



# THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

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

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 48, Folder 8, Vatican - Jerusalem, 1979-1980.

MARC H. TANENBAUM

July 2.

Selma,

I just talked with  
the World Jewish Congress  
Israel Bridges. He talked earlier  
today with Piegner (WJC) in  
Geneva, and the IJCIC representative  
in Rome were asked to arrange  
a meeting with Cardinal Casaroli  
in the Vatican after July 15 -  
on his return from Brazil.

More

Their statement is God-awful!

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** July 2, 1980

**to** S. Hirsh

**from** A. Karlikow

**subject** Conversation with Z. Shuster re Vatican statement June 30.

I spoke with Zach twice on this.

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

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

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

cc: M. Tanenbaum



To: Marc Tanenbaum      cc: Selma Hirsh  
From: A. Karlikow  
Subject: Memo to Field re Vatican and Jerusalem

I suggest that this should be very simple at this time, more in the nature of an alert rather than a full analysis. I propose the following:

The Vatican has just made a major statement concerning its position on Jerusalem, in an article published in the Osservatore Romano June 30.

This article obviously was intended as a political statement by the Vatican: it was submitted to the UN Security Council for circulation as the Council was closing its recent debate on the Status of Jerusalem.

There are several points in this document that give reason for concern. We wish to alert you to these since they may arise in inter-faith 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 headquarters first. We do recommend that you report immediately to us any indications that Catholic personalities or groups may be seeking to advance or promote those points in the Vatican statement that trouble us, described below.

--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" 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 secular character of much of Jerusalem. It represents a major shift in emphasis: for well over a decade the Vatican has given the impression, though not so stating, that its concern was with the Holy Places and that part of the city in which they lie, 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 demand for an internationally guaranteed statute is nothing new---but now this statute is meant to apply to the city as a whole.

--The Vatican resurrects the bogey of "internationalization." It does so in a historical vein, 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 "does not appear at least as yet to have been formally revoked." (Note: We must be careful with this concept of "internationalization," often used too loosely. Please note that while the Vatican did favor internationalization at the outset, it has not taken a stand in favor of this over the past decade and more and still does not come out for this in this document, for all that it resurrects the idea. Its demand is for the wider special statute described above.)

.../



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 poses no problems 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 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 the 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 equalizing Israeli and Arab claims as it were. And it goes on to warn that "any unilateral act tending to modify the status of the Holy City would be very serious."

One has, in this paper, therefore, 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 groups that hold or are responsible for well over 70% of the properties and areas held by Christian elements; and that other Christian groups have in the past, and may perhaps again on this occasion, resented unilateral Vatican position-taking.

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.

We shall be writing you again in greater detail in the near future.

# # #



TO: Area directors, (JCRCs, Federations?)

FROM: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum and Abraham Karklowe

DATE: July 9, 1980

RE: The Vatican Declaration on Jerusalem

The Vatican has just made a major statement on its position <sup>regarding</sup> ~~on~~ 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...

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...

--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 among others - that its ~~own~~ 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 point is: whoever comes out on top, we want in, and the international statute is our way to be locked in. And if we don't get that, we can always fallback on advocating "territorial international-



Enclose 1) Times clip (2) NC-Text of Pope (3) <sup>Not printed</sup> ~~Testimony in~~ <sup>Jerusalem</sup>

TO: Area directors, (JCRCs, Federations?)

FROM: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

DATE: July 1, 1980

RE: POPE JOHN PAUL II'S STATEMENT ON JERUSALEM

In a ~~xxxx~~ lead story on the front page of the New York Times (June 22), the meeting~~x~~ between President Carter and Pope John Paul II in the Vatican was reported on, with rather prominent attention being given to the ~~Pope~~ Pope's statement on the status of Jerusalem. The Times reporter, Terence Smith, editorialized that the Pope's comments "reflected the Vatican's rejection of Israeli annexation of the Arab eastern ~~xxxxxxx~~ sector of Jerusalem. The Vatican has called for internationalization of the city."

As I shall indicate below, the views of "the Vatican" with regard to the status of Jerusalem ~~and~~ are vague and unclear, but a careful reading of the full text of the ~~Pope's~~ Pope's statement to the President provides no basis for the peremptory statement of Mr. Smith. I enclose the Pope's text issued from Vatican City by the National Catholic News Service. As you can see, there is only the following general "spiritual" reference to Jerusalem:

"And today in this context, Mr. President, I wish to assure you of my deep interest in every effort aimed at betterment of humanity and devoted to world peace. In a particular way the Middle East and the neighbouring regions occupy our common attention because of the immense importance they hold for international well-being. I offer my prayers that all worthy endeavors at reconciliation~~x~~ and cooperation may be crowned with success.

"The question of Jerusalem, which during these very days attracts the attention of the world in a special way, is pivotal to a just peace in those parts of the world, since this holy city embodies interests and aspirations that are shared by different peoples in different ways. It is my hope that a common monotheistic tradition of faith will help to promote harmony among all those who call upon God. I would ~~renew~~ renew my earnest plea that just attention be given to the issues affecting Lebanon and to the whole Palestinian problem."



In that vein, let me share with you the following interesting development. On April 24th, I received a telephone call from a Polish Catholic priest who lives now in the United States. He was a classmate of Pope John Paul II in Lublin and Czaczow, and is a tested friend of the Jews, having helped save a number of Jewish lives in Poland. This priest (who must remain unnamed for the time being) was summoned to Rome that weekend for an audience with the Pope. As a friend, he asked me what issues <sup>I</sup> ~~he~~ thought he might take up with the Pope, and I suggested that he report that there is a growing concern about indications that the Vatican is moving toward support on internationalization of the city of Jerusalem.

On his return, the priest informed that he discussed this with the Pope and the Pope told him directly that "the proposal for the internationalization of the city of Jerusalem is dead. We are interested only in the adoption of an international statute that would assure free access to all the holy places." The priest asked if he could share the Pope's views with his Jewish friends in the States, and the Pope authorized him to do so.

That is obviously a reassuring clarification, especially since the Israeli Government has no problems with an international statute for holy places. But those positive affirmations need to be weighed in the context of several other developments which would indicate a contrary stance.

According to a report to Bert Gold and me from Zachariah Shuster (AJC's European consultant on interreligious affairs), on April 2nd, the Pope received in audience King Hassan II of Morocco, who presented himself as President of the Committee "Al Quds" (the Holy City, Jerusalem) and who was mandated by the Islamic conference which

represents 42 Muslim countries. After the audience, the Pope said that the question of Jerusalem is "a very delicate one," and that it touches the sensibilities of many peoples. He then stated:

"It seems to me that the Holy City represents a really sacred patrimony for the faithful of the three great monotheistic religions and for the entire world, and in the first place for the populations which live on this territory. One ought to find a new spirit, a new approach which would allow not the accentuation of division, but translate into action a fundamental fraternity and to arrive, with God's help, perhaps at an original but quick and definitive solution, which would guarantee and respect the rights of all."

Q Zach Shuster interprets this statement somewhat negatively. He writes, "It should be noted that this declaration does not refer specifically to the Holy Places but to the 'Holy City,' and thus represents a shift of emphasis from previous statements by the present Pope and his predecessors, when the accent was put on the protection of the Holy Sites and not on the City as a whole."

More ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ disturbing is a recent memorandum submitted by the Papal Delegate to the United Nations to the special commission of the UN Security Council on the status of Jerusalem. The UN Special Commission invited three non-governmental bodies - the Islamic Conference, the Vatican, and the World Jewish Congress - to state their position on the future of Jerusalem. The reply of the Vatican contains a passage which cannot be interpreted in a positive way. The passage says:

"One might not exclude the hypothesis of the internationalization of the city of Jerusalem."

For some time, the Vatican limited its public declarations to the Holy Places, but did not refer to the city as a whole. The question therefore is whether the Vatican is now marking on a new public policy with regard to Jerusalem itself. At the same time, Zach Shuster indicates, "It must be admitted that the phrase is so vague that it leaves the



the way open for a reversal. That is typical diplomatic language, combined with Vatican's law of contraries (floating contrary views at one and the same time). For if challenged, Vatican authorities can answer, 'We are not advancing the view that Jerusalem ought to be internationalized, but in case such a proposal is made we might not oppose it'."

Additional factors putting a stress on Vatican-Israel relations are the following:

\*Archbishop Capucci, who is housed in Rome, carries on ~~an~~ relentless campaign against Israel, even though Capucci was released from prison by the Israel Government after an understanding that he would cease his anti-Israel activities. Recently, Capucci issued a pamphlet under his designation as "Patriarchal Vicar of Jerusalem in Exile," in which he wrote, "...we want to come back to all the frontiers of 1967, and in the first place Jerusalem." During a recent audience between Capucci and the Pope, I am reliably informed, the Pope threatened sanctions against Capucci if he doesn't stop, and Capucci replied that he ~~was~~ would split off his Church from Rome if he is hampered in his activities.

\*~~Archbishop~~

Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Vatican Secretary of State, and Cardinal Terence Cooke of New York recently visited Lebanon, whose destruction is of great concern to the Vatican. In an interview published in the April 11th Boston Pilot, Cardinal Cooke said, "Finding a homeland for the Palestinians is the key to settling Lebanon's domestic problems... and the United States should pressure Israel and the Palestinian guerillas to end their hostilities in Lebanon." He did not say where the homeland should be.



TO: Area Directors, JCRCs, Federations

FROM: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

DATE: July 3, 1980

RE: POPE JOHN PAUL II, THE VATICAN, AND JERUSALEM

During the past ~~week~~ two weeks, a series of public statements were issued by Pope John Paul II and the Vatican Secretariat of State regarding the status of Jerusalem. The Pope's statement was made in connection with the June 21st meeting with President Carter in the Vatican; it was of a vague, general "spiritual" character and avoided advocating any specific political formula for the status of the Holy City. The Vatican Secretariat of State declaration was timed to coincide with the UN Security Council vote on June 30th which voted ~~xx~~ 14 to 0 (with the U. S. Abstaining) deploring Israel's alleged "changing" the status of Jerusalem. The Vatican Secretariat's statement is potentially troublesome both for Israel as well as for relations between American Catholics and Jews.

On the face of it, the Pope's statement is vague, (pious) and contains sentiments about "promoting harmony" among Jews, Christians, and Muslims centered on Jerusalem that are <sup>generally</sup> unexceptionable. Following are his complete words on the subject taken from Vatican City release distributed by the National Catholic News Service:

"And today....

.....the whole Palestinian problem.

The much longer statement, issued by the Permanent Observer Mission of the Holy See to the United Nations in the form of a letter to the President of the Security Council, is offered as a detailed commentary on the Pope's statement and goes much beyond it in ways that are deeply disturbing. ~~Following are the major~~

It should be noted that the issuing of the statement at the climax of the UN Security Council debate on Jerusalem should be seen as a calculated decision of the Vatican to stake out a position for itself as a primary, if not central, factor in negotiating the future status of the Holy City.

While it is important that you read the complete text which we attach, it may prove useful that we underscore the following key issues raised by the Vatican document:

1 - It treats Jerusalem entirely from the perspective of its "sacred character" - as if the city were "the Heavenly Jerusalem" - and tends to ignore its reality as a living, thriving municipality which has functioned with extraordinary effectiveness as a unified society under Israeli governance. That approach appears to be as unrealistic and impractical as to reduce the complex governance of Rome solely to the "sacred character" of Vatican City. Rome might survive as a vital, viable city meeting the daily human needs of its inhabitants without Vatican City; Vatican City might not be able to survive humanly without the secular functioning of Rome, which operates <sup>the</sup> totally outside ~~the~~ jurisdiction of the Holy See.

2xxx

Similarly, there is no disagreement between Christians, Muslims and Jews over the unique sanctity of Jerusalem, but <sup>an</sup> assuring that sanctity ~~is quite independent of the need to also ensure that the~~ provides no practical guidance as to how the municipality would continue to meet the multiple pragmatic needs of all of its inhabitants - transportation, police protection, provision of electricity and gas, social welfare, public education, et cetera. The Vatican document <sup>focuses on</sup> ~~seems to be preoccupied~~ <sup>it does not address</sup> ~~far more with spiritual "essences" than with the compelling realities of~~ and requirements of human "existences," which only a unified municipality can serve.



2 - Jerusalem is described as "deeply united by nature but is at the same time characterized by a closely intertwined religious plurality...(which needs to) recognized and safeguarded in a stable concrete manner and therefore publicly and juridically, so as to assure for all three~~xx~~ religions a level of parity, without any of them feeling subordinate with regard to the others." The three religious communities - Christian, Jewish, and Moslem - "should be partners in deciding their own future."

The Vatican document then specifies six features that would assure that "level of parity" and partnership "in deciding their own future":

(1) "that the overall character of Jerusalem as a sacred heritage shared by all three monotheistic religions be guaranteed by appropriate measures;

(2) "that the religious freedom in all its aspects be safeguarded for them;

(3) "that the complex of rights acquired by the various communities over the shrines and the centres for spirituality, study and welfare be protected;

(4) "that the continuance and development of religious, educational and social activity by each community be ensured;

(5) "that this be actuated with equality of treatment for all three religions;"

(6) "that this be achieved through 'an appropriate juridical safeguard' that does not derive from the will of only one of the parties interested."

Viewing the actual reality of the present situation of the Christian, Muslim, and Jewish communities in Jerusalem, there is little or no evidence that argues that these conditions have not been met satisfactorily during the 20 years of Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem. Indeed, the late Pope John Paul I declared on Dec. 8, 1972:



"(Christian) pilgrims returning from Jerusalem said ~~that~~ they were very satisfied...The Church does not wish to control Jerusalem, only to worship in the holy places."

As tens of thousands of Christian visitors to Jerusalem have repeatedly testified, the Israeli Government has been scrupulous in upholding "the sacred heritage" of the Holy City; in safeguarding religious freedom for all its inhabitants; in protecting their "complex of rights;" and in actualizing their "equality of treatment." The ensuring of the "continuance and development of religious, educational, and social activity by each community" rests on the initiative of each community which Mayor Kollek and Israeli officials have repeatedly and publicly welcomed and supported. [If world Christendom has thus far not seen fit to invest substantially in revitalizing the life and institutions of their Christian communities in Israel, surely Israel cannot be faulted for that lack or failure.]

Thus, "parity" in the status of each of the religious communities in Israel is a fact of life. (When some few Jewish zealots recently vandalized Christian missionaries in Jerusalem, the municipality acted decisively to bring them to justice, much as the municipality of New York City acted against vandals who desecrated churches and synagogues. Such desecration led no one, either Christian or Jew, to argue that New York City therefore requires "a juridical safeguard" or "special statute" as a means of preventing such aberrant and exceptional actions.) Similarly, the Vatican did not find it necessary to propose that Rome, the Eternal City, be placed under "juridical safeguard" when the Red Brigade violated Catholic Churches in that city or murdered innocent civilians, such as the late esteemed Christian Democratic leader, Aldo Moro.

