led by British officers—caused many Christian families to flee to nearby Ramallah and Bethlehem. Predominantly Christian towns, they offered security. Moreover, numerous British Christian families left for home—their work for the Mandatory Administration no longer being needed. All this was due to the turn of events; in other words, the shift of the Christian population during those years was in no way manipulated.

Quite different were the circumstances of later changes. I have already said that a count of the Christian population in 1948 yielded the figure of 25,000. By 1961, their number had been lowered to 12,934; by 1967, to 11,234. The reasons for this drop of the Christian population under Jordanian rule are simple, though not pleasant. The ruling clique in Amman followed a determined pro-Islamic and anti-Christian policy. Jobs were generally given to Muslims; Christian applicants were definitely discriminated against. As a rule, Christian institutions were not allowed to acquire real estate, not to speak of other repressive measures. The story of a blooming Christian life under Jordanian rule is thus the daydream of men who would like to rewrite the history of Arab-Christian relations.

The present figure for Christians inhabiting Jerusalem is given by some as 11,500 by others as 11,000. Interestingly, the lower estimate is an official one,⁶ while the slightly higher one is favored by Christian writers who have recently treated the topic.⁷ This proves to me that Israeli authorities are not inclined to load figures in their favor. Yet, whether one estimates the Christian population of Jerusalem as 11,000 or 11,500, it seems certain that their number has become more or less stable. True, Christians have left Jerusalem since its reunification, but their leaving

has been offset by those rejoining their families, thanks to Israel's reunion plan. No matter how it happened, the fact is that in the last few years the number of Christians in Jerusalem has been quite constant. In the words of Pastor Krupp, a representative member of *Aktion Sühnezeichen*, the "Work of Reconciliation" by German Christians:

Shortly before World War I, there are twice as many Moslems. During that war, the Turks expelled a large number of Christians and Jews. From the beginning of the British Mandate up to the splitting of Jerusalem into two, Christians and Moslems are about equal in number. Under the Hashemite rule, the picture changes radically in favor of the Moslems. From 1967 onwards, the number of Christians remains more or less steady.⁸

This calm evaluation sharply contradicts Archbishop Ryan's alarming description.

The Conspiracy

ARCHBISHOP RYAN IS NOT content with describing the demographic facts and problems of Jerusalem as he sees them, but introduces into the discussion the spectre of an Israeli conspiracy against a living Church. He begins the history of Israel's "plot" to deprive Christians of their living space by declaring that "Zionism tore up the Arabs' 700-year-old deed to Palestine . . ." (p. 6). Quite apart from the fact that Zionism is an abstraction, which cannot act, the first Zionist settlers bought the land they wished to till. That the parcels available were the least worthwhile, that they were rocky or swampy, and that they had to be purchased at exorbitant prices, at times from absentee owners, is part of the just cited "evidence" that the Palestinian inhabitants were victimized! Moreover, some of the land on which the latter lived was not owned by them but

by their Ottoman rulers. May I assume that the Archbishop learned these facts only after he wrote his appeal to the bishops of the United States? In the reprint of his brief by *The Link*, the clearly circumscribed "700-year-old deed" has been quietly transformed into an "historic deed."

A second step in Israel's attempt to strangle Christian life is—I am following the Archbishop's argument—the Arab-Jewish wars, which Israel won and which allowed that country to extend "its borders a bit further—this last time to include Jerusalem" (p. 7). This is not entirely true. After the Sinai campaign in 1956, Israel returned to the armistice lines of 1947, because the "peace terms" negotiated by Dag Hammarskjöld guaranteed Israel freedom of shipping and the destruction of terrorist bases in the Gaza strip. Moreover, the "Eisenhower doctrine" committed the United States to the protection of all Middle Eastern states against aggression and to Israel's unhindered use of the Strait of Tiran. I think I should note here that Israel's disappointing experience with both these guarantees—not forgetting the precipitous withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force by Secretary General U Thant, in May 1967—is the reason for its present intransigence: it insists on real peace negotiations and firm settlements before it will withdraw from the territories it now holds. But the Archbishop's inaccurate recollection of events is not as important as is his resort to Aesopian language. In his presentation, the Arab-Jewish wars were never started, they always "ensued."

The third step of what—in an interpretation of Archbishop Ryan's view—I have called Israel's "conspiracy" is to "dominate a city as holy to Christianity and Islam as it is to Judaism" (p. 10). Though the importance of Jerusalem for the three faiths is not on

the same level, I will not argue that point. I rather ask why the Archbishop considers Israel's rule *a priori* detrimental, when he obviously has no objection to Jordanian rule? After having alluded to the United Nations resolution on Jerusalem as an enclave which was to be surrounded entirely by Arab territory—a proposal, incidentally, that the Arab nations rejected as much as the Jewish spokesmen—he writes:

Admittedly, Israel conquered half of Jerusalem in 1948 ["Conquered" is hardly the right word. West Jerusalem was, ever since Jewish neighborhoods were created outside the Walled City in the late nineteenth century, overwhelmingly Jewish. There was no need for Israelis to conquer what was already theirs. By its control of West Jerusalem, Israel merely maintained the *status quo ante bellum*.—JMO] and the rest in 1967 [Here reference should have been made to the late Prime Minister Eshkol's plea that Jordan abstain from all hostilities as well as to his warning that should Jordan enter the war, it would have only itself to blame for the consequences—JMO]. Admittedly, Israel named West Jerusalem [No, the whole of Jerusalem—JMO] the capital of Israel. Admittedly Israel officially annexed the Jordanian half of Jerusalem in 1967 (p. 10).

To speak of "Israel's annexation" and the "Jordanian half of Jerusalem," without even hinting that in 1950 Jordan annexed "its" half of Jerusalem and did so very much against the will of the Arab League, is not objective reporting, particularly if only the United Nations' condemnation of Jerusalem's reunification in 1967 is emphasized. When one realizes, as Archbishop Ryan surely does, how arbitrary United Nations decisions have become—they refuse, for instance, to condemn fatal attacks by terrorists even on non-Israeli victims but are ever ready to denounce defensive measures by the Israeli army against the terrorists' hiding places—

the moral passion with which the Archbishop underlines this condemnation appears a bit shopworn.

In reading the phrase, Israel "named" Jerusalem as its capital, I am reminded of a retort by Mayor Kollek made in a slightly different context. Questioned on the "judaization" of Jerusalem by Archbishop Ryan, he is said to have answered that the blame should be put on King David (p. 15). It is entirely legitimate when Israelis speak of the reunification of the Holy City and reject the term annexation for, with the exception of the short period of seventeen years of Jordanian control, the City has never been cut into two sectors. It had always been one.

The fourth stage in Israel's "conspiracy" to do away with the Christian presence is the town planning for Jerusalem: "... buildings are being constructed on land which is not Israeli territory, on land which Israel has been expressly and repeatedly forbidden to occupy or use, and which in many instances Israel has expropriated, often without compensation, from Arabs" (p. 10). I cannot help wondering why this sudden concern. I do not remember that Archbishop Ryan ever expressed compassion for the hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees or expellees from Arab countries, who had to leave their houses and all their earthly goods behind, without the least compensation. (The sum paid as recompense to those in Israel who had to be evacuated in order to make room for more and better housing is four million Israeli pounds). Nor do I remember that Archbishop Ryan raised his voice when the Jordanian army dynamited all synagogues and institutes of Jewish learning in the Old City, nor when they rid themselves of all its Jewish inhabitants, who at the beginning of this century numbered 15,000. The Israeli authorities have,

therefore, considered it one of their first tasks to rebuild the Jewish Quarter.

Again, Israel has not only abolished the artificial division of Jerusalem, it has also removed the "markers" that showed the dismemberment of Jerusalem to be a symbol of death. Where before there were minefields, there are now parks. It is not a bad city administration that substitutes living and life-giving trees for deadly explosives. Speaking of trees—symbols of life, indeed of a life lived according to His will (see Ps 1)—at the time Jordan occupied East Jerusalem, no parks or children's playgrounds brought beauty or joy to the inhabitants. Today six parks and four playgrounds grace that part of the City. One of the most outstanding features of the reconstruction of Jerusalem under Mayor Kollek is the Green Belt along the Walls of the Old City. The design is such as not to distract attention from the ancient Wall. Wherever there is an incline, the part next to the wall will be covered with local strains of grass, wild flowers, and low shrubs. Farther down, olive, fig, and carob trees will be planted, while at the bottom of the slope tall cypresses will grow. Even now, one can see the first signs of this National Park.

Obviously, this has made no impression on Archbishop Ryan: He prefers to speak about the ominous Master Plan and the even more ominous "campaign" to "judaize" Jerusalem (p. 15). First, there is no Master Plan properly speaking, no law that has to be enforced; that designation really refers to a set of building guidelines, rather flexible and open to revision whenever such a change seems desirable or necessary. Second, to speak of a campaign to judaize the City makes little sense. Its present Jewish population is about quadruple that of the non-Jewish. In fact, Jews have been in the majority for at least a hundred years. All this the

Archbishop does not seem to know. The reason may be quite simple. Before going to Jerusalem, he apparently stops first at Beirut and Amman. When he gets to the Holy City, he has already received his information, but, alas, the information is not correct.

