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Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992

Box 75, Folder 12, United States Senate Foreign Relations
Committee hearing, 1976.

JOHN SPARKMAN
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Handwritten signature: H. J. Felder

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COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS
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CHAIRMAN, SENATE BUILDING COMMISSION

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 7, 1976

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10002

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Enclosed is a summary and the hearings record of the series "Foreign Policy Choices for the 70s & 80s" in which you were kind enough to participate.

I think you will agree with me that this was a worthwhile effort and should be a positive contribution to the continuing discussion of foreign policy issues in this country.

As I have previously indicated to you, your cooperation in this project is most appreciated.

Sincerely,

Handwritten signature: John Sparkman

John Sparkman
Chairman

Enclosure

REL.

Phone (Area 202) 544-6000

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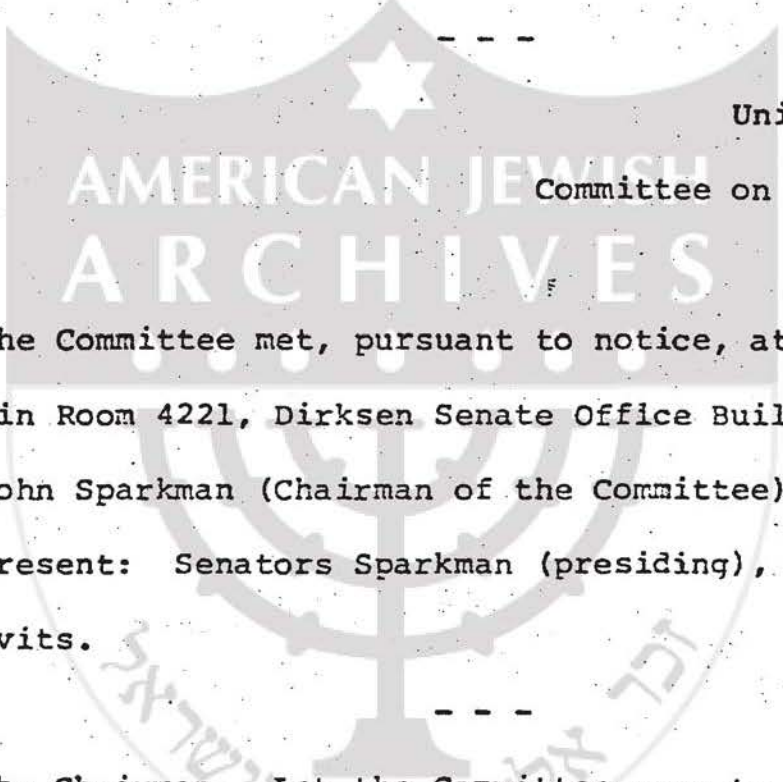
COMMITTEE BUSINESS:

FOREIGN POLICY CHOICES FOR THE '70s AND THE '80s

VALUES AND GOALS IN FOREIGN POLICY:

THE VIEW FROM THE PULPIT ~~THE PULPIT~~ RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Wednesday, January 21, 1976



United States Senate,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
Washington, D. C.

The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:15 o'clock a.m., in Room 4221, Dirksen Senate Office Building, the Honorable John Sparkman (Chairman of the Committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Sparkman (presiding), Clark, Case, and Javits.

The Chairman. Let the Committee come to order, please.

The Committee today resumes its series of hearings on Foreign Policy Choices for the Seventies and Eighties. In earlier hearings in this series we have received testimony from distinguished public opinion analysts on the views and attitudes of the American people on current foreign policy; we have heard the thoughts of several members of the President's Cabinet on our national goals and values; we have received testimony from a panel of experts on the use of scarce and diminishing

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410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

1 being.

2 Well, Mr. Chairman, that is old Brother King's message.

3 The Chairman. Thank you.

4 Next is Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum.

5 Rabbi, back a good many years ago when I was younger than
6 I am now we used to sing a song, "O Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum".

7 Rabbi Tanenbaum. Well, I think that is an appropriate
8 welcome. I have not ^{heard} had it very often in the ^{halls} House of Congress.

9 The Chairman. That is Christmas Tree, is it not?

10 Rabbi Tanenbaum. Yes, which is quite a name for a Rabbi!

11 (General laughter.)

12 Rabbi Tanenbaum. It is part of the signs of the times,"

13 Mr. Chairman.

14 The Chairman. We will be very glad to hear from you, sir.

15 We appreciate your coming here.

16 (The prepared statement of Rabbi Tanenbaum follows:)

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1 STATEMENT OF RABBI MARC TANENBAUM, NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS
2 DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE.

3 Rabbi Tanenbaum. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4 I am very grateful to you for the privilege of this
5 invitation, and in particular ^{for the opportunity} to share this panel this morning
6 with such a distinguished group of Christian clergy ^{and leaders}.

7 My name is Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum. I am the National Director
8 of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, and
9 I serve presently on the Council of Foreign Relations Working
10 Group on Human Rights. I ^{serve also} am on the Steering Committee of the
11 American Revolutionary Bicentennial ^{2/} Administration ^{15/} Citizens
12 Dialogue.

13 During the course of the past years I have been travelling
14 extensively throughout the whole of America speaking and meeting
15 with literally tens of thousands of American citizens, and I
16 have the sense -- as Robert ^{Heilbroner} Pytelbrenner has expressed ^{it} in his
17 recent book "An Inquiry ^{The} Into Human Prospect" -- that there is
18 a genuine "malaise of civilization" in America.

19 Beyond the great achievements of this society -- material,
20 scientific, technological achievements of this society -- I
21 am increasingly impressed with the fact that we are confronted
22 by a very profound and pervasive moral crisis in this society.
23 I think it is the central issue which our nation and our
24 government increasingly needs to confront.

25 We are a nation which is the wealthiest in the world; it

1 has provided greater material abundance and material security
2 for its people ^{than any other,} and yet there is this gnawing unhappiness,
3 the sense of moral adriftness on the part of so many Americans,
4 ~~and~~ I think no greater service could be performed by the Senate
5 Foreign Relations Committee, in light of its prestige and
6 authority in America, than to provide an opportunity to lift
7 up some moral considerations about who we are, what we stand
8 for, what are the bases of our choices, our value preferences.

9 And so, for that reason, I made a deliberate decision to
10 devote the larger part of my presentation, my written presenta-
11 tion, to moral and value aspects of the American people and
12 the American civilization.

13 I want to summarize that very briefly, and then relate
14 that to some of the current foreign policy concerns as I
15 perceive them, and necessarily I am going to be sketchy in
16 summarizing them and you will have to indulge with ~~maybe~~ some
17 distortion as a result of that summary.

18 Both as a Jew and as an American there are fundamental
19 assumptions, fundamental commitments on which I stake my
20 existence and on which I think the American people have staked
21 their existence from their founding.

22 One set of value assumptions derives from the ^{Biblical}
23 tradition; the other set of assumptions derives from the
24 thinkers and the founders of the American Revolution whose
25 contribution to American Independence we observe this year.

1 I want to spend just a few moments addressing myself to
 2 those value assumptions ~~because I think they are at the center~~
 3 ~~of the frame of reference~~ by which we make choices in relation
 4 both to our domestic and foreign policies.

5 The religion of Israel, ~~which~~ was precious to the founders
 6 of this nation. ^{Particularly that of} If you read the literature of the American
 7 Colonists, ^{you find that} the Massachusetts Bay Colony, they saw America as
 8 "a wilderness Zion," and they sought to construct on these shores
 9 a society based on the Biblical values, in effect, creating
 10 a Hebrew Commonwealth, the central feature of which was that
 11 God revealed Himself to the people of Israel as moral will.