The thesis that "the three religious communities...should be partners in deciding their own future" seems equally without force of evidence. Christians, Muslims, and Jews - as ~~the~~ "religious communities"- have complete freedom to "decide their own future" in Jerusalem and in Israel generally. They have complete administrative control over their respective holy places and shrines; they conduct their own courts and schools, and seminaries in accordance with their respective religious tenets and traditions, and, as any responsible observer will attest, they are substantially subvented by the treasury of Israel to carry out their own "religious futures/" with complete autonomy.

As citizens of Israel, Christians, Muslims, and Jews alike are "partners" in deciding their own future through the democratic electoral processes of the State of Israel.

The primary question of "deciding their own future" is located today in the discussion of providing some form of self-governance for the Arabs in East Jerusalem, for whom some form of "borough plan" within a united Jerusalem municipality is <sup>to be</sup> ~~being~~ actively considered as part of the Camp David negotiations.

Given the absence of legitimate grievances of denial of religious rights which are presumed in the Vatican document but not demonstrated, it is difficult to understand the basis for the leap to the urgently-stated need that "calls for a responsibility that goes well beyond the limits of the States of the regions," or "that surpasses the intrerests of any single State or bilateral agreements between one State and others." To state the need is ~~the~~ not the same as making the case for it.



In light of the foregoing, the most troublesome and baffling aspect of the Vatican document is its raising the question of "the solution proposed by the United Nations envisaged (in) the setting up of a 'corpus separatum' for 'Jerusalem and the surrounding areas,' administered by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations."

The document pointedly reminds us that this "territorial internationalization" of Jerusalem first approved by the United Nations in November 29, 1947, "does not appear at least as yet to have been formally revoked."

Given the fact that Jordan and other Arab and Muslim states have rejected the "corpus separatum" proposal at least as vehemently as has Israel, what purpose is served in resurrecting that discarded plan, other than perhaps to hold it as a club of possible intimidation over the head of Israel and Jordan (and other Arab nations)? While the United Nations may not yet have gotten around to dismantling that proposal, the brute force of history (Alfred North Whitehead's words) certainly has. The unworkability of all such "corpus separatum" and "international cities" such as Danzig and Trieste have long since been discussed and as a consequence discarded.

That sense of threat is further underscored in the observation by the Vatican, "The positions of the two sides on the question of sovereignty over Jerusalem are known to be very far apart; any unilateral act to modify the status of the Holy City would be very serious."

The status of Jerusalem is clearly a political issue which appropriately is the subject of future negotiations provided for by the Camp David agreement. That process deserves to be encouraged, not threatened, ~~by triumphal observations.~~

B



The one legitimate request that religious leadership has a right to make is that, out of valid concern that religious freedoms be preserved in Jerusalem <sup>as</sup> anywhere else in the world, from the vagaries of domestic politics that an international statute assuring the religious freedom and free access to holy places be established. The Government of Israel has long since indicated its willingness to support such a statute not only to the Vatican, but to the Greek Orthodox and Armenian and other churches who possess legal title to some 75% of the land in Jerusalem and Israel on which the holy sites are located.

A concentration on such a valid objective would help advance the worthy objective ~~which~~ with which the Vatican document concludes;

"The aim will be to ensure that Jerusalem will no longer be an object of contention but a place of encounter and brotherhood between the peoples and believers of the three religions and a pledge of friendship between the peoples who see in Jerusalem something that is part of their very soul."

In light of these mixed and confusing developments, the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Relations (IJCIR) - of which AJC is a founding and active member - has recently requested an audience with Cardinal Casaroli in the Vatican for an exchange of views. We have been informed that the Vatican has responded affirmatively, and we expect to meet with the Cardinal at an early date to express our concerns and to seek clarification on Jerusalem and related questions. } A

When that happens, I will share a report with you.

In the meantime, it would be important to think about arranging meetings and seminars with Christian friends - especially Catholics - to whom the historical and spiritual bonds of Jews with a united Jerusalem could be effectively interpreted. The enclosed testimony on Jerusalem which contains much of that history might be useful for dissemination to Christian friends.

*Just B*

Please keep me informed of any developments regarding these issues on your interreligious scene.



# The American



## Jewish Committee

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Zachariah Shuster, Consultant

March 19, 1980

### MEMORANDUM

To: Marc Tanenbaum and Bert Gold  
From: zachariah Shuster  
Subj: Vatican and Israel

During my visit in Rome last week I had extensive discussions with the official of the Israeli Embassy, including the ambassador himself, about recent developments in attitudes and policies of the Vatican with regard to Israel, and particularly concerning Jerusalem. I found the Israeli representatives in a rather somber mood on these subjects, and this not so much because of definite actions but as a cumulative effect of a number of expressions from Vatican sources.

The Israelis were apprehensive of the style and manners of the Pope's addresses in Auschwitz and at the UN. On the first occasion he deliberately omitted to mention specifically "Jews", but made indirect reference to them. On the second occasion he omitted to mention Israel. The Israelis also strongly feel that the audience of the Jewish delegations with the Pope, and the contents of the addresses on both sides, were very unsatisfactory. They thought that the quasi-censorship by the Vatican of the contents of the Jewish address to the Pope with the aim of eliminating any clear statement regarding Israel, must be considered as a strongly negative action which should not have been agreed upon by the Jewish delegations.

Another cause of doubt concerning the Vatican's policies is the recent memorandum submitted by the Vatican to the special commission of the UN Security Council on the status of Jerusalem. As you know, the Special commission asked three non-governmental bodies - the Islamic Conference, the Vatican and the WJC - to state their position on the

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future of Jerusalem. The reply of the Vatican contains a passage which cannot be interpreted in a positive way. The passage says: "One might not exclude the hypothesis of the internationalization of the city of Jerusalem." For some time the Vatican limited its public declarations to the Holy places, but didn't refer to the city as a whole. The question therefore is whether the Vatican is not now embarking on a new public policy with regard to Jerusalem itself. At the same time it must be admitted that the phrase is so vague that it leaves the way open for a reversal. That is typical diplomatic language, combined with Vatican equivocation. For if challenged, Vatican can answer "we are not advancing the view that Jerusalem ought to be internationalized, but in case such a proposal is made we might not oppose it".

The constant presence in the Vatican of Bishop Capucci who is spreading anti-Israel propaganda in various countries, and particularly in Latin-America, is another cause of irritation in the Israel-Vatican relations. It is difficult for Israel to tolerate this situation in view of the fact that Capucci was released from prison after an understanding that he would cease anti-Israel activities. It was certainly difficult to believe that he will carry on these activities from the central seat of the Catholic church. As an example of his recent public expression, it is sufficient to quote a paragraph of a recent pamphlet signed by him with the designation "Patriarchal Vicar of Jerusalem in exile".

Here is the paragraph:

"We are insisting on

- the right to self-determination;
- the right to return to our occupied territory;
- the right to live in a totally independent and sovereign state.

Yes, the PLO claims today the strict minimum, and it is only the expression of the fierce determination of our people.

First of all, we want to come back to all the frontiers of 1967, and in the first place Jerusalem. But this is only a step, because we cannot give up half of our rights. This would be as if General de Gaulle in 1940 would have limited himself to liberate only a half of France. The reintegration within the frontiers of 1967 ought to create the conditions for a reunification of one Palestine country, with a democratic and secular state, where the faithful of the three religions will live in peace."



The Israelis are asking how the Vatican can extend its authority to a person who openly advocates the destruction of the State of Israel.

Something which has not added to the peace of mind of the Israelis in Rome was the announcement made that Cardinal Casaroli, Secretary of State in the Vatican, is planning to go to Lebanon in the last week of March, and that he will meet there a number of Christian and Muslim personalities. There is an apprehension that one of the persons he might meet there is Yasser Arafat, and if this occurs it will be tantamount to an informal recognition of the PLO by the Vatican. The Israelis I spoke to were wondering whether the AJC couldn't exercise its influence with the leadership of the Catholic church in the US for the purpose of their intervening with the Vatican authorities in order to prevent such a development in Lebanon.

In the general context of Vatican-Israel relationship, there belongs also the series of violent attacks against Christian churches in Jerusalem. As I informed you a short while ago some Vatican personalities raised the question whether it is not opportune for Jewish organizations, and particularly IJCIC to express their indignation against these attacks. The Israeli representatives felt that, in view of the fact that these attacks have not been repeated in recent weeks, and also that the heads of the Israeli government and the city of Jerusalem have strongly protested against these attacks, further declarations on this subject at this time are unnecessary.

In my own view these attacks have stimulated discussions on the status of the Holy places in some Catholic circles, and developments in this area will have to be closely followed.

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# The American Jewish Committee



EUROPEAN OFFICE • 41 Avenue Paul Doumer, 75016 Paris, France • Tel. 503-0156, 520-0660 • Cable: Wishcom, Paris

Zachariah Shuster, Consultant

April 4, 1980

## MEMORANDUM

To: Bertram Gold and Marc Tanenbaum  
From: Zachariah Shuster  
Subj: Pope's declaration on Jerusalem

The last declaration by Pope John Paul II on Jerusalem on Wednesday April 2 merits attention because of the occasion at which it was made and also because of its contents. The occasion was the audience granted to King Hassan II of Morocco, the first visit of an Arab king to the head of the Catholic Church.

The formal reason for this visit was that the Moroccan king presented himself in his capacity as President of the Committee "Al Quds" (the Holy City, Jerusalem) and mandated by the Islamic Conference which embraces 42 Muslim countries.

The king went to Rome after a visit to France where he met several times with President Giscard d'Estaing, seeking aid in the difficult situation he finds himself in the Sahara conflict. The king is certainly not a popular figure in the Arab world, and particularly among the leftist movements in the Middle-East, by which he is considered as a pillar of the authoritarian and semi-feodal systems. The forces opposed to him in Sahara are backed by Algeria, which is lined up with the leftist elements in every respect and particularly with regard to the Israel-Palestine conflict.

The Moroccan king is therefore aiming on the one hand to receive military and financial help from the western powers, primarily from France, Germany and the U.S., and on the other hand to present himself as the advocate of the Palestinian cause, in order to neutralize the radical elements in the Middle-East. His position as the Chairman of the Committee on Jerusalem gave him the opportunity to meet the Pope to raise this issue in a demonstrative manner.

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After the audience the Pope said that the question of Jerusalem is a "very delicate one" and it touches the sensibilities of many peoples. He then said:

"It seems to me that the Holy City represents a really sacred patrimony for the faithful of the three great monotheistic religions and for the entire world, and in the first place for the populations which live on this territory. One ought to find a new spirit, a new approach which would allow not the accentuation of division, but translate into action a fundamental fraternity and to arrive, with God's help, perhaps at an original but quick and definitive solution, which would guarantee and respect the rights of all".

It should be noted that this declaration does not refer specifically to the Holy Places but to the "Holy City", and thus represents a shift of emphasis from previous statements by the present Pope and his predecessors, when the accent was put on the protection of the Holy Sites and not on the City as a whole. As I indicated in my Memo of March 19, the Vatican statement to the Security Council suggested the internationalization of Jerusalem as a possible hypothesis. The declaration of the Pope on April 2 continues on this line.

I have been in touch with the Israel embassy in Rome but they were not yet in a position to evaluate the significance of the Pope's statement, while expressing concern about recent trends in the Vatican.

Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of State of the Vatican, has returned from Lebanon a few days ago and said he hopes that the various elements in Lebanon will soon reach an accord. Vatican sources also stated that in the course of his five-day visit Cardinal Casaroli met with responsible political and religious leaders in Lebanon. There was no indication that he met with Yasser Arafat, as it was apprehended before his journey.

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Original documents  
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July 1, 1980

To: File

From: A. Karlikow

Subject: Text on the Question of Jerusalem Published by the Osservatore Romano (30 June 1980)

Even before any thorough analysis is made, it is apparent that this is a most troubling document. At least nine points immediately ~~draw~~ merit attention.

1- Vatican timing -- This text was circulated as a Security Council document at the request of the Vatican Secretary of State precisely when the Council ~~was~~ was discussing the status of Jerusalem. It thus marks out an official staking of the Vatican claim in political discussion at the UN.

2- Puts 3 religions on basis of parity -- While recognizing that Jerusalem is "deeply united by nature" the Vatican at the same time insists on its "closely intertwined religious plurality." It then goes to argue that this plurality must be recognized concretely, publicly, juridically so as to ensure for "all three religions a level of parity." (par. 8.)

3- The three religious communities should be partners in deciding future, ~~xxx~~ (par. 9) the document goes on. The context makes it clear that while the communities are called religious communities, in fact the paper is talking about the different populations of Jerusalem, and declares that "the situation of these communities cannot fail to be a matter of concern for all."

4- The Six Desiderata -- Here, specifics are given to ~~xxxx~~ indicate that "the Jerusalem question cannot be reduced to mere 'free access for all to the holy places'." Of the six, nos. 5 and 6 merit particular attention: 5 is a re-statement of the equality principles of the three religions, this time as regards ~~the~~ "treatment." 6 declares this must be achieved through an "appropriate juridical safeguard" that "does not derive from the will of only one of the parties interested." (par. 10).

5- The Special Statute -- Here (par. 11) the Vatican calls for a "special safeguard as a "juridical safeguard, since the responsibility re Jerusalem "goes well beyond the states of the regions....surpass the interests of any single state or bilateral agreements between one state and others."

6 - Right of the international community to intervene This (par 12) I take to be the implicit sense of this paragraph describing Unesco intervention on the Jerusalem question.

7 - Corpus separatum and territorial internationalization. -- While cast in a historical vein, the point nonetheless is ~~strongly~~ clearly made that the April 1950 UN approval of a special statute for Jerusalem "does not appear at least as yet to have been formally revoked." (par 13 and 14).

8 - Higher guarantees -- The Vatican calls for an appropriate juridical system to protect the city and connected rights "guaranteed by a higher international body." (par. 15)

9 - Warning against any unilateral acts -- Any such acts, the document says (par. 17) "would be very serious."

[end]

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TO: Bert Gold

Confidential

FROM: Marc H. Tanenbaum

DATE: April 25, 1980

RE: VATICAN AND JERUSALEM

Yesterday, I received a telephone call from Father Henri d'Anjou, a Polish-Catholic priest from Portchester, N. Y. He was a classmate of Pope John Paul II in Cracow and Lublin.

Father d'Anjou has been summoned to Rome this weekend. He has an audience with the Pope next Monday. He is a friend of Jews and reportedly helped save a number of Jewish lives during the Nazi occupation of Poland (see attached article on Pope John Paul II and the Jews.)

D'Anjou wanted to discuss with me issues that he might take up with the Pope. I suggested that he report that there is a growing concern about indications that the Vatican is sliding toward a position of internationalizing the city of Jerusalem, and this would lead not only to alienation with the Jewish community but would deeply upset many of the 50 million Evangelical Christians in America who support a unified Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty. There would be ground for ecumenical and interreligious consensus for an international statute safeguarding the holy places.