Legality

THE ARCHBISHOP questions the legality of Jerusalem's venture to build houses; he likes to cite the Fourth Geneva Convention which regulates the policy of an occupying power toward the population under its rule. Israeli authorities would, I assume, deny that its prohibitions are applicable to the prevailing situation. After all, they firmly believe that all Jerusalem is theirs; in other words, they are not an occupying power of a city that is basically Jewish, its universal meaning notwithstanding. In acquiring over 4,000 acres for building purposes, the Government and Municipality based themselves on the Land Ordinance of 1943 regulating the acquisition of land for public purposes—an ordinance that goes back to the time of the British Mandate.¹⁰ Despite its adherence to the rule of law, Israel never forgets that human needs come first. It must have been in this spirit that Mayor Kollek is said to have reacted to Archbishop Ryan's demand for a justification of Israel's policy in these words: "I am not a lawyer. I am the mayor of a living city" (p. 12).

It is impossible to review the entire program of urban renewal in this article, but I think I ought to single out a few items. There are, for instance, the Wadi Joz workshops and garages, a cluster of ugly, rundown buildings, an eyesore so bad that, I assume, it is not shown to many tourists. These workshops and garages are being moved to different locations, while the land on which they stood will provide space for Arab residences. Another resettlement

project is in the Beit Hanina district. It may be worth noting that the contractor as well as the architect belong to well-known Arab families. The Municipality is at present trying to have Arab citizens engage in cooperative housing projects, for which it is offering them the same financial assistance it gives to Jews.

In his statement before the Security Council, to which I referred before, Ambassador Tekoah declared that of the owners of the land appropriated for the common good on the basis of the Acquisition Ordinance, 1,800 were Arabs and 2,140 Jews. Manifestly, Jewish proprietors were more affected than Arab ones. Ambassador Tekoah also made clear that great care was taken to acquire only vacant land; still, 270 Jewish-owned and 35 Arab-owned structures had to be taken over. The latter were inhabited by 40 families with 240 members. The former were occupied partially by stores and workshops with living quarters for another 300 families. All the owners, Arabs as well as Jews, were fully compensated and the tenants given new quarters.¹¹

Prejudice

ARCHBISHOP RYAN will not set great store by the Ambassador's statement, I suspect, for "amid bundles of statements, summaries, rebuttals and clippings" (p. 8) his eyes were fastened only on those that seem (I emphasize "seem") to support his charges. He quotes, for instance, Shimon Peres, the Minister of Immigration, as stating that "the essential thing" about the urban renewal plan "is that it be a plan for the population of a united city with a numerous, stable, and permanent Jewish majority" (*ibid.*). As I have pointed out before, this majority is not something to be created, as the Archbishop suggests again and again, but a fact. Moreover, the quote above is not taken

from an official publication but from an aide-mémoire of the Apostolic Delegate. With all due respect to Archbishop Laghi, I do not think that he can be considered an authentic interpreter of the mind of an Israeli Minister.

No doubt, Archbishop Ryan considers himself objective and fair but, I am sorry to say, his prejudice emerges, time and again. To pick one of the most telling examples: "In search of Commandos, Arab houses are bulldozed into rubble—nearly 800 between 1967 and 1971 and hundreds more since" (p. 14). Prior to this, he spoke of "Jewish terrorists" who took an aggressive stance against the Mandatory Power and rightly remarks that their "terrorism was never officially [that is, by the Jewish leadership—JMO] condoned and was largely the work of outlawed extremists" (p. 6). Yet, when mentioning Palestinian terrorists, he calls them by that glorifying name "commandos," even though lately many of them have switched their goal: It is no longer the "liberation of Palestine" but some vague world revolution.¹² No "make-up" can hide the ugly face of all terrorism: murder. To glamorize it is to make oneself an accomplice.

Archbishop Ryan shudders at the thought of homes razed to the ground—so do I—but I wish he had said what the Israeli Defense Forces ought to do instead. Since the terrorists avoid open warfare, what other means does the Israeli army have in dealing with the terrorists than to smoke them out of their nests through bombing raids or by demolishing houses whose owners have given them shelter? A house destroyed can be rebuilt, but not a life. I beg the Archbishop not to forget that the Israelis, even in the face of all the perils surrounding them, have abolished the death penalty. When compared with the hanging of alleged or real spies in Baghdad, to the cheering, dancing, and

clapping of the crowds, or with the obscene decree of Libya's strong man that the ancient Koranic punishment of cutting off the right hand of a thief will no longer be done with the help of an ordinary ax but through modern surgery with its accompanying anaesthetics; when compared with these measures, the demolition of houses, from which all living beings have been evacuated, appears humane.

I will not dwell on the point that these demolitions seem to have become a thing of the past; having been driven from Jordan by King Hussein, the terrorists no longer operate on the West Bank. Still, is it not strange that the Archbishop objects to the destruction involved in the Israeli treatment of accomplices to crimes, though in the days when such a voice was needed, he did not speak out against Jordan's successful attempt to rid Old Jerusalem, not only of Jewish inhabitants but also of every remembrance of the onetime Jewish presence, by destroying houses, synagogues, even cemeteries?

The Motive

AT THE BEGINNING of his plea with the bishops of the United States, Archbishop Ryan fears that "an effective Christian presence in the Holy Land" may be extinguished (p. 2). A few pages later, his apprehension is that the "Church in future time [will] be accused of condoning injustice to the peoples of Islam" (*sic*) (p. 4). Again, the Archbishop speaks of the shock he felt when he saw "buildings so tall, so modern, and so dominating that they destroy the entire character of this beautiful city" (p. 9), even though pages later he admits that these housing developments "are not . . . unattractive at all" (p. 19). He also laments that the "many pleasurable and inspiring moments admiring the ancient golden walls. . . , the timeless

beauty of those hills" (*ibid.*) have come to an end.

This motley of concerns, this shift of problems, is confusing. Which is the real motivation for the Archbishop's cry of appeal: the threat to the Church, the possible accusation by Islamic peoples, or his aesthetic pleasure? I wonder, too, whether the Jerusalem of which Archbishop Ryan speaks and the Jerusalem I have seen are one and the same city. He tells how, one morning, he stood before the Shepherd Hotel and looked with shock at the high-rise apartments on the northeastern hills of Jerusalem, as he felt their timeless beauty and their biblical character gone (p. 9). I must confess that I have never been near the Shepherd Hotel, much less seen the view it affords the visitor. All I know about it is that it is a four-star hotel, much closer to Giv'at Shapiro or "French Hill" than any other. It is, therefore, not the best spot from which to judge the situation.

I have called the structures in question, as does Archbishop Ryan, high-rise apartments, though this name may be misleading, particularly to Americans. The tall apartment buildings in my own neighborhood are 21 or 22 stories high, the buildings on "French Hill" only seven; their total height is about 75 feet. I have seen them from nearby and from a distance. No doubt, they are not ravishingly beautiful, but clean and honest—unlike a pseudo-gothic church. The stone used for these and similar houses is taken from the surrounding hills; quite often the stone has a reddish tinge and always a certain warmth. I have in my possession a number of photographs. On one, 6 x 7" in size, the buildings are seen in full and appear 2½" high; on another, taken from the Old City, the background is so hazy that the buildings in the distance do not stand out. On still another, 7 x 9½", taken with an excellent

lens from Abu Tor in Southern Jerusalem, the buildings on French Hill measure one-eighth of an inch! On a photograph, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ", which a friend of mine took with an ordinary camera, the allegedly repulsive skyline is really no more than a line. To my mind, one therefore cannot speak, as the Archbishop does, of "huge clusters of buildings, so tall, so modern and so dominating that they destroy the entire character of this beautiful city" (p. 9).

The Real Violation

BUT THIS is not all. If Archbishop Ryan is so deeply interested in the biblical character of Jerusalem, how is it that the ugly forest of TV antennas that covers the Old City does not jar on his sense of beauty? (The Municipality has plans to remove them out of sight.) How come he has nothing to say of the noisy and smelly bazaars in the *Via Dolorosa*, the jostling and bargaining that hardly enhances the spiritual atmosphere of the Road of Sorrows? (Thank God that the street urchins and adult peddlers who gave one not a moment's peace have been removed from the street!) The most perplexing part of Archbishop Ryan's present clamor is the fact that he was silent when the Jordanian government, with the financial assistance of Pan American Airways, built the most offensive building in all of Jerusalem, the Hotel Intercontinental. Describing itself as the "hotel of luxuries," it nonetheless stands on the Mount of Olives.