12 From that flowed two fundamental affirmations. One is
 13 that the supreme value to which we are committed is the
 14 preciousness of every human life, the dignity of every human
 15 being. ^{Our founding fathers believed that} ~~That every human being in the~~ created earth is a child
 16 of God, is of infinite worth and preciousness and must not be
 17 treated as an object for somebody's program or ideology, or
 18 even revolution.

19 ^{The} ~~Second~~ ^{is} a fundamental affirmation regarding ^{that regards} justice as
 20 the distinctive divine revelation to humankind. ^{The obligation}
 21 to care for the poor, the needy, the orphaned, the widowed, the
 22 less fortunate in society. That is what the whole Biblical
 23 account of the Exodus was all about. A God of liberation
 24 who redeemed the people from physical oppression and persecu-
 25 tion, and liberated them at Sinai.

1 The second set of affirmations ~~which~~ derive from our
2 American Democratic ethos. ^{that ethos well} I think ^{is perhaps} summarized in
3 writings of Professor Clinton Rossiter who speaks of ["]the
4 political philosophy of the American Revolution in these
5 words: "However angrily the Founding Fathers might argue the
6 points of Constitutional structure, they agreed unanimously
7 that it would take more than a perfect plan of government to
8 preserve ordered liberty. Something else was needed, some
9 moral principle diffused among the people to strengthen the urge
10 to peaceful obedience and to hold the community on an even
11 keel.

12 "Revolutionary thinkers of America drew heavily on their
13 colonial heritage in proclaiming virtue the essence of freedom.
14 There was a widespread conviction that free government rested
15 on a definite moral basis, a virtuous people.

16 "Conversely, the decay of a people's morals signaled the
17 end of liberty and happiness. On no point in the whole
18 range of political theory were Americans more thoroughly in
19 accord."

20 And in a synthesis of the basic moral commitments of the
21 Founding Fathers of America as they were constructed in the
22 period of crises between 1763 and 1776, they declared the
23 following:

24 First, the willingness to act morally without compulsion,
25 to obey the laws of nature as interpreted by reason and the

1 laws of man as established in consent.

2 Secondly, the love of liberty, the desire for the adventure
3 and sacrifices of free government rather than the false security
4 of tyranny.

5 Third, public spirit and patriotism, defined by a native
6 in 1776 for the enlightenment of his fellow Virginians as "a
7 disinterested attachment to the public good, exclusive and
8 independent of all private and selfish interest".

9 Fourth, official incorruptibility, a state of virtue
10 saluted by Thomas Jefferson in "The Summary View" when he
11 reminded King George III that the whole act of government
12 consists in the art of being honest.)

13 And finally, fifth, industry and frugality, hard work and
14 plain living, the only path to personal liberty and national
15 independence.

16 The cultivation of these great public virtues -- moral
17 action without compulsion, love of liberty, public spirit,
18 incorruptibility, and industry and frugality -- was considered
19 the first duties of a free people. Men and women who
20 displayed these qualities were the raw material of liberty.
21 Without such people, in low places as well as high, free
22 government could not possibly exist.

23 And so, I should like to apply these fundamental moral
24 value commitments which represent the essential spirit of
25 the American people and the American civilization to several

1 current concerns which I believe ought to call for some reflec-
2 tion from a moral perspective.

3 This centrality of the preciousness of human life, of the
4 inviolable dignity of every human being in the universe, it seems
5 to me, ought to be an essential motivating factor in facing
6 the current spiraling arms race problem and the insane prolifer-
7 ation of nuclear weapons.

8 In looking at some of the raw data in terms of what has
9 been happening in both the proliferation of arms sales ~~in the~~
10 ~~world~~ and the establishment of nuclear reactors throughout the
11 ~~country~~, I believe that unless we face the issue of disarmament --
12 universal disarmament -- somewhere along the way, in the unfolding
13 of the human community and find a more rational way of creating
14 safeguards to prevent nuclear reactors from becoming translated
15 ~~in nuclear weaponry~~, we face -- not in apocalyptic terms -- we
16 face the greatest threat to the survival of the human family,
17 ~~not to speak of individual human lives, that I can think of~~
18 in human history.

19 Five arms control experts, writing in the Harvard magazine
20 of November 1975, predict that some nuclear wars are likely
21 to occur before this century's end as a direct result of bombs
22 spreading around the world like an epidemic disease. The
23 proliferation of peaceful nuclear power only aggravates the
24 danger because, as MIT Political Scientist George Rathjens,
25 formerly of the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency,

1 writes, "By the end of the century there will be several thousand
2 reactors around the world, each producing enough material to
3 build a weapon a week".

4 The peril is compounded by the knowledge disclosed by
5 Dr. Ted Taylor in his study, "Nuclear Theft", that an atomic
6 weapon would ^{not} be impossible for a guerilla group to construct
7 with just over 13 pounds of plutonium. It is believed that
8 more than 4,000 pounds of plutonium were shipped in the United
9 States last year, and nobody knows exactly how much of that
10 material was lost in transit or production.

11 I fully appreciate, Mr. Chairman, and support in many ways
12 the argument made by Dr. Paul Nitze, in "Foreign Affairs"
13 magazine, January 1976, that the United States take positive
14 steps to maintain strategic stability and high quality
15 deterrence as a means of assuring that the Soviet Union or an
16 enemy is deterred from believing ^{they} he could profit from seeking
17 a nuclear war-winning capability or effectively use pressure
18 tactics to get their way in a crisis situation.

19 Nor am I unmindful of the need and possibilities of
20 controlling the defense budget through judicious pruning of
21 waste. But, ^{given} giving the absolutely catastrophic nature of
22 nuclear war, we must ask whether our government and its allies
23 have done enough to restrict their sales of nuclear reactors to
24 unstable countries and to countries of uncertain political
25 persuasion.

1 Andrei Sakharov has proposed the creation of an international
2 committee to investigate all nations, forbidding all bombs.
3 Senator Hubert Humphrey -- as you well know -- and others have
4 introduced bills calling upon Congress to share systematically
5 in shaping policies guiding arms exports.

6 I sincerely trust, for one, that Congress will help America
7 finally to develop a rational approach to arms sales as well
8 as to the intensification of universal disarmament measures.
9 I think the very survival of the human family depends on such
10 measures being taken vigorously here and in concert with
11 other nations.

12 Secondly, Mr. Chairman, I want to address myself to the
13 issue of human rights in the world of which others of my
14 colleagues have spoken today.

15 Recently a study was conducted by Professor Nathan Glazer
16 called the "Universalization of Ethnicity" in which he set out
17 to study the relationship of religion to ethnicity ^{and} to political
18 ideology throughout the world, ~~and~~ ^{and} as he travelled the five
19 continents of the earth, he became overwhelmed by the magnitude
20 of the deprivation of human rights throughout the world, the
21 degree to which millions of human beings -- literally millions
22 of human beings -- are being destroyed, massacred, oppressed,
23 persecuted, tortured, subjected to brutality.

24 There is hardly a continent on the earth today in which
25 the dignity of the human personality is not being destroyed,

1 flagrantly undermined by the violation of human rights, ~~in~~
 2 ~~every part of the world.~~

3 Last Friday I met, at their request, with a group of 15
 4 black Ugandans who came to the building of the American Jewish
 5 Committee in a state of despair, begging us to assist them as
 6 a human relation^s/organization which played a role in the
 7 drafting of the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights, ~~begging us~~
 8 ~~to assist them~~ to get their story told to the American people
 9 and to the United States Congress and to others.

10 Between 1971 and 1973, under General Idi Amin, some
 11 65,000 black Christians and others have been destroyed in
 12 that country, 55,000 Asians have been driven out of that
 13 country ~~out of~~ ^{under} conditions of cruelty and torture and barbarism.
 14 This General Idi Amin, who received a standing ovation at
 15 the United Nations, came there with blood dripping from
 16 his hands, ~~and this~~ ^A black Ugandan Pastor, ~~Reverend Paap~~
 17 ~~Sampambe~~ ^{decided} ~~that~~ those Acts at the United Nations of
 18 insensitivity to the plight of black people, a million black
 19 people destroyed in the Sudan, not a word at the United Nations,
 20 80,000 ^{Tutsi} Cuchi tribesmen massacred in ^{U/}Barundi, not a word
 21 at the United Nations ^{n/}or in this country.