D'Anjou said he will do his best, and will call me on his return after May 5th. He also said that he will speak to the Pope about a negative New Testament reference to the Jews in the Pope's April 14th Good Friday sermon. It appeared in L'Espresso Romano, and he is sending me a copy.

This morning I attended a meeting with George Bruen of the NJCRAC Task Force on the Middle East. Both Moshe Arad and Zvi Brosch indicated, among other things, that it is important to start educating Christians about our position on the unity of Jerusalem now. I think we should try to plan a series of regional meetings with key Christians around the country on Jerusalem. Perhaps we should set up an interdepartmental meeting under Ira shortly. The enclosed document on Jerusalem which treats the Biblical and historical connection might be helpful as background for Christian institutes. What do you think?

We will include Jerusalem in our CORLE, Presbyterian, and United Church of Christ meetings.

... AUTHORITATIVE. COMPREHENSIVE COVERAGE OF MAJOR

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD . . . .

MONDAY, JUNE 23, 1980

**PRESIDENT, POPE MEET PRIVATELY,  
STRESS MUTUAL INTEREST IN PEACE**

By Religious News Service (6-23-80)

VATICAN CITY (RNS) -- Returning Pope John Paul II's White House visit last fall, President Carter spent four hours at the Vatican June 21.

He met privately with the pope, greeted several hundred Americans on hand for the beatification of a 17th century Indian maiden, and toured St. Peter's Basilica and the Sistine Chapel. His wife Rosalynn and 13-year-old daughter Amy accompanied the president.

It was the most prolonged visit by any American president. Previous presidents have paid relatively brief courtesy calls.

Mr. Carter and the pope first met for nearly an hour in the pontiff's booklined study overlooking St. Peter's Square, then made public statements to assembled reporters.

Mr. Carter said he and the leader of the Roman Catholic Church are embarked on a "common pilgrimage" in behalf of peace, human rights, and the eradication of hunger and disease.

The president, a Southern Baptist, applauded the pope for focusin world attention "upon those suffering from hunger, from poverty and disease; upon refugees in every corner of the earth; and upon those laboring under political repression."

Pope John Paul recalled the warmth of his reception at the White House in October. Speaking of Mr. Carter's reciprocal visit, the pope said: "I am pleased to see in it an indication of your country's profound respect and esteem for ethical and religious values which are so characteristic of millions and millions of Americans of different faiths."

The Polish-born pontiff went on to assure Mr. Carter of "my deep interest in every effort aimed at the betterment of humanity and devoted to world peace, particularly in the Middle East and neighboring regions."

(more)

PAGE-1-



The pope said, "The question of Jerusalem, which during these very days attracts the attention of the world in a special way, is pivotal to a just peace in those parts of the world, since the Holy City embodies interests and aspirations that are shared by different people in different ways.

"It is my hope that a common monotheistic tradition of faith will help promote harmony among all those who call upon God. I would renew my earnest plea that just attention be given to the issues affecting Lebanon and the whole Palestinian problem."

The pope presented Mr. Carter with a leather-bound, illustrated replica of a 15th century Bible, saying jovially, "It's to be read." The president, a "born-again" Christian, opened the volume and discovering that the text was in Latin, remarked with a smile, "It would be easier for you than me."

Then, accompanied by the pope, Mr. Carter made his way to the Clementine Hall to greet a delighted crowd of several hundred Americans, including a large number of American Indians in full regalia.

The Americans were in Rome for the beatification (June 22) of Kateri Tekakwitha, the "Lily of the Mohawks," who died in 1680 at the age of 24, the first lay member of the Catholic Church in North America to be proclaimed "blessed," the next-to-last step to possible canonization, or proclamation of sainthood.

The audience included three American cardinals, Terence Cooke of New York, John Krol of Philadelphia, and William Baum, formerly of Washington, who heads the Vatican Congregation for Catholic Education.

It was the first time a pope had appeared with a visiting head of government in front of an audience.

Rosalynn Carter, dressed in a long-sleeved, floor-length black gown and veil, and 13-year-old Amy, who had joined the pope and the president for about 10 minutes after their private meeting, then accompanied Mr. Carter on a tour of some of the Vatican's art treasures.

The president and his family spent an hour touring the Pauline and Sistine Chapels, the vast interior of St. Peter's Basilica, with its famed Pieta sculpture of Michaelangelo, and the crypts beneath the main altar where many popes are buried.

Standing beneath the magnificent fresco ceiling of the Sistine Chapel and facing the towering Last Judgment fresco on the north wall -- both works by Michaelangelo -- the president said softly, "It's beautiful and awe-inspiring."

Leaving the Vatican, Mr. Carter flew to Venice to attend a seven-nation economic summit meeting.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** July 1, 1980  
**to** Area Directors  
**from** Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
**subject** POPE JOHN PAUL II'S STATEMENT ON JERUSALEM

In a lead story on the front page of the New York Times (June 22), the meeting between President Carter and Pope John Paul II in the Vatican was reported on, with rather prominent attention being given to the Pope's statement on the status of Jerusalem. The Times reporter, Terence Smith, editorialized that the Pope's comments "reflected the Vatican's rejection of Israeli annexation of the Arab eastern sector of Jerusalem. The Vatican has called for internationalization of the city."

As I shall indicate below, the views of "the Vatican" with regard to the status of Jerusalem are vague and unclear, but a careful reading of the full text of the Pope's statement to the President provides no basis for the peremptory statement of Mr. Smith. I enclose the Pope's text issued from Vatican City by the National Catholic News Service. As you can see, there is only the following general "spiritual" reference to Jerusalem:

"And today in this context, Mr. President, I wish to assure you of my deep interest in every effort aimed at betterment of humanity and devoted to world peace. In a particular way the Middle East and the neighbouring regions occupy our common attention because of the immense importance they hold for international well-being. I offer my prayers that all worthy endeavors at reconciliation and cooperation may be crowned with success.

"The question of Jerusalem, which during these very days attracts the attention of the world in a special way, is pivotal to a just peace in those parts of the world, since this holy city embodies interests and aspirations that are shared by different peoples in different ways. It is my hope that a common monotheistic tradition of faith will help to promote harmony among all those who call upon God. I would renew my earnest plea that just attention be given to the issues affecting Lebanon and to the whole Palestinian problem."

In that vein, let me share with you the following interesting development. On April 24th, I received a telephone call from a Polish Catholic priest who lives now in the United States. He was a classmate of Pope John Paul II in Lublin and Cracow, and is a tested friend of the Jews, having helped save a number of Jewish lives in Poland. This priest (who must remain unnamed



July 2, 1980

George Gruen, Selma Hirsh, Abraham Karlikow, Marc H. Tanenbaum

Inge Lederer Gibel

Briefly this is a recap of how we decided to move ahead on the Jerusalem question.

1. Marc will call for a quick meeting of IJCIC.
2. Marc will check with Kaiser about a bylined article on Jerusalem; that or something similar for The New York Times Magazine.
3. Abe will check with Israelis.
4. We will check with UN and US lines.
5. Marc will check with Ambassador Wagner.
6. Selma will follow up with Howard Samuels and Alfred Moses.
7. Selma or Marc will follow up with Richard Gardiner.
8. We should begin thinking about two kinds of documents to be ready as quickly as possible once we have basic information. The first document would be an internal document for use by our area offices in educating our own membership and also in calling forth support for a unified Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty.
9. The second document should be a general background, perhaps in brochure form, possibly in question and answer form, which would indirectly respond to some of the issues the aggressive new Vatican position on internationalization suggests. Our approach, however, should be putting forth our own position rather than a defensive stance toward someone else's position.

ILG/es

# REPORT

From the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee

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

## CHRISTIANS IN EAST JERUSALEM

1948 - 1967

For the Christian communities of East Jerusalem the Jordanian takeover of the Old City in 1948 was not the best of all possible solutions. After more than thirty years under the rule of a Christian Mandatory government, they would have preferred the proposed internationalization of the Holy City. The influence of the Protestant and Catholic European nations on such a regime, they felt, would lead to much more sympathetic conditions than those under an Islamic government. Nevertheless, most of Jerusalem's Christians were Arabs and Jordanian rule was thus preferable to that of Jewish Israel - the lesser of two evils.

In fact, the war in Jerusalem and the resultant partition of the city, affected the Christians more than any other group. The Arab quarters in that part of the city held by Israel following the war, had been inhabited mostly by Christians. As a result of the war, the Christian community in Jerusalem - which had reached a peak of 31,000 at the end of the Mandate - decreased by over 40%. Some fled to the Old City or nearby towns such as Bethlehem and Ramallah, but the majority left the country. Despite this fact, an Israeli population census in September 1967 still showed that there was a higher proportion of Christian refugees (37% of all Christians) than of Moslem (15.6 of all Moslems).

Although extensive and vigorous efforts were made by world-wide Christian bodies to assist their brethren in Jerusalem, the exodus from the city continued and the 1961 census counted only 10,982 in the Old City - almost 65% less than in 1948. This figure remained constant until the Six Day War in June 1967, indicating that, when natural increase is considered, some 2,500 Christians left Jerusalem between 1961 and 1967.

In 1952 the new Jordanian constitution declared Islam to be the official religion of the State and the King. However, it simultaneously recognized the rights of the various Christian sects to maintain a separate educational system (under government supervision) and religious courts whose competence was equal to Moslem (Shari'a) religious courts.

The practical application of the law, on the other hand, did discriminate against the Christians. For example, Christian holidays, including Christmas, were not listed as official national holidays, although Moslem holidays were. In certain years, an official three-day holiday was declared for the Latin, Greek-Orthodox and Armenian-Gregorian Christmas. But this proclamation applied only to Jerusalem and Bethlehem (thus excluding other "Christian" towns such as Ramallah) and was granted only as a gesture of good will by the King. Other holidays, such as Easter, were not recognized at all.



Similarly, Friday was the official day of rest, while on Sundays Christians were allowed to absent themselves from work only until 10 o'clock in the morning.

Nevertheless, Christian government and municipal employees throughout the country were permitted to be absent from work on most Christian holidays. Moreover, it should be pointed out that a similar problem existed under the Mandate, and the 1937 Peel Commission cited complaints by Christian representatives that their brethren had to work on their day of rest, unlike Jewish and Moslem officials. The Royal Commission concluded that the problem was difficult to solve because each Christian sect kept different dates for their holidays.

Jordan's effort to show liberality towards the Christians was also exemplified by the presence of Government officials in the traditional Christmas and Easter processions, the stationing of soldiers to maintain order during the holidays, the permission granted to some Christians to cross over to Jordan for the Christmas celebrations, and the broadcast of Sunday and religious services by Jordan Radio. Characteristically, though, none of these services were broadcast during the Moslem holy month of Ramadan.

The Jordanians also attempted to make arrangements for the fundamental repair of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Disputes between the various sects over responsibility for repairs had, in the past, obligated the Municipality or the Public Works Department to carry out urgent repairs. In 1951, therefore, the Jordanians initiated negotiations on the subject between the sects. But the negotiations dragged on for eleven years and only in 1962 was a joint technical office of the Catholics, Greek Orthodox and Armenians established to reinforce and refurbish the building. Work proceeded slowly and was still in progress in 1967.

The most important improvement in the status of the Christians under Jordanian rule concerned the recognition of their religious courts and their equality with Moslem Courts. During the Mandatory period, the Shari'a courts had wider jurisdiction than that of the other religions and the Christians were greatly pleased by the change. However, the law providing for the autonomy of the non-Moslem religious courts (which was applied to Judea and Samaria in 1958) only recognized five Christian groups - the Greek Orthodox, Latin, Greek Catholic, Armenian-Gregorian and English Episcopalians. The five smaller sects were not recognized by Jordan, although they had been by the British Mandatory Government, and members of these groups used the courts of the other Christians.

But while the recognition of Christian courts showed the liberality of the Jordanian regime, three other laws, enacted in the 1950s, severely restricted Christian activity in the kingdom and aroused serious concern among Christian Church leaders. These laws concerned the purchase of property, the activities of Christian charitable organizations, and the organization of communal education.

In 1953, a law was passed requiring "religious and charitable organizations which constitute branches of a foreign religious body" to obtain a special permit from the Government for the purchase of any immovable property. In addition, the purchase of property in the vicinity of the Holy Places was specifically prohibited, except by special permission of the Government. Following vehement Christian protests (led by the Catholics), the law was amended in 1954 to include all religious and charitable organizations, not just foreign ones. Obviously, the amendment did not satisfy the Christians.



In fact, the law had been promulgated as a result of pressure by the Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce and the 'Ulema Council who felt that the religious organizations were taking advantage of the poor economic condition of the people of Jerusalem. The 1954 amendment did not satisfy these groups either and as a result of their continued pressure a new law was issued in 1965. This law made the restrictions even stronger, banning outright the transfer to religious organizations of all property within the walls of the Old City and permitting such purchase or transfer within the district of Jerusalem only by special consent.

Nevertheless, the churches managed to bypass the law through the use of Moslem intermediaries and other methods. In 1949 the Christian churches possessed 91 commercial plots in East Jerusalem; by 1969, 392 sites were in their possession.

A second law, passed in 1953, imposed strict controls on the activities of Christian charitable organizations. It required the reorganization and re-registration of "every other organization operating in the charitable field", severely limiting their activities and basically eliminating their special religious character. The law proscribed free use of the charitable funds, controlled the organizations' members, organizers and those benefiting from their charity, and required special permission for any change of activities. Even more than the law prohibiting the purchase of property, the law on charitable organizations was directed against the Western Christian groups, specifically the Catholics. Once again, the Christians protested and again the law was amended (in 1956). The new law made it clear that it was not the religious organizations themselves (such as monasteries, churches, etc.) which were to be supervised, but only the charitable activities of these bodies.

In 1955, the third law restricting Christian activity was enacted in an attempt to change the character of the Christian educational system in Jordan and the West Bank. This system, which had begun at the end of the 19th Century and developed during the Mandate, was very European. The language of instruction was English, French or German, the textbooks were from Europe, and the pupils were prepared for the European matriculation examinations. In addition, religious instruction was part of the curriculum.

If these schools had been attended by Christian pupils only (as were the Armenians and most of the schools of the Eastern sects), the problem would have been a minimal one. However, the Christian schools were, for of all, missionary in character and therefore designed to attract Moslems, and secondly, of such high standard, that many rich and educated Moslems sent their children there. It was therefore natural that Jordan should try to incorporate the Christian educational system into its own national system, ensuring an emphasis on the Arab language and national and cultural values.

Thus the Jordan Education Law of 1955 stated that in all of the country's schools the Ministry of Education would select the textbooks and supervise the curriculum; that Arabic would be the language of instruction; that the schools would be closed on official holidays (which, as has been mentioned above, did not include Sunday or Christian holidays); that the foreign schools had submit a report on their sources of income; that no new foreign elementary school could be established or an existing one expanded; and that no pupil could be given religious instruction in a faith other than his own.



