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Box 70, Folder 1, Pro-Arab influence in American Christian churches, 1979.

NEWS FROM THE COMMITTEE

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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

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73RD ANNUAL MEETING
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FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, MAY 11, 1979

NEW YORK, MAY 10 ... The presence of pro-Arab elements in key positions in a number of major American Christian churches, coupled with the growth of Arab Muslim communities in America, has created a formidable source of anti-Israel as well as anti-Jewish attitudes in the U.S., the American Jewish Committee was told today.

Two studies of different aspects of the problem of anti-Israel and anti-Jewish intrusions into American public opinion were released at the opening session of the Committee's 73rd Annual Meeting, continuing through Sunday at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel here.

One of the studies, titled "Anti-Israel Influence in American Churches," by Judith Banki, AJC's Assistant Director of Interreligious Affairs, indicates that while public opinion polls show American Christians to be more sympathetic to Israel than to her Arab antagonists, an anti-Israel, pro-Arab attitude has been much in evidence in certain segments of American Christianity.

The study placed the major source of anti-Israel sentiment "among Protestant denominations with long-standing involvement in missions to the Arab Middle East; in churches and church-related groups engaged in aiding Arab refugees; among certain left-wing 'liberationist' ideologues; and in communions with predominantly Arab constituencies, whether Catholic or Eastern Orthodox." In these quarters, notes the report, champions of the Arab cause often influence church policies and organizational resolutions far beyond their numbers, giving church groups a pro-Arab "tilt" by constantly pressing for statements critical of or detrimental to Israel.

"There is also a potent anti-Jewish legacy in Christian tradition," the study observes, "which sometimes comes into play when Israel is being discussed; in such instances anti-Israel sentiment takes on an anti-Jewish coloration."

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NOTE: Copies of the two reports are available to the press. Contact Morton Yarmon, American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022.

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In a preface to the study, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC's national interreligious affairs director, observed that "surely Americans of Arab heritage have the same rights extended to all religious and ethnic groups by American pluralistic democracy. However, many of the recent (Arab) immigrants come from nations so hostile to Israel that they still refuse to recognize her right to exist. Moreover, they come from cultures heavily imbued with anti-Semitism, where notorious documents of Jew-hatred, such as the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion, have been reproduced not only for intensive national consumption in Arab countries, but for export to other parts of the world. Of those who are Christian, many are adherents of a tradition of Christianity which has had neither dialogue nor contact with Judaism or with Jews, and whose theology denies any religious validity to Judaism."

Discussing the Arab missionary and relief establishments, the study notes that a number of denominations have long been involved with philanthropic, educational, and missionary ventures to the Arab Middle East. Out of these missionary and service activities has emerged a group of church professionals who naturally sympathize with Arab aspirations, identify with Arab views, and are ready to promote Arab interests both within their organizations and in public -- often at the expense of Israel.

These professionals tend to hold the staff positions in the Middle East departments of their denominations and of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and are thus chiefly responsible for choosing, producing, or distributing educational materials, including films; for recommending lecturers and resource persons; and for drafting resolutions on the Middle East. In contrast, the study points out, staff members sympathetic to Israel rarely serve in Middle East departments.

The anti-Zionist animus precedes the existence of the State of Israel itself, the study notes, pointing out that Protestant and oilmen helped the U.S. State Department resist Zionism within the United States in the 1930s, and that mission and church groups helped found the Institute of Arab-American Affairs to combat Zionism in 1945.

A second source of anti-Israel sentiment within the churches is the current ideology, sometimes referred to as "liberation theology," which calls upon Christians to identify with oppressed peoples and makes the active pursuit of racial, social, and economic justice a religious obligation. In theory, Mrs. Banki notes, liberationist thought should not lead to anti-Israel positions, for Jews, too, are a minority, and Israel "is a beleaguered democracy if there was ever one." But the same "selective morality which singles out Israel for special abuse in the United Nations is also at work here," she comments. Some liberationist activists champion the Palestinians as oppressed Third World people and brand Israel as a racist, colonialist outpost of American imperialism.

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Anti-Israel sentiment is also fostered by some leaders of American Arab Christian churches, although not all American Christians of Middle Eastern background are against Israel, Mrs. Bankl points out. Many Americans of Lebanese background support Israel as the defender and ally of the beleaguered Christian community in Lebanon. But those hostile to Israel are a potent new influence in American Christianity. They have used public relations techniques skillfully and on occasion have made common cause with Moslem leaders. From their leadership positions in their own churches, they have pressed non-Arab church groups and agencies, such as the National Council of Churches, for anti-Israel positions.

Both at the NCC and in every major church group, there are persons sympathetic to Israel and interested in Jewish-Christian dialogue, but they are not as close to the centers of institutional power and funding, and are frequently outweighed by the various anti-Israel sources when matters pertaining to the Middle East are on the agenda, says the report.

The second report, titled "Islam in America," indicates that poverty and lack of opportunity in their native lands are motivating thousands of Muslims to emigrate to other countries, including the U.S. About 2,000,000 Muslims reportedly are now in this country, of whom approximately 200,000 are Arabs.

Not surprisingly, in view of recent history, the report notes, there is a marked degree of hostility to Israel and Zionism among many of the Muslims. Muslims working in the auto industry in Detroit, for example, are attempting to force the United Auto Workers to get rid of its State of Israel Bonds.

"The recent newcomers bring with them a new strong feeling of Arab identity and political consciousness," this report says. "Thanks chiefly to this vigorous, active influx, the Muslim community in the U.S. has emerged from a long period of inactivity and assimilation. The number of mosques and Muslim organizations has multiplied rapidly, the use and study of Arabic has increased, and new life has been infused into existing organizations, such as the Federation of Islamic Associations, which the Arab Muslims have almost taken over."

Of all the Muslim groups, according to the report, the Arabs are by far the most active and devout with regard to religion. The Islamic centers now proliferating in cities and university campuses throughout the country are founded and run almost exclusively by Arab Muslims. This renewed religious activity goes hand in hand with a revival of fundamentalism in the Muslim world, the report indicates, particularly in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Libya, Egypt, and Pakistan.

"Muslim political and cultural activity, like the Muslim population, is on the rise in the U.S.," the report states. "This is due in part to the current nationwide trend of ethnic consciousness and to a desire to organize at least as effectively as the Jewish community has done. But another reason is the growing importance of the Middle East and the revival of pan-Islamic ideology there."

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According to the report, most of the new activity can be traced to the Arab-Israel War of October 1973, which changed not only Western perceptions of the Arab world but also the Arabs' perception of themselves. The war itself, viewed by the Arabs as a victory, and the accompanying oil embargo proved, it states, that Arabs could adopt and manipulate Western tools and methods, notably propaganda, to their own advantage. Both in the Middle East and elsewhere, it points out, Arabs have since put this ability to use.

To help bring Islam to the attention of Americans, the report asserts, Muslims have begun to press for recognition of their religious holidays and prayer times and for greater recognition in the heretofore "tri-faith" (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish) scheme of American religious life.

The "Middle East connection" in these activities is strong, the report says: "With the yearning for pan-Arab unity has come a revival of pan-Islamic ideology, the ultimate goal of which is Muslim unity, something never accomplished since the seventh century."

The report was prepared for the American Jewish Committee by Lois Gottesman, a Middle East scholar at Princeton University. Ms. Gottesman conducted an intensive study of the social, economic and political makeup of the Muslims in the United States.

Rabbi Tanenbaum reported to the AJC's interreligious affairs commission meeting here that a series of academic and theological dialogues and seminars have been inaugurated in recent months and will be carried forward systematically as a major emphasis of AJC's program during the coming three years.

The featured speaker at this commission meeting was Dr. Riffat Hassan, Professor of Religion at the University of Louisville, who discussed "The Islam Revival -- Implications for Relations Between Jews and Muslims."

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NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, June 20....Conflicting reports regarding the status of the U.S. Strategic Petroleum Reserve suggest that Saudi Arabian objections to the Reserve have helped to determine U.S. energy policy, according to the new issue of Petro-Impact, a bi-monthly publication of the American Jewish Committee's Institute of Human Relations that reports on "growing Arab involvement in American affairs."

"It has been widely reported that the Saudis have linked their oil production rate to the SPR, threatening to cut back below 9.5 million barrels per day if the U.S. resumes stockpiling," according to Petro-Impact editors. The publication reports that in February of this year, soon after President Carter allocated \$1.1 billion for SPR oil purchases and storage, Energy Secretary Charles W. Duncan, after discussion in Saudi Arabia, reported that the Saudis demanded "market stability" be reached before the U.S. resumes stockpiling.

The publication reports that in an interview following Secretary Duncan's visit, Saudi Oil Minister Sheikh Ahmad Zaki Yamani said: "We don't like to see any building of the strategic stockpiles. We don't think it necessary."

Begun five years ago as a cushion against the cut-off of imported oil, the projected size of the SPR was increased by President Carter on taking office to 1 billion barrels of oil by 1985, a figure that he reduced two years ago to 750 million barrels.

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NOTE TO EDITOR:

For a review copy of this issue of Petro-Impact, or to be placed on the mailing list to receive copies regularly, contact: Morton Yarmon, American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Gerard Weinstock, Chairman, Board of Trustees.
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But plagued with cost overruns and inefficient planning almost from the beginning, the SPR now holds only 91.7 million barrels, barely enough to last two weeks, Petro-Impact points out.

Although many senior Washington officials feel the U.S. should again begin the stockpiling that ended after oil prices skyrocketed following the Iranian revolution, a report in February of this year indicated a "gentlemen's agreement between American and Saudi officials" that the U.S. would not soon resume filling out the SPR.

Some analysts warn of a fallout in the Arab world should the U.S. decide to reactive SPR purchases, the publication adds, but many Washington officials have urged President Carter to transfer domestic oil to the SPR.

In another section of the new issue of Petro-Impact, on the OPEC "money weapon," it is reported that OPEC investments in the United States are probably underestimated, based on a recent report by the General Accounting Office (GAO).

It was roughly estimated that OPEC investments in the U.S. are about \$62 billion, "large by any reckoning," says Petro-Impact, adding that none of the identified investments are in high technology or sensitive industries. However, the publication continues, "small or private investments may escape attention, and OPEC members often use financial intermediaries."

Petro-Impact says that GAO also reported that although major U.S. oil companies contacted have not identified OPEC investors among their stockholders of record, "such investors may indeed hold shares through third parties." The GAO report stresses that, with information presently available, the U.S. Government cannot adequately answer the question of "who owns whom."

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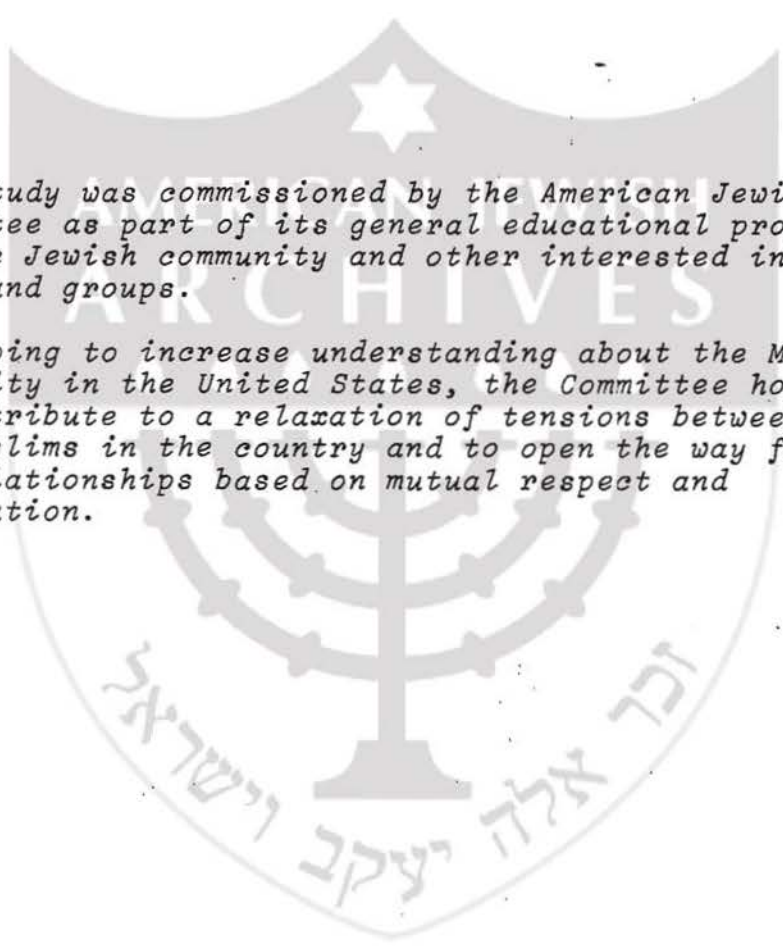
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Prepared by Lois Gottesman for

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations

165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022



This study was commissioned by the American Jewish Committee as part of its general educational programs for the Jewish community and other interested individuals and groups.

By helping to increase understanding about the Muslim community in the United States, the Committee hopes to contribute to a relaxation of tensions between Jews and Muslims in the country and to open the way for new relationships based on mutual respect and cooperation.

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ISLAM IN AMERICA

The Muslim community in the United States began with mass immigration from the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire during the last quarter of the 19th century. At that time, great political and economic changes in the area supplied an impetus for migration to both Europe and the U.S.

It is not known how many people came from what are today Arab states and how many from Turkey proper, since until 1899 all immigrants from that part of the world were listed as Asians. Between 1871 and 1880, only 67 persons are listed as "Asians" in U.S. immigration records. In the decade 1881-90 there was a sharp rise: 2,220 immigrants from Turkey in Asia are listed. After 1899, Syrians (including persons from present-day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel) were listed separately, because they were arriving in far greater numbers. Between 1899 and 1919, an average of 5,000 Syrians a year entered the U.S., reaching a peak of over 9,000 in 1913.

The overwhelming majority of the Syrian immigrants were Christians. In the main, they probably came because they were relatively Westernized and had economic ambitions which could only be realized in the West; religious persecution in Syria also played a minor role. Muslims were not yet immigrating en masse, because of antipathy against Western Christian societies and fear that they would not be able to maintain their Islamic way of life in America. Before 1914, only a few hundred young Muslim men joined their Christian fellow villagers in emigrating to the U.S.

In the period between the two World Wars, Muslims came to the U.S. in small numbers, mostly for economic reasons and mostly from poor, rural areas. Many Arab Muslims went to Chicago, Toledo and Detroit, attracted by the development of the auto industry and high industrial wages. In 1934 they built the first mosque in the U.S., in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Turkish and Slav Muslims arrived in increasing numbers after the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire following the First World War; they first settled in port cities. A few Indian Muslims, belonging to the Ahmadiyya movement (a Muslim missionary sect), also came and soon began to seek converts, mostly in the black community.

A second great wave of immigration, politically motivated, occurred immediately after the Second World War. It consisted mostly of urban, relatively educated people. Muslims came from all over North Africa, the Middle East, other parts of Asia and Eastern Europe. From the Arab countries alone -- Morocco, Egypt,

Iraq and Yemen as well as Syria and Lebanon -- over 150,000 came between 1945 and 1977.

We are now in the midst of a third wave of Muslim migration, once more economically motivated. Poverty and lack of opportunity at home are driving hundreds of thousands to move to the oil rich countries, Europe or the U.S. Most come from Arab countries, but in recent years growing numbers have come from Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, the Philippines and Indonesia. As a result of a change in immigration laws in 1965, about 38,000 Arabs alone came to this country between 1968 and 1970. Most of these recent arrivals are urban, educated and highly trained; many come as students to get professional training and remain afterwards to reap the benefits of the rich, capitalist West. With growing numbers, Muslim and ethnic organizations and mosques have proliferated in the United States.

The total number of Muslims in the U.S. today is unknown. A census undertaken by the Federation of Islamic Associations in the U.S. and Canada is unfinished and likely to remain so. Many organizations do not even know how many members they have, or do not publish the figures if they have them. Estimates vary widely: the U.S. Government and the National Council of Churches claim that there are two million Muslims in the country; Islamic Horizons, a publication of the Muslim Students' Association, claims three million (March 1978); Muslim World, published in Pakistan, says there are five million Muslims in all of North America. Whatever the right figure, all sources agree that the American Muslim community has grown tremendously and continues to do so, primarily through migration from the Middle East and conversions.

The 1976 Annual Report of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service contains data on arrivals from Muslim countries which give an indication of the magnitude of Muslim immigration to this country since 1967 (Table 1). Unfortunately, the Immigration Service does not collect statistics on religion, so there is no way to learn precisely how many of the immigrants actually were Muslims. Furthermore, there are no separate entries for the North African countries, the Gulf states or the Muslim countries of Asia. Nor do the consulates of these countries have precise information on the number of their countrymen in the U.S. The best estimate, then, for the U.S. Muslim population remains the official government one of two million.

TABLE 1

Immigrants, by Country of Birth, July 1967 - September 1976
(Muslim and non-Muslim)

Iran	23,015
Iraq	16,897
Jordan	25,611
Lebanon	19,695
Syria	10,190
Turkey	19,345
Egypt	26,432
TOTAL	141,185

(No breakdown for other countries)

TABLE 2

Persons Naturalized, by Country of Birth, July 1967 - September 1976
(Muslim and non-Muslim)

Iran	5,001
Iraq	3,590
Jordan	8,265
Lebanon	5,340
Syria	2,666
Turkey	5,071
Yemen	1,321
Egypt	8,434
TOTAL	39,688

(no breakdown for other countries)

Arab Muslims

Arab Muslims constitute a large and ever-growing part of the American Muslim community. As of 1966, Abd Elkholy, the author of Arab Muslims in the U.S., estimated that there were 100,000 in the U.S., some 10 per cent of the entire Arab-American community. Today, the figure is much larger, thanks to vastly increased immigration under the changed law, which allows immediate relatives of American citizens to enter the U.S. The 1967 Arab-Israeli War gave further impetus to mass immigration. A quick look at what figures there are suggests that at least another 100,000 Arab Muslims must have arrived since 1967, giving a rough total of 200,000 Arab Muslims.