22 And now hundreds of thousands of Ugandans marked for
 23 certain massacre, and there is nowhere in the world to go to
 24 get a hearing, to raise the consciousness of mankind to put an
 25 end to this widespread destruction of human life. There is a

1 United Nations Commission on Human Rights; it is virtually
2 powerless. They cannot even get a reception there.

3 And so there is need, I would believe, for several things
4 to be considered in terms of the long-term commitment of this
5 country to the preservation of human rights, of black people
6 *throughout Africa and Asia,* and colored people, *people* in the Soviet Union, Lithuanian
7 Catholics who are being denied their rights, *which is* ^{also} *hardly*
8 talked about.

9 What is happening to the Christian *Marronites* in Lebanon?
10 The silence in this country and at the United Nations until
11 two days ago, is a moral obscenity in the world. An ancient
12 people is being put on the bloc for destruction and hardly a
13 word is spoken at the councils of the nations, ~~in order to~~
14 ~~contained; contain their lives as well as the lives of~~
15 ~~innocent Muslims who are being destroyed in that part of the~~
16 ~~world.~~

17 Mr. Chairman, there is need for serious consideration to
18 ~~instrumentalities both within and outside~~ *for upholding human rights,*
19 ~~strengthen the United Nations as an instrumentality to convert~~
20 ~~There is need to convert the UN Commission on Human Rights~~
21 ~~this Commission into a Council to consider seriously the~~
22 ~~There is need to consider seriously the~~
23 possibility of creating a United Nations High Commissioner for
24 Human Rights with implementing powers; to make investigations
25 and to enforce the commitments that nations around the world
26 have made to the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights.
27 They are simply unenforceable today, yet all of ^{nations} ~~them~~ have given
28 lip service to upholding the basic principles and covenants

1 in the ^{WJ}Declaration of Human Rights.

2 There is need for our government to establish within the
3 State Department, or elsewhere, some instrumentality, some
4 person, some office, whose primary commitment is to survey the
5 implications of our foreign policy for what it will
6 do to the human rights of people in other parts of the world,
7 There is need to examine
8 the possibilities of using bilateral and multilateral negotiations
9 ~~to exist~~ ^{in order} in our relationships with other people that we do
10 not participate in undermining the human rights of minorities
11 and others in countries with whom we carry out arms trade and
12 economic relationships.

13 Finally, Mr. Chairman, I want to make just two other
14 brief comments.

15 The foreign policy of this country I think is very much
16 affected by our access to raw materials, in particular the
17 raw material of oil. The degree to which the struggle after
18 1973, the war in the Middle East, has distorted the foreign
19 policies of our country, ^{of} Western Europe, ^{of} Japan and ^{of} other countries
20 rests in very great measure on the monopolization ^(by OPEC Countries) of the
21 availability of the raw material of oil on which so much of
22 Western industrial civilization depends.

23 Our country has given lip service to the need of creating
24 some form of energy independence. An energy bill has been
25 ~~passed; the half-heartedness of it, the lacklusterness of it.~~
~~Why cannot this country, which has the capacity and the~~
^{but then appears to be a general half-heartedness}
^{moving to energy independence.}

1 ~~resources~~ to develop ~~the~~ energy capacities out of a variety of
 2 alternatives, whether it ^{be} ~~is~~ a ~~form~~ of off-shore oil ^{drilling,} ~~digging,~~
 3 oil shale, ^{coal liquefaction,} geothermal capacities, many other capacities. ~~It~~
 4 is time the nation gives serious consideration to developing a
 5 Manhattan Project for developing energy independence. Only to
 6 the degree that we have some measure of control over that resource
 7 will we have the freedom to negotiate in a mature relationship
 8 with other countries, and not allow ourselves to be intimidated
 9 and manipulated and have to capitulate to dogmatic ultimatums
 10 that are put to us and to other countries, ^{threats,} ~~distorting~~ our
 11 relationships, not only with those countries in the Middle East,
 12 but also with our Western allies and with Japan.

13 Finally, Mr. Chairman, I want to raise a question which
 14 has not been touched upon by anyone here today. It grows out
 15 of our own experience over the course of the past 30 years or
 16 so. It has to do with the issue of the importance of developing
 17 a global understanding of an ideological and moral commitment
 18 to global pluralism as the basic modality for the coexistence
 19 of nations and peoples and cultures in the world.

20 In the United States of America, if we think about the
 21 meaning of the Bicentennial, ^{or} one of the distinctive achievements
 22 of this country has been our creation of a unique pattern of
 23 relationship between various religious, racial and ethnic
 24 groups in this society.

25 In a ~~democratic~~ pluralistic society we have made it

1 possible for people to be faithful to their own traditions,
2 to be expressive of their own cultures and religious commitments
3 without doing violence to the integrity of others. In the
4 process we have also developed the methodology for facing the
5 degree to which our educational systems have, in the past,
6 contributed to hostility, hatred, contempt for others, and we
7 have developed techniques in our religious educational and
8 general educational systems for uprooting the sources of
9 teaching ~~the~~ ^{of} contempt and hatred of other communities.

10 If you look at what is happening in Ireland today, centuries
11 of hatred on the part of Catholics toward Protestants and
12 Protestants toward Catholics have literally created a culture
13 of contempt in which extremists have been able to flourish.

14 In the Middle East today there is no ideology of pluralism.
15 A classic Islamic medieval conception that there must be only
16 one homogenous Arab nation in the Middle East does not support
17 the possibility of a Christian minority to exist by right, not
18 just by sufferance; for a Jewish minority to exist by right,
19 not by sufferance.

20 I think it might be worthwhile in terms of the cultural
21 programs of the State Department of our nation ^{or other bodies} to consider
22 seriously looking into the possibilities of a program of global
23 education for pluralism. ^{We should} To look at the degree to which
24 religious and cultural educational systems contribute to a
25 recognition ^{of,} and to develop ideological and intellectual and

1 philosophical support for the acceptance and ~~the interpretation~~
 2 and the establishment of ^{global} ~~local~~ pluralism; the right of every
 3 religious, racial and ethnic group to exist side by side in
 4 multi-ethnic, multi-^{- racial} ~~tribal~~ societies throughout the world as
 5 a matter of right, not as a matter simply of sufferance and
 6 second-class citizenship. ^{The American Jewish Committee, which}
 7 ^{has long experience in this area, would}
 8 ^{be eager to cooperate with appropriate}
 9 ^{agencies in the furtherance of such vital programs overseas.}
 10 ~~If~~ Modern ~~of~~ America, faithful to its principles of individual
 11 liberty and self-government, and committed to the principle of
 12 pluralism, ~~I think, in this Bicentennial year, remains faithful~~
 13 ~~to those traditions if it interprets~~ ^{translates} those traditions in its
 14 foreign policies as much as we seek to elaborate them in our
 15 own domestic society, ~~and~~ it can still be one of the ^{great,} ~~great~~
 16 best hopes of mankind.

14 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15 The Chairman. Thank you.

16 I would say you had some very powerful statements this
 17 morning. I certainly appreciate them and I am sure the entire
 18 Committee appreciates them.

19 I am not going to take any time to ask any questions
 20 except just to comment, Mr. ^{Rubin} Tanenbaum, on something that you
 21 said. And that is the need for a Manhattan Project to develop
 22 or a crash program to develop our energy resources.

23 A little over a year ago I wrote a letter to President
 24 Ford recalling the time when we had a Manhattan Project. I
 25 remember it quite well; I was in Congress at the time. And I

FO...REL.