Clearly, the implementation of the law would have meant the destruction of the Christian school system and the Christian groups (again led by the Catholics) fought it accordingly. Consequently, implementation of the law was postponed and in 1959, King Hussein, who was experiencing political difficulties at the time, announced that the law was frozen. In 1966 another attempt was made to implement the changes in the Christian schools and while the Anglican schools attempted to obey the provisions imposed by the Jordanians, the Catholics refused to compromise. Before any real effect of the latest attempt could be felt, the Six Day War took place. Other than the incidents cited above, formal relations between the Jordanian Government and the Christian community were exceedingly correct, with numerous visits, meetings and correspondence between Church officials and Government representatives. Heads of the Churches and other Christian leaders often expressed support of King Hussein, usually in conjunction with their Moslem colleagues. Moreover, despite the fact that the Christians represented only 8% of the total population of Jordan, there was always at least one (and sometimes two or three) Christian Ministers in each Government. In addition, Christian mayors were appointed in Beit Jalla, Beit Sahur, Bethlehem and Ramallah, by the respective District Commissioner.

Once again, however, there was a second side to the coin. The Christians in the Government and various municipalities rarely reached decisive positions of power. They never held vital portfolios, nor were appointed as district commissioners or ambassadors, nor held senior positions in the army or police. They complained that while discrimination against them was not overt, it existed covertly.

The Christians also pointed to the Jordanian attempt to change the character of traditional Christian towns on the West Bank. In Jerusalem and in Ramallah, the migrating Christian merchants were replaced by Moslem Arabs from Hebron. In Bethlehem, Beit Jalla and Beit Sahur the municipal boundaries were enlarged to include neighbouring Moslem villages and refugee camps. A similar attempt to join Ramallah and the nearby Moslem El Bireh failed. Thus, in these areas a Moslem majority was created, with a corresponding increase in Moslem representation in the Municipal institutions of these towns.

In contrast to the expressions of support for the Hashemite rule on the part of Christian government officials and Church leaders, numerous Christians actively participated in organizations which opposed King Hussein and were banned in Jordan, including the Communist Party and the Baath Party. As a large part of the urban intellectual elite, in reaction to their feeling of being discriminated against, and as an attempt to prove themselves an integral part of the Arab and Palestinian world, the Christians often adopted even more nationalistic positions than the Moslems. These were expressed in an extreme anti-Israel attitude and opposition to the Hashemite rule of the West Bank.

In 1956, following the dismissal of Brigadier Glubb Pasha as head of the Jordanian Arab Legion, most other Christian officers were also dismissed from the army. In April a violent clash between Christians and Moslems took place at Madeba following a religious service at the Church in which the Latin Patriarch participated. King Hussein personally headed an inquiry into the incident and acted to appease the two sides. Nevertheless, there were other attacks on Christian churches and institutions.



Ten years later relations between the two religions had reached such a crisis that the Greek Catholic and Latin Bishops protested to the Prime Minister. In their letter they complained about a wave of Moslem fanaticism which was expressed in attacks on and thefts from churches in Ajlun, Amman and Ramallah; the burning of Christian barns in Madeba; attacks on Christian merchants in Zerka and Amman to force them to close their stores on Fridays and open them on Sundays; as well as religious radio program descriptions of the Christians as infidels destined to go to hell, and attacks upon the Christians in the Friday sermons preached in the mosques. The Prime Minister, in response, denied the existence of a policy of hostility towards the Christians and sent the Bishops' letter to all mayors, district governors and commanders of police stations with instructions to deal severely with an attempt to harm Christians.

Within the ranks of the various Christian groups a number of changes occurred during the period of Jordanian rule. The Greek Orthodox and Anglican Churches experienced internal clashes resulting from the fact that while the overwhelming majority of the congregants were Arabs, the upper echelon of the hierarchy were non-Arab and aliens. Increased Arab nationalism, strengthened and supported by Arab rule led the congregants to present their demands for a larger share of power more forcefully. The lay members of the Greek Orthodox Church hoped that the Jordanian Government would help them break the power of the Greek Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, which controlled the affairs of the Church. They were, however, disappointed. Because of the personal relationship between King Hussein and the Greek Patriarch and because Jordan feared the reaction of the Christian world if it interfered directly in church affairs, the Brotherhood's preeminence was reaffirmed and the only changes effected were the translation into Arabic of the community's ecclesiastical court's proceedings and decisions (heretofore published only in Greek), and the taking of Jordanian citizenship by all members of the Brotherhood.

In the Anglican Church, on the other hand, the hierarchy was reorganized in 1957; the Anglican Bishop was raised to the rank of Archbishop; an Arab Bishop, residing in Jerusalem, was appointed to head the diocese including Jordan, Lebanon and Syria; and the Arab lay congregation was granted greater autonomy and fully integrated into the administration of the community's affairs, property, and courts.

No such problems existed in the Unitarian churches, such as the Greek Catholic, since the whole community - both hierarchy and congregants - are Arab. In the Armenian Church, no one is Arab. The Catholics have no lay organization and the Latin Patriarchate had appointed Arab priests to all rungs of the hierarchy.

Finally, despite the restrictions cited earlier, a new Catholic Terra Sancta school for boys and a new Schmidt's school for girls were founded under Jordanian rule. The Shrine of Dominus Flevit on the Mount of Olives was also built. The Lutheran Church, which had curtailed its activities during and after World War II because of its German connections, resumed its activities in East Jerusalem and replaced those buildings which were no longer available since they were located in West Jerusalem. Similarly, a new YMCA (Called Aelia Capitolina) was erected in the Arab sector, as well as a new St. John's Ophthalmic Hospital. In addition, several Protestant missions opened in East Jerusalem during this period.



In conclusion, the lot of the Christians in East Jerusalem, under the Jordanian regime, from 1948 to 1967, was a mixed one. Many of the difficulties which had existed under the British Mandatory Government continued. On the other hand, with some exceptions, albeit notable ones, the problems which the Christian churches had expected to arise as a result of living under a regime whose official religion was Islam, did not materialize. In the main, the Christians managed to overcome both legal and practical obstacles, to continue their activities, and to expand physically.

80-585-18



JERUSALEM'S LINK WITH HEAVENLY  
TERMED KEY TO THE FATE OF JEWS

By Religious News Service (6-22-79)

NEW YORK (RNS) -- The city of Jerusalem has a special, ineradicable meaning for Jews because of its "union" with the "heavenly Jerusalem," a Jewish philosopher said here.

The union, a "mystery" of divine dispensation, said Dr. Emil Fackenheim, professor of philosophy at the University of Toronto, is intrinsic to the fate of the Jewish people.

Dr. Fackenheim was one of three speakers at a convocation on Jerusalem sponsored by the New York Board of Rabbis and endorsed by a committee of Christian church leaders in New York City.

The program, "Three Views on Jerusalem," also featured the Rev. William H. Harter, pastor of the United Presbyterian Church of Falling Spring, Chambersburg, Pa., and co-chairman of the National Council of Churches Committee on the Status of Jerusalem and Human Rights in the Middle East.

The third speaker was Dr. Eugene J. Fisher, executive secretary for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the U.S. National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Dr. Fackenheim, referring to what he called the "mystery of Jewish Jerusalem," said the mystery was "fully expressed the very first time Jerusalem appears in Jewish history."

"For centuries," said the Canadian scholar, "the building of the Temple (in Jerusalem) had been an unfulfilled task. Finally, Solomon performed it. Yet, having done so, he immediately expresses his belief that no place, hence this place (Jerusalem), can house God.

"The heavenly and the earthly Jerusalem are united, and the fate of the Jewish people is tied up with this union."

Dr. Fackenheim went on to remark that "a heavenly Jerusalem alone would have 'universalized away' the Jewish people, while an earthly Jerusalem, by itself, would 'have 'particularized' them into another 'earthly tribe.'"

Stressing the centrality in Jewish thought of Jerusalem as "synonymous" with Jewish survival as a people, Dr. Fackenheim said, "the wonder of Jerusalem, rebuilt in our time, is the deepest source of the vitality of the Jewish people today and tomorrow."

A similar idea was expressed by Mr. Harter, who spoke of "the restoration of Jerusalem as capital of the Jewish nation...freed by God to renew, to bear again His revelation in our day."

Jerusalem, said the United Presbyterian clergyman, "symbolizes life -- the life of the Jewish people, the 'yes' of God in answer to the 'no' of the Holocaust, the survival of the human spirit struggling yet triumphant in the face of all the forces of despair and death."

Dr. Fisher, a Scripture scholar, in his talk described Jerusalem as "unique and uniquely sacred," as a city that "should remain one, a city of peace."

(more)

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He referred to the U.S. bishops' call in 1973 and in 1978, for "recognition of (Jerusalem's) unique religious significance, which should be preserved through an international guarantee of access to holy places and through the preservation of a religiously pluralist citizenry."

Dr. Fisher noted that Israel "has always guaranteed such access and, as a democracy, espoused the goal of pluralism and freedom for its minorities."

The Catholic spokesman also recalled a recent statement of Pope John Paul II to representatives of world Jewish organizations, in which the pontiff expressed the hope:

"That the city of Jerusalem will be effectively guaranteed as a center of harmony for the followers of the three great monotheistic religions of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity, for whom the city is a revered place of devotion."

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#### ISRAELI COURT HALTS WORK ON WEST BANK SETTLEMENT

By Religious News Service (6-22-79)

JERUSALEM (RNS) -- The Israeli Supreme Court has ordered a halt to work on a new Jewish settlement located about a mile southeast of Nablus, the largest Arab city in the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

The court gave Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government 30 days to show cause why the settlement, Elon Moreh, should not be dismantled.

The decision came in response to a complaint by 17 Arab landowners in the Nablus area seeking to void Israeli orders requisitioning some 200 acres for the new settlement.

Supreme Court Justice Haim Landau criticized the government for failing to serve requisition notices before construction began and for depriving the Arab plaintiffs of recourse to the law at the proper time.

Meanwhile, a group of 59 prominent American Jewish figures, including Saul Bellow, the Nobel Prize winning author, and Leonard Bernstein the conductor and composer, protested the setting up of new Jewish settlements in the West Bank.

In a message to Mr. Begin, which was read at a rally of the Peace Now movement in Tel Aviv, the Americans said: "A policy which requires the expropriation of Arab land unrelated to Israel's security needs, and which presumes to occupy permanently a region populated by over 750,000 Palestinian Arabs, we find morally unacceptable and perilous for the democratic character of the Jewish state."

Among the signers of the message were: Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Lucy Dawidowicz, historian; Henry Rosovsky, Dean of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University; and Jerome B. Wiesner, President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בניו יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N Y 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

May 14th, 1980

MESSAGE OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL, MENACHEM BEGIN,  
ON THE OCCASION OF JERUSALEM DAY, 1980.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Thirteen years ago, our parachutists, after a heroic battle, ascended the Temple Mount and reached the Western Wall. They liberated David's City. They embraced the ancient stones and they cried. The hearts of all our people wept with them.

It was one of the greatest days of victory in the annals of the ancient Jewish people. We returned to the source.

This year we celebrate the Bar Mitzvah of the liberation and reunification of Jerusalem, the capital of Israel for three millenia, and for all generations to come.

It is the most sacred Bar Mitzvah in the lives of our people, both in the land of Israel and in the diaspora. We rejoice in it and we take a silent oath: Jerusalem will never be divided, it will always be one Yerushalaim, radiating glory - the eternal capital of our country, our people, our faith, our civilization.





חקונסוליה הכללית של  
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May 14th, 1980

MESSAGE OF THE MAYOR OF JERUSALEM, TEDDY KOLLEK, TO JEWISH  
COMMUNITIES ON THE OCCASION OF JERUSALEM DAY 1980

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I am glad to have the opportunity to send to all members of your community my greetings on the occasion of Yom Yerushalaim, the thirteenth anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, has now been reunited for thirteen years, and I believe we can point with pride to the impressive progress which has been made in our city, where Jews, Christians and Moslems live together peacefully, despite the absence of a political consensus, and where religious and secular institutions of higher learning continue to flourish in the true tradition of Jerusalem.

However, we cannot afford to relax our efforts to strengthen Jerusalem in a political, economic, cultural, and, last but not least, in a spiritual context. Not only among our enemies, but in friendly quarters, plans are afoot which would undermine the national, ecumenical and universal character of Jerusalem.

I would therefore like to conclude this Yom Yerushalaim message with a call to all members of your community to come to our country and our city in order to help us consolidate what has been accomplished and to cement yet further our determination to maintain Jerusalem as our capital in all its splendor.



May 8th, 1980

Information Background

THE HEBRON OUTRAGE

On May 2, 1980, Arab terrorists ambushed some 50-60 Jewish worshippers outside the Hadassah House in Hebron, as they were returning from Sabbath evening prayers at the Cave of Machpelah (Tomb of the Patriarchs). The attack left 6 worshippers dead, and 16 wounded, 6 of them women. All available evidence indicates that the ambush had been meticulously planned and carefully prepared. The terrorists knew the times of the Sabbath prayers and the route taken by the worshippers each week.

The terrorists opened fire simultaneously from three different directions on the worshippers, among whom were also women and children, and all of whom were unarmed and unprotected. One of the terrorists had taken up position on the roof of the building opposite the Hadassah House, from where he threw some 6 hand grenades. A second terrorist took up position on the roof of a neighboring house, only twenty meters from the first house, from where he opened fire with his Soviet-made "Kalachnikov" assault rifle. The third terrorist positioned himself on another roof from where he fired on the worshippers with his Czech-made "Karl Gustav" machine gun. Thus the worshippers were caught in a simultaneous cross fire from three directions which was aimed at causing maximum fatalities.

Hebron - Scene of Previous Massacre

This terrorist outrage is the most serious to have been perpetrated against Jews in Judea and Samaria since the Jordanian attack on Israel in 1967, but it was not the first such atrocity in Hebron.

It will be recalled that in 1929 the existence of the millenia old Jewish community of Hebron was brought temporarily to a close. At that time the community consisted mainly of pious scholars and students. More than 60 of them were brutally murdered and scores of others were wounded and tortured, their homes pillaged and their places of worship desecrated. That pogrom was instigated by the notorious Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin Al-Husseini, who during World War II collaborated with the Nazis in the extermination of the Jews of Europe and was wanted thereafter as a war criminal to answer for his crimes at Nuremberg.



On this occasion, too, the aim of the terrorists was mass murder for its own sake. The cowardly and callous murder of civilians has characterized all the terror instigated by the so-called Palestine Liberation Organization. The target was a group of Jewish worshippers, among them theological students, women and children. The time was the Sabbath eve, the hour of prayer. Almost all of the dead and wounded were shot in the back. The terrorists had only one intention - to kill as many innocent people as possible.