The Arab Muslims who came before 1966-67 were mostly unskilled and uneducated, and tended to work in heavy industry and agriculture. As noted, a large number (mostly Palestinians, Lebanese and Yemenis) are employed in the auto industry in the Detroit area. About 70,000 Arabs (10 percent of them Muslims) live in Dearborn, Michigan, which is said to be the largest Arab Muslim settlement in the U.S. Arab members of the United Auto Workers International, some 15,000 in a total membership of 1.4 million, have formed an Arab Workers Caucus in Detroit to agitate for better working conditions and pay. They have become involved with other Third World workers and American blacks who "view the Zionist state as one of the imperialist powers playing an exploitative role in Africa," and have obtained their support in an attempt to force the U.A.W. to get rid of its State of Israel bonds.¹

Arab Muslims employed in agriculture are usually from poor countries such as North and South Yemen and Iraq. Quite a few are migrant workers in California. TWA in Los Angeles, which arranges flights for Yemenis, estimates that a total of 100,000 Yemeni farm workers have come and gone in the past decade.²

In contrast to these groups, Arab immigrants of the years since 1966-67 are predominantly urban, educated, skilled and Muslim. They hail from all over the Middle East and North Africa. Many come as students and remain after completing their education. Middle Eastern magazines now frequently deplore a "brain drain" of students and professionals -- a drain that is caused by social, economic and political underdevelopment and instability in the Middle East, and aggravates these conditions further.

1. MERIP REPORTS; #34, January 1975

2. Ibid.

The recent newcomers bring with them a new strong feeling of Arab identity and political consciousness. Thanks chiefly to this vigorous, active influx, the Muslim community in the U.S. has emerged from a long period of inactivity and assimilation. The number of mosques and Muslim organizations has multiplied rapidly, the use and study of Arabic has increased, and new life has been infused into existing organizations, such as the Federation of Islamic Associations, which the Arab Muslims have almost taken over. (see page 15).

Of all Muslim groups, the Arabs are by far the most active and devout with regard to religion. The Islamic Centers now proliferating in cities and university campuses throughout the country are founded, funded and run almost exclusively by Arab Muslims. This renewed religious activity goes hand in hand with a revival of fundamentalist Islam in the Muslim world, particularly in Saudi Arabia, Libya, Egypt and also in Pakistan. These countries play a large role in financing the Islamic revival in the U.S., partly out of religious fervor and partly because of their close ties with many of the recent immigrants to the U.S. Religious articles and education materials from the Middle East abound, as do concerned visitors -- both government officials and religious dignitaries -- with fat checkbooks.

Arab nationalism, too, plays a large role in the Arab Muslim community in this country. Muslims from Arab countries work closely with their Christian compatriots in all matters affecting Arabs in general, through organizations such as the Arab-American Chamber of Commerce and the Arab lobby in Washington. However, the conflict in Lebanon has increased tensions between Lebanese Christians and Muslims here.

Turkish Muslims

Muslims of Turkish origin are a numerically large group among American Muslims. Statistics are scarce and often unreliable; estimates as of the mid 1970s range from 70,000 to 95,000. The Turkish Consulate in New York claims a much higher figure of 200,000 Turks in the U.S., but included in that number, besides Anatolian Turks, are Turks from the U.S.S.R. -- from Azerbaijan, the Crimea and Turkestan -- who hold Turkish passports.

The Turkish American community started much later than the Arab Americans. Small numbers of Turks arrived before the First World War, motivated by the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the attendant economic difficulties in Anatolia. They were illiterate lower-class workers; many of them returned to Turkey after saving some money. After the Second World War, immigration shot up as the Turks' admiration for the West,

particularly the U.S., increased. Earlier, Turks had been wary of contact with the West; at the end of the Ottoman Empire, the mood had been anti-Western. But that changed gradually with Kamal Ataturk's policy of secularization, the impression made by the Allied victory in 1945, and Turkey's membership in NATO in 1952. More and more Turks now went to Europe and the U.S. U.S. Immigration figures show 798 Anatolian Turkish immigrants in 1941-1950, 3,519 in 1951-1960, and 10,142 in 1961-1970.

The new Turkish immigrants in the U.S. are mostly professionals or small businessmen -- unlike their counterparts in Europe (some 656,000 in 1977), who are mainly industrial workers. They are motivated primarily by economic and professional ambition, though recently political unrest at home has also played a role. In the last few years, increasing numbers of Turks have been coming to the U.S., and more would like to come but are prevented by immigration restrictions. However, most of the immigrants will probably return to Turkey at some time. Many Turks refrain from becoming American citizens, because the present law in Turkey does not allow dual citizenship; and those who are not U.S. citizens have difficulty in bringing over family members. For these reasons, the Turkish American population grows slowly.

Since the earliest immigration, the community has remained concentrated around major urban centers. The biggest group (some say as many as 40,000) lives in the New York metropolitan area; large numbers also reside in the Midwest, primarily around Chicago, and on the West Coast. Many Turkish Americans are doctors, lawyers, engineers or professionals of other kinds. There are also 3,000 Turkish students in U.S. universities. The community has a high ratio of university graduates, and median income is relatively high.

Turkish Americans maintain strong feelings of communal solidarity. There are nearly 100 clubs and societies scattered over the country, including Turkish student associations on campuses. Most of these organizations have 50 or fewer members. Several professional societies exist, for example a Turkish-American Physicians' Association and a Society of Turkish Architects, Engineers and Scientists in America. There also are associations of Turks from outside Turkey, such as the American Association of Crimean Turks, the Turkestan-American Association, the Azerbaijan Society of America, the Turkish Cypriot Aid Society and the American Turk-Tatar Association. Three clubs specialize in soccer; the rest are essentially social clubs, sponsoring educational and cultural activities.

Two organizations stand out. One is the American Turkish Society (380 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017), founded in

1949 by businessmen "to promote cultural exchange." Through the Society, contacts are made between Americans and Turks active in the high echelons of business, banking, government and industry. Corporate members include several dozen major U.S. corporations. The group's activities are exemplified by a symposium on Turkish foreign policy and its effects on U.S.-Turkish relations, held on October 5, 1978.

The Federation of Turkish-American Societies (821 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017), founded in 1956, is an umbrella organization for some 20 associations. Its main purposes are to create and maintain close ties among Turkish Americans, and to represent their political views vis-a-vis U.S. policies and activities of other ethnic groups such as Armenians and Greeks. The Federation schedules social activities (among them an annual ball) and observances of Turkish holidays, and organizes educational programs. It has frequently coordinated relief campaigns for earthquake victims, and has publicly refuted allegations concerning Turkish-Armenian relations, and the Greek-Turkish confrontation in Cyprus. The Federation's most vigorous single effort to date has been a campaign, launched in 1975 to press Congress for repeal of the arms embargo against Turkey.

Religion plays a small role in the identity of Turkish Americans, because most of them were brought up in the anti-religious atmosphere of the Ataturk regime. Outside the home country, there are no Turkish mosques, and Turks have no strong religious feelings. Except for those from the Soviet Union, relatively few observe the traditional Muslim holidays. Turks in the U.S. thus have no common ground with other Muslim ethnic groups and do not identify with the Arab world at all. On the contrary, they go out of their way not to be grouped with Arab Muslims; many say they would rather pray at home (if at all) than go near an Arab Muslim mosque. Hence, it may be assumed that whatever foreign contributions made to Turkish groups in the U.S. come from Turkey, not from Arab countries.

Contact between Turkish Americans and other American ethnic and religious groups is minimal, but on the whole is cordial as far as it goes -- except for occasional friction with Armenians and Greeks, particularly over Cyprus during the last few years.

Other Ethnic Groups and Sects

Besides the large Arab and Turkish communities, a number of much smaller Muslim ethnic groups live in the U.S.

-- The Ahmadiyya movement has about 5,000 followers. Founded in India in 1870, it was brought to this country by

Indian missionaries after the First World War. Members are active in missionary activities in the U.S. and elsewhere, and it is estimated that several thousand Americans, mostly blacks, have converted and become members. California has the largest number of Indian Muslims belonging to the movement -- mostly farmers who came in 1906 from the Punjab and the Northwest Frontier region of what is now Pakistan. They publish a journal, Sunrise, and have their own mosque, the American Fazl Mosque.

-- The Albanian Muslim community is relatively small; exact figures are unavailable, as is other information on the community and its activities. There are Albanian Islamic centers in Chicago, Brooklyn and the Detroit suburb of Harper Woods.

-- The Baha'i movement was the first religious movement originating in Islam to be represented in the U.S. It was founded in Turkey in 1863 by a Persian named Baha'u'llah, and headquartered in Haifa; the U.S. community dates from 1894. According to the U.S. Religious Census of 1926, there were 2,884 Baha'is in the U.S. in 1916 and only 1,247 in 1926; but in recent years the membership has been estimated to be as high as 100,000. The movement attracts converts, primarily among American blacks, through its emphasis on small congregations, its study requirements and the absence of an official clergy. Until the 1930's, the Baha'i National Spiritual Assembly was headquartered in Teaneck, New Jersey; it has since moved to Wilmette, Illinois.

-- The Black Muslim Organization, known today as the World Community of Islam in the West (WCIW) is headquartered in Chicago, Illinois. The group is variously estimated to number between 7,000 to 50,000, though WCIW itself has at different times claimed a quarter million to two million members. Since 1975, the group has been led by Wallace Muhammad, who is called the Chief Imam. (see page 22)

-- Bosnian Muslims in the U.S. number between 10,000 and 12,000. They arrived here in spurts. Between 1900 and 1939, the immigrants -- mostly young unskilled laborers -- came primarily for economic reasons, chiefly from Bosnia-Herzegovina, a poor area of what became Yugoslavia. Immediately after the Second World War came families from urban areas, motivated by the political turmoil then prevailing. Recently, Bosnians have again been immigrating to the U.S., this time because of poor employment opportunities at home. The largest number, about three-quarters of the U.S. total, live in the Chicago-Milwaukee-Gary area. In 1955 they formed the Bosnian American Cultural Association, whose activities are primarily religious and social. In 1976, the community built an Islamic Center in Northbrook, Illinois, with substantial aid from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

The Center has a few non-Bosnian members (mostly Arabs and Pakistanis) but 60 per cent of the facilities is owned by the Cultural Association, and Bosnians predominate in the general membership and the leadership. A Bosnian Muslim owns the Precision Carbide Tool Company, which employs about 300 workers, many of them Bosnian Muslims, and is probably the largest firm in North America to give all employees paid vacations on major Islamic holidays.

-- Some Circassian Muslims settled in the U.S. after fleeing the Soviet Union, mostly in the late 1940s and the 1950s. In 1959 there were some 200, most of them in New York. Today between 500 and 1500 Circassian families are thought to live in the U.S., most of them in New York City, in and near Paterson, New Jersey, and in California and North Carolina. They have several organizations: a Circassian Benevolent Association in Paterson, a Circassian Community Center in Haledon, New Jersey, and a mosque, the Karacay Turks' Mosque, in the Bronx borough of New York City.

-- Croatian Muslims number only a few thousand in the U.S. When Austria occupied Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1878, thousands of Croatian Muslims left for Turkey, but only a small number sailed for America. Most of those here today came after 1908, when Austria annexed the two provinces; many had left their country illegally. In 1945, several hundred more Croatian Muslims arrived, settling primarily in Cleveland (since 1950 the largest colony of Croatian immigrants) and in Chicago and Milwaukee. In 1957 a Croatian Moslem Mosque and Cultural Home was opened in Chicago, in the presence of Muslims of other nationalities and of Croatians Catholics. This institution is also frequented by other Muslim groups, primarily Turks. But the Croatian Muslim's strongest tie is with other Croatians; for example, they participate in the American-Croatian Congress. They have religious and cultural organizations of their own, and there is a publication called The Voice of Croat Moslems from Bosnia, Hercegovina and Sandzak in Exile, the organ of the Society of Croatian Muslims from Bosnia, Hercegovina and Sandzak.

-- Members of the Druze sect in the U.S. are somewhat of an unknown quantity. The sect originated in Syria in the 11th century. Most of its adherents still live in Syria and Lebanon, but some joined the general emigration from those countries. Druzes avoid speaking about their religion and attempt to keep its doctrines and mysteries an inviolable secret, even from uninitiated members; to all outward appearances they are Syrian or Lebanese Muslims. Therefore it is difficult to judge how many Druzes there are, whether in Syria and Lebanon, or in the U.S. and Europe. (Size of community estimated at less than 100 around San Francisco, with others in Atlanta, Houston and

Alabama.) An American Druze Society was established in 1960, with headquarters in Michigan. Its primary functions appear to be cultural and social. A Druze may not marry a non-Druze; hence a meeting place for singles is indispensable.

-- In the large East Indian community in the U.S., Muslims are a minority among a large number of Hindus. Of some 100,000 Indians and Pakistanis believed to reside in the New York Metropolitan area, only 15 or 20 per cent are thought to be Muslim. The Indian Muslims, being predominantly Sunni (i.e. orthodox) have little to do with the Pakistanis, who tend to be mostly Shi'ites. They (Indian Muslims) have much more in common with Arabs and share mosques, religious schools and organizations with them. Most of the Indian Muslims arrived in the U.S. after the liberalization of the immigration law in 1965, motivated by the lack of employment opportunities at home and opportunities for advanced professional training in the U.S. Today many are doctors and businessmen. As far as could be ascertained, they have only one organization, the Consultative Committee of Indian Muslims in the U.S. and Canada, located in Chicago, where many Indian Muslims live.

-- Estimates of the number of Pakistani Muslims in the U.S. vary from 2,000 to 5,000. Most of them live in the New York Metropolitan area. They have two organizations, both primarily political: the Pakistan League and the Pakistan Student Organization of America. The latter was established 25 years ago as a nonprofit political organization; its President, Dr. Muhammad Zafar, claims it has chapters all over the country. Pakistani Muslims at one time had their own mosque in New Jersey; after it burned down, they joined with other groups, notably Arab Muslims, in religious and educational ventures. They have been very active recently in these two areas, reflecting the strictly orthodox and fundamentalist views of the Pakistani Government. (For example, the Muslim World Congress, headquarters in Karachi, has undertaken a comparative survey of Muslim minorities throughout the world and is working with Saudi Arabia in encouraging Muslim activities in the U.S. and elsewhere.) (See page 14)

-- The Iranian community is fairly small, though again there are no precise figures. There are said to be 50,000 Iranian students and 2,200 Iranian military trainees in the U.S. and, according to one source, at least 20,000 Iranians live in the New York metropolitan area. Approximately 6,000 Iranians live in and around Washington and large numbers are in California. Many are wealthy business people and professionals who are very assimilated to the American way of life. All are Shi'ite Muslims, but to date have not been actively religious; other Shi'ites consider them to be almost atheistic and do not include them when discussing the Shi'ite community at large. However, a religious revival now appears to be afoot, perhaps in response to the struggle in Iran against the Shah. A Persian Muslim Community is in the process of being formed in Westchester County, New York.

The most active group is the Iranian Student Association, which claims 3,000 to 4,000 members in the U.S. and gets some of its money from wealthy Iranians in this country. The group is part of a Worldwide Confederation of Iranian Students, which contains different ideological factions. Within the American branch of ISA there may be as many as 14 separate factions, ranging from Maoist to simple nationalists to theocrats. Experts point out that a severe split has developed between the Muslim students identified with the Ayatollah Khomeini and Marxist-oriented students who oppose the idea of an Islamic republic. The Iranian Student Association supports the Palestine Liberation Organization.

-- Shi'ism, a heterodox Muslim sect which began in the seventh century and today is widespread in parts of the Middle East, most notably Iran, is also represented in the U.S. There are no major religious differences between Sunni and Shi'i Islam, either in observances or customs, so that Sunnis and Shi'ites can and often do pray in the same mosques, especially in the U.S. The main difference between them concerns religious leadership; the Shi'ites do not accept the Sunni Caliphs as successors of the Prophet Muhammad; instead they have 12 Imams whom they consider to have been supreme Muslim leaders -- from Ali (the Prophet's nephew) to a Messiah-like, mystical figure known as the Mahdi. There are an estimated 300,000 to 400,000 Shi'ites in the U.S., from East Africa, Iran, Pakistan, India and Malaysia. At present there is only one Shi'ite mosque, in the New York City borough of Queens. Elsewhere Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims share mosques and facilities for religious education, though there are plans to set up a Shi'ite school. Shi'ite literature, published in Iran, is distributed free to all adherents. The Shia Association of North America, located in Queens, was set up in 1973, but this attempt to organize the community has been only partly successful. A census of Shi'ites remains incomplete because of lack of response, and membership in the Association is small compared to the estimated number of Shi'ites in the U.S. The organization is active in New York, Chicago, Houston and Los Angeles, and hopes to expand in the near future. Its president, Mr. Reza Hassanali, from East Africa, travels to the Middle East in search of speakers and, presumably, financial aid.

-- Sufism, a mystical Muslim sect which originated in Persia, appeared in the U.S. before the First World War. In 1910, Hazrat Pir-O-Murshid Inayat Khan was assigned the task of bringing Sufism to the West; he travelled to the U.S. and Europe, gathering disciples and forming Sufi centers. Today, there are about 5,000 Sufis scattered over the U.S. The center at New Lebanon functions as Sufi headquarters in the U.S. and publishes a monthly, The Sufi Message. Since Sufi worship consists of meditation, there are no mosques, hence, contacts with other Muslims are almost nil.