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2 Reverend King. I have problems with the sovereign state
3 thing as to how far it goes. I am thinking of a state not a
4 nation. I am thinking of a sovereign state and I do not know
5 any state in my country that does not need protection, guidance.
6 You see, sovereign is as dangerous a word as power. Man cannot
7 be trusted with much power. Man cannot be trusted with much
8 sovereignty. He becomes the owner. He looks at it as owner-
9 ship. This is mine, you have no rights in here.

10 I have problems with that.

11 Senator Case. I do too. But is answer the only answer
12 to keeping a man's power, a nation's power, within bounds
13 is countervailing power.

14 Reverend King. Is what?

15 Senator Case. Countervailing power. Someone has to be
16 able to say no.

17 Reverend King. Yes, there has to be a no.

18 Rabbi Tanenbaum. Mr. Chairman, this is a somewhat
19 abstract discussion. I simply want to make this point. It
20 seems to me that it is not a matter of speculation as to
21 whether or not there ought to be nation-states in the world.
22 There was a time in which, ~~in a sense~~, world federalists
23 had expressed what was a kind of end of the day's hope, an
24 eschatological hope that at the end of the day sovereign
25 nations would all wither away and become absorbed in ²the world
government.

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1 I think the reality that impinges upon all of us is the
 2 recognition that despite the writing of historians and
 3 political scientists of the last three decades, nationalism is
 4 alive and well and healthy and thriving and in fact has taken a
 5 new lease on life. A nation-state represents the only viable
 6 instrument for the national self-determination of peoples in
 7 which they realize their ethos and take care of their well
 8 being.

9 So I, ~~you know~~ have no philosophical question at this
 10 point as to whether it ought to be. It is a fact of life that

11 has to be contended with. ^{The essential question is how do we}
 assure that nation-states are used for
 12 realizing human purposes and are limited from indulging in self-interest
^{at the expense of others.}

Secondly, in regard to the question that you ask, I think

13 there is a danger ^{is} a certain kind of moralism. ~~If one is~~
 14 not self-critical, and in effect, I am very much instructed on

15 this point by the writings of the late Professor Reinhold Niebuhr,

16 who I was privileged to work with on ^a the study of "moral

17 responsibility in international relations." I think Professor

18 Niebuhr ^{by} understood out of his own neo-orthodox Christianity, the

19 moral ambiguity of power and the moral ambiguity of all sover-

20 eign states, and in fact, he was making the point that you were

21 implying, ^{namely,} that the only way in which one can be prevented,

22 either ^{by} a person or a nation state, from monopolizing, imposing

23 his power on ~~that of~~ another is to invigorate the democratic

24 process which submits every center of power to ongoing and

25 sustained and constructive criticism from another center of

In effect, he argued for

1 powers ~~which is to say~~ the countervailing theory of checks and
 2 balances which is at the heart of ^{our} democratic process.

3 I think we see what happens in our government and in our
 4 society when those checks and balances become attenuated ^{That} and
 5 ~~leads inevitably to~~ the possibility of genuine corruption and exploitation of one's
 6 power. Thank God, the vitality of American democracy has been
 7 demonstrated in its capacity to reassert that kind of correc-
 8 tive criticism.

9 But if you are asking a question with regard to the right
 10 of protection of a nation-state and its use of power for the
 11 protection of the life of ^{its} the citizen ^{s/} from a religious, moral,
 12 theological point of view, I do not find myself walking away
 13 from that as something evil or reprobate, although I have all
 14 of ^{the} same kinds of mixed reactions toward the military or
 15 towards the use of power altogether as a means of preserving
 16 the well-being of a person. It is part in a sense of our
 17 fallen condition that given the tendencies of man toward evil,
 18 toward power and toward self-assertion, that one has to use
 19 military power; but from the point of view of ^{the} moral theology
 20 of Judaism, there is a conception of milchemet chova. There is
 21 "a just war" when the life of a people or a nation is being
 22 threatened, when the historic distinctiveness of a community
 23 is being threatened by aggression from the outside, one in fact
 24 has a moral obligation based upon the assumption of the preser-
 25 vation of human life, to ~~in fact~~ protect ^{oneself in self-defence} itself.

1 But there must be a proportionality ^{of} the use of that
2 power. It must be proportionate to the threat, not the over-
3 kill which Dr. Randall referred to.

4 The Chairman. Senator Case, your time has expired.

5 Senator Case. This man has not had a chance to talk yet.
6 I was going to ask unanimous consent that he be permitted
7 to have his input.

8 Reverend Constantinedes. I do not believe that there is as much
9 problem with recognition of sovereign states as much as there
10 is for respect for sovereign states. And what is the relation-
11 ship of one sovereign state to another in view of armaments?
12 Are armaments sold by this country to every country for self
13 defense? Is that a true statement? Are they sold for business?
14 Are they sold because a country we happen to like or not like
15 or serve our interests or not serve our interests? I believe
16 like the Rabbi said that in our faith also we have -- we
17 justify war only for self defense.

18 But now the other powers who are supplying the armaments
19 to these several sovereign states -- are they doing it so that
20 they can defend themselves? Are the sales of arms to Iran, for
21 example, are they for self defense or are they, as they have
22 been programmed, in order to create the strongest power in the
23 Middle East?

24 I believe the time has come not simply to recognize the
25 sovereign state but to respect it as a sovereign state. And

1 And I think we should start going
2 back to philosophy school or something.

3 Senator Clark. Yes, sir.

4 Rabbi Tanenbaum. I would just like to make a brief
5 comment.

6 We have confined ourselves in response to your question
7 thus far to the manifestation of power in military force. I
8 think perhaps as great as that, and in some ways even more
9 penetrating, is the role of the economic power of America,
10 especially as manifested in multi-national corporations. It is
11 a new phenomenon in our history.

12 Multi-national corporations are the supreme, classic
13 example of a form of laissez-faire capitalism which is abso-
14 lutely unaccountable to anyone or anything. There ^{has been} ~~is~~ no moral,
15 ethical frame of reference for accountability until Senator
16 Church's committee began raising questions and began ⁱⁿ digging
17 into the kind of practices that were taking place. ~~I think it~~
18 needs to be made clear. (I want, for my own part, to make clear
19 that I do not like to play angels and demons. I think there is
20 a very constructive role that multi-national corporations play
21 in mediating the benefits of advanced science, technology,
22 production to people in the world who desparately need that
23 food, clothing and medicine which are simply inconceivable
24 without those kind ^s of delivery systems and production systems.

25 At the same time, the absence of any kind of moral

what are, in effect,
for such

1 accountability, ~~in any case, as these are~~ independent inter-
2 national governments, allows ^{for} a kind of abuse which ~~in fact~~ con-
3 tributes to the undermining of human rights and ^{frequently to} individual
4 ~~country's~~ ^{the} denial of equality of opportunity to minority
5 groups ^{by a number of corporations} and also ~~The participation~~ in practices which ~~are~~ to me as
6 a Jew ~~are~~ reprehensible, in the way in which many corporations
7 in order to make a buck, will do anything.

8 ~~There is another ethic which is the business of America.~~
9 ~~It~~ ^{must American be} business ~~an~~ absolute ^{by} amorality? ^{Should business firms be free to} You ~~can~~ do anything to make
10 a buck, ~~in America~~, including buying governments, selling
11 governments, corruption, bribery, etc. ~~And part of that same~~
12 mentality which has participated in the undermining of the
13 situation of blacks in South Africa and Rhodesia and in
14 Honduras and in other places is part of the same mentality that
15 has been capitulating to the Arab boycott. ^{discriminate against} ~~against Jews and Arabs~~

16 There are corporations which are prepared to ~~deny~~ ^{in their, for example,} (Jews,
17 blacks, women ^{access} to Saudi Arabia or other countries ^{who} ~~who~~
18 ~~set these terms~~ simply because ^{they think, to do otherwise would} it ~~would~~ get in the way of their
19 making a buck. And I think that, you know, ~~one of the things~~
20 ~~that happened in the early revolutionary period, as I have~~
21 ~~studied the literature, America was filled, between 1763 and '76,~~
22 ~~America was filled, that is, the public order was filled with~~
23 vigorous public discussion of public virtue, morality. What
24 was required of an official to hold public office? ^{How} ~~now~~ was the
25 government ~~to be kept~~ to be kept responsible?