### Agitators Expelled

This terrorist outrage was the direct result of a campaign of incitement conducted by a number of leading figures of the Arab population of Judea and Samaria. Three of the most prominent agitators were consequently expelled to Lebanon for their direct responsibility in inciting to violence. "There is no doubt," stated Israel's Minister of Defense, Mr. Ezer Weizman, on Israel radio on May 3, 1980, "that we know that both the Mayor of Hebron and the Kadi, and the Mayor of Halhul took part in the incitement and took part in creating an atmosphere that led to what took place in Hebron on the Sabbath."

Fahd Kawasmeh, the Mayor of Hebron, had called on March 24, 1980, for "an end to protests, to demonstrations, to petitions. Now we must use all means available to us. We have no choice but to meet force with force..."

The Mayor of Halhul, Muhammed Milhem, declared on the same occasion:... "Break your silence. The time has come to act. What was taken by force will be returned by force. Do not spurn any means because the world recognizes only the strong and the dominant."

The Kadi of Hebron, Sheikh Rajib El Tamami, went further: "The Jews must know that this land has masters. It is Moslem. Not only Hebron, but also El Aksa (mosque in Jerusalem) and all its surroundings, including Jaffa, Haifa, and Acre."

Throughout his period of office as Mayor of Hebron, Kawasmeh had expressed the view that any peace negotiations which did not lead to Israel's destruction were doomed to failure. He has consistently maintained that all forms of struggle, including indiscriminate violence, are positive and justified. Indeed, his pronouncements make it clear that for him the butchering of the Jewish community in Hebron in 1929 by the mob was the crowning glory of the national struggle of the Arabs of Hebron. Kawasmeh and the others do not envisage peace with Israel, because peace would have to take into account Israel's security whereas they do not even contemplate the existence of a State of Israel within the framework of any ultimate solution.

Indeed, following their expulsion, the Mayors of Hebron and Halhul and the Kadi of Hebron, in a broadcast over the terrorists' radio in Lebanon on May 3, 1980, unequivocally reaffirmed their support of terrorism as

well as their rejection of Israel's right to exist and of the current peace process. In the words of the Kadi of Hebron: "Our people has taken a stand against the conspiracies of the United States at Camp David, the aim of which is to use the Autonomy to rob Palestine from its people. We have a right to all Palestine. The Palestinian people will not give up one centimeter of it..."

#### PLO Responsibility - Part of Fight Against Camp David

The PLO assumed responsibility for the outrage in a statement broadcast on May 3, 1980, over the terrorists' radio in Lebanon. In an "official" announcement by the PLO the carnage was hailed as an act of heroism, while the Jordanian and Syrian governments described the killings in official statements as a "fitting" and "wonderful" deed.

The murders must also be viewed in the context of the war which the PLO and the Arab states supporting it have declared against the Camp David Accords, and seen as an attempt to sabotage the current Autonomy negotiations and to thwart their chances of success. The Kuwaiti News Agency quoted the PLO's Yasir Arafat on May 3, 1980, as saying: "This is the answer of our people who decided to carry on a determined struggle and who completely reject the Camp David conspiracy."

The security concept of Israel is indivisible. If there is security for its Jewish citizens there is also security for the Arab inhabitants of Judea and Samaria.

The events of last weekend will not deter Israel from continuing its search for peace within the framework of the Camp David Agreements and the Peace Treaty with Egypt, which are the only road to a stable, just and comprehensive peace in our area.

If the murderers in Hebron and those who sent them on this mission believe that they will be able to deter Israel from its chosen path of continuing the quest for peace, then they misread Israel's will.





Embassy of Israel  
Washington, D.C.

Policy Background

May 2, 1980

AUTONOMY - THE WISDOM OF CAMP DAVID

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"This is the first time that the Palestinian Arabs have a chance of securing something, of making some progress in their standing in this country and in the region. For there is little they can gain from the declarations of European statesmen, or from UN resolutions, or from terrorist activities...Experience shows that, by their extremist behaviour, they have been unable to achieve anything in practice. The only concrete proposal that gives them a chance, today, to attain a serious position and to play a role in determining that position in the region is the autonomy plan."

(Israel Foreign Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, in an interview broadcast by Israel radio 21 March 1980).

The current negotiations on granting autonomy to the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza are the outcome of a negotiated agreement upon which Israel, Egypt - the major state of the Arab world - and the United States came to terms at Camp David. That framework package is the fruit of difficult negotiations which lasted some ten months; it represents a triumph for compromise and illuminates the one secure path through the conflicting concerns and interests which have pitted the Arab world against Israel in five major wars; it rests upon Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

As recognized both by the Armistice Accords of 1949 - which ended the War of Independence of 1948 - and the Interim Accord of 1975 - which ended the Yom Kippur War of 1973 - peace must, of necessity, be made by the same parties that had participated in the fighting. Thus, in Israel's view, the major priority has always been the establishment of peace with any one of her neighbors so willing. Clearly the corollary of that desire has been that the Arab states should forego their sworn intentions to destroy Israel, and accept her as a sovereign and recognized neighbor. It was on that basis that President Sadat came to Jerusalem in 1977, and that the process which led to the Camp David Accords and the Israel-Egypt peace treaty started.

During his visit to Ismailia in December 1977, the Prime Minister of Israel proposed that, in addition to peace between Israel and Egypt, the problem of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza be considered for resolution, and the idea of autonomy was first brought up.



## Israel's Proposal

Israel's proposal for a self-governing authority was presented in the absence of any other acceptable formula for the resolution of a problem which had been created by the Arab states.

It was a historic turning point for the Palestinian Arabs, since it offered them a status and advantages which no one had hitherto proposed.

The autonomy agreement was intended as a practical solution to the status of the Palestinian Arabs. This solution would answer the needs of all parties concerned: Israel's need for security and defense in depth on her eastern border; the Egyptian wish to adhere to the Arab cause; and last, but not least, the need of the Palestinian Arabs to govern their own affairs.

The essence of the plan is simple. The Arab inhabitants will be allowed to fully manage all those areas of legitimate internal administration, but matters which could be detrimental to Israel would be excluded. Israel will retain those powers and functions which are essential to her defense and security.

In Mena House, Giza, on January 16, 1980, the Israeli delegation to the autonomy talks presented a carefully prepared, detailed model for the proposed administrative council. The plan offers the inhabitants of Judea-Samaria and Gaza, for the first time in history, full control over all matters affecting their daily lives, as well as a real opportunity to participate in the determination of their future.

The model defines three categories of powers and responsibilities:

1. those to be transferred in full to the administrative council, grouped into ten divisions, and the general power to issue regulations, to determine and administer budgets, to enter into contracts, to sue and be sued and to employ personnel;
2. those to be administered jointly and through cooperation - such as foreign trade, water supply, regional planning, etc.;
3. those reserved powers to remain under Israel's authority - such as defense and security, foreign affairs, stamps and currency, etc.

In contrast, Cairo's own proposals have, in many ways, no basis in the Camp David Accords, and run counter to some of their basic principles. Pending the initial five-year period of autonomy, all options will remain open, and at that time the claims of the parties will be negotiated. These negotiations "shall be based on all the provisions and principles of UN Security Council Resolution 242" and will "determine the final status" of the areas. According to the Camp David Agreements, two separate but related committees will convene, one consisting of Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, to agree on the final status of these areas, and the second



committee, consisting of the representatives of Israel and Jordan and the inhabitants of the areas, to negotiate the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan.

### The Israeli and Egyptian Positions - A Comparison

If adopted, the Egyptian proposals would set in motion an irreversible process which would lead to the establishment of an independent Arab-Palestinian state. Such a process would effectively destroy any option of territorial compromise or functional division of authority and would thus severely jeopardize whatever prospects exist for achieving peace with Jordan. The Camp David Agreements clearly state that the final disposition of the status of the administered areas, following the five-year transitional period, is to be negotiated separately in talks which are to commence three years after the implementation of autonomy.

### Positions Compared

While significant agreement has been reached on the election modalities, substantial differences between the Egyptian and Israeli positions remain in the following realms:

- a) The Nature of the Autonomy: In conformity with the Camp David accords, Israel's position is that autonomy should extend to the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. Egypt, on the other hand believes that the autonomy should extend to lands as well.
- b) The Nature of the Self-Governing Authority: Israel's position is that there should be an administrative council - as stipulated in the Accords, the term "administrative council" defines but also qualifies the powers of this Authority. Egypt, on the other hand, requests full legislative and executive authority, in addition to the administration of justice. An administrative council, by definition, cannot exercise such powers - these are the prerogatives of an independent state.
- c) The Powers of the Self-Governing Authority: According to the Camp David agreement these should be negotiated between the parties. Israel therefore believes that these powers should be jointly defined. Egypt, on the other hand, requests that all the powers currently exercised by the Military Government should be handed over to the self-governing authority. This position is unacceptable to Israel. Since there are certain powers - such as security, which for obvious reasons cannot be transferred.
- d) The Source of Authority: Every autonomy arrangement (and examples are numerous) has had a power above it; this is particularly true of one which is to provide for a transitional period of five years. It is Israel's view that the source of authority should be the Military Government. To adopt any other position would be to preordain the ultimate result after the five year period and would vest the self-governing authority with the attributes of an independent state. The Egyptian view is that the self-governing authority should be a self-generating authority, and that no outside source should vest it with authority. To adopt that position would mean, again, an independent state, rather than autonomy.



e) Security: The role of the self-governing authority described in the Camp David accords is "to assist in providing such security. A strong local police will be constituted and...will maintain continuing liaison on internal security matters with the designated Israel, Jordanian and Egyptian officers." It follows from this that internal (as well as external) security must be in Israel's hands. Israel believes that in order to counter the twin threat of terrorism and armed invasion, the role of the self-governing authority should be defined as "assistance" by its police force.

#### Egypt's Position

#### Camp David Agreements

#### Israel's Position

##### Nature of Autonomy

"Authority of the self-governing authority extends to the inhabitants as well as the land in the West Bank and Gaza Strip."

"...full autonomy to the inhabitants (of the West Bank and Gaza)..."

Autonomy is specifically intended for "the inhabitants" of the areas, not for the territory, as such.

##### Nature of the Self-Governing Authority

"...the powers and responsibilities to be exercised by the self-governing authority include full legislative and executive authority (and)...administration of justice."

"When the self-governing authority (administrative council) in the West Bank and Gaza is established and inaugurated, the transitional period of five years will begin."

The term "administrative council" defines and qualifies the power of the self-governing authority. An administrative council cannot exercise executive, legislative and judicial functions.

##### Powers of the Self-Governing Authority

"The transfer of authority (to the self-governing authority) implies the handing over of all powers and responsibilities presently exercised by the Military Government and its civilian administration."

"The parties will negotiate an agreement which will define the powers and responsibilities of the self-governing authority..."

The parties must negotiate to "define" which of the Military Government's powers and responsibilities are to be transferred to the self-governing authority and which are to remain in Israel's hands.

##### Palestinian Arabs

"The purpose (is)... the realization of their (the Palestinian people's) legitimate rights, including their right to self-determination."

"...the Palestinians will participate in the determination of their own future..."

To exceed Palestinian "participation" in the determination of their future, at this time, would be to prejudge the ultimate disposition of the areas.



## Source of Authority

"it (the self-governing authority) is a self-generating authority. No outside source vests it with its authority."

Every autonomy arrangement ever implemented has had a power over it. The source of authority here is the Israel Military Government.

## Jerusalem

"The annexation of East Jerusalem is null and void and must be rescinded. Jerusalem is an integral part of the West Bank. The seat of the self-governing authority will be East Jerusalem.

Subject not included in the Camp David accords.

Jerusalem, the capital of the State of Israel, is one and indivisible.

## Settlement

Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are illegal and, in the course of a final settlement, should be withdrawn. During the transition, there should be a ban on the establishment of new settlements or enlarging the existing ones. After the inauguration of the self-governing authority, all settlers in the West Bank and Gaza will come under the authority of the self-governing authority.

(At the request of President Carter, Israel agreed to a three-month freeze on the establishment of new settlements in the areas following the conclusion of the Camp David Agreements.)

Eretz Israel ("Palestine") is the Jewish homeland to which Jews have returned as of right. Just as they are entitled to dwell in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem, so do Jews have the right to live in Judea-Samaria and the district of Gaza - as indeed they did for centuries until the Arab invasion of 1948. This right is inseparably linked to the requirements of Israel's vital national security.

## Security

The self-governing authority will assume responsibility for... public order and internal security...(and) has full power in ...internal security...Permission of the self-governing authority will be required for any movement

...there will be a redeployment of the remaining Israel forces into specified security locations. The agreement will also include arrangements for assuring internal and external security and public

Ultimate responsibility for internal as well as external security must remain in Israeli hands, so that it can counter the twin threats of terrorism and armed invasion. The role of the self-governing authority in these

of military troops into or through the territory... responsibility for security and public order will be decided jointly by the parties, including the Palestinians..."

order... All necessary measures will be taken and provisions made to assure the security of Israel and its neighbors during the transitional period and beyond. To assist in providing such security, a strong local police force will be constituted by the self-governing authority (and)... will maintain continuing liaison on internal security matters with the designated Israeli, Jordanian and Egyptian officers."

matters is clearly defined as "assistance and "liaison" by its police force, rather than shared (let alone full) responsibility. Also, there is no basis whatsoever for the proposal to require the self-governing authority's permission for the movement of troops to and from, and among, the specified security locations, and it is inconceivable that Israel would allow anyone veto power over such movements.

#### The Past: Unaccepted Solutions

Israel's autonomy proposal was put forward following a long history of abortive proposals which had been unacceptable to one or more of the parties.

##### a) An independent Palestinian state

This solution was put forward following the 1967 war, by the recently founded terrorist organizations. Previous to that time, Judea and Samaria had been annexed by Jordan in 1950 (with the exception of Great Britain and Pakistan, the entire international community, including the countries of the Arab League, refused to recognize this annexation); the Gaza district had been ruled by Egypt. The inhabitants of Judea and Samaria continued to hold Jordanian citizenship after 1967, and the proposal was promoted in the main by Arab terrorist organizations based in Beirut. In this context it is worth noting that within the historic area of Palestine, two states already exist, and that one of them, Jordan, is composed of an ethnic majority of Palestinians. This proposal suggested, in effect, the creation of a second Palestinian Arab state, that is, a twenty-third Arab state.

Such a solution cannot be acceptable to Israel under any circumstances. The establishment of another Palestinian Arab state would create a political vacuum which would be filled by the terrorist organizations; it would provide a strategic foothold for the Soviet Union or its Cuban surrogates in this area, and would threaten the long-term interests of the West and the very existence of Israel. The American view on this crucial issue has repeatedly been stated by President Carter. On August 11, 1979, he said:



"I am against any creation of a separate Palestinian state. I don't think it would be good for the Palestinians. I don't think it would be good for Israel. I don't think it would be good for the Arab neighbors of such a state..."