-- Finally, there are a few small groups of Muslims of

Turkic origin. In Brooklyn, New York, we find some 250 families of Kazan-Volga Tatars, some 4,000 Tatar Poles with their own mosque and 500 to 800 families of Crimean Turks (with an American Association of Crimean Turks). Elsewhere, there are Turkestanis (some 150 families) and Azerbaijanis, again with their own groups: the Turkestan American Association, the Azerbaijan Society of America and the Azerbaijan-Turkish Cultural Association of America, all in New Jersey. All these groups maintain ties with the Turkish community in the U.S.

Cultural and Political Efforts

Muslim political and cultural activity, like the Muslim population, is on the rise in the U.S. This is due in part to the current nationwide trend of ethnic consciousness and to a desire to organize at least as effectively as the Jewish community has done. But another reason is the growing importance of the Middle East and the revival of pan-Islamic ideology there.

Most of the new activity can be traced to the Arab-Israel war of October 1973, which changed not only Western perceptions of the Arab world, but also the Arabs' perceptions of themselves. The war itself (viewed by Arabs as a victory) and the accompanying oil embargo proved that Arabs could adopt and manipulate Western tools and methods, notably propaganda, to their own advantage. Both in the Middle East and elsewhere, Arabs have since put this ability to use.

It is primarily Arab Muslims who are behind the increased Muslim activity in the U.S. The more recent arrivals -- Palestinians and Syrians, who are influenced by the political instability in their home countries -- work in politically oriented organizations. The established citizens and residents -- such as the Syrian-Lebanese community -- are more concerned with maintaining group identity in the face of widespread assimilation and work in culturally and socially oriented groups. (The Lebanese War of 1975-76 has spawned some relief organizations, but no Lebanese nationalist associations in the Muslim community.) Whatever their particular agenda, all Muslim groups are agreed that Muslims in America cannot and must not assimilate themselves away, but should make themselves seen, heard and felt -- in keeping with their status as followers of a worldwide religion with 700 million adherents.

Their main activity is promoting Islam, about which most Americans know little or nothing. It is felt that, with correct information, erroneous notions of Muslims (and Arabs) can be corrected and American sympathies can be redirected to the (Arab) Muslim world. Many Islamic day schools and centers have been

opened in the past few years, as have new mosques in all parts of the country. Much of this building has been financed by Arab Muslim countries -- notably by Saudi Arabia, as part of a Saudi Government program to help revitalize Muslim minorities all over the world. (There is a new Institute of Muslim Minorities Affairs at King 'Abdul 'Aziz University in Jidda.) In June 1978, the Saudi Government announced grants of \$3 million for building mosques and Islamic Centers in North America alone over the next two years. Other countries, such as Egypt and Pakistan, offer religious scholarships -- which also provide educational materials, teachers and guest lecturers -- to American Muslim youths.

To help bring Islam to the attention of Americans, Muslims have begun to press for recognition of their religious holidays and prayer times. On many college campuses, rooms are reserved for use as mosques for Friday prayers; several schools (for example, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Indiana at Bloomington) have their own Islamic centers. Others have begun to list Muslim religious holidays along with Yom Kippur and Christmas; Columbia Teachers College and Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge now recognize the two 'Ids as official holidays. Muslim workers in both the private and the public sector are demanding time off for prayers and holidays. Chicago was the first city where, by order of the mayor, municipal departments excused all Muslims from duty, with full pay, to celebrate the end of the month-long fast of Ramadan (in October 1977). Several companies are allowing Muslim workers time off for the five daily prayers.

The "Middle East connection" in these activities is strong. With the yearning for pan-Arab unity has come a revival of pan-Islamic ideology, the ultimate goal of which is Muslim unity, something never accomplished since the seventh century. The centers of this ideology are Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, with Egypt occasionally joining in, and each has something unique to offer: Saudi Arabia its petrodollars and its stewardship of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina; Pakistan its apparent success in molding a modern nation-state on an Islamic model; Egypt its ancient Muslim university, Al-Azhar.

Of the three countries, Egypt has less to do with the American Muslim community than the rest, probably because of its shaky economy. Former President Gamal Abdel Nasser gave some money to build Islamic centers in Detroit and Washington, but his main contribution was in the field of education. Scholarships to Al-Azhar have been offered through the Federation of Islamic Associations and the Muslim Students' Association. Imams and teachers, as well as books, have been sent to get Islamic schools in the U.S. going. An Egyptian, Dr. Muhammad Abd'al Ra'uf, the Imam of the Islamic Center in Washington, is

regarded as the patriarch of the American Muslim community.

Pakistan lately has supplanted Egypt as the prime source of teachers and teaching materials. Both the Pakistani government and the World Muslim Congress in Karachi see themselves as missionaries to, and protectors of, their fellow Muslims in the West. Delegations from Pakistan attend every major Muslim convention in the U.S. and Canada (a four-man group attended the 1978 Federation of Islamic Associations Convention in West Virginia); and Pakistanis living in this country are very active in Muslim organizations.

The Muslim World, the official weekly of the World Muslim Congress, is published in Karachi and circulated to members throughout the world. While it runs articles on Islamic teachings and the traditions of the prophet, it concentrates mainly on political and economic developments in Islamic countries. Also serving as a platform for the Palestine Arab Delegation (the successors to Hajj Amin al Husseini, former Mufti of Jerusalem and a founder of the World Muslim Congress), its strident anti-Israel propaganda calls on all good Muslims to liberate al-Quds (Jerusalem), which is "an Arab Islamic city forever." The Muslim World also reprints articles from American anti-Semitic publications as well as essays by such well-known anti-Zionists as Dr. Alfred Lilienthal and Norman Dacey.

Saudi Arabia is the main power at both the religious and the political level. The Saudis provide money, trained personnel and books, and serve as a role model for religious and political views, in perhaps conscious imitation of the Caliphs. They have set up several organizations, with branches in the U.S., which disseminate both political and religious information. Hence, not suprisingly, the views expressed by American Muslims strongly resemble those expressed by the Saudi Government. These Saudi organizations just named include:

1. The Muslim World League (Rabita), established in 1962 by the Government, and headquartered in Mecca. Its stated purpose is to provide international coordination among Muslim organizations, as well as financial assistance. Rabita has consultant status at the United Nations, and is thus in a position to be involved in all issues concerning Muslims. Its New York offices are located down the hall from those of the Federation of Islamic Associations, and the two organizations evidently work closely together.

An article in The Muslim World expressed the reaction of Rabita to the Camp David summit: "Jews along their dark history have been characteristic with injustice,

hatred and ill will against the humanity of the human being, divine religions, spiritual civilizations, moral values and ideas." The article went on to "advise Muslims everywhere to counter Jewish conspiracies." (The Muslim World, December 2, 1978)

2. The World Assembly of Muslim Youth, headquartered in Riyadh and funding by the Saudi Government. This organization has branches wherever there is a Muslim community; it concentrates on religious training and social activities (such as camps) for youth. The U.S. office is in Indianapolis, not far from that of the Muslim Students' Association.
3. The National Coordinating Committee for Islamic Work in North America (also known as the Islamic Coordinating Council of North America) founded in Mecca in 1974-75.

Other current Saudi interests include development of a recently founded Islamic Chamber of Commerce; establishment of a publishing house for Islamic materials; and dissemination of Islamic propaganda along Saudi lines -- strict and fundamentalist with respect to religion, anti-Israel and anti-Zionist in politics.

Few other Muslim countries in the Middle East, North Africa or Asia, are concerned with the world Muslim community. Except for Libya and some of the Gulf States (pulled in by Saudi Arabia), they do not give financial help to American Muslims or interest themselves in their activities.

Major Muslim Organizations in the U.S.

Following are brief descriptions of four leading American Muslim organizations: the Federation of Islamic Associations in United States and Canada, the Muslim Students' Association of the U.S. and Canada, the World Community of Islam in the West, and the Islamic Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc.

FEDERATION OF ISLAMIC ASSOCIATIONS IN UNITED STATES AND CANADA (FIA)

820 Second Avenue, Suite 200
New York, New York 10017

President: Dawud As'ad (New Jersey)

President-elect: Nihad Hamid (Michigan)

The FIA is a nationwide umbrella organization of Muslim

communities in North America, established in 1952 in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

FIA currently has about 50 member organizations. Some are local associations, such as the Islamic Society of West Virginia, which hosted FIA's 1973 convention; others are ethnic associations like the Bilalian Association of American Black Muslims. The officers of FIA reflect this geographic and ethnic diversity, although its president has usually been drawn from one specific group, the Lebanese-Syrian Muslims. The most numerous and most active members are of Lebanese, Syrian or Palestinian origin -- either recent immigrants, or, American-born children of earlier immigrants -- who have steered the FIA toward a pro-P.L.O. position. Activities are financed primarily by members' contributions and dues, and in the past two years by grants from Middle East countries and international Muslim organizations.

FIA's stated objectives are:

1. To encourage formation of local Muslim associations for religious, cultural and social purposes;
2. To explain and publicize the teachings of Islam to Muslims and non-Muslims;
3. To provide for the religious, intellectual and social needs of its member organizations and tender them with moral, legal and financial comfort.

Toward these ends, FIA recently set up new headquarters in New York, with financial help from Saudi Arabia (through Rabita, the Muslim World League). Last year, to unify the religious network, FIA assisted by the World Council of Masajid (Mosques) in Mecca, organized a Council of Masajid in the U.S. and Canada, to which approximately 32 mosques across the country already belong. In a similar move, a Council of Imams in North America was formed in 1973 "to help coordinate the activities of the various Islamic centers in North America."

Because FIA believes the North American Muslim community is facing severe problems of assimilation, mixed marriage, and dwindling numbers, education and religious training are its primary concerns. With funds raised here and abroad, plans to set up more schools and Islamic centers are under way. For example, an international Muslim organization in Jidda recently contributed \$50,000, through the Saudi Arabia Embassy to an Islamic Center in Paterson, New Jersey. (The Saudi Charge d'Affaires was present at the inaugural ceremony for this institution in late 1978.) FIA recently acquired in New York City the block between 96th and 97th Street, from Second to Third

Avenue, on which to build another Islamic Center. As of July 1978, Libya, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Iraq had donated \$8 million with smaller sums pledged by the United Arab Emirates, Malaysia, Iran, Jordan and Morocco.

FIA is also working vigorously in the press and broadcast media to counter false and unfavorable public images of Muslims and Islam. With the Islamic Press Association, it has set up a committee to plan, coordinate, and organize international publicity directed to Muslim and non-Muslim organizations; it has already sponsored special programs on local TV and radio shows and launched newspapers and magazines such as the English-language Muslim Star.

These publicity programs have a political objective as well: to "fight the Zionist machine which issues anti-Islamic propaganda" and present the Muslim view of Middle East politics to a broad audience. FIA both denounces Israel regularly, and supports the P.L.O. and the Arab countries' full right to liberate their land by any means. In January 1978, FIA issued a call to President Carter to "scrutinize efforts by the Israeli lobby and Zionist alien elements that may be detrimental to the good and welfare of our United States...."

Several resolutions adopted unanimously at the July 1978 FIA Convention in West Virginia reflect this organization's political position:

1. "The FIA supports world-wide financial, technical and industrial cooperation... President Carter should prevent pressure groups from adversely affecting U.S. policy."
2. "One year of futile peace efforts and Zionist intransigence is enough... The U.S. should go back to the U.N. forum..."
3. "President Sadat of Egypt did the maximum to promote peace in the Middle East. But Israeli intransigence and our soft handling frustrated this and enabled the expansionist Zionist regime to invade Lebanon and destroy hundreds of villages..."
4. "The FIA supports all American minorities, especially American Indians..."³

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3. *A visitor from Canada delivered a progress report on his attempts to bring Islam to Canadian Indians. He considered them prime prospects for conversion and potential support of the Muslim -- meaning Arab -- cause.*

5. The FIA is opposed to the arms race... we call upon President Carter to conclude the SALT talks..."
6. The FIA is against all forms of racism, Nazism and Zionism, especially as practiced in South Africa and Palestine.
7. The FIA supports all Muslims everywhere."

Convention proposals for future political activities included letter-writing campaigns to protest Israeli "intransigence" and the plight of the Palestinians; the use of influential individuals and citizens groups to counteract Jewish power and the "Jewish lobby" in Washington; and the formation of a Muslim "Anti-Defamation League."

MUSLIM STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S. AND CANADA (MSA)
P.O. Box 38
Plainfield, Indiana 46168

President: Rabie Hasan Ahmad

The MSA has been called the largest Muslim organization in the United States, though the number of members is not known. Subscribers to MSA publications (Al-Ittihad and Islamic Horizons) number 6,000 but the group claims to have 35,000 members and 190 chapters in North America. In any case, MSA is one of the most important groups, because its members are active, highly educated and, for the most part, Arab. It was founded in 1963 to help students adjust to life in the U.S. and at the same time keep their traditions and beliefs. Until 1967, this remained its main focus, but since then, Muslims of all occupations, backgrounds and professions have joined. Today approximately 60% of the members are working professionals, and three professional associations are affiliated with MSA.⁴ The

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4. *The Islamic Medical Association; The Association of Muslim Social Scientists, devoted to research and development of a Muslim position in the social sciences; and the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers of North America, whose goals are to pool available talent and help the development of Muslim countries and peoples in Africa and Asia. All three organizations put out newsletters and publications of their own such as Muslim Scientist and Directory of Muslim Scientists and Engineers.*

organization's objectives, though still religious, cultural, educational and social, are now geared to the Muslim community at large rather than just to students.

MSA is a founding member of the International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations. As such, it participates in international conferences in the Middle East and Europe. Members of its staff go abroad on propaganda missions; delegates from Muslim countries participate in MSA's annual convention and speak in communities throughout the country. Recent activities have emphasized Islamic traditions and ideas; for example, many seminars are devoted to the ideal Muslim family.

Financial support for MSA's academic and religious activities comes from members' contributions and donations from Middle Eastern countries. In 1976, MSA bought 124 acres of land near Indianapolis for new headquarters and for a future Islamic Center of North America; a large part of the purchase price of \$375,000 came from the Middle East. (As of October 1977 the building of the center had not started, because of zoning problems.) Similarly, in 1977, more than \$395,000 was contributed towards operating costs by Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates; the largest share, about \$250,000, came from Saudi Arabia. Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia also offer scholarships to MSA and advertise for needed academic and professional personnel in its publications.

Since 1973, the U.S. has seen a big increase in the number of students from the Middle East, primarily from oil-rich countries seeking technical and managerial skills. Probably for this reason, MSA's two publications have printed more attacks on Israel, Zionism and Jews since 1973 than before. But even before the war of 1973, an annual convention adopted a resolution calling for a jihad (holy war): "Jihad is the only way to liberate occupied Muslim countries and, therefore, we support all Islamic liberation movements and struggles of Muslims in Palestine and Iran." During the October war, MSA formed a special Action Committee for the Middle East. Recently, Islamic Horizons has run a series of articles on Jewish influence in the U.S., which contended, "[The Jews'] ability to exploit media and to manipulate the political apparatus of both the Democrats and Republicans in and outside the corridors of power is beyond doubt. So powerful is their hold on the public opinion that those who oppose Israel's policies in the Middle East could be counted on fingers."

THE WORLD COMMUNITY OF ISLAM IN THE WEST (WCIW)
(Formerly the Black Muslims; also known as Bilalian Muslim
Organization)
7531 South Stony Island Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60649

Chief Imam: Wallace D. Muhammad

The Black Muslim movement began as the "Lost-Found Nation of Islam," "rediscovered" in the 1930s among American blacks. It was started by W. D. Fard, a peddler of unknown origin, who began teaching the "true" origins of blacks and their "true" religion, which resembled Islam, in the black ghetto of Detroit. His teachings grew into black nationalism.

In 1934, Fard disappeared without a trace. His most trusted student and follower, Elijah (Poole) Muhammad, took over and continued the established tradition teaching that the black is the original human, that whites are devils, that black Muslims must change their slave names and avoid certain foods. However, Elijah introduced a new slant: He claimed that Fard was Allah and he himself was Allah's prophet. This is heresy, according to orthodox Sunni doctrine, which proclaims that there is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet. As a result, the movement split; those members who refused to accept Fard as Allah formed their own organization, the Hanafi Muslim Movement.

The two groups have occasionally clashed; during 1973-74, in Washington, several persons were killed, and the quarrels surfaced again in the years that followed. But since 1975, when Muhammad died and was replaced by his son, Wallace Muhammad, things have quieted down and the organization has moved closer to orthodox Sunni Islam.

The WCIW (or Bilalian Muslim Organization) is now considered the most important black nationalist movement in the U.S. and emphasizes this aspect, rather than its Muslim character. The organization maintains a nationwide network of mosques and schools, which is totally separate from other Muslim institutions. There are about 140 mosques at present, and plans are afoot to build more, with monetary aid from Middle East countries. The Black Muslim organization owns stores, restaurants, apartment houses, a bank, a publishing company which prints the country's largest black newspaper, Bilalian News, and 15,000 acres of farmland in three states. The value of properties held by them was estimated at fully \$70 million in 1973, but the organization then suffered from lack of cash flow and of technical and managerial skills.

During most of its existence, WCIW was shunned by orthodox

Muslims and in turn shunned orthodoxy. The Black Muslims barred Arab and other ethnic Muslims from their temples and frowned on intermarriage with them. (Such marriages are in fact unheard-of.) Contributions from Middle Eastern countries were neither sought nor offered. But since Wallace Muhammad succeeded his father, there have been changes.