1 That debate is almost moribund in American society and if
2 this hearing does nothing else but begin to allow the possi-
3 bility of raising up moral questions for every level of society,
4 including religion, to bring about that kind of corrective, I
5 think it would perform a very useful service.

6 Senator Clark. I think, Mr. Chairman, my time is gone.
7 I have three specific questions. I will wait until the next
8 round.

9 The Chairman. Senator Case, it is your turn.

10 Senator Case. We could talk about this all night and
11 profitably too.

12 The Chairman. I was hoping we could do it today.

13 Senator Case. The Chairman says let us just do it in the
14 daytime.

15 I think we pretty well understand each other. I think we
16 do.

17 Who can possibly say there are things that are not good
18 in this country and that there are practices in the world of
19 business, in the world of politics that have to be corrected?
20 Of course there are. I think my only concern really this
21 morning, in my questions of you, is to give you all of the
22 chance that you might need to make it clear that you were not
23 trying to undermine the basic, fundamental capitalist property
24 system of the country. Granted the need for keeping a reign
25 on it and a correction on it and keeping it moral because there

1 food either in money, or if you are going to deal in commodities,
2 if you are going to deal in whatever -- and I exclude in this
3 case foreign aid in terms of economic aid to government or
4 for arms purchases and so forth -- but when you are dealing
5 with food and the alleviation of hunger, I believe all of the
6 money or commodities or whatever should be channeled
7 these institutions.

8 Senator Case. To, not through. You mean our Government
9 should continue to tax people, pay the farmers, and give the
10 stuff away? You believe in that?

11 Reverend Constantinedes. Yes, but not the Government
12 to give it to another government.

13 Senator Case. But not the Government but to individuals.
14 How are you going to have it distributed?

15 Reverend Constantinedes. Through the Catholic charities.

16 Senator Case. I think this is great to the extent that
17 organizations like that are permitted to operate, in foreign
18 countries, and can I would not disagree.

19 Reverend Constantinedes. Yes, if you permit them to
20 do it.

21 Rabbi Tanenbaum. Mr. Chairman, I had the privilege of
22 testifying before a Senate Subcommittee on World Hunger, and
23 I believe it appropriate to take this moment to express appre-
24 ciation ^{of} to the leadership Senator Clark has given to the
25 world hunger problem.

1 We were together at a rally of young students and seminarians
 2 before the Lincoln Memorial about a year ago with ^{Dr} Eugene
 3 Carson Blake and Senator Clark's very moving talk before that
 4 group became more moving as it became more cold outside.

5 ~~I think~~ with all appreciation of what has just been said,
 6 I think it is unrealistic to expect that the major proportion
 7 of aid in the millions of tons that is required can, in fact,
 8 be delivered through the voluntary agencies. They simply are
 9 not equipped, even if it were given to them to carry out that
 10 kind of responsibility on a sustained basis, ~~and~~ ^{and} Indeed, I
 11 think it is ² ~~to be~~ ^{to} tribute ~~of~~ of the Congress and the American
 12 Government and the American people that when the House of
 13 Representatives turned itself around after the Senate voted in
 14 favor of the 4.4 million tons of aid a year ago, that our
 15 Government finally moved with some expedition to see that
 16 that food was made available ^{that} and ^{was} done only because the
 17 structures of the Government had a capacity to bring that
 18 about.

19 I also think, however, precisely because the reality
 20 of the situation is going to require into the indefinite
 21 future that aid continue on the basis of a government-to-
 22 government relationship, that it does raise some moral issues
 23 and also some opportunities for some effective translation
 24 of our value commitments into reality.

25 I am very much concerned, for example, ² I do not think it

1 is the rule, but there are enough exceptions to trouble me²
 2 to find that in a number of cases when aid was made available
 3 in some countries, that some of that food simply was not
 4 brought to the people; that some aristocratic elites in
 5 monarchical governments, I think, Ethiopia is one example,
 6 where food was brought to a country and kept in warehouses,
 7 and the government simply did not make it available to the
 8 people, and hundreds of thousands of people died with food
 9 rotting in warehouses.

10 So, I think it raises the question in bilateral negotiations
 11 with regard to the transfer of food, the obligation of the
 12 government. I cannot understand that mentality. ~~I know I~~
 13 ~~would not do this in my own office in relation to other people~~
 14 ~~or other departments, to be so passive and conforming to what~~
 15 ~~is essentially a lack of responsibility, at the very least,~~
 16 It is ^{the obligation} moral stance on the part of government leadership^{on} to
 17 raise basic questions with regard to commitments to the
 18 administration of the food aid, ^{and to obtain} assurances that it reaches the
 19 people, and to the degree that it is possible, to press for
 20 the minimization of corruption.

21 I know of enough situations in which heads of governments,
 22 heads of departments, ^{Ministers} have received and become multimillionaires
 23 on American food and aid. ~~Now, the danger there -- I am not~~
 24 ~~talking about piety and morality -- -- the real danger there~~
 25 ~~is that that pattern of administration in a confrontation of~~

1 the ~~exploitation of aid is not confronted systemically as~~
 2 ~~we provide it around the world.~~ There is a real danger of
 3 backlash among the American people. As stories come out
 4 in a variety of hearings about people who have made a fast
 5 buck and who deny their own people aid, there is a real
 6 danger that Americans are going to say, yes, we would like
 7 to help them, but we are not going to help them despite
 8 themselves, and they have to clean house themselves before
 9 we will continue this.

10 I think there is a priority of concern about raising
 11 that with heads of governments, and it can be done with enough
 12 sensitivity and diplomatic skill to make it clear that there
 13 are going to be political consequences unless there are
 14 changes of heart ^{that will lead them to} ~~so they can~~ cope with this.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 5, 1976

PAT M. HOLT, CHIEF OF STAFF
ARTHUR M. KUHL, CHIEF CLERK

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

In my opinion, your testimony and that of your fellow religious leaders before the Foreign Relations Committee was important and impressive. Therefore, I thought it appropriate to insert a great portion of the statements into the Congressional Record so that they might have a greater audience.

Thank you for taking the time to prepare such thoughtful testimony and for your attendance at the hearing.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,


John Sparkman
Chairman

Enclosures



Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 94th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 122

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1976

No. 19

Senate

RELIGIOUS LEADERS VIEW FOREIGN POLICY CHOICES FOR THE 1970'S AND 1980'S

Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. President, on January 21 the Foreign Relations Committee reconvened its series of hearings on "Foreign Policy Choices for the 1970's and 1980's" and heard from a panel of religious leaders.

Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., who recently retired from the pulpit of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta;

Rev. Evagoras Constantines, Merrillville, Ind., substituting for Archbishop Iakovos who was ill;

Archbishop Peter Gerety of Newark, N.J., vice chairman of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Justice Subcommittee;

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Inter-religious director of the American Jewish Committee; and

Mrs. Claire Randall, general secretary of the National Council of Churches.

We asked this distinguished panel for their thoughts on the goals and values of American foreign policy in the years ahead and also to assess the impact of foreign policy on the spiritual well-being of the American people and the people of foreign nations.

This was a most interesting and fruitful session, filled with ideas that I think will be of interest to Members of Congress unable to attend. Mr. President, I therefore ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of the panel's prepared remarks printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, Sr.