The President further stated on February 25, 1980:

"I am opposed to an independent Palestinian state because in my own judgment and in the judgment of many leaders in the Middle East, including Arab leaders, this would be a destabilizing factor and would not be in the US interest.:

On August 31, 1979, the President also told a group of newspaper editors:

"I have never met an Arab leader that in private professed a desire for an independent Palestinian state.:

b) Territorial Partition

Previous governments of Israel have put forward proposals to partition Judea and Samaria. In essence such proposals called for "secure and recognized boundaries," in place of the insecure lines of 1949, and the "withdrawal of the armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict: (but not all the territories). Thus, Israel would retain areas essential to her security, whilst the populated heartlands of Judea and Samaria would be returned to the control of Jordan.

These proposals were consistently rejected, again as recently as April 24, 1980 by King Hussein of Jordan, who insists on the complete and unconditional evacuation of all the territories by Israel.

One should note, in this context, that the great majority of Israelis reject a return to the vulnerable 1967 borders. No other viable solution has ever been put forward by any other party. The autonomy proposal is therefore the only solution which has been agreed upon by an Arab state. It is a solution which has grown out of a long and difficult process of negotiations, and which represents, in fact, the other part of the Camp David accords, based on these countries' acceptance of Resolution 242. Moreover, it is a solution which is conditional upon the original terms of the same resolution, calling for a peace "in which every state in the area can live in security." It is in this spirit that Israel in the treaty with Egypt has made far-reaching territorial sacrifices, and has opened the way to autonomy in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. Egypt recognized the wisdom of the phased approach to the question of the final status of the areas, and thus the Camp David accords were agreed upon.

Any change in these basic tenets would prejudice the final status of the areas and would thus undermine the only agreed upon solution. It would also destroy all possibility of sound and constructive negotiations in the future.

Israel's security was a basic tenet of both Resolution 242 and the Camp David accords. To negate that tenet would mean putting Israel's security in jeopardy and would endanger the whole area.



## The Continuing Committee

The Camp David accords also proposed that during the proposed transitional period, a continuing committee should be established. This committee would deal with the admission of displaced persons from the Six-Day War of 1967, matters of public order, and other matters of public concern. The members of the committee would be Israel, Egypt, Jordan and representatives of the self-governing authority in the autonomous regions.

Since the conclusion of the accords Israel has continued to demonstrate flexibility and a willingness to reach practical working arrangements for the work of this committee. She has agreed to the inclusion of US representatives on the committee and to the inclusion on its agenda of matters not considered susceptible to immediate agreement such as the development of common water resources and other economic matters.

## Jerusalem

It should be noted that the autonomy plan does not include Jerusalem, and that any questions concerning the future of the city are not included in the terms of reference of the negotiating committees.

Whilst being a topic of discussion at Camp David, the subject of Jerusalem was not included in the Camp David accords. Clearly it was considered to be outside the boundaries of the proposed autonomous areas and any agreement pertaining to the future regulation of life and resources in those areas would be applicable only to them.

Jerusalem is, and always has been, the capital of the Jewish people. It has maintained, throughout the ages, a Jewish majority. Today, its population, more than 75% of which is Jewish, is reunited in an open, developing and vibrant city whose growth has been in the interest of all and from which all have benefited. The desecration and neglect of the Jordanian occupation of East Jerusalem have been consigned to history. That small part of Jerusalem which was under Jordanian occupation is now an integral part of the city and the State of Israel and all its inhabitants enjoy and exercise the right of participation in municipal elections. A return to any form of division within the city would be not only artificial and impractical, but would be contrary to all future harmony, coexistence and the spirit of mutual respect and tolerance which has developed since reunification. Israel does not wish to include any part of Jerusalem in the autonomy plan precisely because this would imply a redivision of the city. Such a redivision, in any shape or form, would be totally unacceptable to Israel. American policy relating to Jerusalem was summed up in a message from President Carter to Prime Minister Begin on March 3, 1980:

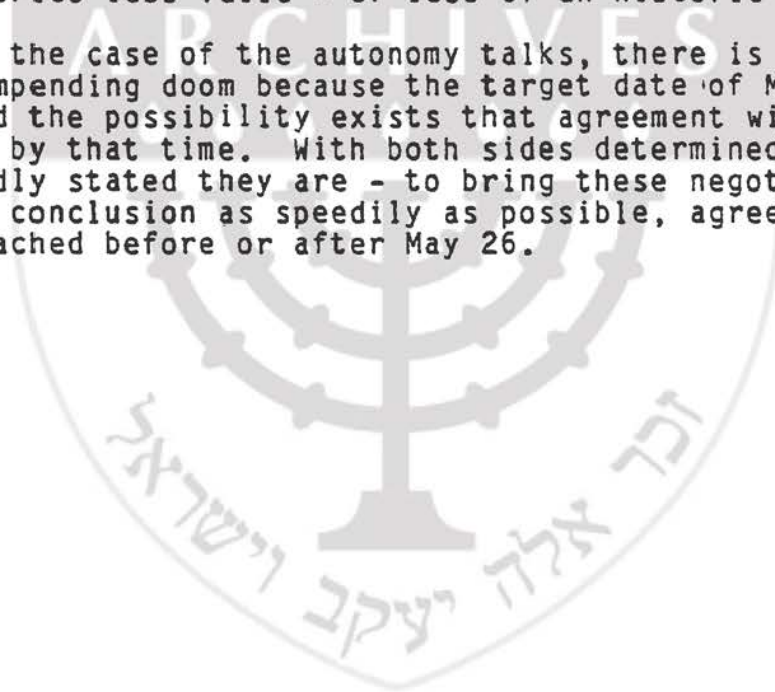
"...As to Jerusalem, we strongly believe that Jerusalem should be undivided with free access to the holy places for all faiths and that its status should be determined in the negotiations for a comprehensive peace settlement."



### A Mid-Way Point

Israel can look back with a sense of accomplishment on the achievements of the peace-building process thus far. For Israel this has been the realization of a dream - the dream of peace. It is an achievement which Israel does not wish to jeopardize. That peace process can be brought to fruition only in an unfettered process of negotiations free from outside pressure or interference, and based upon what has been achieved thus far. Israel believes, therefore, that within the parameters determined by the necessities of her security, and the continuous threat of Arab aggression from the east, it is possible to achieve full autonomy as agreed upon at Camp David, and extend the benefits of peace to other elements in the Middle East who genuinely desire them, above all to the Palestinian inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. When President Sadat visited Jerusalem in November 1977, a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel was envisaged within a year. As matters turned out, it took 16 months to complete the negotiations; that fact does not render the treaty that was ultimately signed between the two countries less valid - or less of an historic achievement.

Similarly in the case of the autonomy talks, there is no call for a sense of impending doom because the target date of May 26 is approaching and the possibility exists that agreement will not have been reached by that time. With both sides determined - as they have repeatedly stated they are - to bring these negotiations to a successful conclusion as speedily as possible, agreement will surely be reached before or after May 26.



ARAB LUTHERAN CONSECRATED IN JERUSALEM  
IN CEREMONIES BOYCOTTED BY CITY'S MAYOR

By Gabriel Stern

Religious News Service Correspondent (11-2-79)

JERUSALEM (RNS) -- The Rev. Daoud Haddad, 64, was consecrated the first Arab bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Jordan in a ceremony which included the "laying on of hands" by both Lutheran and Anglican bishops.

Guests included a galaxy of Roman Catholic and Orthodox dignitaries at the ceremony held on Reformation Day in the Church of the Holy Redeemer.

But most Israeli officials, including Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, boycotted the services to protest the prelate's official title as bishop of the "Evangelical Lutheran Church in Jordan." The lonely exception was Daniel Rossing, head of the department of Christian communities within the Israeli ministry of religion.

Most of the members of the German-founded denomination are Arabic-speaking. The main church is Holy Redeemer, dedicated by German Emperor Wilhelm II, 81 years ago next to the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher.

Lutheran Bishops Friedrich Hebler of Kiel, Germany, Ake Kastlund of Strangnas, Sweden, and Kalevi Toivianen of Mikke, Finland, were joined in the consecration by Episcopal Bishop Faik Haddad, who is not related to the new bishop. Bishop Daoud Haddad can thus be regarded in apostolic succession by those who recognize either Lutheran or Anglican orders.

Since the foundation of the first Lutheran Arab congregation in Jerusalem exactly 70 years ago, it has been under the spiritual jurisdiction of Germans. A new "propst," or leader, Juergen Wehrmann, 38, has been named pastor of the German-speaking congregation only.

Bishop Haddad was born in Lebanon of an ancient Arab Christian family which traces its lineage to pre-Islamic Yemen. He got his theological education in Germany and Switzerland where he was a student of the late eminent theologian Karl Barth.

In addition to Jerusalem, there are four congregations in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, mainly in the region of Bethlehem whose Greek Orthodox mayor, Elias Freij, attended the service. There is also a congregation in Amman, the capital of Jordan.

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WILLIAM A. NORGREN NAMED  
TO EPISCOPAL CHURCH POST

By Religious News Service (11-2-79)

NEW YORK (RNS) -- The Rev. William A. Norgren has been named associate ecumenical officer of the Episcopal Church, succeeding Peter Day who recently retired.

The appointment, made by Presiding Bishop John M. Allin, will put Father Norgren in charge of the Church's complex relationships with such ecumenical bodies as the National Council of Churches, the Joint Strategy and Action Committee and the World Council of Churches. He will help supervise the General Convention's Standing Commission on Ecumenical Relations discussions on unity with the Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches as well as the local dialogues with Southern Baptists.

(more)

PAGE -4-





קונסוליה הכללית של  
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CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

May 1980

Dear Editor:

READERS ACTIVE IN THE HOLY CITY

We are pleased to enclose herewith an article on Jerusalem's libraries which describes the many and varied reading facilities available to the "People of the Book" in Israel's capital city. Among the world's most enthusiastic readers, the "average" Israeli reads about 10 books a year, and 45.1% of the Jewish population reads at least one book a month.

In Jerusalem the number of readers represents more than a third of her population (376,000), and they are served by, in addition to thirty municipal libraries, special interest libraries such as those in the Museum of Islamic Art, the United States Cultural Center, the Y.M.C.A. and the Rubin Academy of Music. Excellent facilities are available at such varied institutions as the Knesset, the Egged Bus Cooperative, bibliobuses, and the Salah-din library branch, the largest in East Jerusalem, which serves almost 10,000 of Jerusalem's Arab readers. It was opened immediately after the reunification of the city in 1967 and currently has about five times the number of books with which it was started. Perhaps the world's largest collection of Judaica and Hebraica is contained in the Jewish National and University Library at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem with more than two million volumes.

You may use this material any way you wish, with or without photographs, prints of which you may order by circling their numbers on the attached picture page, and returning the page to us.

We would appreciate your informing us as to the disposition of this article.

Sincerely yours,

*A. Arazi*  
Arik Arazi  
Consul of Israel

# *Features from Jerusalem*

## READERS ACTIVE IN THE HOLY CITY

By Janet Mendelsohn

Jerusalem. - The "People of the Book" are reading more than ever in Israel's capital city of Jerusalem, according to local library statistics. Director of Jerusalem's Municipal Libraries Rachel Cohen points to the increasing number of neighborhood libraries and readers.

"By the end of the summer, thirty municipal libraries will be serving Jerusalem's public, and the number of registered readers will represent over a third of her population."

"In addition to municipal libraries, Jerusalem is served by special interest library facilities," adds Mrs. Cohen, noting that private facilities encourage reading and research on various subjects from Islam to music appreciation throughout the Holy City. Special interest libraries are located at the Museum of Islamic Art, the United States Cultural Center, the Y.M.C.A and the Rubin Academy of Music, to name a few of the facilities that attract a large number of readers.

### POPULAR TOPICS

Religious subjects are well covered in libraries at Jerusalem's theological seminaries, monasteries, churches and synagogues. Even though the Jewish people were nicknamed the "People of the Book"



because they were the first recipients and later scholars of the five Books of Moses, tastes have also diverged to topics other than the Bible.

Today libraries are at the disposal of all facets of Jerusalem's population. Israel's Knesset (Parliament) operates excellent library facilities for its members as does the Egged Bus Cooperative. Even though most of Jerusalem's cardcarrying public library members are students, adults and the elderly also find their share of reading material.

#### MANY LANGUAGES

Based on demand, many libraries stock books in over ten languages for new immigrants and oldtime Israelis who still long for the comfort of a book in their native language.

"We like to think we can help in absorbing new immigrants," says Mrs. Cohen. "When a Russian or Iranian parent can read the same book in his or her native language that his or her child is reading in Hebrew, a common language and strong bridge is formed between them." Books in easy Hebrew are also stocked for the new immigrant learning the language or adults who are learning to read.

Scholars and people of letters also have reading material at their fingertips at many of Jerusalem's research institutions. People who were forced to leave priceless collections behind in their flight to Israel share in the libraries' amassed volumes. The shelves and archives

of the Jewish National and University Library at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem include over two million volumes. Perhaps the world's largest collection of Judaica and Hebraica, this offering maintains a balance between a rich historical inheritance and the academic needs of the future.

The Jewish National Library, founded by the B'nai Brith Lodge of Jerusalem, started as the first reading corner in Jerusalem in the late 1800's. Recently renovated and opened to the public, this library serves as a reminder of the importance of lending books in Jerusalem over the decades.

One of the newest plans for books in Jerusalem is a library that will open its portals out-of-doors in the city's Liberty Bell Park. Including shelved walls that can be opened and closed like closets, the library will offer visitors a chance to browse through as many as 1000 volumes during a visit to the park.

#### ARAB AND JEWISH READERS

The Salah-din library branch, the largest library in East Jerusalem, serves almost 10,000 of Jerusalem's Arab readers. This branch was opened immediately after the reunification of the city in 1967 and the library currently has almost five times the number of books with which it was started.

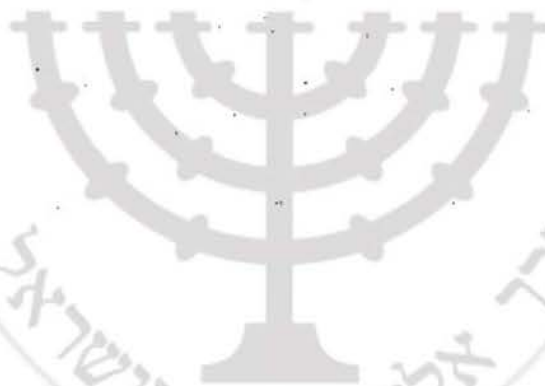
Sometimes the building of new branch libraries cannot keep pace with many of Jerusalem's new sprawling neighborhoods. Mobilization, however, has solved the problem of an outlying neighborhood or village without



services. Three mobile libraries or "bibliobuses" follow a weekly route bringing books to youngsters and oldsters alike. Well equipped with a driver and two librarians, each bibliobus has its well stocked book collection and private filing system.