David went up that hill, barefoot, continually weeping over the rebellion of his son Absalom (2 Sam 15:30). There, Jesus shed tears at the thought of the approaching destruction of His beloved Jerusalem (Lk 19:41-44). There, He foresaw—in anguish—His own passion and fought the hardest and most fruitful inner fight ever fought (Lk 22:39-42). There, He was betrayed,

and from there, He mounted into heaven, that is, entered a new mode of existence, a dimension of life unknown to our senses (Acts 1:12). Finally, according to Jewish tradition, it is from the Mount of Olives that the righteous will rise. Hence, pious Jews have always wanted to be buried there, and it is this venerable cemetery which was ravaged in the course of Jordan's construction of a road to the hotel.

If there be a "sacrosanct hill"—a title Archbishop Ryan gives, of all things, to "French Hill"—it is the Mount of Olives. And it is precisely on that hill—which is not, like those on which the contested structures stand, about three miles from the Walled City but immediately adjacent to it—that this plush hotel was erected. And no one in (then Jordanian) Jerusalem, Amman, Beirut, Damascus, or Cairo, no one in Rome, Geneva, Washington, or elsewhere raised his voice against this "incongruity."

As I said before, the modern buildings on Giv'at Shapiro and on the other northeastern hills are straightforward architecture; the Hotel Intercontinental, however, has a fake "oriental" look, its roof being adorned with seven arches. "Seven Arches" has no mystical or poetic significance. In fact, it is most "prosaic," the hotel's nightclub having been named after these arches. In the evenings, they are illumined to invite customers. It is these glaring lights, and not any apartment buildings, that dominate Jerusalem, at least at night, and change its character. If I read the Archbishop's biography right, he was in the Middle East when the hotel went up, but remained mute. Since I want to believe in his sincerity as well as his sensitivity to the glory that is Jerusalem, I cannot help asking myself why he clamors now when he acquiesced in the atrocity that is called Hotel Intercontinental?

Israelis are matter-of-fact people and thus give the impression that they are less vulnerable than others. The Archbishop may, therefore, consider it right to speak out against them, but feels that he must throw a gentle veil over the acts of the Jordanian authorities. As is their custom, Arabs may always have treated him with exquisite courtesy—a courtesy so refined that it makes the recipient a lasting debtor, if not a prisoner. I trust that this is the reason for his stance. For I would hate to think that the Archbishop's present protest springs from the stubborn theologoumenon—one contrary to the spirit of Vatican II—that Jews are till the end of time under the wrath of God and, therefore, divinely barred from the Land of their Fathers. When I said, "I would hate to think," I meant it. Too many Christians who take an anti-Israeli position, are unconsciously guided by that stereotype. For stereotypes die hard.

A Final Appeal

FROM ALL I have written, it ought to be clear that I hold Archbishop Ryan's charges totally unjustified, particularly the one that Israeli authorities threaten the existence of Christianity in the land of its birth. Hence, I have considered it my duty to defend them against his accusation. Still, I have not written these lines merely to protect them. They hardly need my defense. They have survived other accusations—they will survive this one, too.

I have written my reply mainly to guard the integrity of the Church. For anyone who imputes to the State of Israel an evil scheme to destroy Christian existence there, joins unwittingly the medieval slanderers who accused Jews of poisoning wells or killing Christian children in order to use their blood for the baking of *matzot*. Again, any Christian, high or low, who sees in the rebuilding of the Jewish state no

more than a political feat, and not God's hand at work, cannot read the signs of the times and may well sin against God's design.

I do not wish to imply that the Israeli government and the administration of Jerusalem are above criticism—no human institution is flawless. But there is one area in which the Israeli authorities cannot be faulted: their relation to churches. The wrongs Christendom has inflicted upon the Jewish people are many more than I care to remember. Let me recall only one event, the founding of the Latin Kingdom by the Crusaders. They inaugurated it by singing the *Te Deum* in the Church of the Resurrection. Prior to this, they had massacred the Muslim and Jewish population of Jerusalem. For three days in a row, they sacked the City. The streets flowed with blood, while corpses piled up to decay there.¹⁸ In the face of such perversion, may a bishop dare accuse and make demands? Among the latter is this one: ". . . Christianity does not—cannot—accept the ethnic domination of, or the political sovereignty of, one religion over others" (p. 20). Archbishop Ryan does not need me to tell him that history will never bear out his statement.

Jews have not forgotten the horrors of the past, yet the Israeli authorities have acted as if they had not happened. They have been, not only fair to Christians, but generous, an attitude for which they deserve not slander but gratitude. Christianity is not doomed in Israel unless it dooms itself. Here I must say a word about the small group of Christians—Jewish and non-Jewish—who worship in Hebrew. Archbishop Ryan does not seem to know or to consider them worth mentioning. I am sure if he ever went to Our Lady of Sion in Ein Karem or the House of Isaiah in Jerusalem and listened to the Hebrew prayers and the chant, he would gather

hope. If all Israeli Christians really sought to live as Christians, the Christian presence could be alive to a never dreamed-of measure. I pray that the Church—the entire Church—will value her God-given opportunity to live in

the midst of Jews, in humility and justice, in faith and love, in a spirit of kinship and cooperation.

JOHN OESTERREICHER is the Director of the Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies at Seton Hall University.

Footnotes

1. All references to Archbishop Ryan's sayings are to his original typescript, "Some Thoughts on Jerusalem," mailed to the American Catholic Bishops.
2. Cf. "Christian Gains in Jerusalem," *The Jerusalem Post Weekly*, July 19, 1971.
3. That the Melchite clergy was granted trade union privileges is not exactly a sign of Israeli mistreatment of Arab Christians.
4. From an unpublished report by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
5. Gabriel Grossman, O.P., "Die Kirchen Gottes im heutigen Israel," *Freiburger Rundbrief*, XXII (1971), p. 38.
6. See *Facts About Israel 1972*, Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 54.
7. See Abbot Laurentius Klein, O.S.B., "The Emigration of Christians from the Holy Land," *Das Heilige Land* (July 1971); Michael Krupp, "Christian Emigration. . . ." *Christian News from Israel*, XXIII, 1 (1972), and Ori Stendal, "Christians in Jerusalem," *Christian News from Israel*, XXII, 2 (1971).
8. *Christian News from Israel*, XXIII, 1 (1972), p. 16.
9. Lately, the United Nations went even further in displaying its impotence as well as the irresponsibility of most of its member nations. On December 18, 1972, the General Assembly approved a resolution on terrorism prepared by its Legal Committee by an overwhelming majority, consisting of the Arab states, most African nations, of India, China, Russia and its satellites. The resolution hedged on that terrorism which plagues the world today demanding no measures for its suppression but instead the study—yes, the study!—of its underlying causes. The language of the resolution is such as to suggest, in the words of the British representative, the legitimate character of "recourse to violence . . . in the exercise of the right to self-determination." An Austrian delegate denounced the resolution with bitterness: "The philosophy expressed here is that the end justifies the means. We cannot accept this philosophy. We have lived through the suffering brought by this kind of philosophy." (*The New York Times*, December 12 and 18, 1972).
10. See Ambassador Yosef Tekoah's statement before the United Nations Security Council, Sept. 16, 1971, *Provisional Verbatim Record*, S/PV 1580, p. 17.
11. Tekoah, *loc. cit.*, pp. 18–20.
12. As a matter of record, the "liberation of Palestine" never was the real aim of Arab terrorists. "Liberation" was always but a screen for the massacre of Jews. Murderous attacks on Jews by Arabs have a long history. They go back to the twenties and thirties and thus preceded the establishment of the State of Israel by decades. (For a brief survey of the history of Arab violence against Jews, see "The Tradition of Arab Terror in the Holy Land," in: *West Asian Affairs*, published by The Society for Parliamentary Studies, New Delhi, Summer, 1969). In recent years, the hostility against Israel and the Jewish people has been extended toward society in general, including all Arab states ruled by non-revolutionary governments. Lately, the "Palestinian" terrorists have been assured of the support of all Arab Leftists, the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, the Vietcong, the Tupamaros, and other "guerrilla" organizations. (See "New Front Set Up For Palestinians," *The New York Times*, December 3, 1972). The carnage at Lod Airport on May 30, 1972, when a Japanese extremist splinter group with the grandiloquent name "The Unified Red Army" machine-gunned innocent pilgrims, proves the involvement of non-Arab revolutionaries in the "Palestinian" cause. That "cause" has now become an attempt to unhinge the world.
13. See, among other works on this period, the most recent: Joshua Praver, *The World of the Crusades* (London-Jerusalem: Weidenfeld, 1972), p. 27.

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The Jerusalem Service Center is not an agency of the Israeli government; its goal is to present a many-faceted view of the country and its people. It does, however, maintain excellent relations with Israeli officials and agencies, and often seeks their cooperation in setting up appointments with government leaders and arranging special tours and meetings so that intelligent and objective visitors can see all aspects of Israeli life.