Negotiations with Arab countries to get money began in 1973; they were not successful while Elijah was alive because of the strife and killings within the group, and because of its all-black philosophy. Today, however, Black Muslims feel a strong affinity and identification with Muslims throughout the world; Bilalian News now offers a regular feature on the Qur'an and the Arabic language. Black Muslim philosophy has moved closer to traditional Islam, which makes it more acceptable to the Arab countries. Since 1976, "Bilalians" have participated in events at the Islamic Center in Washington, primarily an Arab Muslim institution. They took part in the 1978 convention of FIA, though not recognized by that body. And the money has started to come in: Libya has loaned WCIW several million dollars to finance new mosques and schools; Saudi Arabia -- the most orthodox and conservative Muslim country -- now offers scholarships to Bilalian students and has offered several million dollars to help finance a proposed \$15 million mosque on Chicago's South Side.

WCIW has abandoned most of its original racial and religious ideology. Black Muslims are now very active in setting up schools to teach the fundamentals of Islam, with texts and educational aids from the Middle East. They engage in missionary activities in the black community, and the number of converts to Islam in the U.S. has increased greatly thanks to their efforts. Their distinctive dress and their upright, moral behavior are important attractions in proselytizing. In their religious zeal and strict approach to Islamic law (especially with regard to dress, behavior and prayer), they share common goals with Muslims in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Clearly, both of these countries will work closely with the WCIW in their efforts to bolster Muslim minorities throughout the world and to impose one version of Islam on all of them. (For example, Rabita has recently held training seminars for Bilalian imams).

WCIW is somewhat ambivalent, usually hostile, toward Judaism and Jews. Though recognizing the similarity of religious beliefs and practices and a common history of persecution, Black Muslims still tend to see American Jews as members of the "race of devils," and Israeli Jews as enemies of their brother Muslims in the Middle East. Wallace Muhammad calls for cooperation among American Muslims, Jews and Christians in the fight against poverty and discrimination, but follows the Arab Muslim line

with regard to Israel. Bilalian News recently put the blame for stalled peace negotiations on Israeli "intransigence" and "expansionism," declaring: "The State of Israel came about when Zionist Jews, using terror and deceit, forced the Palestinians out of Palestine in 1948." With the money from Middle Eastern Muslim countries, certain political and theological influences are evidently coming in.

The rival Hanafi group is much smaller than WCIW, with a membership estimated at 1,000. Whereas WCIW attracts poor people, and recruits and rehabilitates pimps, prostitutes and prison inmates, the Hanafis are middle class. Their Chief Imam, Hamaas Abdul Khaalis, in 1958, broke with the Nation of Islam, which he felt had abandoned its commitment to orthodox Sunni Islam. But aside from theological disputes and personal grievances, there are no major differences between the two organizations. The Hanafis, too, have generally rejected the racial doctrine of the early Black Muslim movement, but believe strongly in defending their faith against "the enemies of Islam."

In March 1977, with a group of 11 armed Hanafi Muslims, Khaalis took over the District of Columbia Building, the Islamic Center and B'nai B'rith Headquarters in Washington, leading the attack on B'nai B'rith himself. During a 39-hour siege, the 116 Jewish hostages were physically assaulted, threatened and subjected to Khaalis' anti-Semitic tirades. "Zionist-Jews," he said, were a world conspiracy against which he was waging holy war as a "soldier of Allah." By the time all the takeovers ended, fortunately without a shoot-out, one black reporter had been killed and another man paralyzed by gunfire. Khaalis, who along with his associates was convicted of second-degree murder and kidnapping, was sentenced to a minimum of 41 years in prison. The case is still being appealed.

A third group, the Islamic Party in North America, has recently emerged: A Sunni Muslim organization, consisting mostly of blacks and decidedly opposed to WCIW. The Islamic Party engages mainly in social welfare activities such as distributing food to the need and running a Prison Work Unit, promotes conversion to Islam among poor blacks, and publishes a magazine Al-Islam.

ISLAMIC CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF AMERICA, INC.
P.O. Box 484
Lenox Hill Station
New York, New York 10021

Director and Founder: Mehmet Alisan Dobra

In May 1976, an International Federation of Islamic Chambers of Commerce was formed to aid Muslim businessmen, with the help and encouragement of the Islamic Conference (of Foreign Ministers) in Istanbul and the Muslim World League (Rabita). The Federation, in turn, decided to organize on the North American continent. To this end, new organizations were formed, among them the first Islamic Chamber of Commerce of America.

The Chamber's Board of Directors is composed entirely of Muslims who have been active in Muslim government and business circles. They are:

1. Alisan Dobra: President of Trans-Orient Marine Corporation of New York; shipping agent for the Government of the Sudan; Honorary Commercial Attache of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen; foreign trade advisor to the World Community of Islam in the West; Director and Vice President of the U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce.
2. Raymond Sharrieff: Chairman of the Board of Islamic Overseas Corp. of America in Delaware (Isloca); former Minister of Justice, World Community of Islam in the West.
3. Adil Araboglu: President of the Crescent group of companies of Washington; Honorary Consul General of Tunisia in Maryland; and Public Law 480 agent for the governments of Tunisia and Afghanistan (a U.S. aid program under which countries pay for food and other goods with books and their domestic products).

The objectives of the Islamic Chamber of Commerce are:

1. To facilitate, develop and maintain financial and economic relations among Muslim businessmen in the United States and Canada, as well as with Muslim countries, with the help of the Islamic Conference in Jidda.
2. To explore the business potential of the Muslim community in the United States with respect to international trade with Muslim countries, assistance and advice to Muslim immigrants, and protection of Muslim economic interests in the United States.

The Chamber has raised specific questions about discrimination against Muslims in the letting of U.S. Government contracts, unfair hiring practices of American firms, and restrictions and embargoes directed against Muslims. In addition, the Chamber intends to focus on the role American Muslims can play in Middle East trade: through establishment of a Muslim bank, preferential treatment in trading with the Middle East, and hiring Muslim labor for work on contracts in Muslim countries.

Several concrete proposals are currently being considered by the Chamber. The last week of September 1978 was designated Muslim Trade Week, and reportedly meetings were held at the Turkish Center in New York. The Chamber plans to send an all-Muslim trade mission to Muslim countries some time in 1979; it will also set up contacts with a view to establishing branches all over the U.S. and Canada.





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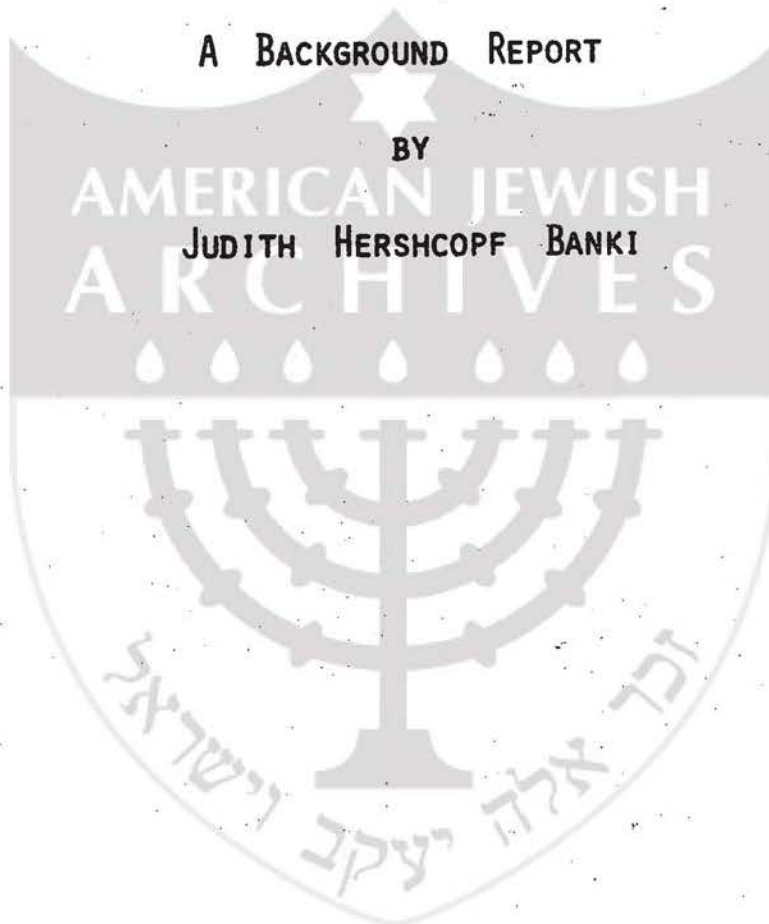
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ANTI-ISRAEL INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN CHURCHES

A BACKGROUND REPORT

BY

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PREFACE

This background report is, we believe, the first to survey systematically the sources of anti-Israel influence within American Christian churches. What constitutes anti-Israel sentiment has been carefully delineated: the use of double standards - harsher judgments and stricter demands made on Israel than on her Arab antagonists - biased or loaded renderings of history; and sometimes, resort to theological arguments hostile to Judaism.

Among the recent factors which have affected negative attitudes toward Israel is the rapid increase in immigration into the United States of Arab Christians and Moslems, resulting in a growth of population from some 250,000 to an estimated two million in the last fifteen years, coupled with recent efforts to bolster a growing pan-Arabism. Surely, Americans of Arab heritage have the same rights extended to all religious and ethnic groups by American pluralistic democracy: to develop their distinctive values, culture and influence. We affirm these rights - even as we may profoundly disagree with many of their positions and attitudes.

However, many of the recent immigrants come from nations so hostile to Israel that they still refuse to recognize her right to exist. Moreover, they come from cultures heavily imbued with anti-Semitism, where notorious documents of Jew-hatred, such as The Protocols of the Elders of Zion have been reproduced not only for intensive national consumption, but for export to other parts of the world. Of those who are Christian, many are adherents of a tradition of Christianity which has had neither dialogue nor contact with Judaism or with Jews, and whose theology denies any religious validity to Judaism.

We believe there are both theological and social grounds for building understanding and mutual respect between Arabs and Jews in America, as well as in the Middle East and in other parts of the world. Jewish-Christian dialogue has taught us that an essential aspect of understanding is the confronting and uprooting of sources of bigotry and inherited caricatures, whether of religious or cultural origin. American pluralism, and ultimately perhaps the achievement of full peace in the Middle East, may depend on the success of that process taking place between Arabs and Jews.

One final note: the purpose of this study was to identify the sources of anti-Israel sentiment and influence in American churches. To avoid distortion, it should be underscored that the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, the National Council of Churches and major Protestant denominations have affirmed the right of Israel to live in security and to possess its full sovereignty as a nation-state. There are pockets of hostility to Israel in the organized church community, but there is also a broad and enduring sympathy and support on the part of millions of American Christians throughout the country for our sister democracy in the Middle East, the State of Israel.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Interreligious Affairs Director

May 1979

SOURCES OF ANTI-ISRAEL SENTIMENT

American Christians have long been divided in their views on Middle Eastern affairs. Since before Israel was actually founded, approval and disapproval of the Jewish state have existed side by side in the church community. Israel has not lacked friends and supporters; year after year, opinion polls have shown the American public to be much more sympathetic to her than to her Arab antagonists, and many of the nation's church leaders have spoken out in her behalf, singly or in concert. Yet at the same time, an anti-Israel, pro-Arab attitude has been much in evidence in certain segments of American Christianity.

A pro-Arab disposition is strongly in evidence among Protestant denominations with long-standing involvement in missions to the Arab Middle East; in churches and church-related groups engaged in aiding Arab refugees; among certain left-wing "liberationist" ideologues; and in communions with predominantly Arab constituencies, whether Catholic or Eastern Orthodox. In these quarters, champions of the Arab cause often influence church policies and organizational resolutions far beyond their numbers, giving church groups a pro-Arab tilt by constantly pressing for statements critical of or detrimental to Israel.

In this report, certain criteria have been used to determine whether a group or an action is considered anti-Israel. Concern for the welfare of Palestinian refugees does not, in itself, constitute hostility to Israel. Nor does appreciation of Arab culture, interest in religious dialogue with Islam, or disapproval of specific policies of the Israeli Government. What constitutes anti-Israel bias is the unequal application of standards -- for example, criticizing Israel for military reprisals without taking note of the hostile actions that provoked them, or calling upon Israel to recognize the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), still publicly committed to her destruction, without the contingent demand that the PLO recognize Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state. Bias may also reveal itself in an unbalanced rendering of history. For example, Israel alone may be blamed for the existence of Palestinian refugees with no acknowledgment that their displacement is also the result of Arab-initiated wars against Israel, or that an equal number of Jewish refugees were forced to flee Arab countries without compensation for homes or property.

There is also a potent anti-Jewish legacy in Christian tradition which sometimes comes into play when Israel is being discussed; in such instances anti-Israel sentiment takes on an anti-Jewish coloration.

The following pages describe the major sources of anti-Israel, pro-Arab sentiment within the organized Christian community in the U.S., the church institutions on which Arab sympathizers exert significant influence, the religious organizations which they have created or with which they are allied, and the ways in which they seek to win American public sympathy for their views through religious channels.

The Arab Missionary and Relief Establishments

Modern Arab nationalism has some of its roots in a Protestant missionary presence that began in the last century. A number of denominations have long been involved with philanthropic, educational and missionary ventures in the Arab Middle East: with universities, secondary schools, hospitals, social service centers, refugee aid projects and so forth. Many institutions of higher learning in the Moslem world began as American missionary undertakings -- among them the prestigious American University of Beirut (originally the Syrian Protestant College).

Out of these missionary and service activities, which have had strong financial support, has emerged a group of church professionals who naturally sympathize with Arab aspirations, identify with Arab views, and are ready to promote Arab interests both within their organizations and in public -- often at the expense of Israel. Men and women like these usually hold the staff positions in the Middle East departments of their denominations and of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. They are thus chiefly responsible for recommending lecturers and resource persons; for choosing, producing or distributing education materials including films; and for drafting resolutions on the Middle East.

In contrast, staff members sympathetic to Israel rarely serve in Middle East departments. They do serve in other departments, and try to alter or balance resolutions harmful to Israel at church conventions, but their efforts are almost invariably last-ditch struggles waged against the inertia of large assemblies of delegates who are only too ready to adopt statements drafted by "specialists."

Among Protestant bodies, those with the most active anti-Israel staff members include the United Church of Christ, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Reformed Church in America, the Quakers (Friends United Meeting), the United Methodist Church, and the Mennonite Central Committee (the relief and development agency of the Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Churches of North America). Except for the Methodists, all of them, especially the United Church of Christ and the Presbyterians, have institutional commitments in the Arab Middle East. Officials of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches -- the latter a predecessor of the United Church of Christ -- founded the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,¹ which sent hundreds of missionaries to the Arab world.

In their appeals for support of relief services to Palestinian refugees, some of the Protestant missionary groups occasionally display anti-Israel bias and engage in distortions of historical fact -- for example, representing Israeli "aggression" as the only cause of the Palestinians' plight. This anti-Zionist animus is older than the State of Israel itself:

Protestant, AUB /American University of Beirut/ people, and oilmen helped the State Department in the 1930s to resist Zionism within the United States... In 1945 mission and

1. Renamed the United Church Board for World Ministries soon after its 150th anniversary in 1960.

church groups helped found the Institute of Arab-American Affairs to combat Zionism. During the next two years what was named the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry studied the Jewish homeland question. Testimony of American mission-related individuals was anti-Zionist, although one United States churchman, representing conservative Christians who saw a separate Jewish home as a fulfillment of biblical prophecy, was pro-Zionist.²

Originally, Christian antagonism to the idea of a Jewish state rested as much on theological and religious as on political grounds (as did the few instances of support for the idea). The view that the Church, the "new Israel," had superseded the "old Israel" and thereby inherited the biblical promises was commonly cited in responses to early Zionist initiatives. So was the notion that the Jews had been condemned to eternal dispersion because they had rejected the messiahship of Jesus. Since the State of Israel has come into being, Western Christians hostile to the Jewish state seldom resort to these theological arguments, although Arab Christian leaders invoke them frequently.

Even in the West, traces of the pervasive anti-Jewish polemic in Christian tradition, and of the triumphalism that interprets Judaism and Jewish history through Christian eyes, still surface from time to time in comments about Israel, in anti-Jewish attitudes, and especially in the use of double standards of morality. Jewish (or Israeli) behavior is judged against a standard of absolute perfection, and deviations from this idealized norm are deemed proof of utter sinfulness; the failures and shortcomings of others are judged more pragmatically. Quaker Life, for example, combined almost all of these elements in an article clearly hostile to Jews and Judaism, as well as to Israel.³

In the Roman Catholic community of the U.S., things are somewhat similar. Some leaders with a background of philanthropic or educational service in the Arab Middle East actively promote anti-Israel positions. Foremost among them is the Reverend Joseph L. Ryan, S.J., who is Rector of Holy Cross College in Worcester, Massachusetts, a member of the Center for the Study of the Modern Arab World at St. Joseph's University in Beirut, and a former Vice President of Al Hikma University in Baghdad. He was the founder and first President of Americans for Justice in the Middle East and is presently associated with the Middle East Resource Center, both anti-Israel organizations.

Father Ryan has made a number of nationwide speaking tours, lecturing at colleges and universities. His main themes have been that the PLO deserves support because there is a difference between the "violence of the oppressed" and the "violence of the oppressor"; that non-Jews are "second-class citizens in Israel"; that peace is impossible unless Israel withdraws from the territories occupied in 1967; and that a Palestinian state must be established on the West Bank and in Gaza. He does not believe, he has said, that Israel should have been created or should exist.

2. Joseph Grabill, Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), pp. 307-8

3. "Promised Land," by Harold Smuck, Quaker Life, September 1976.