Continually striving to fill the insatiable appetites of Jerusalem's "People of the Book," public and private libraries only whet the tastebuds of Jerusalem's many readers.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

5/80

# NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, July 1 ... The American Jewish Committee today issued the following statement in connection with the recent vote in the U.N. Security Council on Jerusalem:

"The United Nations Security Council has ground out still another in its dreary litany of predictably one-sided resolutions attacking Israel, this time on that most sensitive of subjects, Jerusalem.

"One can hardly imagine a procedure less likely to promote Middle East peace than this constant UN excoriation and harassment aimed not just at Israel but at the entire Camp David peace process.

"When voting in the Security Council yesterday, the United States quite properly declared that it does not intend to be diverted from our course of negotiations by a series of actions and reactions resulting in resolutions in this Council which do not contribute to a negotiated peace."

"An excellent position---but one whose force and meaning immediately were dissipated as the U.S. abstained on the Jerusalem resolution rather than casting the veto it should have.

"Only when the U.S. makes known that it will regularly vote against any UN resolution meant to diminish or impede Camp David negotiations will its opponents realize the U.S. stands full force behind Camp David. Only such a course can lead these opponents to conclude that they should be joining, not going against, the peace process the U.S. helped create."

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A, EJP

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

Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

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UNITED NATIONS  
SECURITY  
COUNCIL



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NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The attached letter dated 30 June 1980 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Observer Mission of the Holy See to the United Nations was addressed to the President of the Security Council.

In accordance with the request contained therein, the letter is circulated as a document of the Security Council.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



Annex I

Letter dated 30 June 1980 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the  
Permanent Observer Mission of the Holy See to the United Nations  
addressed to the President of the Security Council

On instructions from His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State of His Holiness, I have the honour to request you to circulate as a Security Council document the attached text published in the 30 June issue of Osservatore Romano, which reflects the position of the Holy See concerning Jerusalem and all the Holy Places. The English translation, which was made from Italian, may be regarded as authorized.

(Signed) Monsignor Alain LEBEAUPIN  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.





Annex II

Text on the question of Jerusalem published by the  
Osservatore Romano (30 June 1980)

JERUSALEM

In his speech to the President of the United States of America, Mr. Jimmy Carter, on Saturday 21 June 1980, the Holy Father spoke of Jerusalem in these terms: "The question of Jerusalem, which during these very days attracts the attention of the world in a special way, is pivotal to a just peace in those parts of the world, since this Holy City embodies interests and aspirations that are shared by different peoples in different ways. It is my hope that a common monotheistic tradition of faith will help to promote harmony among all those who call upon God."

In His Holiness's words we find references to permanent historical features (the "common monotheistic tradition of faith"), to present facts (the "interests and aspirations that are shared by different peoples") and to a "hope" for Jerusalem (that "harmony among all those who call upon God" may be promoted in Jerusalem, in the Middle East and throughout the world).

History and contemporary reality

Throughout the centuries Jerusalem has been endowed with deep religious significance and spiritual value for Christians, Jews and Moslems.

The Holy City is the object of fervent love and has exercised a constant appeal for the Jewish people, ever since David chose it as his capital and Solomon built the temple there. Within it much of the history of Judaism took place, and the thoughts of the Jews were directed to it down the centuries, even when scattered in the "diaspora" of the past and the present.

There is no ignoring either the deep attachment of the Moslems to Jerusalem "the Holy", as they call it. This attachment was already explicit in the life and thoughts of the founder of Islam. It has been reinforced by an almost unbroken Islamic presence in Jerusalem since 638 A.D., and it is attested by outstanding monuments such as the Aksa Mosque and the Mosque of Omar.

There is no need to point out that Jerusalem also belongs spiritually to all Christians. There the voice of Christ was heard many times. The great events of the redemption, the passion, death and resurrection of the Lord, took place there. It was there that the first Christian community sprang up, and there has been, even if at times with great difficulty, a continuous ecclesiastical presence. Numerous shrines indicate the places connected with Christ's life and, ever since the beginnings of christianity, there has been a constant flow of pilgrims to them. Saint Jerome is one of the most illustrious witnesses to the Christian presence. In the picture of the world presented by Dante Alighieri in his Divina Commedia Jerusalem is seen as the centre of the earth.

At present all three communities, the Christian, the Jewish and the Moslem, are part of the Holy City's population and are closely linked with its life and sacred character. Each community is the "guardian" of its shrines and holy places. Jerusalem has a whole network of organizations, reception centres for pilgrims, educational and research institutes, and welfare bodies. These organizations have great importance for the community they belong to and also for the followers of the same religion throughout the world.

In short, the history and contemporary reality of Jerusalem present a unique case of a city that is in itself deeply united by nature but is at the same time characterized by a closely intertwined religious plurality. Preservation of the treasures of the significance of Jerusalem requires that this plurality be recognized and safeguarded in a stable concrete manner and therefore publicly and juridically, so as to ensure for all three religions a level of parity, without any of them feeling subordinate with regard to the others.

#### The religious communities of Jerusalem and the international community

The three religious communities of Jerusalem, the Christian, the Jewish and the Moslem, are the primary subjects interested in the preservation of the sacred character of the city and should be partners in deciding their own future. No less than the monuments and holy places, the situation of these communities cannot fail to be a matter of concern for all. As regards the presence of the Christians, everyone is aware of the importance, both in the past and still today, not only of the Catholic community with its various rites, but also of the Greek Orthodox, the Armenian and the other eastern communities, not forgetting the Anglican groups and others springing from the Reformation.



In short, the Jerusalem question cannot be reduced to mere "free access for all to the holy places." Concretely it is also required: (1) that the overall character of Jerusalem as a sacred heritage shared by all three monotheistic religions be guaranteed by appropriate measures; (2) that the religious freedom in all its aspects be safeguarded for them; (3) that the complex of rights acquired by the various communities over the shrines and the centres for spirituality, study and welfare be protected; (4) that the continuance and development of religious, educational and social activity by each community be ensured; (5) that this be actuated with equality of treatment for all three religions; (6) that this be achieved through an "appropriate juridical safeguard" that does not derive from the will of only one of the parties interested.

This "juridical safeguard" corresponds, in substance, to the "special statute" that the Holy See desires for Jerusalem: "this Holy City embodies interests and aspirations that are shared by different peoples". The very universalism of the three monotheistic religions, which constitute the faith of many hundreds of millions of believers in every continent, calls for a responsibility that goes well beyond the limits of the States of the regions. The significance and value of Jerusalem are such as to surpass the interests of any single State or bilateral agreements between one State and others.

Furthermore, the international community has already dealt with the Jerusalem question; for instance, UNESCO very recently made an important intervention with the aim of safeguarding the artistic and religious riches represented by Jerusalem as a whole, as the "common heritage of humanity".

## THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION AND JERUSALEM

As early as its second session, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved on 29 November 1947 a resolution on Palestine of which the third part was devoted to Jerusalem. The resolution was confirmed in the next two sessions, on 11 December 1948 and 9 December 1949 while on 14 April 1950 the Trusteeship Council approved a "special statute" for the city on the basis of the Assembly's decisions. The solution proposed by the United Nations envisaged the setting up of a "corpus separatum" for "Jerusalem and the surrounding area", administered by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

This "territorial internationalization" of Jerusalem was not of course put into effect, because in the 1948 conflict the Arab side occupied the eastern zone of the city and the Israeli side, the western. The position of the United Nations does not appear at least as yet to have been formally revoked. The General Assembly, as well as the Security Council, has repeatedly, beginning with the resolution of 4 July 1967, insisted on the invalidity of any measure taken to change the status of the city.

The Holy See considers the safeguarding of the Sacred and Universal character of Jerusalem to be of such primary importance as to require any Power that comes to exercise sovereignty over the Holy Land to assume the obligation, to the three religious confessions spread throughout the world, 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.

## HOPES FOR JERUSALEM

In his address to President Carter, the Holy Father referred to the fact that the question of Jerusalem "during these very days attracts the attention of the world in a special way".

The positions of the two sides on the question of sovereignty over Jerusalem are known to be very far apart; any unilateral act tending to modify the status of the Holy City would be very serious. The Holy Father's hope is that the representatives of the nations will keep in mind the "common monotheistic tradition of faith" and succeed in finding the historical and present day reality of Jerusalem reasons for softening the bitterness of confrontation and for promoting "harmony among all those who call upon God". The aim will be to ensure that Jerusalem will no longer be an object of contention but a place of encounter and brotherhood between the peoples and believers of the three religions and a pledge of friendship between the peoples who see in Jerusalem something that is part of their very soul.

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הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בניו-יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

April 1981

JERUSALEM GREETES SPRING WITH A FESTIVAL  
CULTURE

Dear Editor:

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

In honor of the 33rd Anniversary of Israel's Independence, observed this year on May 7th, we are pleased to enclose herewith a preview survey of the Festival of Culture which will usher in Jerusalem's spring season.

Internationally famous groups of artists as well as soloists in the fields of drama, music and dance will perform in a variety of citywide programs against the backdrop of some of the most ancient and magnificent settings in the world with the fragrance of jasmine and pine in the air.

In addition to local artists, including the world renowned Israel Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Leonard Bernstein, there will be representatives from the United States, England, Italy, Germany, France and Spain with such companies as the Actors Touring Company of London and the National Theatre of Spain.

You may use this material in any way you wish, with or without photographs, prints of which you may order by circling their numbers on the attached picture page and returning the form to us.

We would appreciate your letting us know the disposition of this article.

Sincerely yours,

*A. Arazi*

A. Arazi  
Consul

only copy

TO: Area Directors, JCRCs, Federations

FROM: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

DATE: July 3, 1980

RE: POPE JOHN PAUL II, THE VATICAN, AND JERUSALEM

During the past ~~week~~ two weeks, a series of public statements were issued by Pope John Paul II and the Vatican Secretariat of State regarding the status of Jerusalem. The Pope's statement was made in connection with the June 21st meeting with President Carter in the Vatican; it was of a vague, general "spiritual" character and avoided advocating any specific political formula for the status of the Holy City. The Vatican Secretariat of State declaration was timed to coincide with the UN Security Council vote on June 30th which voted ~~14~~ 14 to 0 (with the U. S. Abstaining) deploring Israel's alleged "changing" the status of Jerusalem. The Vatican Secretariat's statement is potentially troublesome both for Israel as well as for relations between American Catholics and Jews.

On the face of it, the Pope's statement is vague, pious, and contains sentiments about "promoting harmony" among Jews, Christians, and Muslims centered on Jerusalem that are <sup>generally</sup> unexceptionable. Following are his complete words on the subject taken from Vatican City release distributed by the National Catholic News Service:

"And today....

.....the whole Palestinian problem.

The much longer statement, issued by the Permanent Observer Mission of the Holy See to the United Nations in the form of a letter to the President of the Security Council, is offered as a detailed commentary on the Pope's statement and goes much beyond it in ways that are deeply disturbing. Following are the major



It should be noted that the issuing of the statement at the climax of the UN Security Council debate on Jerusalem should be seen as a calculated decision of the Vatican to <sup>claim</sup> stake out a position for itself as a primary, if not central, factor in negotiating the future status of the Holy City.

While it is important that you read the complete text which we attach, it may prove useful that we underscore the following key issues raised by the Vatican document:

1 - It treats Jerusalem entirely from the perspective of its "sacred character" - as if the city were "the Heavenly Jerusalem" - and tends to ignore its reality as a living, thriving municipality which has functioned <sup>for its diverse population</sup> with extraordinary effectiveness ~~as a unified society~~ under Israeli governance. <sup>The document</sup> That approach appears to be as unrealistic and impractical as to reduce the complex governance of Rome solely to the "sacred character" of Vatican City. Rome might survive as a vital, viable city meeting the daily human needs of its inhabitants without Vatican City; Vatican City might not be able to survive humanly without the secular functioning of Rome, which operates <sup>the</sup> totally outside ~~the~~ jurisdiction of the Holy See.

xxxx

Similarly, there is no disagreement between Christians, Muslims and Jews over the unique sanctity of Jerusalem, but assuring that sanctity provides no practical guidance as to how the municipality would continue to meet the multiple pragmatic needs of all of its inhabitants - transportation, police protection, provision of electricity and gas, social welfare, public education, et cetera. The Vatican document seems to be preoccupied far more with spiritual "essences" than with the compelling realities ~~of~~ and requirements of human "existences," which only a unified municipality can serve.

2 - Jerusalem is described as "deeply united by nature but is at the same time characterized by a closely intertwined religious plurality...(which needs to) recognized and safeguarded in a stable concrete manner and therefore publicly and juridically, so as to assure for all three~~re~~ religions a level of parity, without any of them feeling subordinate with regard to the others." The three religious communities - Christian, Jewish, and Moslem - "should be partners in deciding their own future."

The Vatican document then specifies six features that would assure that "level of parity" and partnership "in deciding their own future":

(1) "that the overall character of Jerusalem as a sacred heritage shared by all three monotheistic religions be guaranteed by appropriate measures;

(2) "that the religious freedom in all its aspects be safeguarded for them;

(3) "that the complex of rights acquired by the various communities over the shrines and the centres for spirituality, study and welfare be protected;

(4) "that the continuance and development of religious, educational and social activity by each community be ensured;

(5) "that this be actuated with equality of treatment for all three religions;"

(6) "that this be achieved through 'an appropriate juridical safeguard' that does not derive from the will of only one of the parties interested."

Viewing the actual reality of the present situation of the Christian, Muslim, and Jewish communities in Jerusalem, there is little or no evidence that argues that these conditions have not been met satisfactorily during the 20 years of Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem. Indeed, the late Pope John Paul I declared on Dec. 8, 1972:



"(Christian) pilgrims returning from Jerusalem said ~~that~~ they were very satisfied...The Church does not wish to control Jerusalem, only to worship in the holy places."

As tens of thousands of Christian visitors to Jerusalem have repeatedly testified, the Israeli Government has been scrupulous in upholding "the sacred heritage" of the Holy City; in safeguarding religious freedom for all its inhabitants; in protecting their "complex of rights;" and in actualizing their "equality of treatment." The ensuring of the "continuance and development of religious, educational, and social activity by each community" rests on the initiative of each community which Mayor Kollek and Israeli officials have repeatedly and publicly welcomed and supported. If world Christendom has thus far not seen fit to invest substantially in revitalizing the life and institutions of their Christian communities in Israel, surely Israel cannot be faulted for that lack or failure.

Thus, "parity" in the status of each of the religious communities in Israel is a fact of life. (When some few Jewish zealots recently vandalized Christian missionaries in Jerusalem, the municipality acted decisively to bring them to justice, much as the municipality of New York City acted against vandals who desecrated churches and synagogues. Such desecration led no one, either Christian or Jew, to argue that New York City therefore requires "a juridical safeguard" or "special statute" as a means of preventing such aberrant and exceptional actions.) Similarly, the Vatican did not find it necessary to propose that Rome, the Eternal City, be placed under "juridical safeguard" when the Red Brigade violated Catholic Churches in that city or murdered innocent civilians, such as the late esteemed Christian Democratic leader, Aldo Moro.