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For further information, write to:

Ms. Inge L. Gibel
National Coordinator
Christian Visitors to Israel Program
The American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022



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TO: Members of the ADL-NCCB-USCC Joint Working Study Group,
ADL Regional Directors, Advisory Committee of the NCCB
Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations,
& all Concerned

FROM: Dr. Eugene J. Fisher ^{ES} & Rabbi Leon Klenicki, Co-Chairpersons

SUBJECT: Joint ADL-NCCB-USCC Working Study Group, Third Meeting, June 17, 1980

The Joint Working Study Group was established by the United States Catholic Conference, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, and the Anti-Defamation of B'nai B'rith to study and discuss specific problems of the dialogue relationship. It is a pioneer experiment, the first of its kind, designed to enhance the understanding and the knowledge of the problems affecting both communities.

The purpose of the group is to establish a format for in-depth communication and study relating to the Catholic-Jewish relationship and the work of the ADL and the USCC-NCCB. It is intended to assist the participating organizations in the education of their respective constituencies and promote an awareness of those problems that relate to the dialogue, mutually and individually.

Catholics and Jews face particular problems in their community life, and a sincere creative dialogue involves knowledge of and sensitivity to what hurts the other. The work of the joint group, which makes for a closer relationship of both communities, hopes to avoid crisis situations and prevent the kind of interreligious tensions and misunderstandings which developed in 1967 as a result of the Six Day War in the Middle East.

The founding meeting of the joint working study group, convened on February 14, 1978, was devoted to the question of Israel and peace in the Middle East. Special attention focused on President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, its repercussions in the region and the implications of this political development for interreligious relationship. A study paper on "Israel and the Middle East" was given by Rabbi Murray Rothman.

The second meeting, held November 1, 1978, discussed the matter of "Federal Aid to non-Public Education." The study paper was prepared by Brother Robert J. Keaney, Associate Superintendent of Schools and Director of Curriculum, New York Diocese, on "The Catholic Schools in New York City 1978."

The third meeting of the Joint Working Study Group took place in Washington, D.C. on June 17, 1980. The study session was given over to a presentation and discussion of a paper by Max N. Kampelman on "National and International Tensions: the Jewish Perspective." The lecturer referred to national community tensions, Jews and social justice, the Black-Jewish relationship, the Hispanic-Jewish relationship, affirmative action and the quota system. Mr. Kampelman devoted the latter part of his paper to an analysis of international tensions, Israel and the Middle East, the settlements in the West Bank, American-Israeli relations, the U.N. and the Middle East situation. A copy of the study is enclosed for your reading and information.

Present at the meeting were:

Rev. Rollins Lambert, Social Development & World Peace, USCC
Mr. Ronald Krietemeyer, Department of Social Development, USCC
Brother Cyrian Rowe, National Office of Black Catholics
Sr. Rose Marie Salazar, Hispanic Affairs, USCC
Mr. George Wagner, Migration and Refugee Services, USCC
Rev. John Sheerin, Catholic-Jewish Relations, NCCB
Dr. Eugene Fisher, Catholic-Jewish Relations, NCCB
Mr. Max Kampelman, Chairperson, Anti-Defamation League Foreign Affairs Committee
Rabbi Leon Klenicki, Co-Director, Anti-Defamation League, Dept. of Interreligious Affairs
Rabbi Martin Cohen, Co-Chairperson, Anti-Defamation League, Dept. of Interreligious Affairs
Mr. Ted Freedman, Director, Anti-Defamation League, Program Division

The luncheon meeting began with an opening prayer by the Rev. John Sheerin and introductory words by Eugene Fisher, Ted Freedman and Leon Klenicki. The co-chairpersons gave a general introduction explaining the purpose and meaning of the present meeting.

Mr. Kampelman gave a summary of his paper which had been distributed to participants in advance of the meeting. He summarized the main points of his paper as representing a Jewish position on national and international areas of concern. The general discussion was opened by a series of questions on Israel and the Middle East. One person suggested that Prime Minister Begin's policies and attitudes towards the West Bank and the Palestinians might be responsible for a certain deterioration in pro-Israel feeling in the United States.

Mr. Kampelman recognized that there is a certain coolness in reference to the present Israeli government's positions. But he also reinforced the sincerity of Israel's policies. The speaker stressed the eagerness of Israel to honor every detail of the Egyptian-Israeli agreement. The country has given up all of Sinai and very specially the oil resources so important to its economy. Oil from the Sinai used to cover 25% of Israel's needs. The speaker felt that not enough credit is given to Israel for these attitudes. He thought that President Carter's latest statement concerning a homeland for the Palestinians on the West Bank lacked historical perspective. He repeated some historical details that he had dealt with in his paper. He said that many of Israel's critics do not live in the area, but were talking from the ivory tower of American security and democracy. It was pointed out that oil is still the background question for many of the problems of the area. ADL recognizes this and the speaker stressed that even other political parties in Israel, once in power, will continue a similar line as that of the present administration. Someone suggested that both Jews in Israel and outside Israel tend to criticize the policy of settlements. The speaker and other

representatives of ADL said that although there has not been public debate on the question, there have been serious discussions of the issues within the Jewish community.

The discussion then focused on Palestinian rights. The speaker answered one question concerning those rights, saying that they were given a special character beyond the reality of the area. Half of Jordan is Palestinian, even though King Hussein himself does not belong to the Palestinian people. Palestinians have more freedom under Israel than in any other area in the Middle East. The refugee camp situation is a sign of the lack of sensitivity among Arab nations to their brethren. Before 1967, the refugees needed no permission to create a state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip which were in Arab land. The refugee camps were instituted for political and propaganda reasons by the Arab nations, and they have not achieved the rehabilitation of the internees. In many cases international organizations and churches have prolonged the presence of these refugee camps by providing them with food and generous financial aid, thereby avoiding the final responsibility of resettling them elsewhere. Mr. Kampelman pointed to the reality of former Jewish refugees from Arab lands, who had become integrated in Israeli society and in other countries.

It was asked how the Jewish community views the position of the Vatican on Israel. ADL representatives acknowledged that unlike other national and international Christian organizations, the American churches and the Vatican have been most careful not to deal with terrorist groups, especially not with the PLO. However, the Jewish community feels uneasy about Capucci. The archbishop has been very active politically, traveling all over Europe and Iran, denouncing Israel and fostering the political terrorist pretenses of the PLO. The Jewish community is concerned that while the Vatican directives prohibiting political activities on the part of the clergy have affected a man like Drinan, a man totally committed to the welfare of his constituency and the community at large in the United States, they

have had no effect on clergy with a deep involvement in terrorist activities like archbishop Capucci. In the case of Capucci, the promise given to Israel for his release has not been kept.

Another area of concern is the dubious language used in connection with Jerusalem. It is a well-known fact that the rights of different religious groups in Jerusalem are scrupulously protected, and that there have been practically no complaints from Christian citizens and religious organizations about the excellent administration of the Holy Places by the Israeli government. For this reason, it is of concern and even dismay to read the Vatican response to the U.N. resolution concerning Jerusalem, asking for international statute of guarantees. It is quite difficult for anyone to understand how certain powers, known for their anti-religious and atheistic propaganda, could become international guarantors of the Holy Places. Finally, the lack of direct diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the State of Israel creates serious problems of communication, about which the Jewish community is uneasy. There is still the feeling that the lack of recognition of the State of Israel is rooted in the anti-Judaism going back to the Middle Ages and in the anti-Semitism still present among many Christian thinkers and leaders.

Special attention was paid to affirmative action and the quota system. The Black and the Hispanic representatives pointed out the importance of affirmative action for the social and political integration of minorities in national American life. They were concerned by ADL's negative attitude towards these attempts at integration. Mr. Kampelman explained ADL's position by emphasizing clearly and strongly that ADL is for affirmative action but against any form of quotas that will allow agencies of any type to determine the number of people admitted to educational institutions or jobs. The quota system is a reminder of other times, here and abroad, when certain groups, especially the Jews, were allocated a certain

number of places in universities and other institutions. A USCC representative pointed out that the quota system was an infringement of fundamental rights. He felt it was not really a reaction stemming from collective guilt but rather a consequence of the responsibility of the majority, or the well-adjusted to society, to the desire of minorities and new groups to become integrated in American life. ADL reacted by saying that while healthy social behavior entails a responsibility for past mistakes, this does not necessarily imply a lowering of present standards in order to help those who suffered in the past or are part of a minority. Affirmative action, which ADL defends, should be a means of helping minorities and disadvantaged sectors of the population to adjust to the standards of education and working conditions of all Americans. Again, it was strongly stressed that ADL is for affirmative action but not for the quota system which does more harm than good. While Blacks and Hispanics, for example, are favored by the quota system, other minorities, like Poles and Italians, are not even considered in it.

The Black representative stressed that the members of his community are not yet prepared to compete with the white community; it might take them twenty-five years to achieve the proper level. It was stressed, however, that the process would not have to take that long if the school system were adequately prepared to help youngsters to advance their academic standards and reach the stages that would allow them to work and compete with others at the accepted level. ADL expressed its concern that at this stage of our society and the world, it would be far from beneficial for the United States to have unqualified people becoming doctors, lawyers, or technicians. In the long run, the society is damaged when certain standards of quality and scholarship are not established and maintained. Really effective affirmative action would bring people up to the standards of our highly developed technical society.