I, Mr. Chairman, am going to limit what I am saying to "What kind of nation do we want to be among the family of nations?" I have long believed in a world citizenry; I have been preaching across the world now for a good while. But I am disturbed, bothered and worried by some of the things that we must come to grips with.

I think if we would come on as a nation and come to really love and live together as brothers and make brotherhood work, that it would work all over the world. Love every man. Every man's a brother. I am that.

I believe in the church. My religion transcends denomination. I am as much at home with the Catholic as I am the Jew. What is the difference? The things I think that separate us anyhow, as to nation, as to all, if we really come to grips with it, it is just infinitesimal. But the ideas really, that would bring us together, and that should bring us together as infinitely, and I think we are moving in that direction for the better, and I hope the Seventies and the Eighties will bring a world of peace.

I hope that we do not have to have war. I hope that we will come to the point when we will study war no more. We can live together, the world over, in peace. God has given us space enough; He has given us men enough to live together peacefully in this world. I think America has the tools, she has the know-how, she has the economic strength, if she would. I look toward to that day when America will really get at the business of getting across the word, carrying a message of peace.

Not peace spoken out of the mouth, but peace coming from sermons that men everywhere can see. Those are our greatest sermons; sermons that we preach, that we see every day.

I look toward a day when mankind everywhere will keep politics—don't get rid of it; we have to have it. It's all right. There is nothing wrong about politics. Politics belongs in the church and anywhere else if we let it be what it really is—the science of government, the science of good government—and I want to rush to tell you I am not a politician. I do not know how to be one. I believe in it, but I believe it ought to be clean, decent, brotherly, kind toward every man, and considerate.

You see, what bothers me also, and should bother you, is that man is awfully—and I repeat the word over again, awfully considerate about oneself, about his nature, his belonging. But so inconsiderate of others.

Until we can come to see, in my thinking, that we must be awfully considerate of others—you know, back of this cosmic world there is a God who operates every minute, on time, never late to a single moment, not slack as men, no slackness. He stands there to share in all we are doing.

I am a very committed man. I believe in God. That is the only one I am afraid of. I am not afraid of anything else but God because he has the authority to get me. He rules, whether we want it to be that way or not.

So, back of this cosmic world, I will repeat, there is God operating every minute, on time. But I think men, in many instances, have lost the sense of being God's person. And we have to come back to this I think. Let God operate this world and teach us how.

Finally, I talked about it, I believe I belong with Him to the least of these. I would like to see America address herself more toward the least of these for there are more of them than all the rest and there always will be—the least of these.

Lord, when the question was raised there in the Scriptures themselves—I was in prison, you did not visit me, and I was sick, you did not come to see me; I was thirsty and you gave me no drink. And then they raised a question, Lord, we admit that we have seen these folks here on the streets threadbare, hungry, in need, but we just don't ever remember seeing you in this position. And He quickly answered, inasmuch as you did not do it for the least of these, you did not do it for me. That is it, I think.

Silver and gold I have none, but such as I have I give thee. America ought to keep that in her hip pocket every day. Just such as I have. There are so many people across this world, just me, simply such as I am, and that is a word of life, a sense of belonging, a sense of being wanted, a sense of being a part of, a sense of being a real honest-to-God human being.

Well, Mr. Chairman, that is old Brother King's message.

STATEMENT OF FATHER EVAGORAS CONSTANTINES

Thank you Mr. Chairman:

At the outset I would like to express the sincere regrets of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America for being unable to come because of a severe cold. Also, to express his thanks, as well as mine, for this opportunity to appear before the Committee.

I am Father Evagoras Constantines, pastor of the St. Constantine and Helen Church in Merrillville, Indiana, and Co-ordinator of the United Hellenic American Congress for the State of Indiana.

It is an undisputed fact that America is the nation created by the oppressed and persecuted, the lowly and the heavy laden. It is also true that America has been the refuge of all these people during its 200-year history.

Lately, however, America is being scorned and reviled by the oppressed and the persecuted and the lowly and the heavy laden. Why?

Is it because she is big and strong and affluent, and they are envious and jealous of her? Perhaps there is some truth in that. But it is not the main reason. In my view it is because America is dreadfully lacking in three very critical areas in her relations with the rest of the world.

The first is the lack of any positive foreign policy. For the last fifty years America's foreign policy has been a policy of reaction rather than a policy of action. Instead of charting a course of action which is based on "liberty and justice for all", as we so often sing, and then pursuing it to the maximum of her potential, we wait to see how will Russia or England or France or Germany or Japan or whichever power will act in a certain situation so that we can react accord-

ingly, which frequently makes us too late or too wrong. There should be no doubt in anyone's mind that if a climate of collective security is to be created in the world, other nations must know within reasonable limits what to expect from a country like ours from whose actions and/or inactions everyone of them takes cues. I am certain that not many nations are in doubt concerning the course the Soviet Union is following, despite the many internal upheavals and blood baths. One might argue that it is not easy in a democracy to plot such a course and remain faithful and loyal to it since the input in its formulation has to come from so many divergent sources, groups, interests and classes; that the decision-makers lose control of policy because powerful public reactions take over and divert the course of events into unforeseen or unwanted channels. True! But the skillful and successful foreign policy maker formulates an honorable course and sells it to the folks at home rather than engage in covert and devious actions and surprise even the most cynical. If consultation, on every subject on a day-to-day basis is impossible, at least the framework of the overall policy has to be made explicit.

A positive foreign policy based on fairness and justice can never be mistaken by anyone and, whether agreeable or not agreeable to others, it will in the long run become a respected and trusted characteristic of our country. If diligently pursued and faithfully and lawfully practiced, it will attract the support of the people at home as well, and create in them a sense of pride, confidence and self-respect which is not particularly obvious at the moment.

The second area where America is lacking in her foreign relations is morality. I must readily admit that when one speaks of fairness and justice there is a greater degree of agreement than when one speaks of morality. It is my belief, however, that when the men who formulate and execute foreign policy do not permit themselves to become devious, treacherous or base, their actions will be moral. And when they try to preserve all characteristics that are definitive of a society and worth preserving, their actions are moral. Man has vices but also virtues. Even though many evils have been brought about by passions, there exist passionate men on the side of goodness. "Only a passion can conquer a passion" remarked a great philosopher (Spinoza). If passionate devotion and sacrificial execution has brought Communism to where it is today, only a passion for morality, fairness and justice can conquer its menacing spread over the globe.

Perhaps the greatest test of morality comes when it is placed in direct opposition to the so-called national interest. It has been pointed out by many great thinkers that self-love is the strongest single emotion in most people. Yet, love for family, a yearning for recognition and the respect of fellow men, certain collective aspirations such as nationalism, and quite a few ideologies have often proved strong enough to override self-love. If what we convince ourselves to accept as a national interest is dispassionately evaluated and weighed against the misery, agony and suffering of thousands or even millions of fellow human beings, perhaps we could recognize it as more of a selfish interest and view it as an arrogant exercise of power and be less inclined to pursue it. Is it moral or in the national interest to topple foreign governments, assassinate heads of states and invite invasions of one country by another because we do not like them, do not agree with them or suspect them? I do not say because we fear them since we do not carry out these machinations against those we fear; we carry them out against those who are really or allegedly cooperating with those we fear but who, thanks to a peculiar one-way street called "détente," we consider sacrosanct. Is it in the national interest to hold the view that moral principles are for children and that nothing counts in foreign affairs but success? Especially so when we consider success the acquisition of some geopolitical advantages at the sacrifice of morality and traditional values?