The thesis that "the three religious communities...should be partners in deciding their own future" seems equally without force of evidence. Christians, Muslims, and Jews - as ~~Rxix~~ "religious communities"- have complete freedom to "decide their own future" in Jerusalem and in Israel generally. They have complete administrative control over their respective holy places and shrines; they conduct their own courts and schools, and seminaries in accordance with their respective religious tenets and traditions, and, as any responsible observer will attest, they are substantially subvented by the treasury of Israel to carry out their own "religious futures/" with complete autonomy.

As citizens of Israel, Christians, Muslims, and Jews alike are "partners" in deciding their own future through the democratic electoral processes of the State of Israel.

The primary question of "deciding their own future" is located today in the discussion of providing some form of self-governance for the Arabs in East Jerusalem, for whom some form of "borough plan" within a united Jerusalem municipality is <sup>to be</sup> being actively considered as part of the Camp David negotiations.

Given the absence of legitimate grievances of denial of religious rights which are presumed in the Vatican document but not demonstrated, it is difficult to understand the basis for the leap to the urgently-stated need that "calls for a responsibility that goes well beyond the limits of the States of the regions," or "that surpasses the intrerests of any single State or bilateral agreements between one State and others." To state the need is ~~the~~ not the same as making the case for it.



In light of the foregoing, the most troublesome and baffling aspect of the Vatican document is its raising the question of "the solution proposed by the United Nations envisaged (in) the setting up of a 'corpus separatum' for 'Jerusalem and the surrounding areas,' administered by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations."

The document pointedly reminds us that this "territorial internationalization" of Jerusalem first approved by the United Nations in November 29, 1947 "does not appear at least as yet to have been formally revoked."

Given the fact that Jordan and other Arab and Muslim states have rejected the "corpus separatum" proposal at least as vehemently as has Israel, what purpose is served in resurrecting that discarded plan, other than perhaps to hold it as a club of possible intimidation over the head of Israel and Jordan (and other Arab nations)? While the United Nations may not yet have gotten around to dismantling that proposal, the brute force of history (Alfred North Whitehead's words) certainly has. The unworkability of all such "corpus separatum" and "international cities" such as Danzig and Trieste have long since been discussed and as a consequence discarded.

That sense of threat is further underscored in the observation by the Vatican, "The positions of the two sides on the question of sovereignty over Jerusalem are known to be very far apart; any unilateral act to modify the status of the Holy City would be very serious."

The status of Jerusalem is clearly a political issue which appropriately is the subject of future negotiations provided for by the Camp David agreement. That process deserves to be encouraged, not threatened by triumphal observations.

The one legitimate request that religious leadership has a right to make is that, out of valid concern that religious freedoms be preserved in Jerusalem (as anywhere else in the world) from the vagaries of domestic politics that an international statute assuring the religious freedom and free access to holy places be established. The Government of Israel has long since indicated its willingness to support such a statute not only to the Vatican, but to the Greek Orthodox and Armenian and other churches who possess legal title to some 75% of the land in Jerusalem and Israel on which the holy sites are located.

A concentration on such a valid objective would help advance the worthy <sup>goal</sup> objective ~~which~~ with which the Vatican document concludes;

"The aim will be to ensure that Jerusalem will no longer be an object of contention but a place of encounter and brotherhood between the peoples and believers of the three religions and a pledge of friendship between the peoples who see in Jerusalem something that is part of their very soul."

Furthermore, it cannot be forgotten that the Vatican was remarkably silent about the lack of religious freedom and the lack of access to these Holy Places by indigenous Israeli Arab Catholics and other Christians from 1948 to 1967.



ISRAELI, U. S. AND EGYPTIAN POSITIONS ON JERUSALEM

A Foreign Affairs Background Memorandum

By George E. Gruen, Director, Middle East Affairs

Jerusalem has again come to the fore as a pressing issue in the current autonomy negotiations between Egypt and Israel, with the full participation of the United States.

The conventional wisdom among political analysts has been that because of the deep emotions Jerusalem arouses, efforts at a mutually acceptable solution will only be possible at the end of the peace-making process when sufficient trust has developed between Israel and its Arab neighbors to permit compromises that at present appear impossible. Indeed, the participants at Camp David failed to reach agreement on Jerusalem, and in order to prevent the breakup of the September 1978 summit conference over this issue it was decided that the United States, Israel and Egypt would set out their respective positions in letters to each other.

But this patient approach is presently being challenged in two ways: (a). The need to decide what role, if any, East Jerusalem Arabs are to play in the elections to the self-governing authority (administrative council) in the West Bank and Gaza. The Israeli position is that since the autonomy relates only to the inhabitants of "Judea and Samaria" it excludes by definition the residents of any part of reunified Jerusalem. Neither Egypt nor the United States accepts as internationally binding the unilateral actions taken by Israel in Jerusalem and contend that the Jerusalem question remains to be resolved in negotiations. (b). President Anwar Sadat has been urging Prime Minister Menachem Begin to reach a basic agreement on Jerusalem now in the hope that this will defuse the conflict and induce the Saudis and Jordanians to become supportive of the peace process.

A detailed examination of the Israeli, American and Egyptian positions on Jerusalem set forth in the September 1978 Camp David letters is useful because it reveals both the areas in which there is major disagreement and the significant areas of congruence and for potential compromise.

The Israeli Position

In his letter on Jerusalem, Prime Minister Begin informed President Carter of the June 28, 1967 law by which the Knesset had empowered the Government by decree to apply "the law, the jurisdiction and the administration of the State of Israel to any part of Eretz Israel (Land of Israel -- Palestine)" and that on the basis of this law Israel's Government decreed in July 1967 that "Jerusalem is one city indivisible, the Capital of the State of Israel." Without formally calling it annexation, the Government in effect annexed the Jordanian-held part of the city by simply submitting a map to the Knesset indicating the enlarged boundaries of the Jerusalem municipal area to which Israeli jurisdiction was to extend. Prime Minister Begin and other Israeli officials have repeatedly emphasized that they would insist that Jerusalem remain the undivided capital of Israel.

The American Position

President Carter responded that the United States position on Jerusalem "remains as stated by Ambassador Goldberg in the United Nations Security Council on July 14, 1967, and subsequently by Ambassador Yost in the United Nations Security Council on July 1, 1969." This blandly phrased sentence masked a fundamental disagreement between the American and Israeli positions that preceded the Begin and Carter Administrations. Arthur Goldberg had emphasized that the United States did not consider the Israeli measures other than "interim and provisional, which cannot affect the present status nor prejudice the final and permanent status of Jerusalem." Ambassador Charles Yost told the Security Council in 1969 that the international law governing occupied territories also applied to East Jerusalem. In the American view, he said:

The expropriation or confiscation of land, the construction of housing on such land, the demolition or confiscation of buildings, including those having historic or religious significance, and the application of Israeli law to occupied portions of the city are detrimental to our common interests in the city. (Emphasis added.)

The Egyptian Position

The most detailed letter on Jerusalem was the one sent by Sadat to Carter "to reaffirm" the position of the Arab Republic of Egypt. The statement is interesting both for what it says and what it leaves unsaid:



1. Arab Jerusalem is an integral part of the West Bank. Legal and historical Arab rights in the city must be respected and restored.
2. Arab Jerusalem should be under Arab sovereignty.
3. The Palestinian inhabitants of Arab Jerusalem are entitled to exercise their legitimate national rights, being part of the Palestinian People in the West Bank.

Sadat did not define the term "Arab Jerusalem", but presumably he meant the section known as East Jerusalem, in effect acknowledging Israeli rule and sovereignty over West Jerusalem, the part of the city that had remained in Israeli hands after the 1948 war and had served as Israel's capital. The fourth paragraph called for the application of relevant Security Council resolutions, declared Israeli measures to alter the city's status null and void and called for them to be rescinded. In this Sadat's position was close to that of the American Government.

5. All people must have free access to the City and enjoy the free exercise of worship and the right to visit and transit to the holy places without distinction or discrimination.
6. The holy places of each faith may be placed under the administration and control of their representatives.

The Egyptian position in the above two paragraphs was consistent with Israeli principles and Israeli practice of letting the various religious bodies administer their respective holy places. In terms of free access, Israel already was scrupulously carrying out these provisions and it was Israeli citizens who had been denied free access to the Western Wall during the time of Jordanian occupation of the Old City. Implicit in the Sadat position was a modification in paragraph 2 to permit Israeli Jewish control of the Western Wall and access thereto through the Jewish Quarter of the Old City from which the Jews had been expelled by Jordan during the 1948 war.

7. Essential functions in the City should be undivided and a joint municipal council composed of an equal number of Arab and Israeli members can supervise the carrying out of these functions. In this way, the City shall be undivided.

This offer of a jointly run and physically undivided municipality also seemed to mitigate in practice the demand for Arab sovereignty contained in paragraph 2. Various unofficial Israeli proposals had also recommended a unified administration, but the Arabs had thus far refused to serve in the Israeli municipality. Sadat's suggestion of a 1:1 ratio of Arab to Israeli members was obviously not acceptable to Israel since the Jewish population exceeded the Arab by a 3:1 ratio. Nevertheless, if seen as an opening bargaining position, this part of Sadat's statement was more reasonable than the popular Israeli understanding of the Arab position. It was conceivable, as had been suggested by Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek and his former assistant, Meron Benvenisti, to create a single greater municipal council composed of a considerable number of relatively autonomous boroughs. As in the American federal Congressional compromise an arrangement might presumably be worked out whereby on some matters there would be parity between Arabs and Israelis, while on others representation would be according to population.

#### Subsequent Developments

The question of Jerusalem's relationship to the West Bank was immediately brought to the fore by the Camp David Framework dealing with Palestinian autonomy. Begin had sent President Carter a letter saying that wherever the agreements spoke of "West Bank" the Government of Israel understood this to mean "Judea and Samaria." Begin was thus putting Carter and Sadat on notice both that the territory in question was not regarded as occupied and that in any case East Jerusalem was not part of the West Bank. Not surprisingly, among the main questions that King Hussein submitted to President Carter were whether the United States included East Jerusalem in its definition of the West Bank, would the proposed self-governing authority extend to East Jerusalem, would East Jerusalem Arabs participate in the elections, and what would be the final status of East Jerusalem as envisaged by the United States?

While the President's answers transmitted to King Hussein by Assistant Secretary of State Harold Saunders have not been made public, Mr. Saunders reportedly reaffirmed that the United States had traditionally regarded East Jerusalem as being occupied territory and that while East Jerusalem would not be included within the boundaries of the proposed autonomy during the transitional period, the United States was prepared "to support proposals that would permit Arab inhabitants of East Jerusalem who are not Israeli citizens" (virtually all had thus far opted to retain their Jordanian citizenship -- GEG) to vote in the elections leading to self-rule and such Jerusalem Arabs might share in the work of the self-governing authority. As for the final status of Jerusalem, that, as many other outstanding questions, would have to be settled in the negotiations to which Hussein had an explicit invitation to join the Camp David accords. The American response did not satisfy King Hussein, but it reportedly infuriated Prime Minister Begin.



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

DATE:

July 2

FROM: RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

TO:

Selma

Please circulate to:

RABBI MARC TANENBAUM -- I.A.D.

**MESSAGE**

DATE June 27, 1980

Dear Marc,

Attached please find a letter drafted by my ADL colleague re: Pope John Paul II's comment June 21 to Pres. Carter re: Jerusalem. The proposal is that the Jewish co-chairman of the LI Catholic-Jewish Relations Committee should send this to his Catholic co-chairman (Fr. George Graham), and get Graham's prior approval before circulating it to Catholic members of the C-J Relations Committee.

Questions:

(1) I missed any press reports on the comment; is this a serious matter, calling for this sort of letter?

(2) What think you of the text of the letter?

Best wishes,

Adelle

☐ For approval

☒ For your information

☐ Please handle

☒ Read and return

☐ Returned as requested

☐ Please telephone me

☐ Your comments, please

Remarks:



**MALVERNE JEWISH CENTER • ONE NORWOOD AVENUE, MALVERNE, NEW YORK 11565 • LY 3-6364**

Theodore Steinberg, Rabbi  
Martin Cooper, Cantor  
Solomon L. Silverman, Principal

Calvin Heitner, President

**TO: Jewish Members of the Catholic-Jewish Relations  
Committee of Long Island**

**FROM: Rabbi Theodore Steinberg**

The enclosed statement was prepared by Mel Cooperman in response to Pope John Paul's statement to President Carter concerning Jerusalem as reported in the New York Times on June 22-23. The Pope spoke of internationalizing Jerusalem, thus removing it from Jewish sovereignty.

Mel and I want to send copies of the enclosed statement to the Catholic members of our committee and thus convey to them our deep sentiment and feelings.

Please read it carefully and call me if you think the statement should be changed in any way. If I do not hear from you I shall assume that you agree with its contents. Copies of the statement will be mailed to the Catholic committee members not later than July 1st or 2nd.





To our Catholic friends in Dialogue:

We, the Jewish members of the Catholic-Jewish Relations Committee address this private communication to our Catholic partners in dialogue in the spirit which has nourished our understanding these eleven years. In this, we fulfill a responsibility to ourselves and to you.

We are impelled to express our deep feelings of disappointment and sadness evoked by the statement of Pope John Paul II to President Carter on June 21 concerning the status of Jerusalem. Following upon the European powers' encouragement of the mortal enemies of Israel and the Jewish people, His Holiness' words are regarded by Jews everywhere as especially hurtful and unfriendly.

Jerusalem is embedded deep in the Jewish soul. In some ways, she is the visible soul of the Jewish people. We remind our Catholic friends that for two decades prior to her healing in 1967, no Jew was able to enter her gates. The Arab conquerors expelled all of her Jewish residents, reduced their homes, their schools and their synagogues to rubble, and tore the memorial stones from the Jewish graves on the Mount of Olives for use in the most degrading manner.

Yet, a monument to the Arab dead who fell in the struggle for the city, erected by Jewish hands, stands just outside her walls.

Never in her tortured history has Jerusalem been more open to the faithful of Christianity and Islam. Never have her Holy Places been more carefully protected and tended. Once again, Jewish families work, study and play within her walls. Under Israel's loving oversight, she that was once a widow exudes the radiance of a young mother glorying in her children -- Jewish, Christian and Muslim.

Jerusalem is Israel, and Israel is the Jewish people. Unless one understands this, one does not understand us. A blow at the Jewish bond to Jerusalem is a blow at the Jewish soul. Pope John Paul's words are just such a blow. History, remote and recent, has taught us bitter lessons of promises betrayed. The Jewish people will not again exchange Jewish hopes and Jewish lives for promises, nor will we acquiesce to the rending anew of beloved Jerusalem.

We offer these thoughts to you as a prelude to a continuation of our dialogue on the meaning of Jerusalem when we meet again.