Another part of the discussion was devoted to an analysis of the situation in South Africa. A USCC delegate pointed out that Israel has been providing economic and technical assistance to the South African government, thereby indirectly helping its present racist policy. Max Kampelman answered that the reality of the business relationship of Israel with South Africa is minimal, if not insignificant. Only 1% of South African trade is with Israel. He stressed the fact that most of the business dealings of South Africa are with Black African nations. Whoever goes to Johannesburg or any other city in South Africa will see merchandise being shipped to different countries of Africa. When another delegate pointed out that Israel was selling and providing South Africa with a special technology, Mr. Kampelman pointed out that the reverse might be true, for South Africa is a producer of technology, in certain instances even more advanced than West Germany or the United States. He pointed out that the other African nations have refused to continue their relationship with Israel after the 1967 War. Israel had been extremely helpful to some nations in developing their agricultural potential by teaching them the irrigation system practiced in the kibbutzim. Israel had also been active at the scientific level, helping African universities create schools of engineering and scientific research. All this is no more since these nations broke off diplomatic relations with Israel. It is hoped that after their disillusionment with the international oil producers, they will rethink the value and importance of their relationship with Israel, an advanced society in the non-industrial world.

Commenting on the relationship of Black nations with the Arabs, one representative of the Justice and Peace division pointed out that the slave dealers in the 18th and 19th centuries, and even in our own day, have been Arabs, and that this fact has been conveniently forgotten by many nations because of their present

fascination with oil money. ADL pointed out that a real double standard was being applied towards Israel by many national groups at the U.N. and other organizations.

Attention was also paid to the role of minorities in big corporations. ADL referred to a study of 500 corporations which shows how Jews and Catholics suffer from discrimination at their places of work. Much more attention should be paid to certain anti-Catholic trends, represented by corporations and banks, and also shown in movies and TV programs.

Finally, ADL pointed to the need to continue with our joint discussions, in order to work out problems of communication and problems in the relationship between Catholics and Jews. Nuestro Encuentro, ADL's Spanish-language bulletin directed to the Hispanic community is an example of the desire to exchange information concerning mutual problems. At times the lack of communication creates legends, if not outright prejudice, which hurt our human relationships.

Dr. Fisher announced that the next meeting of the Joint Working Study Group will take place in New York to continue the discussion of Federal aid to non-public education.

Rabbi Martin A. Cohen closed the meeting with a prayer.

Mark Torenbaum

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The clue to peace

Desmond Sullivan

The Vatican statement on Christian-Jewish relations (see *The Tablet*, 11 January) has aroused much comment in Israel and amongst Christians in the Holy Land. The general reaction is studied here by our correspondent in Jerusalem.

The Israeli reaction to the recent Vatican guidelines on "religious dialogue" was a characteristic combination of fascination and distrust regarding the Vatican. The document itself was an unusually calm, open and brotherly statement for Catholics and other Christians outlining the methods and theological principles of Christian Jewish dialogue.

The political background can be seen in the origin of the consultations which led up to the document. The World Jewish Congress, a body representative of the Jewish Diaspora as well as Israel, was the driving force from January 1969 when their leaders had an audience with Pope Paul. A liaison committee with the Secretariat of Unity set up in 1970 suggested the Commission on Judaism which in turn produced the guidelines in January 1975. However, the World Jewish Congress, though it contains elements representative of Israel and the World Zionist Organisation, has an uneasy relationship with the Zionist organisations which dominate the politics of Israel. The resulting guidelines seemed to touch those very points of disagreement by separating Judaism qua religion from Judaism qua the political ideology of the Israeli regime.

This Vatican determination "to abstain from politics," as Fr P. de Contenson, the man behind the document, put it, also illustrates the theological background against which the guidelines appeared. Previous Church statements on Christian-Jewish relations have taken more committed stands. At one extreme is the French episcopal committee's declaration of 1973 saying that Christians should support the national and political identity of the Jewish people as a matter of conscience. Intermediate was the African Assembly of Churches at Lusaka in 1974, which declared that Christians must distinguish "between Judaism as a religion of the Jewish people and Zionism as a political ideology." The African assembly then declared that "Zionism should be combated as a form of settler colonialism, and racial discrimination against Arabs and Jews." The most extreme Christian declaration was the Cairo meeting of the Churches of Africa and the Middle East in June 1974. They condemned Zionism as "the idolisation of the land of Israel which tended to make them neglect God" and was also unbiblical.

The Vatican guidelines had to choose between this spectrum of varying Church views, and formulate guidelines for Catholics, which would open the doors

to a real dialogue capable of bridging the gap and acceptable both to Catholics and to sincere Jewish people.

The Vatican's middle way did not accommodate the French thesis of a duty to support the politics of Israel, or the Cairo statement of theological opposition to Israel; it chose rather to address itself to Judaism as a religion. The silence about both the "State of Israel" and the goodness or badness of the two sides in the Middle East conflict is there as a deliberate silence—but under these circumstances is also a statement that for true dialogue with Judaism the Church must avoid polarisation over the rightness or wrongness of either side.

The Israeli establishment has been waiting, at least since the Pope's visit in 1964, for some political and moral recognition from the Vatican. This expectation is partly based on their own conviction of the religious justification of Israel's existence and actions. However, some Christians in Israel have also fostered this hope. Protestants and a few Catholics in Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa have, over the years, maintained that Christians, as a matter of faith and of conscience, are obliged to support the State of Israel. The French episcopal commission's declaration of 1973 was often quoted to support this expectation and at that time was welcomed by one Catholic priest as a "wonderful Pass-over gift."

The Vatican guidelines, seen by some as an answer to the French document, were a great disappointment for many in Israel, and as a measure of that disappointment the Minister of Religions, Yitshak Raphael, speaking as a NRP party man rather than as a minister, picked on the Vatican in harsh terms, listing three notable omissions: no sign of remorse for past persecution, no guilt confession for the holocaust, no recognition of the divine mission of Israel. Over and above these omissions the document contained a statement of the Church's mission and hinted at her implied superiority. "No dialogue without political recognition of the State" was the minister's conclusion.

After this immediate reaction, Israel's experts in Christian affairs made more careful statements. Dr S. P. Colbi (of the Ministry of Religions) and Professor Ashkenazi on the Jewish side, Fr Marcel Dubois OP and Dr Michael Krupp (Protestant) all welcomed as positive the new elements in the Vatican's approach: "condemnation" of anti-semitism; fostering of understanding by Christians of the theology, spirituality and mentality

of Judaism. Dr Krupp said the allegation of a "conversionist tone" in the document resulted from a misreading of the text and tone of the document. Fr Dubois pointed out that the document's silence on the "State of Israel" was a disappointment, but it was a silence which did not exclude such support.

Various ecumenical bodies, which in Israel are sponsored in different ways by the government, pointed to one principle: for Jews, they said, politics and religion cannot be separated. The secretary of one of these bodies put the argument to me as follows: the Jewish people have by their religion an essential connection with the land of Israel. It is a religious imperative to live or want to live in the land. The State of Israel is therefore both a religious right and necessity for Judaism, the centre of world Jewry—a centre of faith, that is, and as the only means of ethnic survival. A document of a religious nature, therefore, based on Jewish self-understanding, must acknowledge this "religious truth." The Vatican failed to do so, thus proving it is "not sensitive to the feel of Judaism."

The fact that the Vatican deliberately separated Judaism qua religion from Israel qua State is seen as a direct snub to the ideology of the State of Israel. This ideology interweaves the religious past and the recent history of the Jewish people into a rationalisation of the State's politics. The Zionist ideology takes the "gift" of the land by God to the Jewish people as establishing today's political right to sovereignty over the Holy Land. The various prophecies of the Old Testament about return to the Land and theology of the "centrality" of Jerusalem demand that the State become the "survival" focus of the Jewish people throughout the world.

The original dream and some of the current idealism favours a Jewish state with a guaranteed Jewish majority and constitution but unaligned politically with either the east or the west—an acknowledged haven of peace and neutrality like a Switzerland or a Sweden set in the Holy Land. It was to be the homeland of any Jew seeking refuge, and also the embodiment of Judaic culture. It is this idealism, rather than the actual situation, which is presented as worthy of recommendation.

Seen in the light of this dream one can understand the kind of spiritual bullying which is directed against the guidelines. Christians are constantly reminded that theologically Judaism was their parent religion, that morally Christians were responsible for Hitler's concentration camps, and that historically the Church has either persecuted or converted Jews. In all conscience Christians should therefore acknowledge their errors and make up by throwing their moral weight behind the State of Israel. In December 1974 a member of the Knesset expressed this in a letter to Fr Daniel Rufiesan, a Catholic priest

of Jewish origin. "A great moral test," he wrote, "faces the Catholic Church." He asked Fr Daniel to mount a world-wide campaign to mobilise Christian support for Israel.