Anti-Israel statements have also come from the present Archbishop of Anchorage, Alaska, Joseph T. Ryan (no relation to Father Joseph L. Ryan, above), who previously was National Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. The Association's present National Secretary, Msgr. John G. Nolan, is a board member of Americans for Middle Eastern Understanding, a pro-Arab group.

Liberationist Ideology

A second source of anti-Israel sentiment within the churches is the current ideology sometimes referred to as "liberation theology." Not unlike the Social Gospel movement of yesteryear, it calls upon Christians to identify with oppressed peoples and makes the active pursuit of racial, social and economic justice a religious obligation. This approach is supported, not only by many members of racial minorities and persons from the Third World, some of whom hold important staff positions in the church community, but also by some classic liberals concerned for justice and world peace.

In theory, liberationist thought should not lead to anti-Israel positions, for Jews, too, are a minority, and Israel is a beleaguered democracy if there ever was one. But the same selective morality which singles out Israel for special abuse in the United Nations is also at work here. Liberationist activists champion the Palestinians as oppressed Third World people and brand Israel as a racist, colonialist outpost of American imperialism. Though their numbers are not large, they are among the most vehement spokesmen on the American Christian scene, and sometimes manage to co-opt church professionals working for world peace and justice. Or they prevail on other committed liberals to endorse seemingly evenhanded public statements, which urge Israel to recognize the PLO or allow Palestinians to return to "their homeland" -- in other words, to admit hundreds of thousands committed to her own destruction.

Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J., who has denounced Israel as a "criminal Jewish community" and as a "settler state" seeking "Biblical justification for crimes against humanity," is perhaps the most dramatic spokesman for this viewpoint. Less drastic versions of his arguments are presented by others who, naively extrapolating from American history, find the call for a "secular, democratic state" appealing and the concept of a Jewish state retrogressive. The leftist liberationists, like other anti-Israel groups, insistently publicize the writings of well-known anti-Zionists Jews in the U.S., such as Rabbi Elmer Berger and Alfred Lilienthal, and the often totally unfounded accusations of a few Israelis -- such as Israel Shahak, a vehement anti-Zionist, or Felicia Langer, an attorney who is a member of Israel's Communist Party. The fact that Israel is a democracy in which, unlike most of the Arab nations in the Middle East, open dissent from government policy is guaranteed by freedom of speech, is never acknowledged.

ARAB CHURCHES

Though Protestant missionaries made a number of Arab converts in the last century, and though Arab Protestant Churches and congregations exist in the Middle East and the U.S., the overwhelming majority of Christian Arabs are Eastern Orthodox or Catholics of the Eastern Rite. This state of affairs ultimately stems from two major schisms in Christianity. Some Eastern churches, including the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Coptic Church of Egypt and the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch, have stood apart from the rest of the Christian churches since the fifth century in a dispute over the question of the two natures (divine and human) of Jesus. The great schism of 1054 separated Byzantine (Orthodox) Christianity from Western Latin Christianity.

Communities of Arab Christians have existed in the United States for some time, but only in recent years have some of their leaders aggressively pursued political goals on Middle East issues. Not all American Christians of Middle Eastern background are against Israel; thus, many Lebanese support Israel as the defender and ally of the beleaguered Christian community in Lebanon. But those who do oppose Israel are a potent new influence in organized American Christianity. They have used public relations techniques skillfully and on occasion have made common cause with Moslem leaders. From their leadership positions in their own churches, they have pressed non-Arab church groups and agencies for anti-Israel statements, and have sought to influence the U.S. Government against Israel.

The major Christian Arab communities in the U.S. are described below.

ORTHODOX CHURCHES

Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America

The U.S. and Canadian branch of the Antiochian Orthodox church, known as the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, came into being in 1975, when two groups that had split apart in 1936 were reunited. The parent church's Holy Synod is based in Syria; the North American headquarters are in Englewood, N.J. The size of the church's U.S. constituency is somewhat of a mystery. Spokesmen claim 50,000 "dues-paying members" but add that a total of 350,000 persons is "attached to" or "associated with" the Archdiocese. The 1978 Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches reports a membership of 152,000, with 152 ordained clergy and 110 churches. The American Arabic-Speaking Community Almanac of 1975 lists 98 churches, broadly distributed throughout the U.S., but most numerous in California, Florida, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

The Antiochian church has influence beyond its numbers because it is a member of the National Council of Churches with representation on the NCC's Governing Board. Its representative there is Dr. Frank Maria, chairman

of the church's Department of Near East Affairs. Metropolitan Philip Saliba, the head of the North American Archdiocese, was until recently a Vice President of the NCC. Both Metropolitan Saliba and Dr. Maria are vigorous advocates for the PLO; the latter has frequently introduced resolutions urging U.S. recognition of the PLO at NCC meetings. In similar vein, he has pressed for investigations of alleged human rights violations and breaches of international law in Israel and the occupied territories.

In mid-1977, the Patriarch of the church, Elias IV, toured the U.S. for six weeks, with appropriate panoply and publicity. He ceremoniously called on President Carter and UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim (on the latter visit, he was accompanied by the Lebanese and Syrian ambassadors, both of whom gave receptions for him). Patriarch Elias was also hosted by other Christian notables, such as Melkite Archbishop Joseph Tawil. In addition, the Patriarch, who was the only Christian leader ever to address a majority of the world's Moslem heads of state, when they met in Lahore, India, was guest of honor at a dinner given by ambassadors of Arab states in Washington.

At the church's annual convention, also in Washington, Elias declared in a press conference that Jews had little "historic connection" with the territory of the State of Israel. Speaking through his interpreter, he said: "As far as we Christians are concerned, we are the new Israel. All the prophecies of the Old Testament were fulfilled by the coming of the Messiah... After the destruction of the Temple, the Jews were dispersed. Those who remained lived in peace with the Arabs and the Christians" until modern times, when, he said, "outsiders" came in.

A leaflet distributed by the church press conference quoted the Patriarch: "As Christian Arabs, we believe that the loss of Jerusalem affects the Arab cause in general. We shall not spare any effort to insure that Jerusalem remains an Arab city, open to all believers and to the entire world... The Palestinian plea is for a Jerusalem returned to its own people." He also asserted that "the exiled and dispersed Palestinians are the symbol of all human suffering."

Bolstered by his presence and his outspoken position, the convention passed five resolutions, all of them presented by Dr. Frank Maria. One condemned the Israeli Government's legalizing three "additional Zionist-Israeli settlements on occupied Arab lands in violation of international law," and called upon President Carter to persuade Israel "to abolish these settlements and any further illegal encroachment upon Arab territories." A resolution on human rights demanded that the United States withhold economic and military aid from Israel, charging that Israel stands condemned by the UN for violations of the human rights of Arabs. Another resolution, asserting that the Arab-Israeli conflict has been "the most poorly reported story in the history of American journalism," called upon the news media in this country and Canada to "stop being part of an insidious campaign to defame and misrepresent the Arabs."

Other resolutions advocated American Christian-Islamic dialogue, settlement of the Lebanese conflict with "peace and justice for all," and relaxation of U.S. and Canadian immigration regulations to allow admission

of Lebanese refugees. All these points, widely publicized, were repeated as the Patriarch traveled from coast to coast, attending six regional parish conferences and visiting New York, Boston, Montreal, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Louisville, Oklahoma City and Los Angeles. In Louisville he said war in the Middle East was inevitable unless Israel gave back the territories taken in 1967.

Coptic Orthodox Church

Adherents believe the Coptic Orthodox church to be Christianity's oldest organized denomination and to have been founded by St. Mark in 40 C.E. in Alexandria. Today, about 7 million of Egypt's 40 million inhabitants are Copts. The head of the church is Pope Shenouda III in Cairo. In the U.S., according to the 1978 Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches, the inclusive U.S. membership totals 40,000, with 14 churches and 12 ordained clergy.

In April and May 1977, Pope Shenouda paid a ceremonial visit to the U.S. and Canada, traveling to Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Houston, as well as to Washington and New York. In Washington he met with President Carter and visited by the local Catholic archbishop, William Cardinal Baum. In New York, accompanied by two Egyptian ambassadors, he saw UN Secretary General Waldheim.

Pope Shenouda is a former Egyptian Army officer. He took part in the Israel-Arab War of 1947, and during the War of 1973 was reported by Radio Cairo to have asked that he be drafted again. However, no anti-Israel remarks by him or others were noted during his North American tour, nor has the American Coptic community been particularly active against Israel.

Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch (Archdiocese of the U.S.A. and Canada)

The Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch traces its origin to the earliest Patriarchate established in Antioch by St. Peter the Apostle, and is under the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and All the East. No information about its worldwide or U.S. membership is available. In the Middle East and India, it has 35 archdioceses as well as many churches, schools and seminaries. In the U.S. there are eight parishes, in California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey and Rhode Island. In Canada, there are three, two of them in the Province of Quebec and one in Ontario.

The present head of the Church is Patriarch Mar Ignatius Yacoub III. He has visited the U.S. twice, in 1969 and 1971. The Archdiocese of the U.S.A. and Canada was formally created in 1957. Its head is Archbishop Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, previously Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan in Jerusalem, who first came to the U.S. in 1949 to collect war relief funds for his co-religionists. His headquarters are in Hackensack, N.J. The Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch is a constituent body of the National Council of Churches, and Archbishop Samuel serves on the NCC Governing Board.

Armenian Apostolic Church of America

This is a branch of the Armenian Church under the jurisdiction of the See of Cilicia in Lebanon, whose Coadjutor Catholicos is Karekin Sarkissian. Cilicia's jurisdiction traditionally extends over Armenian dioceses in Lebanon, Syria and Cyprus; it is also accepted by adherents elsewhere who consider the See in Soviet Armenia too much dominated by Communist authorities.

Catholicos Sarkissian has been active in the World Council of Churches and has been a vice chairperson of its Central Executive Committee since 1975. He came to the U.S. in 1973, and was prelate of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America when he was elected to his present office in 1977.

Pan Orthodox Trends

When Patriarch Elias of the Antiochian church toured North America in 1977, he repeatedly pleaded for unity among Orthodox Christian churches, describing it as inevitable. And indeed, cooperation, if not structural unity, among Orthodox churches in North America is a significant trend. In October 1978, at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, a National Conference of Orthodox Bishops in America was held for the first time, to consider the prospects for Orthodox unity and to make Orthodoxy "a major spiritual and moral force in this nation."

Already, the different churches interlock in many ways. Thus, the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese is an outgrowth of the Syrian Mission of the Russian Orthodox Church. Antiochian Metropolitan Saliba is Vice Chairman of the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas, (SCOBA); its head is Archbishop Iakovos, the Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. Also included in SCOBA are archbishops and bishops of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church in America, the Orthodox Church in America, the Serbian Orthodox Church in America, the Albanian Orthodox Diocese of America, the American-Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Diocese in the U.S.A., the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America, and the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in Exile.

Pan-Orthodox ecumenism is clearly an internal Christian concern, but its implications reach farther. A unified Orthodoxy would offer a far more prestigious platform to the more vehemently anti-Israel leaders in the Orthodox community than they have had to date.

EASTERN RITE CATHOLIC CHURCHES

Melkite Eparchy

Melkite or Byzantine-rite Catholics accept the Pope as their spiritual leader, but have their own liturgy and are governed by their own patriarchs and bishops. Their titular head is Patriarch Maximos V Hakim of Damascus. There are about one million Melkite Catholics in the world, half of them in the Middle East.

In the U.S., Melkites number about 20,000. An eparchy (diocese) was established by papal bull in 1977, in Newton, Massachusetts. The eparch or head of the American church, Archbishop Joseph Tawil, was one of and Eastern Rite Catholic and Orthodox Group which hailed the UN's recognition of the PLO, describing the latter as "a moderate organization whose concern had been the liberation of their homeland from Israeli occupation and aggression."

In July 1976, Patriarch Maximos visited this country to attend the annual meeting of the American branch of his church, as well as the International Eucharistic Congress in Philadelphia. At a press conference he urged the U.S. to be "more impartial, not involved one hundred percent with Israel," and added that he thought the U.S. was beginning to give "more consideration to the Arab side" in the Middle East. He asked that the U.S. use its influence to have the lands occupied by Israel since 1967 returned to Arab control, so that the Palestinians might create their own state on the West Bank.

In June 1977, on the tenth anniversary of the Seven-Day War, Patriarch Maximos celebrated a special mass in Rome to pray for Jerusalem. The ceremony was organized by the Egyptian Ambassador to the Holy See, who is the dean of Arab diplomats accredited to the Vatican; it was attended by a number of high Vatican officials. The patriarch called on the Jewish people to recognize the rights of the Palestinians, and told those present: "Let us pray for the return of the Palestinians to their homeland."

A curious conflict arose between Patriarch Maximos and the Vatican over the Patriarch's authority to ordain priests serving in the U.S. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, the Melkite Church accepts married men into the priesthood. Two married priests ordained in the Middle East are serving in the Newton eparchy; a third was ordained in Canada and then was brought to the U.S. A Vatican spokesman claimed that the Canadian ordination was illicit, and that those performed in the Middle East were licit only for service in that area, not in the U.S. Maximos replied sharply, asserting his own prerogative and taking the Vatican spokesman to task.

The controversy over patriarchal vs. papal authority, while an internal Christian affair, has a bearing on the matter of Arab influence in American Christian institutions and thus is of concern to Jews. An influx of Arab clergy ordained by an Arab prelate with a record of strong hostility to Israel is not a heartening prospect. Significantly, the priest ordained in Canada, the Reverend Romanos Russo, is the director of the Damascus area group for the Friends of the Holy Land, a nonprofit organization headquartered in Yonkers, New York, which was founded in 1974 "under the guidance of His Beatitude, Maximos V Hakim..." Whether or not Patriarch Maximos will use the Newton eparchy to bring Arab prelates into the U.S., and what roles such prelates may play here, will bear careful watching.

The Maronite Diocese

The Maronites take their name from St. Maron, a monk who lived in Northern Syria in the late fourth century. Their liturgy is in Aramaic.

Although no exact numbers are available, they are known to be the largest Christian community in Lebanon. Outside the Middle East, they have an archbishop and many monasteries and religious houses in Rome, as well as bishops in Brazil, Australia and the U.S. Maronite parishes also exist in North Africa and in France, Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay and South Africa.

In the U.S., after being an exarchate for six years, the Maronites became a diocese in 1972. The Diocese of St. Maron currently consists of 43 parishes, two institutions, 58 priests and 12 seminarians; its jurisdiction extends to all 50 states. The diocesan seminary is located in Washington. The see of Maronite Bishop Francis Zayek, head of the church, has recently been moved from Detroit to Brooklyn.

Chaldean Rite Catholics

The Chaldeans trace their origins to Nestorius, a bishop and prominent teacher in the Eastern Church during the fifth century, who was censured by Rome on doctrinal grounds. His followers subsequently split; one faction became the Nestorian Church, still in existence as an independent Eastern denomination, while the other, the present Chaldeans, reunited with the Roman Catholic Church, though retaining the Eastern rite. To this day, Chaldeans pray in Aramaic.

In the U.S., Chaldeans number about 1,500 families, comprising some 7,500 persons. Most of them originally came from Northern Iraq and settled around Detroit, where they now form two large parishes. There is a third parish in San Diego and a fourth in Los Angeles. They are under the jurisdiction of local Catholic bishops, but in matters of rite their superior is the Patriarch of Babylon, whose see is in Baghdad.

ORGANIZATIONAL TIES

To what degree do the various Arab Christian groups in the U.S. make common cause with one another, with Moslem leaders and with non-Arab Christian groups in promoting anti-Israel positions? The answer is that some are extremely active in this way, others not at all; the Arab-American community, far from being monolithic, reflects many of the differences and power struggles that divide peoples and governments in the Middle East.

Many Maronites, for example, are friendly to Israel, because Israeli forces have acted to protect and preserve their co-religionists during the recent fighting in Lebanon; others are anti-Israel, believing that Israel's policies -- indeed, her very existence -- are ultimately responsible for the influx of Palestinians which upset the delicate political and religious balance in Lebanon and helped precipitate the civil war there.

Yet despite differences like these, there are efforts to foster a growing pan-Arab consciousness. Sparked by the more vehemently anti-Israel spokesmen, a number of religious leaders have formed a Standing Conference of American Middle Eastern Christian and Moslem Leaders. The Antiochian Orthodox Metropolitan Philip Saliba is its Secretary General; the Melkite Archbishop, Joseph Tawil, is treasurer. Maronite Bishop Francis Zayek is also a member, as are Imam Mohamad Jawad Chirri, Islamic Center in Detroit; Imam Muhammed Abdul Rauf of the Islamic Center, Washington; the Rev. George Garmo of the Chaldean Catholic Church in Southfield, Mich.; the Rev. Joseph Hourani of the Presbyterian Church in Elmer, N.J.; Msgr. John Nolan of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association in New York; Rafic Rasamny of the American Druze Society in New York; also, Bishop Mar Aprim Khamis of the Church of the East in Chicago; Archbishop Mar Athanasius Y. Samuel of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch in Hackensack, N.J.; and Bishop Mesrob Ashjian of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America in New York.

The Standing Conference claims to represent two million Americans of Arabic heritage and to be "composed of hierarchs and representatives of Orthodox Christian, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Sunnite Moslem, Shiite Moslem and Druze bodies in the United States." On March 22, 1978, Metropolitan Saliba, acting for the Standing Conference, wired to President Carter and Secretary of State Vance to protest the Israeli invasion and occupation of South Lebanon. In a press release of the Conference, issued on the letterhead of the Antiochian archdiocese, he commented: "Without Israeli withdrawal from all Arab-occupied land and self-determination for the Palestinian people, there will never be peace in the land of the Prince of Peace."