What is truly moral and in the national interest is to stop the theater of spectacular agreements by chiefs of state on forms of words, and the exhibitionist shuttle flights, by their chief ministers, and buckle down to carefully spelled-out working understandings not only on the diplomatic level but in trade, philanthropy, science, culture, art, etc., on a people-to-people level in BOTH directions. Rather than retaliate against a small nation for casting a wrong vote or refusing to become a satellite and pay homage to "big brother", every effort should be made to reach a workable understanding and cultivate the development of mutual trust and respect. I distinctly remember, for example, the words of our Secretary of State on August 28, 1974, when, in the aftermath of the aggressive invasion of Cyprus by Turkey, I asked him what he thought of Makarios, ousted from his country at the time. This was his answer: "I like Makarios. He is the one head of state who makes the best wener schnitzel for me. But, Makarios' talents are too large for his country. In fact, his thinking is too global as is the thinking of most Greek politicians." The implication was unavoidably clear that leaders and politicians of small countries must not look beyond the ends of their noses but limit their talents to the local problems while the American Secretary of State can twirl the globe at will. "Of course", the Secretary continued, "this is not enough reason to want him out of his position." Later events and revelations proved that in this case, as well as many others, the statements of the makers of our foreign policy were not credible.

And this brings us to the third area of concern in American foreign policy: Credibility. Our view in this matter is the traditional Christian teaching: Search the truth and the truth shall make you free. Perhaps most of the reaction against America abroad, and the depressing situation of no confidence in our institutions at home is the lack of credibility from the highest to the lowest levels. Watergate, and revelations about the C.I.A., F.B.I., Internal Revenue, etc., etc., which show the contempt for the governed by their government; the pursuit by the politicians of votes at the expense of the national interest and the irreversibility of so many in government to the plight of the people renders America not a land to be admired and a leader to be followed but just another big kid who realizes that this is a tough world and the best chance you have of winning is to get into the fight and roll in the mud with the rest of them.

I believe that America should return to her classic tradition in foreign policy spelled out by both Wilson and his opponents: "scorn for mere balance-of-power politics and for selfish nationalism and imperialism; conviction that America's role must be uniquely that of protecting liberty, law and moral principle"; concern for real people everywhere instead of abstract formulations.

As the President said last July 4:
"Let us be people of values, of liberty, equality and justice, no matter what the cost. That has been our history and we are proud of it. We have never counted the cost of freedom and I don't think America ever will."

America must show real concern for poverty, freedom, self-determination and the dignity of all people everywhere. She must actively combat oppression by the right or the left by not supporting any nation or regime or business or individuals who prey on human beings anywhere by suppressing their God-given rights. And she must stop arming any and all nations unless she has hard and fast guarantees that these arms will be used for self-defense and not the killing of weak neighbors. If America will fight for these principles as hard as she fought against colonialism, she will emerge as a true leader in this fight as she did in the other.

STATEMENT OF ARCHBISHOP PETER GRETT
Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Members of the Committee:

I am Peter Gretry, Archbishop of Newark, New Jersey and Chairman of the Justice Subcommittee of the United States Catholic Bishops Bicentennial Committee. As Chairman of the Bicentennial Subcommittee I have heard the views of hundreds of Americans in the past year, and I appreciate your invitation to appear before this Committee to discuss the goals and values of American foreign policy.

In appearing before you as a bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, I speak out of a specific and substantially articulated transnational religious-moral tradition concerning the ethics of international relations. This tradition can be traced from the New Testament through Augustine's *City of God* and Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* to the Spanish contributors to international law, Victoria and Suarez, and finally to modern documents of papal teaching on international relations. In the years since World War II the problems of justice and peace in international affairs have assumed an increasingly visible role in the official teaching of the Roman Catholic Church as they have for other religious bodies nationally and internationally.

The fundamental perspective of this body of doctrine is that the human community should be understood primarily as a family bound together by ties of mutual responsibility and respect for each person's human dignity. This perspective is rooted in a belief that we share a common origin in the creative act of God, and a common destiny of eternal life. These assertions of faith are not shared universally in the global community, but they are widely held in our national community. Moreover, the political-ethical implications of this basically religious vision are open to rational analysis and can be shared even if the faith premises are not.

The structural character of the political-moral vision in Catholic teaching is that of a community of nations organized as sovereign states. In the Catholic tradition, the sovereign state is to provide the conditions and content of a decent human existence for its citizens and to cooperate with other states in building an international community with justice as the ruling norm and peace as the fruit of justice. The primary characteristic of this Catholic conception is that it is internationalist rather than nationalist in its basic structure; it affirms the reality of an international community, with consequent obligations, beneath the empirical manifestations of a globe divided into competing sovereign units. Hence in Catholic teaching the concept of the national interest is a limited one; the national interest should be conceived and understood in light of the developing international interest.

In summary the Catholic tradition does not deny either the reality or the validity of the state, but it affirms that the sovereign state must constantly be subjected to political and moral critique by its own citizens and others. The purpose of the critique is to test whether the policies and practices of the state do in fact serve the legitimate needs and aspirations of the people in the international community.

A sense of the content of Catholic teaching may be grasped in the following assertions:

Politically: It affirms the imperative of an international order articulated in terms of rights and responsibilities among states; the order is designed to produce an international political community governed by the values of justice, truth, charity and freedom;

Strategically: It acknowledges a right of defense in an imperfectly organized world, but in recent years it has systematically restricted the scope of this right to the use of force to the point where today it is recognized as legitimate only for defense, then within defined limits and always as a last resort;

Economically: It asserts that the existing maldistribution of wealth in the international system is an indictment of the existing system and an imperative for those with substantial control of the political-economic power to take specific steps to allocate "the global product" in a more rational and equitable fashion.

My purpose in this testimony is to provide an illustration of how these general substantive norms take shape in the context of assessing the foreign policy of specific states. The illustration is meant also to be an indication of how I think U.S. policy should be directed in light of the present structure of the international system.

**U.S. STRATEGIC AND MILITARY POLICY:
TWO THEMES**

Perhaps the oldest and most refined ethical issue in Christian political morality is the morality of the use of force. Living in one of the two strategic superpowers makes this issue of prime importance for the religious communities. I will point toward two examples which manifest the nature of the moral question in U.S. strategic policy.

The possession and use of nuclear weapons

We live in the nuclear age; at the heart of the military question is the fact of nuclear weapons. A representative and authoritative Catholic statement on the morality of nuclear weapons is found in the document *Gaudium et Spes* of Vatican II. Synthetically stated, the conciliar text lays down three principles regarding nuclear weapons: *first*, use of these weapons against cities and populated areas is prohibited in a special way because of their destructive capacity; *second*, while use is prohibited, the possession of these weapons for deterrence may possibly be legitimated as the lesser of two evils; *third*, even deterrence is questionable unless it is conceived as an interim expedient accompanied by extraordinary efforts to negotiate their limitation and reduction.

These three principles direct our attention toward three areas of U.S. strategic policy; the possible use of nuclear weapons; the posture of our deterrent; and the policy of arms limitation. My purpose here is to comment on the state of these questions, not to provide a final moral judgment on them.

First, on the basis of statements of our government officials, it is clear that we are prepared to use nuclear weapons which are presently targeted against cities. This policy has been developed in tandem with a similarly declared policy on the part of the Soviet Union. In technical terms we both rely upon a counter-city strategy. The paradox of this

position, as the Vatican Council noted, is that it preserves a "kind of peace" at the cost of threatening to perform mass murder. The rationale of the policy seems to be to make the threat of nuclear war so devastating that it will keep either side from initiating it.

A moral reflection grounded in the Vatican Council's position can acknowledge the utility of the deterrence function of nuclear weapons but cannot legitimate their counter-city use.

The Council explicitly condemned the use of weapons of mass destruction, but refrained from condemning the possession of such weapons as a deterrent.