On a theological level the well known American Jewish scholar, Rabbi Marc H. Tannebaum, stated the principle of the theology of equality. There is, he said, a new "Christian theology" which states that Judaism is for the Jews and Jesus is for the Gentiles; the guidelines should have stated such a theological position to clear the air of any suspicion.

A discussion here of the political implications would be clearly contrary to the spirit of the guidelines. It is perhaps sufficient to point out that for the last three years the Vatican has had two of its top men in its delegation in Jerusalem reporting the situation, men who have excellent relations with both the Israeli authorities and the ordinary people of the land.

The guidelines have provided Catholics, amid all the complexity of Jerusalem, and under a great deal of pressure, with a way of expressing their love and loyalty to the Jewish people without getting entangled in the controversial and often odious politics of the Middle East. They have provided Jews living in Israel with some hope of Christian support for an alternative to the ideology that has brought 25 years of war to Israel. Paradoxically the guidelines have also unmasked some of the humbug and political orientation of much of the ecumenism which goes on in Jerusalem.

Outside the sphere of government influence the purely religious reactions in Israel to the guidelines have been revealing. One commentator pointed out that, for all the criticism of the Vatican, the Catholic Church is far ahead of the other Churches in devising a religious approach to Judaism. He reminded critics that the World Council of Churches has been struggling for over 25 years trying to formulate some statement, but has failed to produce anything like *Nostra Aetate* or the present Vatican guidelines.

Some of the quiet believing Jewish people have welcomed the guidelines. One venerable old Jewish rabbi said: "It takes a Vatican document to show Israelis the way back to true Judaism, as it takes Arab oil to teach us to seek peace." A distinguished leader of a Jewish organisation said that the centrality of the State is a very dangerous doctrine for Judaism; "The Torah is the centre of Judaism, and to speak of the land as central is nonsense."

The strong Christian Churches of the Holy Land have not reacted officially to the guidelines. But priests I have spoken to have indicated some of the trends within the Churches. One said: "We can do very well without all the statements and declarations; they only arouse controversy, and we have had enough of that." A Melkite married priest spoke of the need for mutual res-

pect on both sides. In actual fact the Church is suffering. "In ten years my parish will be dead," he said, "because of the alarming exodus of young Christians leaving the land." Another priest spoke of this exodus as a practical example of mixing theological with political problems. "The Jewish people, theologically, must keep the Old Testament, and remain a race apart until the Messiah comes." The exodus of the young, he added, is like a haemorrhage. "The life is going out of us," he said. In these circumstances a religious dialogue and religious freedom of expression remain difficult to achieve until the political question is settled.

Since the guidelines appeared, the Interreligious Commission for Jewish-Christian Dialogue meeting in Rome heard something of the Catholic viewpoint on other issues arising from the guidelines. As regards the question about Christian remorse over the holocaust, Pope Paul has pointed to the efforts by the Holy See to rescue Jews from the camps, the efforts of Christian nations to defeat Hitler, and to the numbers of Christians who shared the same persecution as the Jews.

Some of these theological and practical questions were discussed here in Jerusalem by the small but influential Catholic Society of the Work of St James. This is a group of religious and lay Catholics who describe themselves as "Hebrew-speaking Christians" and are committed to Israel and to work for better Jewish-Christian dialogue. Under the leadership of Fr Michael de Goedt they discussed the guidelines. They saw the document as a simple, thoughtful and positive guide for Catholics. It opened many doors; it was a great encouragement to understanding and it established the relatively new principle that Catholics must not look on the Jewish people as an anachronism found in books but try to understand them as they understand themselves today. If Catholics all over the world were actually to put into practice and live these guidelines, minimal though they may seem, there would be a revolution in Jewish-Christian relations. Being mostly of French origin, the group compared the guidelines with the French document of 1973. The French commission, they said, did not go deep into the theology of Judaism, but put out proposals which went beyond solidly based theology, and needed many qualifications and explanations. On the other hand, they felt that the new guidelines gave a clear sound outline of the presently-agreed theological position and do not jump to unwarranted conclusions.

Dialogue in Jerusalem has always included the special question of Jerusalem's future. Israel considers it is mandatory that Jews control Jerusalem as a city and in modern terms this is held to mean political sovereignty over a united city. In Islamic thought the city is sacred and has for seven years now (since 1967) been in bondage. The view put forward by



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by B. Häring

This is the fruit of a wide experience of group prayer in many different parts of the world, but the meditations passing into spoken prayer are also for those who, physically speaking, pray alone. (Recently published, £1.75).

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Pope Paul is that Jerusalem is sacred to the three religions and this religious character is the only basis for its true peace. The mystery and uniqueness of Jerusalem's spiritual vocation and also the future peace of the city will, says the Vatican, only be safeguarded by a political structure which would guarantee the equality of the three religions, ensuring that one does not dominate the other. In Jerusalem, Jewish-Christian dialogue will crystallise in practice around this key question, which expresses in a physical way the theology, politics, economics and sociology of this

international problem.

During Fr de Contenson's first visit to Jerusalem just before Christmas we were walking from the Jewish part of the city, across the old "no mans and" to the walled city, full of Christian Churches, to visit the patriarchs and archbishops who are the heads of the different Churches, and he said significantly: "You see religion opens all doors. I have visited the Jewish authorities and now I visit the Arab Christians." Jerusalem and the Holy Land are complicated; religion may be the reason for its division—it may also be the clue to its peace.

Rome's shanty town

From our own correspondent

To go off the tourist or pilgrim track in Rome today is to go into a sharply contrasting world.

There has probably never been a time since the fall of the Empire when the awe and reverence excited in the northern visitor by the name and legend of Rome (expressed classically in the ninth-century poem *O Roma nobilis orbis et domina*) was not in melancholy contrast, from one point of view or another, with what that visitor saw around him. But today's visitor will not appreciate the full force of the contrast unless he wanders from the tourist or pilgrim track. True the traffic may drive him mad, but a determined and on the whole successful effort is being made to confine it to a network and leave the older streets free. The religious requirements of a Holy Year pilgrimage can (no doubt to the relief of the city fathers) be fulfilled without going outside the ancient walls, except for those who stick to the old requirement of the four basilicas and go to St Paul's. But even this journey can easily be made without lifting a corner of the carpet under which Rome's dirt is swept.

Those whose moral indignation runs more to risky film posters and lingerie advertisements than to intolerable living conditions will get plenty of stimulus wherever they move, but one sighs for some enterprising pilgrimage organiser who for one afternoon at least will lead his flock into the desert where no great churches rear up but only a fragment of broken aqueduct in a railway siding, and where the local inhabitants are more concerned about habitable houses, hospitals and schools than about historical monuments religious or secular—or alas, religion.

Take the Borghetto Prenestina for instance—a mellifluous name for one of Rome's worst eyesores. It lies on the eastern edge of Rome in the wilderness of railway sidings, derelict sheds and chaotic yards, which stretches beyond the great cemetery of Campo Verano. The Borghetto has a street or two of

good houses but a large part of it consists of *barracche*, shacks. They are not the worst to be found round Rome since they have at least solid walls of the cheapest kind of tufa blocks, unskillfully daubed here and there with concrete. But the roofs are mostly just corrugated iron held in place by stones, and the floors consist of tiles laid straight on the earth. Some sort of electric light is provided by highly dangerous mazes of wires. There is no plumbing of any kind, water is brought from two fountains in a street some distance away and at best stored in a tank. Heat and some sort of cooking is provided by stoves which burn scrap wood picked up round about. The huts are separated by paths which in wet weather turn to mud and in the hot summer to thick dust.

The settlement began just after the war, 27 years ago, and some people have lived there ever since. Many of them were immigrants from the south and were perhaps not used to much better facilities, but it is one thing to live like this in a remote countryside and quite another to do so with 600 families herded together on the edge of a large city. All the same, the place has something of the reality of a village. Herbs and plants grow in pots by the doors. Some of the interiors are heroically neat and tidy, furniture often more substantial than the building.

A group of Mother Teresa's sisters, themselves housed in a rather better *baracca* off the Via Appia Nuova, have acquired two shacks at the Prenestina and turned them into a nursery school. These young Indian nuns are pious and devoted and attract much sympathy and offers of help, but have still it seems some way to go in learning enough of Italian complexities to turn the help to advantage. A simple well-designed modern church (for which the architect gave his services) is staffed by excellent young priests, devoted but unselfish and

realistic about the problem.