In the Washington area, Arab-American Moslem and Christian leaders came together in October 1977 to assure President Carter of their support for his human rights program. They particularly commended the 1977 U.S.-Soviet declaration concerning objectives for an Arab-Israeli peace settlement (a move since eclipsed by President Sadat's visit to Israel and the Camp David accords), and stressed that the legitimacy of Palestinian rights must be taken into account in any settlement. The signers were: the Very Reverend George M. Rados, pastor of St. George Antiochian Orthodox Church; the Reverend Joseph Francavilla, pastor of Holy Transfiguration Melkite Greek Catholic Church; Dr.

Muhammad Abdul-Rauf, executive director of the Islamic Center; the Reverend Esper Ajaj, pastor of the Arabic Baptist Church; the Reverend Hector Douehi, pastor of Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Church; and Aida F. Habib, a member of St. Mark Egyptian Coptic Orthodox Church.

It was the first known meeting of the Washington area's Arab-American religious leaders, and the first time they joined to speak in a common cause. Given the long history of Christian-Moslem tensions in the Arab world, marked as it has been by oppression and bigotry on both sides, these joint efforts certainly are a noteworthy development.

At the National Council of Churches

A move in a similar direction was the formation of a task force on Christian-Moslem Relations and the establishment of an Islamic Desk at the National Council of Churches, in August 1977. The formal request for the task force had come from Dr. Frank Maria and Metropolitan Philip Saliba of the Antiochian archdiocese, both officers of the NCC at the time. The two leaders emphasized that it was essential for American Christians to understand Arab Christian and Moslem attitudes and aspirations, "particularly in relation to a Middle East settlement."⁴

The inner workings of the National Council of Churches provide frequent illustrations of how forces sympathetic to Arab claims bureaucratically outweigh those sympathetic to Israel. The promoters of pro-Arab sentiment identified earlier in this paper -- the missionary establishment, the left-wing "liberationists" and the Arab churches -- are all represented in the NCC, many in key positions; and they tend to work together when matters pertaining to Israel are on the agenda.

In 1973, for example, when a number of state and local councils of churches publicly decried Egypt's and Syria's surprise attack on Israel during the Yom Kippur Holy Day, the NCC carefully avoided putting responsibility for the war where it belonged (though its then deputy general secretary, speaking as an individual, joined in the condemnation). Rather, a resolution by the NCC's Governing Board pointed to the United Nations as "the primary instrument for achieving long-range peace" and urged the U.S. and the Soviet Union "to halt immediately arms shipments to the belligerents" -- at a time when the Soviet Union had already sent massive armaments to the Arab nations and when Israel's military supplies were critically low.

Again, in May 1978, when Israel responded to a terrorist attack with a reprisal raid on southern Lebanon, the NCC's Governing Board passed a resolution scoring Israel's use of cluster bombs and criticized the U.S. Government for supplying them -- but rejected an amendment referring to persons "wantonly killed or maimed" in the terrorist action which occasioned the reprisal.

The affair of the Reverend Isaac C. Rottenberg is another case in point. In a letter to The New York Times (May 24, 1978), Mr. Rottenberg,

4. The Washington Star, August 6, 1977

for ten years Director of Communications at the Reformed Church in America, protested what he described as "a persistent anti-Israel propaganda campaign within the Council," noted that "every NCC Governing Board meeting has been preceded by internal bureaucratic power plays aimed at criticizing Israel," and claimed that whenever "concerns were raised in the Council about anti-Semitism, the Holocaust or the emergence of neo-Nazi movements, attempts have been made to trivialize or neutralize them." Earlier, Mr. Rottenberg had been among those who protested that Rumanian Archbishop Valerian Trifa, who was under Federal indictment on charges of having lied about his involvement in war crimes, was a member of the NCC Governing Board. Shortly after the publication of his letter in the Times, Rottenberg was fired from his denominational position.

There are, both within the NCC and in denominational groups, persons sympathetic to Israel and seriously interested in Jewish-Christian dialogue, but they are less close to the centers of institutional power and funding than those of the opposite persuasion:

Where churches have had an overseas missionary relationship with a particular faith, funds can be obtained from the mission agencies. However, where no such relationship exists, it is very difficult to attract financial support. The Jewish-Christian Advisory Committee of the National Council of Churches is an illustration. Because there are no parallel units with funding capability in the denominations, this office is facing a serious financial crisis. Our churches are not presently equipped to deal with other faiths outside the context of mission.⁵

A recent resolution by the NCC Governing Board on the Middle East peace effort, adopted on November 3, 1978, combined elements of sympathy and antipathy toward Israel. It welcomed the movement toward peace represented by the Camp David agreements, celebrated the role of Egypt and the initiatives of its President, and rejoiced with Israel "in feeling that its dream of peace and deliverance might be realized and the threat of annihilation diminished." At the same time, the resolution underscored the Palestinians' right to self-determination, reaffirmed "the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force," and urged President Carter "to broaden the context of the peace discussions to include the recognized representatives of the Palestinian people in order to enable them to become full parties in the peace process." The resolution also voiced the hope that other Arab states besides Egypt would agree to participate in the search for peace and cautioned that until the unresolved issues in the Middle East conflict were settled, "the unity, independence, and territorial integrity of Lebanon" would "continue to be in jeopardy."

Other Organizations

Members of the clergy and present or former church officials also sit on the boards of a number of pro-Arab organizations that are not explicitly

5. Robert L. Turnipseed: "Interreligious Relationship -- An Urgent Ecumenical Concern," editorial in Ecumenical Trends, September 1978

church-related. Thus, Americans for Middle East Understanding (AMEU) has the following among its board members: Harry G. Dorman, formerly director of NCC's Middle East and Europe Department; Msgr. John G. Nolan, the Pontifical Mission for Palestine; Father Joseph L. Ryan; and L. Humphrey Walz a former Synod executive of the United Presbyterian Church, who is also editor of AMEU's journal, The Link.

American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc. (ANERA) similarly counts a number of religious leaders among its present or former directors: J. Richard Butler, the NCC's director for the Middle East and Europe; the Reverend Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate; Msgr. Nolan (see above); and the Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Dean of the Washington Cathedral.

Father Joseph L. Ryan was a signer of a letter appealing for contributions to the Middle East Resource Center (MERC) in Washington. MERC, established late in 1975, is a project of Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine, an organization directed from Waverly, Massachusetts by Dr. Edmund Hanauer, an anti-Zionist Jew and disciple of Rabbi Elmer Berger. Father Ryan's co-signer was Dr. Hisham Sharabi, president of the National Association of Arab Americans, who has been publicly criticized by moderate Arab-American leaders for his defense of Palestinian terrorist tactics. MERC's function, the letter noted, was "to bring information on Middle East issues to members of Congress, journalists and citizens groups." MERC was "currently establishing personal contacts in the offices of members of Congress who have shown concern for human rights, in order to raise the issue of Israeli violation of Palestinian rights with these members of Congress as well as with the general public."

Finally, Middle East Perspective, Inc., which is headed by Dr. Alfred Lilienthal and publishes his vehemently anti-Zionist newsletter, has for its Vice Chairman John Nicholls Booth, a Unitarian minister.

CONCLUSION

Recent public opinion polls have shown some dilution of American popular support for Israel: not a reversal toward increased identification with the Arab cause, but a shift toward neutrality.

After thirty years of incessant refusal by the Arab states to recognize Israel, Egyptian President Sadat's dramatic visit to Jerusalem undoubtedly captured the imagination of many Americans and prompted them to view him as the prime champion of peace. On the other hand, Israel's concerns for security and normalization as part of the peace process may have impressed many Americans as foot-dragging or nit-picking. The shift in public opinion is probably due more to these developments than to the efforts of the anti-Israel groups described in this report. Undoubtedly, most Americans welcomed the signing of a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, but how that achievement will affect attitudes toward Israel remains to be seen.

Despite the peace treaty, anti-Israel forces will continue their efforts to attenuate the still broad support Israel enjoys among Americans. The Jewish community, in its interreligious contacts and programs, must help consolidate that support and give it expression, so that voices in the Christian community that are hostile to Israel will not resonate beyond their true proportions.



Single copy 50¢

Quantity prices on request



Marc Tanenbaum

memorandum

DAD/TA

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 12, 1978
to Area Directors and Executive Assistants
from Milton Ellerin
subject NORMAN DACEY - American Palestine Committee mailing

We have received numerous complaints from different parts of the country which, based on past experience, indicates that there has been a nationwide mailing of a Norman F. Dacey article "For Owners of Israel Bonds... Danger Ahead." As the title suggests, Dacey seeks to cast doubt on the soundness of the bonds as an investment.

It is our understanding that the Israel Bonds organization, which is aware of the current mailing, is making no effort to refute the numerous distortions of the truth and errors of fact in the Dacey piece, but has filed a formal complaint with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. All those who have brought the current mailing to our attention are Jews who received it unsolicited, leading to the speculation that Dacey is utilizing a commercial list of prominent Jews or Israel Bond purchasers.

The enclosed background memo on Dacey is being furnished for your information, and to assist you in answering local inquiries. Note that the fact sheet is not for publication. You may, however, furnish copies to prominent lay people with the admonition that it is for their information only.

ME:en
Enc.
cc: Staff Advisory

#78-970-12

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

NORMAN F. DACEY -
The American Palestine Committee

Norman F. Dacey, who resides in Heritage Village, Southbury, Connecticut, has a winter home in the British West Indies and a business office - Norman F. Dacey & Associates in Bridgeport, Ct. The American Palestine Committee, conceived and organized by Dacey, is also located in Bridgeport.

Approximately 70 years of age, Dacey was born a Catholic but became a Protestant after his World War II marriage to a British subject.

For most of the past decade, Dacey has been among the more active American pleaders for the Arab cause. He's a prolific writer of anti-Israel, anti-Zionist articles, tracts, and letters to the editor. Either on his own or through the American Palestine Committee, Dacey has sponsored newspaper advertisements in the New York Times, Washington Post, and the Wall Street Journal which, demonstrably were replete with distortions and half-truths. These advertisements invariably are critical of Israel, and frequently attacked its supporters in Congress. An advertisement in the New York Times of June 6, 1972 quoted the late Joseph Alsop as having said that, "with one exception, every liberal senator receives more than half of his campaign contributions from Zionist sources" - a charge that Alsop publicly declared to be an "invention."

In a 12/14/73 New York Times ad, Dacey accused Israel of oppressing the Palestinian population and urged readers to clip, sign and mail the page to then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Several individuals who have known Dacey for a number of years but wish to remain anonymous say he has long been an anti-Semite. He is a successful author. (His How To Avoid Probate purportedly sold over 750,000 copies, and has authored a book on insurance practices What's Wrong With Your Life Insurance and one on mutual funds. Dacey is an investment counselor, and mutual funds salesman and manager. Reputedly a wealthy man, by his admission, he is "America's best known estate planner."

Newsweek Magazine (June 27, 1966) characterizes him as a "gadfly." Individuals who have had business dealings with Dacey describe him as "erratic," "money hungry," "publicity seeking," "irresponsible," "an unmitigated liar," "unstable," "nasty," and "flamboyant."

The New York Times of May 5, 1970 reported that Norman F. Dacey was censured by the Securities and Exchange Commission for attempting to sell mutual fund shares without making proper disclosures. Further that: "The Commission took its action after Mr. Dacey...did not contest the findings of a commission hearing examiner that he had vio-

lated the securities laws and should be censured."

On 10/25/72 Dacey and others filed suit against then U.S. Secretary of the Treasury George Schultz and IRS Director Johnnie M. Walters alleging that UJA and its United Israel Appeal funds finance the Israeli government and ought not receive tax deductible status. In a speech before the Lebanon-America Club in southern Connecticut, Dacey charged, among other things, that ABC, NBC and CBS "are all Jewish-owned" and that the dual U.S.-Israel citizenship of some American Jews and pro-Israel bribes to Congressmen leads to a fifth column in the U.S. (Danbury News Times, c. 7/21/74)

Dacey is reported to have visited the Middle East on a number of occasions. In 1969 he visited Jordan and Egypt, and in February 1971 while on a Middle East tour, he addressed an Arab Conference in Kuwait held under the sponsorship of the Kuwait Graduate Society and the General Union of Palestine Students.

Dacey is known to have close associations with Rabbi Elmer F. Berger, formerly head of the stridently anti-Israel, anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism.

A letter to the editor appeared in the Wall Street Journal of April 6, 1971 under Dacey's signature in which he took strong exception to that portion of a previous WSJ editorial which referred to Israel as a democracy. Dacey alleged that democracy in Israel was a "grim joke," charging (a) that Israel discriminates against non-Jews, (b) denies a million and a half refugees the right of return while welcoming strangers from all over the world, and (c) has "seized and annexed the International Holy City of Jerusalem."

In 1976, Dacey published a 60-page tract entitled "Democracy in Israel" which was produced and/or distributed by the Arab Information Center. The volume's thesis is that the U.S. should cease its support of Israel because such support has and will continue to put the U.S. in deep and enduring debt. He conveniently misquotes Israel officials and fabricates statements of his own to illustrate Israel's lack of democracy.

In a letter to Secretary Vance dated 2/14/78, Dacey accused the State Department of lying in their favorable report on human rights in Israel. He has also been able to relay his pro-Arab/anti-Israel message through the airwaves, and has appeared as a guest on numerous radio and television broadcasts including the Johnny Carson, Mike Douglas and Today shows.

Dacey's organization, American Palestine Committee, for a long-time a one-man organization, is now estimated to have some 370 members. The stated objective of APC "is to obtain justice for the Palestinian people and a return to their homes." In September 1977, Dacey claimed

(3)

that the organization was funded solely by its members. APC addresses are: POB 1001, Bridgeport, CT 06601; 22926 Fairfield Avenue, Bridgeport, CT and POB 137, Southbury, CT 06488.

Much of Dacey's published material has appeared in anti-Israel/pro-Arab propoganda pieces such as Action and The News Circle, as well as such overtly anti-Semitic publications as Spotlight and American Mercury.



#78-970-11
October 12, 1978

May 24, 1979

Mr. Robert S. Jacobs
Friedman & Koven
208 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Dear Bob:

It was good talking to you on the phone today and we are looking forward to seeing you here on June 14th. The evening session is described in the attached mailing that has just gone out; we will plan on spending no more than about an hour on agenda and then move right into the party for Miles so that you and other people who have to leave early can be part of the celebration.

At 10:30 in the morning on the 14th the IAD staff will meet with you as we discussed to get to know each other a little better and to respond to some of the questions and suggestions you have raised.

I'll talk with Marc about the question of the stationery and we will, of course, work out at the session the dates for the coming year's meetings that we can announce at the evening session. As well, you will want to discuss your idea of working over the summer with chapter chairpeople on updating our list of active participants in local Interreligious Affairs Committees as well as revising our own National Commission membership to reflect new blood and more active participation.

We are all very much looking forward to seeing you on the 14th and working with you as you assume the responsibility and leadership for our Interreligious Affairs Commission.

Sincerely,

Inge Lederer Gibel
Program Specialist
Interreligious Affairs

ILG/es
Enclosure/cc: Marc H. Tanenbaum

Interreligious Affairs Department
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

You may be
interested in the
attached.

Judith Banki

MAI

PRESIDENT OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS URGES
CARTER TO PUSH FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

By John J. Grant*
Religious News Service Correspondent (5-1-79)

CHICAGO (RNS) -- The president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) and the U.S. Catholic Conference again has urged the Carter Administration to broaden Middle East peace efforts to "deal with the rights of the Palestinians."

In his keynote address opening the bishops' semi-annual meeting here, Archbishop John R. Quinn of San Francisco also asked his brother prelates: "What can and should we do in regard to some American-based transnational corporations which aggravate the scandalous conditions (of oppression and poverty) in Latin America?"

Despite his raising of several controversial issues, the power and logic of Archbishop Quinn's 30-minute speech calling for "the necessity of the social involvement of the Church" brought the 250 bishops to their feet in an extended standing ovation.

While the major focus of the meeting is an in-depth examination of the purpose and goals of the NCCB and the bishops' action agency, the USCC, Archbishop Quinn zeroed in on four areas with wider implications for the Catholic Church. He cited the priesthood and human life in addition to the Middle East and Latin America.

Archbishop Quinn said the social teaching of the Catholic Church from Pope Leo XIII at the turn of the century to Paul VI and the Second Vatican Council provided a theological framework for Christian involvement in social concerns. Likewise, the NCCB president said that Pope John Paul II's first encyclical, *Redemptor Hominis*, is an invitation to the Church in an "era of galloping technology," to enter into dialogue "with the fate of the person as the center of all our concern."

Speaking to his brother bishops of their common priesthood, he said, "Without holiness and fidelity in us, the Church diminishes its capacity to serve the world with the deep spiritual and transcendent vision declared by the (Vatican) Council."

Archbishop Quinn said that "abortion certainly and, to some degree, the laboratory production of human life poison the psychological wellspring of reverence for the sovereignty of the human person."

The California prelate, in his second year as NCCB/USCC president, indicated that the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty would fall apart unless the U.S. uses its powerful influence to "broaden the negotiating process in a way that other Arab states are moved to participate in it." He suggested that an informed public opinion in this country was needed to propel the process.

(more)

PAGE-2-

*Msgr. John J. Grant, editor of the *The Pilot*, newsweekly of the Archdiocese of Boston, is covering the U.S. Catholic bishops meeting for Religious News Service.

Noting the strong support of the U.S. bishops for the Carter Administration's role in the Egyptian-Israeli accord, Archbishop Quinn said, "It should, however, be taken as no lack of support for the treaty if I reiterate the substance of (the U.S. bishops') statement last year calling for steps which will deal with rights of the Palestinians."