The inmates have more than once been fobbed off with promises of housing. Some months ago they peacefully but tenaciously picketed the historic Capitol, still the main centre of city government. Under this pressure the commune acquired nearby blocks of flats being put up by a building entrepreneur called Manfredi with a view to rehousing the people from Borghetto Prenestina and some other shack dwellers. But the completion of the flats was held up by the usual delays, and this precipitated a tragi-comedy of rival squatters. Those who had been promised apartments by the commune found their hopes threatened by the activities of an extreme left Proletarian Housing Committee, who denied the authenticity of government promises and launched a squatting campaign involving some 160 flats. Those who had been promised flats by the commune retaliated either by squatting themselves or by running up a rough wooden shelter in front of the flats so as to mount a 24 hour guard. Early one morning last week the police launched the latest and most serious of a number of tear gas raids aimed at evicting the squatters, but after a tussle lasting till the early afternoon the police retired from the field and the squatters simply went back, having secured themselves another wave of press publicity. The fascists, who have a centre nearby, often join in to confuse the issue further.

The episode certainly involves no proletarian solidarity. A typical inmate of the Prenestina shacks is Emma, a respectable and industrious married woman with four children. She has been there 12 years and her husband was one of the Campidoglio picketers who was promised a flat. She is a devoted helper of Mother Teresa's sisters, but now has to take turns with her husband guarding their promised flat against intending communist squatters. The headquarters of the housing committee which prompts the squatting are in the hut next to the sisters' nursery school, and this brings a touch of comedy: as another of the sisters' helpers put it "our strains of 'Rendiamo grazie a te, o Signore' are counterpointed by the 'Red Flag' bellowed from loudspeakers."

The inability of the commune to cope with the insensate rush of immigrants to swell outer Rome has many-sided consequences: concrete blocks are rushed up, but there is mostly no paving, dubious drainage and no educational or hospital facilities. The only single-minded energy manifested is by the contractors who are making a fast buck out of the chaotic building rush, producing apartments which those who most need them cannot afford.

It seems that the commune is prepared to subsidise the payment of rent in appropriate cases and certainly a variety of people have the *barracati* on their conscience. But help and sympathy is uncoordinated and in any case is mis-

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FO-SFB
date April 4, 1975
to ~~Isaiah Terman~~ *M. Tanenbaum*
from Ernest Weiner
subject ATTACHED CLIPPING

Be sure and share this with Marc Tanenbaum and indicate that Archbishop Saliba apparently did not go anywhere else on the West Coast, but he might find out whether he is on a national circuit.

Encl: 1



Three issues seen as key to Mideast peace

By VELMA CLYDE
of The Oregonian staff

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Three issues must be resolved before peace can come to the Middle East, in the opinion of the Lebanon-born spiritual head of the Antiochian Orthodox Churches in North America, the Most Rev. Metropolitan Philip Saliba.

Archbishop Saliba, who arrived in Portland Friday, said the Golan Heights must be returned to Syria, the Sinai peninsula to Egypt and the rights of Palestinians to return to Palestine established.

"Historically, Palestine never belonged to one group only," said the spiritual director of the Arabic speaking Orthodox Church during an interview at the Portland International Airport.

"The Palestinians want the Jews, Christians and Moslems to live together in a democratic, secular state," Archbishop Saliba said.

"I went to school in Syria with Moslem students and we get along very well," he said. Only 10 per cent of Syria is Christian, he said. The majority of the population is Moslem.

'Man of peace'

The archbishop said he recently had a long visit with the president of Syria, Hafez Al-Assad. "He is a man of peace and he specifically told me to carry this message to the Arab people in general. But as long as the Golan Heights is occupied by Israel, there will not be peace."

He said Lebanon cannot separate itself from the rest of the Arab nations "because it is part of the Arab world, just as Oregon is part of the United States."



ARCHBISHOP SALIBA

the heart of Lebanon said: "There are more one half million Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Palestinians want to go to their land in Palestine."

Archbishop Saliba said there are 100,000 registered members in churches in his direction and the 90 congregations and missions are gaining members.

"Our church represents theological stability," he said, "with 2,000 years of deeply rooted theological thoughts and experience. We witness to the revelation that was given once and for all to the apostles," he said.

The archbishop said he

The Oregonian (Portland, Oregon) 3/22/75

CHURCH NEWS

believed converts have increased particularly since the theological confusion that has hit the Roman Catholic Church since Vatican II.

He is accompanied on his visit to Portland by the Rev. Gregory Offesh, St. Nicholas Orthodox Church in San Francisco and the Western regional spiritual adviser.

Greeted by delegation

He was greeted at the airport by a delegation of members of St. George's and Holy Trinity congregations, headed by Robert Bitar, Lebanese consul. Also greeting the vis-

tor were members of the Royal Rosarians.

Archbishop Saliba is in Portland to help celebrate the 45th anniversary of St. George's Church, 11410 SE Holgate St. He will conduct a service there at 7:30 p.m. Friday.

A banquet to honor the archbishop is planned for 7 p.m. Saturday in the Thunderbird Motel, Jantzen Beach. Other honorees will be the

founding fathers of the parish established by those of Lebanese and Syrian descent.

Metropolitan Saliba will celebrate the Divine Liturgy at 11 a.m. Sunday in St. George's, assisted by the Rev. David Buss, pastor. A reception will follow the service.

The visiting archbishop will preach at the Triumph of Orthodoxy Vespers in Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church, 3131 NE Glisan St. at 7 p.m. Sunday, March 23.

At 9 p.m. Monday, Archbishop Saliba will speak on conditions in the Middle East, in the Syrian Lebanese American Club, 11610 SE Holgate St.

All services and functions are open to the public.

OH
Staff in

orders were up by \$704 million, or 2 per cent, to \$36.8

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The Vatican's relations with Israel

A FIRST-HAND REPORT BY MARC H. TANENBAUM

EXPECTATIONS that Pope John Paul II will visit Israel or that formal diplomatic relations will be established between the Holy See and Israel are not in the cards. Not in the near future.

I have come to that sobering conclusion after a just-concluded three-week mission to Israel, Italy and the Vatican. I was part of a leadership mission of the American Jewish Committee that met with key Israeli and Italian leaders and, finally, with Pope John Paul II and a number of Vatican officials.

Extended conversations on the complex Middle East situation with these key actors in the Mediterranean world yielded some fresh insights.

First, contrary to public perceptions, the Vatican maintains de facto recognition of the State of Israel. When Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres met with the Pope this week, he was given red-carpet

treatment, the full protocol accorded a head of state. That has been true of the diplomatic visits made to the Vatican earlier by such Israeli governmental leaders as Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, the late Golda Meir, and Moshe Dayan and Abba Eban, among others.

On a day-to-day basis, the Israeli Embassy in Rome is in regular communication with the Vatican Secretariat of State and other Curial officials. On a cultural level, hundreds of Catholic priests and nuns — with Vatican approval — study regularly in Israel.

Second, Pope John Paul II, I am persuaded, is personally friendly toward Israel and acknowledges her right to exist as a sovereign nation. In a little-noticed Apostolic Letter issued by the

Pope last Easter, entitled *Redemptio Anno*, he wrote the following about Israel and Jerusalem:

"For the Jewish people who live in the State of Israel, and who preserve in that land such precious testimonies to their history and their faith, we must ask for the desired security and the due tranquility that is the prerogative of every nation and condition of life and of progress for every society. . . .

"Jews ardently love her [Jerusalem], and in every age venerate her memory, abundant as she is in many remains and monuments from the time of David who chose her as the capital, and of Solomon who built the Temple there. Therefore, they turn to her daily, one may say, and point to her as the

sign of their nation."

Those are the most forthcoming acknowledgments of the centrality of Israel and of Jerusalem in Jewish consciousness made by any pope in recent memory.

Third, when our AJC delegation asked of Vatican Secretary of State authorities why the Holy See does not establish de jure diplomatic relations with Israel, we were given at first the usual explanation: "It is not the policy of the Holy See to enter into diplomatic relations with a nation when it is in a state of belligerency with its neighbors, or when its borders are not established by international agreements. That is why the Holy See does not maintain diplomatic relations with Jordan as well."

But as the conversation continued, it became clear

that that is the given reason, not the real one. After all, the Vatican has diplomatic ties with some 112 countries, many of which are involved in belligerency, civil wars and border disputes — Ethiopia, Sudan, Angola, Nicaragua, among others. And those relations are sustained even though the Vatican does not approve of many of their ideological policies.

The real reason, it seems quite clear, is that the Vatican profoundly fears that, should she move from de facto recognition to establishing full diplomatic de jure recognition of Israel, Arab-Muslim fanatics in the Middle East and Africa will launch a wave of reprisals against millions of Arab Christians and African Christians in predominantly

Islamic countries. Over and over again, Vatican authorities kept referring to the precarious plight of Catholics in Lebanon who suffer daily violence at the hands of fanatic Shiite and Sunni Muslims, and the virtual impotence of the Vatican in helping to protect them. (Christian groups have reciprocated violently as well.)

Thus, it is far more than the fear of Muslim reprisals than antipathy toward Israel that has thus far precluded de jure diplomatic ties between the Holy See and Israel. There are, of course, contested issues between the Holy See and Israel — the status of Jerusalem, Palestinian self-determination and holy sites. But those are negotiable issues, whereas fear of Islamic reprisals is not subject to rational compromise.