Referring to his experience as one of the U.S. representatives to the Latin American bishops meeting in Puebla, Mexico, Archbishop Quinn said, "The oppression of the many by a minority of powerful and entrenched local governments and private interests, where both the oppressor and the oppressed are Catholic, can only be described as a scandal and a sin against the Creator and a desecration of the human person."

In addition to raising the question about American-based transnational corporations, he asked, "What can and should we do in relation to the policy of our government which affects and aggravates the scandalous conditions in Latin America?"

Archbishop Quinn said that the U.S. Church should be more concerned with the problems faced by undocumented aliens in this country.

"So colossal is the problem highlighted by these questions that (Pope John Paul) described it as a 'global reenactment of the parable of Dives and Lazarus,'" he explained.

Archbishop Quinn concluded by saying that the Puebla analysis of the Latin American reality is "an invitation to all of us to assess, with the key of Revelation and the teaching of the Church, the reality of the Church in our own situations."

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NEW ZEALAND CHRISTIANS PLANNING VISIT TO CHINA

By Religious News Service (5-1-79)

CHRISTCHURCH, N.Z. (RNS) -- New Zealand's National Council of Churches, in cooperation with the Roman Catholic Church, is organizing a study tour of China in August. Already, the council reports, there are more applications than there are places available.

The council also reports in its latest news bulletin that two representatives of the Pacific Council of Churches will visit New Zealand this year to highlight the concerns of the Pacific Churches, particularly on the question of a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the Pacific. This concept was keenly advocated by New Zealand under the Labour Party Government of 1972-75, but the National Party Government which has been in power since is not so convinced that the zone is a practical possibility.

(more)

PAGE-3-

Hails Church Council Plan to Develop Policy Statement on the Middle East

NEW YORK (JTA) — A plan to develop a comprehensive policy statement on the Middle East for the National Council of Churches has been hailed by a Jewish spokesman as "a constructive, responsible and statesmanlike approach for dealing with the Middle East issues in all their complexity."

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee in praising the plan, which includes sending a fact-finding group to the Middle East early in 1980, also said it constituted a rejection by the National Council general board, which held its semi-annual meeting here recently, of a "one-sided, strident"

resolution, "scapegoating Israel" as the so-called "unique" violator of human rights in the Middle East which was offered by the Antiochian Christian Archdiocese of New York and All North America.

Avoids Violators
Continuing, Rabbi Tanenbaum said the resolution, which called for the suspension of all U.S. aid to Israel, "studiously avoided making a single reference to the flagrant denial of human rights of Christians, Jews, and Kurds in Iran; of Copts in Egypt and Ethiopia; of Christians and Jews in Libya, South Yemen, Syria, and Lebanon, in which the PLO has played its consistently destructive and violent role."

Meanwhile, the Antiochian church abandoned a plan to seek to add Zehdi Labib Terzi, the Palestine Liberation Organization's observer at the United Nations, to its list of proxies on the governing board.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said he attended the sessions of the general board with Rabbi James Rudin, the associate interreligious affairs director, as "official fraternal delegates."

Tasks Assigned
Rabbi Tanenbaum said that three weeks ago, a special Middle East panel of 16 influential leaders of the main Protestant and Orthodox denominations in the National Council was set up.

The Antiochian resolution had been turned over to the special panel earlier. Its extremist position was found unacceptable by many National Council members.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said the special panel was assigned a series of tasks, one of them

involving the projected fact-finding trip to the Middle East late February and early March.

Basically, the panel will seek to organize a series of discussions and meetings with Christian and Jewish leaders, both in the United States and in the Middle East, to develop approaches for the projected comprehensive Middle East policy.

Open Hearings
Preparation of a detailed outline of issues, development of issue papers, a series of forums to discuss the issue papers both inside and outside of the National Council, and review and drafting of a new policy statement are among the basic tasks assigned to the special panel.

In January and early February, the panel will hold open hearings on the proposed policy statement at which representatives of concerned organizations may request time to speak. Rabbi Tanenbaum said the AJ Committee had been offered and had accepted an invitation to appear at one of the open hearings.

Also scheduled are informal discussions by the panel with selected groups concerned with the Middle East, such as Jewish, Arab Christian or Palestinian representatives.

Human Rights Focus
During the Middle East visit, the panel will seek to meet with Arab Christians and Moslem religious, cultural and political leaders.

The visit will focus on human rights, the PLO, the security needs of the peoples in the region, policy related to the holy places, and the extent of the exodus in the region due to "religious, cultural and economic oppression" in the countries of the region.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said that it would include examination not only of charges of Christian Arabs being driven from Jerusalem, but also Jews being forced out of Arab countries.

He said "we are insisting" that in the panel's examination of such displacements "the he be setious, but it is fascinating movies. It's not deadly like pop music and the factor in the popular culture, trivia craze is a definite



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 16, 1979
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from Inge Lederer Gibel
subject

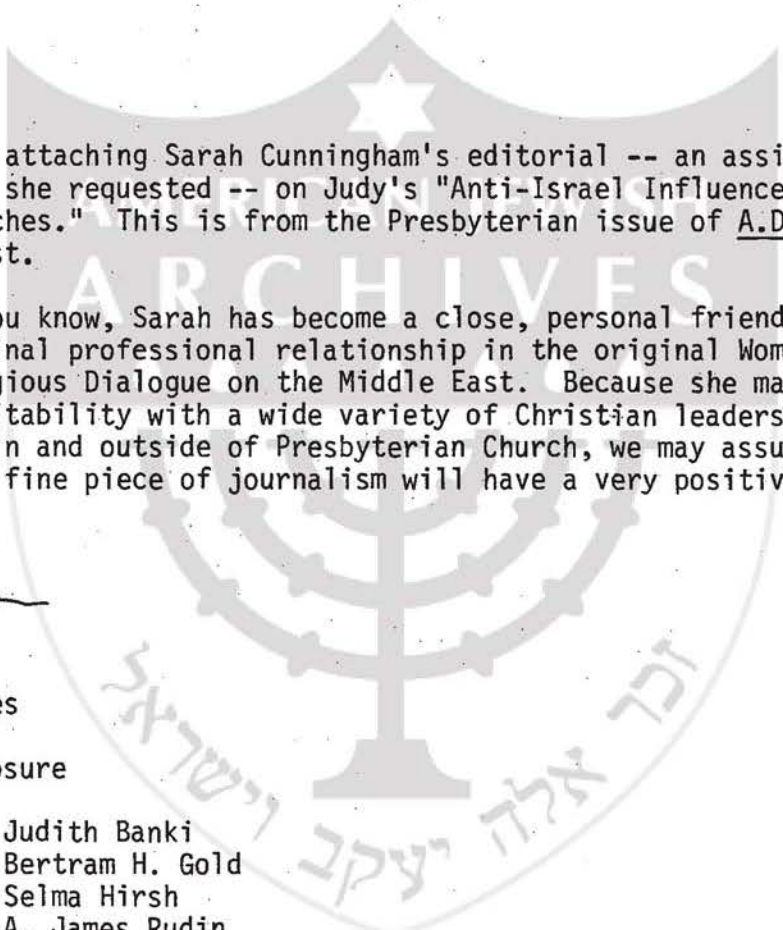
I am attaching Sarah Cunningham's editorial -- an assignment I know she requested -- on Judy's "Anti-Israel Influence in American Churches." This is from the Presbyterian issue of A.D. for July/August.

As you know, Sarah has become a close, personal friend through our original professional relationship in the original Women's Inter-religious Dialogue on the Middle East. Because she maintains high creditability with a wide variety of Christian leaders and groups within and outside of Presbyterian Church, we may assume that this fine piece of journalism will have a very positive impact.

ILG/es

Enclosure

cc: Judith Banki
Bertram H. Gold
Selma Hirsh
A. James Rudin
Ira Silverman



Middle East—candor is the key

NEW ASSERTIONS CALL FOR NEW DIALOGUE

Jewish-Christian dialogue on the subject of the Middle East is as difficult as ever. Yet if there is anything Christians have learned since the Holocaust, it is that if we are to have a meaningful exchange with our Jewish neighbors, we must talk—and talk honestly—with them about the Middle East, Israel in particular. Now, with the release of a report by the American Jewish Committee asserting that some American church staff in Middle East offices are pro-Arab at the expense of Israel, that candor is needed more than ever.

Dialogue has been complicated by the fact that Christians have a perspective on the Middle East formed prior to the Holocaust under circumstances totally different from those that brought about the present state of Israel. The Christian church has been present in the Middle East since the first century, but the 19th century was probably more influential in shaping the Western church's attitude toward that part of the world. The missionary enterprise brought the American church directly in contact with the poor and oppressed of such countries as Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Converts and friends of the church in these countries were the very same Arabs who later, in the struggle over Israel's boundaries, became the enemies of Israel.

By reason of separate connections, American Christians and American Jews receive different facts from the Middle East almost daily. Recently, the American Jewish Committee tried to look at this phenomenon from its own perspective in a paper, "Anti-Israel Influence in American Churches." Its claims and observations warrant our attention.

The report concludes that "modern Arab nationalism has some of its roots in a Protestant missionary presence that began in the last century....Out of

these missionary and service activities," the report claims, "has emerged a group of church professionals who naturally sympathize with Arab aspirations, identify with Arab views, and are ready to promote Arab interests both within their organizations and in public—often at the expense of Israel."

The report says that "among Protestant bodies, those with the most active anti-Israel staff members include the United Church of Christ, the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, the Reformed Church in America, the Quakers, the United Methodist Church, and the Mennonite Central Committee."

In a preface, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, says the report delineates "the use of double standards" by the American Christian churches to form "anti-Israel sentiment." Further summarizing, Tanenbaum says the report shows that "harsher judgments and stricter demands [are] made on Israel than on her Arab antagonists."

Initial response to the report by staff of the church bodies came in the form of anger, pain, and offense. In a resolution released to the press, the directors of the United Church Board for World Ministries rejected the allegations of bias against Israel. United Presbyterian Program Agency Director J. Oscar McCloud sent a brief note to Rabbi Tanenbaum registering "strong disagreement with the report," and offering to discuss it with members of the AJC. Robert L. Turnipseed, chairperson of the National Council of Churches' Office on Christian-Jewish Relations, wrote a detailed letter to Tanenbaum pointing out areas of inaccuracy in the report and suggesting that the two communities develop "agreed-upon criteria...to avoid double standards" in assessing the Middle East situation.

Indications are that all parties in-

involved are ready to talk further. This, we feel, is good. If substantive conversations on these matters follow, Jewish-Christian dialogue may take a needed step forward toward honest confrontation on Middle East issues.

In such talks, Christians might do well to agree that we do sympathize with Arab aspirations, identify with Arab views, and promote Arab interests. We could try to be clearer as to why we think we do not do this at Israel's expense. But even as we point to a series of resolutions in which we affirm the rights of both Israel and her Arab neighbors, we will be less than candid if we do not admit that without a Jewish presence in our deliberations, we usually fail to see the Jewish point of view on the Middle East.

Further, it might be well for us to acknowledge that indeed "harsher judgments and stricter demands are made on Israel than on her Arab antagonists" by the American Christian community. Though Israel's present population is made up of more Third World Jews—those from Yemen, Turkey, Morocco, Iran, Syria, and Egypt, for example—than those of European or other Western origins, nevertheless, we see Israel more as a developed nation allied with the West than as a developing country. Whatever our own aspirations for the Arab Middle East, we tend to expect American Jews—and thus, by extension, Israelis—to join us in seeking the fulfillment of those aspirations.

Christians are often tempted to claim a superior understanding of what is a just solution to the Middle East dilemma. That is not necessary. No people understand better than the Jews the God-given admonition to "do justice and love mercy."

The task of both Christians and Jews is to see that in this effort we do not become stumbling blocks to each other. The best assurance that we won't is to keep talking—and listening—to each other.

Sarah Cunningham

Houston Chapter

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

memorandum

date June 20, 1979 cc: Linda May
Mel Maltz
to Marc Tanenbaum Milton Tobian
from Sanford Kanter Harold Applebaum

subject

Attached is a further news article on the La Grange Declaration, this time anti-La Grange and appearing in the Texas Catholic Herald.

Regards.

Sanford



The Yardstick

A stacked deck



By MSGR. GEORGE
G. HIGGINS

Because I happen to come from LaGrange, Ill., I watched with more than usual interest the outcome of a conference, "Human Rights and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict" held at the Christian Life Center there on May 18-20. The more I learned about it, however, the more my hometown pride began to turn into dismay, bordering on shame.

The conference, sponsored by a varied group of persons representing several traditional peace groups and a number of well known pro-Arab sympathizers, purported to be an honest search by Christians for approaches of reconciliation in the Middle East.

NOW I have no problem with such a search "for peace and justice in the Middle East," nor with inviting Palestinians to speak. In fact, I would welcome such initiatives as quite laudable means of promoting a serious dialogue among Christians in this country on the many complex moral and political issues involved.

But this conference was seemingly intent on promoting anything but serious dialogue among Christians. In fact, as the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel (NCLCI) rightly pointed out, the LaGrange conference was dealing with a stacked deck all along. No one even vaguely sympathetic to Israel was given room for a meaningful say. As the NCLCI statement put it: "We believe that a conference which is designed in a way that is so clearly one-sided does not meet (the) fundamental obligations and responsibilities of the Christian church."

Given the biased design of the conference, it is no wonder that it came out with a statement sounding more like Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) propaganda than a serious attempt to challenge the Christian conscience. The statement mixes half-fact and twisted fantasy in almost every paragraph.

IT CLAIMS, for example, that the very "establishing" of Israel did "a deep injustice" to Palestinians, "confiscating their land and driving many

into exile." In point of fact, it was not the establishment of the state which produced the refugees, but the dislocations of the war begun by the surrounding Arab states that followed the establishment. The United Nations partition plan, which Israel accepted and the Arabs rejected, followed the lines of already settled population, giving Israel only a small fraction of the total area of "Palestine" (Transjordan then already existed as a Palestinian Arab state).

In many instances Israeli Jews pleaded with their Arab neighbors to stay on as citizens of the fledgling democracy. Under tight pressure of Arab propaganda, many Arabs left. Those who stayed, however, held their possessions and in fact became full voting citizens of Israel.

The statement also alleges that no less than "100,000 people have been arrested" and that an indeterminate number "have been subjected to brutal torture," falsely alluding to "the U.S. consulate in Jerusalem" as its source. Such allegations, as The New Republic pointed out in an editorial in February, have long been part of PLO propaganda. In fact, none of these charges has ever been fully substantiated.

THE STATEMENT also leaves out the other side of the picture in calling for "restitution for past wrongs" only for the Palestinians. Do the framers not know that more than half of the Jews in Israel are refugees from Arab lands, expelled from centuries-old communities with all their goods confiscated by the Arabs as they fled?

THE TEXAS CATHOLIC HERALD

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Palestine Human Rights Campaign

National Office
1322 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

May 31, 1979

Dear Rev.


On May 18-20 the Palestine Human Rights Campaign and the Middle East Task Force of the Chicago Presbytery held its conference on "Human Rights and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Responsibilities for the Christian Church". The conference was held in La Grange, Illinois and was a huge success. Nearly 200 people, from 20 states and 9 foreign countries, attended. All the speakers gave substantial and inspiring presentations; in fact, the whole spirit of the conference was serious, vibrant, and affirmative. It struck a consistent universal note, calling on all Christians to interpret the Israeli-Palestinian relationship in the light of the prophetic Biblical demands for justice and a concern for the poor and oppressed.

The conference issued a Declaration which we feel to be a significant one. It will likely stir debate within the Christian community, and we hope it will come to serve as a theological and moral center for Christian work in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The product of the collective effort and dialog generated at La Grange, it embodies the overall spirit of the conference.

We invite you to add your name to the list of endorsers of the Declaration and we would appreciate any comments on its substance. The Declaration is now being circulated among the Christian leadership, and we are setting June 11 as the target date for signatures before releasing it for more general distribution and publication. Please try to write or call us by that date and let us know if you wish to be listed as one of the signers.

Very truly yours,

Marvin Wingfield
Palestine Human Rights Campaign



Palestine Human Rights Campaign

National Office
1322 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

June 20, 1979

Msgr. George G. Higgins
U.S. Catholic Conference
1322 Massachusetts Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20019

Dear Msgr. Higgins:

We have read with concern and some dismay your article on the La Grange Conference, "Human Rights and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Responsibilities for the Christian Church," sponsored by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign and the Middle East Task Force of the Chicago Presbytery.

We are amazed that you can compare the La Grange Declaration to PLO propaganda. Have you read the Declaration? Have you read PLO publications? The Declaration is explicitly based on the ethical-prophetic element of Scripture, which we feel to be at the heart of God's work in history. This is so far from the characterization you have given to it that it is hard to understand how you can make this comparison in good faith.

Your basic criticism is that the conference was one-sided. It approached the issue from the Palestinian perspective and therefore was not authentically Christian. At one level you are correct. There were no speeches expounding an Israeli point of view. Fr. John Pawlikowski, a Jesuit sympathetic to Israel, was invited to speak but canceled at the last minute complaining of one-sidedness and contributing to it. While most of our speakers consider themselves both pro-Palestinian and pro-Israeli, they spoke from a standpoint that was pro-human rights and called for Palestinians to exercise the same rights that Israelis already have.

More importantly the explicit focus on the Palestinian perspective was consciously designed to correct the long-standing on-sidedness of our American and Christian identification with Israel. Our view of the Palestinians hithertofore has been largely through Israeli eyes. We attempted to look at Israel through Palestinian eyes. The Israeli perspective has long been heard; the Palestinian perspective has been ignored, distorted, and discounted. Only now are we beginning to listen and rethink the matter.