Finally, these conversations have convinced me that Italian foreign policy plays a far greater influence in Vatican affairs than is generally recognized.

As the one truly Mediterranean nation in the European community, Italy is now heavily engaged in commercial and trade relations with Arab countries. Italy is dependent for 85 percent of her oil supplies on Arab nations. Some 20,000 Italian workers are now serving in Libya. Libya's Central Bank owns 17 per cent of Fiat, and Italy exports large amounts of arms to Arab countries, including Libya, despite its role in exporting terrorism.

Italy has a troubled economy, and the resulting pressure has led the government to become increasingly dependent on Arab nations for economic relief. Those obdurate survival needs have influenced a pro-Arab, pro-FLO tilt in Italian foreign policy far more than some ideological vision.

At the same time, Italy has been friendly toward Israel. Italy is thus engaged in a geopolitical tangle act in the Middle East, being supportive of Israel while cultivating economic and political ties with the Arab world, which she seeks to influence to adopt a moderate stance leading toward peaceful negotiations among Israel, the Palestinians and other Arabs.

Beneath the theological rhetoric, that is essentially the same stance adopted by the Holy See. While the Vatican clearly has universal interests, its daily existence is profoundly affected by its relationship with the Italian government and Italian domestic politics.

Those weighty, intricate ties between the Holy See and the Italian government have inevitably sensitized Vatican policymakers to the domestic and foreign policy directions of the Italian government.

Given those realities, it is clear that Pope John Paul II, notwithstanding his personal sympathies toward Israel and the Jewish people, will not shortly be visiting the Jewish State, nor will de jure diplomatic relations be established in the near future between the Holy See and Israel. But I will go out on a limb and predict that once peace is established among Israel, the Palestinians and Jordan, the Holy See will change its course and move quickly to make de jure what is now de facto.

Rabbi Tanenbaum is director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee.

Back to the soil with Dave Stockman

By ART BUCHWALD

PRESIDENT Reagan, in last week's radio address, said the government has done everything it can for the farmer. It is now time for others to pitch in and do more, "from officials at the state level to banks, private groups and individuals in the community."

I wasn't quite sure what I, as an individual, could do to help the farmer, so I drove out to Culpeper, Va.

Hi, Farmer Brown. President Reagan told me I should pitch in and help you. What exactly can I do?

"You can buy my farm." "I don't know much about farming."

"Shucks, there's nothing to it. All you have to do is get up at 5 a.m., milk the cows, feed the hogs, and see how many chickens died in the night from the frost. Any fool can

do that."

"When do you get to play golf or tennis?"

"After you till the soil, plant your seed, spread fertilizer, spray for bugs and dig furrows for irrigation."

"Don't you ever get into town?"

"Sure. You get to go once, maybe twice a week, to meet with your banker and explain to him why you can't meet the payments on your loan."

"Dave Stockman says the reason you farmers owe so much money to the banks is that you keep speculating in land and buying new equipment to make windfall profits, at the expense of the American taxpayer."

"Dave's a good old boy, but he knows as much about farm-

ing as he does about drawing up a balanced budget."

"It wasn't just Stockman. President Reagan said the same thing. The reason you're in so much trouble is that you bet on inflation and you were wrong. Didn't you hear him Saturday morning?"

"I meant to. But since it was the weekend I decided to relax and dig fence holes, repair the barn, cut down timber, wash my horse and sit up with a sick calf. I'll let you have the farm real cheap."

"How much money can I make?"

"You can make a bundle — provided the bugs don't get your corn, the sub-zero temperatures don't freeze your tomatoes, your cows don't get pneumonia, the dollar

gets weaker and the Russians are starving to death."

"You don't make it sound like much fun."

"It's a lot of fun, if you're a gambler. What other business offers you a chance to bet your house on the crap table once a year?"

"The people in Washington say the reason you farmers are living on the edge is that you're always producing too much food and the taxpayers are stuck with the bill."

"I can't quarrel with that. We're just dumb people who know how to grow things, but we don't know how to market them. The ideal situation for America is if we farmers didn't grow enough food and made everyone pay through the nose. Then instead of the taxpayer having to give us price supports we could

charge him \$15 for a pound of potatoes. I'm sure those smart fellows in Washington will be able to figure out a way of causing a food shortage in the country so we could get a fair price for our crops. You should buy my farm now while it's dirt cheap. Then when Washington works out a plan there will be so few farms left you can get \$5 for a quart of raw milk on the open market."

"It sounds tempting. But I'm not sure I want to be a farmer. Even if you make a lot of money, it doesn't sound like you have much time to enjoy it. Isn't there some other way I can help you?"

"Well, if you're going back to Washington you can take this corn cob with you and tell David Stockman to stick it in his ear."

Inside Poland: They like Reagan too

By JACK ANDERSON

TWICE in recent months I've tried to get into Poland, but the country's Communist military dictatorship wouldn't grant me a visa.

The Polish authorities clearly didn't want me to meet Lech Walesa, the dynamic leader of the outlawed Solidarity union.

The Polish government partially relented, however, and let my associate Lucette Lagnado travel freely through the country recently. Here is what she found:

Even before arrival in Poland, a visitor is surprised to hear outspoken criticism of the Communist regime from Poles flying home from abroad. These were Polish citizens who were among the most privileged and presumably trusted by the regime, having been allowed to leave the country — and they made their remarks within earshot of other passengers who must have included secret police. One man, who told of involvement in the printing of illegal newspapers, was a factory manager.

The returning Poles agreed that Solidarity is still alive and well, though forced underground by the authorities. The murder of the Rev. Jerzy Popielusko by police agents

invigorated the illegal movement, they said. The passengers denounced the economic system and urged visitors to see proof of its failure in shops that have little to offer.

The volunteered complaints continued whenever Poles heard my associate speaking English. A young father told of low wages and generally difficult economic conditions. A poet bemoaned official censorship. Even employees of Inter-press, the liaison office between visiting journalists and government officials, complained of difficulties with the Polish bureaucracy.

President Reagan is apparently as popular among Poles as he is among Americans. Several Poles said they had prayed for his reelection, and even while complaining about their economic hardships they expressed hope that Reagan would keep up the embargoes that add to their misery.

A surprising number of Poles still spoke of Yalta as if it had occurred yesterday instead of 40 years ago; they view it bitterly as the root of all their postwar troubles, a sellout of the Poles by their

Western allies.

Confirming the scarcity of consumer goods was no problem. The only well-stocked stores are the Pevex outlets that accept only hard currency. They offer beautiful sheepskin coats, choice liquors and French perfume.

The stores that accept Polish currency have little to sell but shoddy goods. Black market trading for American dollars is ubiquitous. Meat is rationed and buying it requires standing in line for hours. Yet in the tourist hotels, fine cuts of meat are on the menu, along with such luxuries as butter, sugar and orange juice.

Intelligence sources blame Poland's economic crisis not just on mismanagement by the Communist regime, but on the refusal of the labor force to work as a result of the harsh crackdown on their union.

One Pole, who claimed to be a Communist Party member, confirmed at least the part about the workers' lack of motivation to produce. And he hinted that the inefficiency of Polish industry was partly the government's fault. "Our facto-

ries cannot compete with yours," he said. "They are backward." Such heresy is not uncommon, apparently.

The police-state repression, though not as overwhelmingly obvious as in other Soviet-bloc countries, is nevertheless in evidence where it counts. Even on internal flights in small, antique, propeller-driven planes, security is tight.

Passengers and their belongings are carefully checked, and there is a minimum of two "anti-terrorist" security officers, armed with rifles and knives, aboard the plane. One officer sits at the back of the passenger compartment, the other in the cockpit. Their purpose is to prevent hijackings to the West. My associate was advised by the stewardess to signal her intentions before she tried to use the washroom during the hour-long flight.

Despite the ever-present threat of official crackdown, Poles remain unregenerately candid in their criticism of the regime. As one man put it with a mixture of defiance and resignation: "I know I can be put in prison for what I say. But so what?"

The church where Popielusko preached in Warsaw

has become a flower-bedecked shrine visited by hundreds of pilgrims daily. Incense burns at his grave and Solidarity symbols cover the church fence.

★ ★ ★

STRONG is beautiful: The strength of the American dollar and the economy has proved a boon to art lovers and speculators. American investors are picking up bargains in European antiques and art works.

The only caveat is to buy items that were certifiably painted or made before 1885. The Customs Service classifies anything 100 years old as an antique and therefore exempt from duty. Thus a Picasso would be less of a bargain after paying a huge import tax, while a Degas can come in duty-free if Customs experts are convinced it was painted before 1885.

The stronger economy, meanwhile, has led wealthy Americans to take a plunge in art futures. For example, a painting that sold for \$150 in 1967 and was resold for \$3000 in 1981 brought \$10,000 a few days ago — from a buyer who figures it'll be worth \$20,000 in another five years.