We feel that the serious dialogue you desire requires a position of advocacy, not a careful and inoffensive apportioning of blame equally to both sides which does not move us beyond the impasse of conflicting and mutually exclusive claims. We tried to reach deeper and speak to the injustices at the source of the conflict and cycle of violence in which neither side is guiltless. And the root injustice is inescapably the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian homeland. I see no way around that fact.

...2

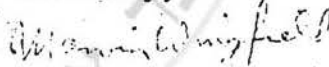
Therefore since the God of the Bible is "on the side of" the poor, the oppressed, the dispersed--it is as Christians that we must also be there. And as the Conference and La Grange Declaration make clear, we must care about Israeli victims of the present tragedy and not ignore the history of the persecution of the Jews. It is the Palestinians who are now the primary victims and Israel which is the primary perpetrator of injustice.

Your article charges that the conference was a mere platform for narrowly pro-Palestinian propaganda. The conference speakers consistently appealed to universal standards of human rights, which sometimes cut both ways, raising points which an audience drawn mostly from Palestinian supporters did not always want to hear. The spirit of the conference was clearly critical of Israeli policy, not hostile or vindictive, but affirming the fundamental justice of the Palestinian cause. The majority of the speakers expressed genuine concern for the Israelis but criticized their policy in the occupied territories.

There is much more I could say, but I believe I have addressed your central concern. In the fall there will be another conference, this time speaking from within the Israeli-Jewish perspective. It will also be sponsored by the Presbyterian Middle East Task Force, hopefully in cooperation with a Jewish organization. It will focus on Israeli security needs.

I hope you will take the time to respond and continue a discussion of this issue. We would like to meet with you and discuss it. We will call your office for an appointment. Enclosed is a copy of the La Grange Declaration and some of our materials which will give you a better notion of our work.

Sincerely,



Marvin Wingfield
PHRC

Palestine Human Rights Campaign

National Office
1322 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign is a Washington -based U.S. political Campaign, founded by concerned individuals from a number of peace, church, civil rights, and Middle East related organizations.

It is dedicated to:

- 1.) promoting the investigation, publication and understanding of these incidents of Israeli violations of Palestinian Human Rights,
- 2.) lending support to the victims and their attorneys,
- 3.) securing the enforcement of existing internationally recognized norms of human rights and fundamental freedoms for the Palestinian people.

There are PHRC Regional Working Groups in 31 cities in the U.S., Canada, and the Middle East. The PHRC Action Network of individual contributors and supporters now numbers over 1700.

While the PHRC is only one and one-half years old, it has already achieved some small victories in its work: freedom for Taysir al Aruri (a Professor at Bir Zeit University, Palestine, who had been imprisoned for three and one-half years, without trial or charges); the opening of the home of Mrs. Nashte al Hudur (which had been sealed by the Israeli military in an act of collective punishment); a reduced prison term and parole for Sami Esmail; freedom for 13 of the Kalandia Children; and freedom for three long-term Palestinian female prisoners who were very ill.

The PHRC has received several endorsements from a number of organizations and individuals as a result of its human rights work.

At the October conference of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), the PHRC was given a citation for its work. And at a Human Rights Day luncheon sponsored by the United Nations Association (Capitol Area District) the PHRC again received a citation for its human rights activities. The PHRC had been nominated for this citation by the National Association of Arab-Americans.

The PHRC has also received recent endorsements from the Raza Unida Party of Texas, and the Black Theology Project, a nation-wide organization of Black Clergy. Senator James Abourezk, commenting last fall on the work of the PHRC, said,

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign in a very short time has done a superb job of focusing attention on Palestinian human rights. The Campaign was long in coming, but it has clearly made up for lost time during the successful months of its operation.

Other national sponsors of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign are:

Rev. Ralph Abernathy
Daniel Berrigan
Noam Chomsky
Richard Falk
Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick
Don Luce

Jack O'Dell (Operation PUSH)
Henry Schwarzschild
Tom Cornell (Fellowship of Reconciliation)
Jimmy Durham (American Indian Movement)
Pete Seeger
Wes Michaelson



Palestine Human Rights Campaign
3530 Timmons Lane
Box 356
Houston, Texas 77027

Concerning Msgr. George Higgins' editorial STACKED DECK, in the Texas Catholic Herald, June 15, 1979, I, as the coordinator of the Texas Regional Workshop of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, and who attended the conference "Human Rights and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict", on May 18-20, in La Grange, Illinois, must express my "dismay, which borders on shame," (an expression of Msgr. Higgins' feelings towards the PHRC conference) at the lack of historical knowledge shown in the article concerning the Middle East problem, and the harsh bias shown a conference not even attended by the reviewer. I believe that even a film critic actually sees the film which he later reviews. Please permit me to clarify only a few points in the article written by Msgr. Higgins.

Before I take Msgr. Higgins to task I must commend him as he writes that he would have "no problem with inviting Palestinians to speak" in search "for peace and justice in the Middle East." Indeed, it takes a person of courage to agree to such a daring act. Bravo! Msgr. Higgins. Furthermore, to admit that there is such a thing as a Palestinian is more than Franklin Latell, the head of the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel, (NCLCI) did when he told a student, who had written a dissertation-proposal on the Palestinian people and after that proposal had been literally thrown across the desk in rejection by Mr. Latell, that "there are no such things as Palestinians." In his editorial Msgr. Higgins stated that "the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel rightly pointed out that the La Grange conference was dealing with a stacked deck." As Franklin Latell, the head of the NCLCI, apparently has an almost irrational contempt for the Palestinians, I call into question the authority of the NCLCI to comment in any manner what-so-ever on the Human Rights conference.

Further in the article Msgr. Higgins writes that "it was not the establishment of the state (of Israel) which produced the refugees, but the dislocations of the war begun by the surrounding Arab states that followed the establishment (through) the United Nations partition plan, which Israel accepted and Arabs rejected." Concerning the refugees I will quote from an United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA):

In 1948, nearly three-quarters of a million Arabs became refugees during the disturbances before (my underlining) and after the creation of the State of Israel in the former British mandate territory of Palestine....Today, as a result of natural increase in population, there are some 1.76 million persons

registered with UNRWA, apart from other Palestinians who also became refugees in 1948 but were not in need and did not register with UNRWA for assistance. None of either group has ever been offered the choice between repatriation and compensation for loss of or damage to property as repeatedly recommended by the General Assembly.

As far as the Arab rejection is concerned, I wonder if Msgr. Higgins and others who continually condemn that "Arab rejection of the partition plan", have ever bothered to ask why the plan was rejected. To many people there seems to be only three dates of importance regarding the area in question; the year of 2000 B.C., 1917 A.D., and 1948 A.D.. Permit me to bring forth some new dates, plus go over an old one, in order that the Arab rejection of the partition plan might be better understood and not condemned so forthrightly.

The year 1917 was the year of the Balfour Declaration, a letter from the British Foreign Secretary of Britain, Sir Arthur Balfour to a private citizen, Lord Rothschild, stating that "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." Does Msgr. Higgins not know of the Husaine-McMahon correspondence which was a legal agreement between the British government, represented by the British high commissioner of Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, and the representative of the Arab people, Sharif Husaine. In this agreement the Arabs were promised independence in exchange for their help in ousting the Turks. An area excluded from the promised independence was the "portions of Syria lying to the West of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo." Anyone can look at a map and see that those areas are well to the north of the area in question today. This agreement was made in 1915, two years before the Balfour letter. In 1921, the British declared that Transjordan as constituted, was not subject to the Balfour Declaration and that Jews were forbidden to buy land there; thus the British could feel that in Transjordan they had honored their wartime promises to Sharif Husaine. This was rejected by both sides. The Zionists argued that Transjordan was necessary for the development of their National home and the Arabs argued that it only appeared to settle the Arab claim to the dubious benefit of the small number of nomadic tribesmen moving about in the Jordan desert. It has never been written in any official paper that the Transjordan existed as a "Palestinian" Arab state as Msgr. Higgins believes.

In correcting Msgr. Higgins' statement that the United Nations partition plan gave Israel "only a small fraction of the total area of Palestine" I would like to quote from the United Nations Official Records of the General Assembly, First Special Session, Main Committees, vol. III, p. 253: "the partition resolution thus awarded over half the territory of Palestine to a third of its inhabitants who, in the words of the representative, "...in a way... are all from outside; they are practically all immigrants..."

Also on this subject, according to the British Foreign Secretary on February, 18, 1947, "there are in Palestine about 1,200,00 Arabs and 600,00 Jews. For the Jews the essential point of principle is the creation of a sovereign Jewish State. For the Arabs, the essential point of principle is to resist to the last the establishment of Jewish sovereignty in any part of Palestine." A land was taken from the indigenous people who formed the majority and given to a minority people, which formed one-fourth of the total population, with over three-fourths of that one-fourth being immigrants from other countries. Could not these reasons be valid enough for the Arabs to reject the partition plan?

In the paragraph concerning the PHRC statement, in which it is stated that the PHRC alleges that an indeterminate number of people "have been subjected to brutal torture," falsely alluding to the "U.S. consulate in Jerusalem" as its source. The editorial states that "such allegations, as The New Republic pointed out in an editorial in February, have long been part of P.L.O. propaganda. In fact, none of these charges has ever been fully substantiated." The reports referred to, cable Jerusalem 1500 and 3239, were both signed, under normal diplomatic practice, by Consul-General William Newlin, the top-ranking U.S. diplomat in Jerusalem. Furthermore, the second report was prefaced by an acknowledgement by the authors' superiors that supported her overall conclusions:

"Although the post does not necessarily agree with all the deductions and conclusions contained in the report, the weight of the evidence points to the validity of her general conclusion that physical mistreatment is systematically used....it seems clear from the research of Ms. Johnson (the author) that...Israeli practices on the West Bank go beyond acceptable civilian norms."

The reports from the two cables have recently been incorporated into the United States Congressional records. Does Msgr. Higgins accuse Congress and Consul-General William Newlin of P.L.O. propaganda as he so accuses the PHRC statement?

As far as accepting The New Republic as an unbiased source of information, Msgr. Higgins gets the same reaction from me as I would expect from him were I to use the Journal of Palestine Studies as a source of completely unbiased writings...an incredulous "GOOD GRIEF". The New Republic is published with the interests of Israel at hand the Journal of Palestine Studies is published with the interests of the Palestinians at hand.

I would like to point out to Msgr. Higgins that the May 18-20 conference was the first of a two-part conference. The second conference will be held in November and will be on the Israeli security needs. For the first conference, Father Pawlikowski, of the University of Chicago and who is associated with the National Conference of Christians and Jews, was one of the speakers invited. His refusal was received one day before the

conference began. There will be invitations sent to various people connected with the state of Israel asking them to speak at the second conference. We sincerely hope that these invitations are not refused because of "conflicting interests." I would suggest that Msgr. Higgins attend this second meeting and get his information first hand. I would also like to suggest that he meet with the National Chairman of the PHRC in Washington and discuss the issue.

In closing, I would like to point out that I am a Catholic, a mother of five children, and an American who knew nothing about the Palestinians until a move to Beirut, Lebanon, brought to my attention the refugee camps. Because of my curiosity about these camps and the people who lived in them, I read many books, written by both Israelis and Arabs, studied the various agreements made by different governments involved, and, as I later lived in Geneva, Switzerland, and had the opportunity, studied many United Nations papers. I am not a radical, I am not anti-Jewish, and I am not a member of the P.L.O.. I am against the policies that have been and are being pursued concerning the Palestinian people during the past 60-some years. My "dismay which borders on shame" is because so many people apparently do not feel that Palestinians have human rights. They do not speak out against the injustices perpetrated against these people. I do not know if it is because they are ignorant of what is happening or if they are afraid to speak out because of the animosity and name-calling that is immediately hurled at them.

It would seem that these people do not realize that an Arab mother is broken-hearted when her child is killed or maimed by napalm bombs dropped on the refugee camps; when her meagre home is bulldozed because she or some member of her family dared to be associated with the P.L.O. and the idea of an independent Palestinian state; when her child, a university student, who demonstrates against the occupation forces is detained in jail, sometimes for days without any connection with anyone outside the jail, and sometimes for months or years without legal charges against them or legal help for them--these are only a few of the daily events that can cause a mother to suffer if she lives in an occupied land or in a refugee camp. These are sufferings that any mother in any country, of any race or creed can understand. I condemn violence on all sides, and as a mother and a member of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, I demand human rights for all people, including the Palestinians. Do you, Msgr. Higgins?

I. Celeste Fiegenger
Coordinator PHRC
3530 Timmons Lane
Box 356
Houston, Texas, 77027

I. Celeste Fiegenger

The Rev. Dr. Robert L. Turnipseed
Chairperson
Office on Christian-Jewish Relations
National Council of the Churches of Christ
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y. 10027

My Dear Lonnie,

In behalf of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, I wish to acknowledge with appreciation your forthright letter of May 21 in critical response to Judith H. Banki's background report on "Anti-Israel Influence in American Churches" which we have issued.

On a personal level, let me say at the outset that I deeply regret any unhappiness that either our study or the newspaper reports of it have caused you, Dr. ~~Clark~~ Claire Randall, Dr. William Weiler or any of our other friends at the NCC and its member denominations. Your friendship, both personal and professional, for the American Jewish community and your commitments to help sustain the security of Israel in the context of our shared concern for advancing the cause of peace in the Middle East for the benefit of all its people are a matter of public record, and we are prepared to do whatever is required in our judgment to help the American people understand that reality. As I shall indicate later, that is an issue that we are readily prepared to discuss with you and your associates at an early and mutually convenient time.

Now I should like to address myself to the substantive as well as procedural concerns that you have raised, hopefully as the basis for future constructive discussion between our principals:

On the question of "balance":

As I noted in the preface which I personally wrote, the purpose of this study was a thematic one - it had the limited objective of seeking to identify the sources of anti-Israel sentiment and influence, and in some cases, anti-Jewish attitudes, in American Churches, which have been and continue to be a cause of considerable concern in the Jewish community and among numerous Christian friends with whom we are in contact throughout the country.

It was not conceived of as a comprehensive survey or global description of everything that is happening in the American church community - the "pros" and the "antis" - pertaining to the Middle East. Just as human beings who are blessed with good health ~~pay attention to their health~~ ~~when they are threatened by pathology or infection~~ ~~and if they are prudent, concentrate on coping with threats to their health~~ assume their state of well-being as a gift of God, but do become concerned when they are threatened by pathology or infection, ~~and~~ and if they are prudent, concentrate on coping with threats to their health, so we sought to concentrate on those aspects


In general, I wish to assure you and your colleagues that we take each of your criticisms most seriously. In any revision of this paper, we will make every effort to respond constructively to those suggestions which we believe are valid and useful in achieving greater balance. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Indeed, you have planted with me the seed of an idea that I should like to explore with you shortly, namely, that perhaps we might publish jointly a document on "American Christian and Jewish Attitudes Toward Israel and the Middle East Situation." That would enable us to incorporate the most representative statements of the major Protestant - and other Christian-bodies, ~~and~~ as well as leading Jewish groups toward the key issues in the Middle East - Jerusalem, Palestinian borders, holy places, human rights, etc. Such a compendium ~~might~~ with an appropriate joint introduction by you and/or Claire and myself might well prove to be a good education document. It would also suggest a symbol of ~~firm~~ friendly cooperation and a shared desire to contribute together to reconciliation and mutual respect.

In any case, I look forward to your response at your early convenience.

Cordially, as ever,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Interreligious Affairs Director



of religious and political action in several American churches which we genuinely believe are negative and even threatening elements to the Jewish people. To carry the medical metaphor forward, it was our intention that by exposing the problems through diagnosis, we could ~~xxx~~ in time find the basis of containing the spread of infection and eventually bring about genuine healing.

Studies of ~~xxxx~~ medical or psychological pathology, by their very nature, constitute a certain kind of distortion, for they tend to obscure the health in the system which clearly is the basis of recovery. In that sense, our limited diagnosis of negative influences in the American Churches as we see them runs ~~xxxxxxx~~ an analogous risk of distortion - and that I tried to anticipate and prevent by writing quite consciously and deliberately in my preface the following words:

"To avoid distortion, it should be underscored that the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, the National Council of Churches and major Protestant denominations have affirmed the right of Israel to live in security and to possess its full sovereignty as a nation-state.

There are pockets of hostility to Israel in the organized church community, but there is also a broad and enduring sympathy and support on the part of millions of American Christians throughout the country for our sister democracy in the Middle East, the State of Israel."

Similarly, in the course of the paper, Judy Banki noted explicitly that "staff members sympathetic to Israel...do serve in other departments (of the National Council of Churches) and of their respective denominations) "and try to alter or balance resolutions harmful to Israel at church conventions/" (Page 2). The paper also notes that there are, both in the NCC and denominational groups "persons sympathetic to Israel and seriously interested in Jewish-Christian dialogue." On page 13, the study quotes from an editorial that you wrote in Ecumenical Trends in which specific reference is made to "The Jewish-Christian Advisory Committee of the National Council of Churches."

As I indicated to you, Lonnie, during our personal conversation and in an earlier conversation with Claire Randall at a UN reception, I regret that we did not make explicit reference to friends like yourselves - you, Claire, Bill Weiler, Bob Houston, Bill Harter and others - because we deeply appreciate the firm and courageous leadership you have given to try to redress the balances and this would have been an appropriate place to acknowledge our gratitude. I plan to see to it that we ~~xxx~~ communicate those feelings toward all of you in some forthcoming communication to the people who have read the study.

To state ~~xxxx~~ what I hope is the obvious, we surely had no intention in any way ~~xx~~ of embarrassing or hurting our friends