In recent years a strategic concept known as "counterforce strategy" has emerged which envisages the use of strategic nuclear weapons primarily on military targets as preferable to targeting them on cities and large populated areas. An objection to this strategy (which has not yet been officially adopted) is that such use of nuclear weapons tends to break down the barrier between possession and use of weapons of mass destructiveness, i.e., makes nuclear war more likely. A similar objection attaches to the use of tactical (battlefield) nuclear weapons in Central Europe or (perhaps in lesser measure in Korea) where the "first use" of such weapons appears to be part of approved strategy.

I do not seek to adjudicate the details, ethically or empirically, of this complex strategic discussion, but I would personally be of the opinion that moves to erode the barrier against use of nuclear weapons, whether of the tactical or strategic variety, is not in the best interests of maintaining peace.

As I have indicated already, the other condition placed upon a deterrence strategy by the Council is that efforts must continually be made to reduce the level of armaments. In hearings such as these our attention should be directed toward the question whether our efforts of arms limitation and reduction are commensurate with the dangers with which we and others are constantly threatened. The results of our efforts thus far are not strikingly successful. The presently agreed upon levels of nuclear parity are set far above the capabilities now possessed by either of the superpowers. Admittedly, the responsibility here does not rest upon the United States alone or even principally with us; it is shared by both superpowers.

The point to be made, however, is that the treacherous trap of the arms race continues vertically through the superpowers and horizontally through proliferation of nuclear weapons to third countries. Admittedly, arms limitation in either of these categories even with the best of intentions on all sides is not easily achieved. After surveying the evidence of past and present policies, however, one is left with uneasy feeling that a policy which is designated to protect our survival by correlating survival with nuclear security may unwittingly be risking the survival of ourselves and others.

In the nuclear age there are risks inherent in seeking too much security as well as in possessing too little. Some questions seem legitimate in the debate about what constitutes real security: could our security be as well assured with a lesser deterrent capability? Would it be unreasonably hazardous to experiment with some unilateral reduction in U.S. capabilities? I pose these questions as a Christian who by himself cannot answer them, but as a contribution from recent Catholic teaching to the resolution of complex policy issues.

U.S. military assistance and arms sales

A second issue, closely related to the first, is U.S. arms sales and military assistance programs. Mr. Chairman, the Administration request this fiscal year for so-called security assistance programs comes to \$2.8 billion; this is more than will be provided for economic development assistance.

The bulk of this (\$1.5 billion) is for Israel, with which I will not quarrel, since we are plausibly assured it is essential to Israel's security. A modest amount is provided for other Near East countries, mainly Egypt. Another \$534 million is provided to Europe primarily to Greece and Turkey, who, one might suppose, could be supplied by their more prosperous NATO European neighbors. Africa is to receive \$68.0 million and this item has already received sufficient attention in Congress.

But in a discussion of the moral foundations of foreign policy, can one ignore almost \$200 million for Latin America and almost \$450 million for East Asia? We are told that the bulk of the funds for Latin America is for training. The Administration's position before the Senate Appropriations Committee speaks of "remaining responsive to Latin America's reasonable military needs within a framework of cooperation and growing economic self-sufficiency." I would be inclined to question the need for such programs until it was demonstrated that they are not associated with domestic security crises or the result of bureaucratic pressures from U.S. military agencies that wish to perpetuate a *raison d'être* for the U.S. military presence in those countries.

The almost half billion dollars provided for East Asia is, I surmise, at least partially related to legitimate U.S. security concerns.

especially in Korea. The other recipients are Thailand (border problems and internal subversion), the Philippines (internal security problems) and Indonesia (to patrol and protect its extensive archipelago). I would question whether we have an obligation to help such countries with their internal security problems as great as some of our needed domestic programs in the field of housing or welfare that are being alighted because of budgetary stringency. Moreover, such assistance tends to identify the United States with the measures employed by those regimes in the name of internal security which are, in the case of Korea, the Philippines and Indonesia, measures of severe repression and maltreatment which violate the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.

Substantial as are U.S. military assistance programs (including military sales on credit) total U.S. arms sales to the rest of the world are vastly greater, amounting to about \$11 billion in FY 1975. The United States has shipped \$100 billions worth of weapons to 136 nations since the end of World War II, an amount equal to arms sales by all other countries. As with nuclear weapons, here too the lay critic with an eye to the moral aspect of U.S. policy has fretting the arms race rather than containing it.

Such arms sales are justified with a variety of reasons: commercial, technical and political depending on whether the salesman is the corporate producer, the military forces, or the Department of State. Often one hears that old argument which is the bane of every moralist, "if we don't sell them, somebody else will." Very often one has the impression that arms sales are an important tool of U.S. diplomacy, serving, it is said, to "revitalize our bond to allies who share our values, institutions and interests."

U.S. sales have increased from \$2 billion a year in 1967 and seem likely to go on increasing unless some restraints are imposed. It seems to me that if U.S. credibility is to be based on a genuine long range commitment to peace rather than on the credibility of power, the United States should exercise tighter controls on these transactions.

THE LESS-DEVELOPED NATIONS

The relationship between the United States and the less-developed countries raises two problems for policy makers: economic development and agricultural production. In 1967 Pope Paul issued his encyclical letter "On the Development of Peoples" (Populorum Progressio). This remarkable document anticipated the demands that the less industrialized world presented in the last two Special Sessions of the UN General Assembly. It described the effort of colonial and mercantilist policies in shaping the economies of the non-European areas. It pointed out that the rule of a liberal international trading system worked to the disadvantage of the poorer countries, just as unrestricted economic individualism exploited the wage earners in the new industrial countries of the 19th century. It advocated massive capital transfers to the poor nations, "regional agreements among weak nations for mutual support," and new institutions for "international collaboration on a world wide scale" to assist in the development of the poorer nations.

Since 1967 the gap between rich and poor countries has grown wider, and the poor countries, having observed the success of the oil-producing countries in organizing to raise the price of their exports, concluded that this could be done with other basic commodities as well, and that such actions or other actions to control commodity prices would give them the resources they need for their own development. This conclusion may well be unrealistic but it should come as no surprise or shock to the leaders of the industrialized countries.

For years the United States has advocated economic development aid, while insisting that a liberal world trading system was best for all concerned. The conviction, supported by a collection of mutually reinforcing conclusions of economists, sociologists and foreign policy bureaucrats, seems to have been that economic growth led to political stability and the rejection of Marxist alternatives—hence a "more congenial world environment" for the United States. When it gradually became clear to the Third World that the level of aid was not only less than was promised, but far from being adequate, their leaders decided to do what wage earners have been doing for decades in almost all industrialized capitalist countries: change the contract through collective bargaining.

The United States has taken the lead in responding to this tack, and has developed a long list of specific proposals with which members of the Committee are familiar. All of these proposals seem reasonable and they were well received in the United Nations.

On closer examination the U.S. proposals may leave something to be desired from the viewpoint of the less developed countries. It is estimated that some \$40 billion of outside capital a year will be required by the year 1980 to bring about a modest acceleration of recent growth rates, whereas total bilateral concessional assistance last year from the industrialized nations amounted to only \$7.2 billion. However, as U.S. spokesmen have pointed out, the political climate for bilateral aid has deteriorated, and political leaders do not seem inclined to attempt to reverse this trend.

It seems fairly clear that the United States position is that developing countries must look to private investment to finance their development, and the implication of this is, better not tinker with the existing system. A minimal concession is the expressed willingness of the United States to join in the establishment of an international code of conduct to regulate affairs between multinational companies and governments.

In the face of the need for extensive capital in many Third/Fourth World countries for industrialization and infrastructures (e.g., schools, roads, hospitals, utilities) to suggest that foreign private investments—either in terms of quantity or in direction—will be sufficient is to offer a delusion. Poorer nations' development will be vulnerable to a system characterized by Pope Paul as one which "considers profit as the key motive for economic progress, competition as the supreme law of economics, and private ownership of the means of production as an absolute right." Foreign private capital investment in poorer countries is not necessarily an agent of desirable development any more than is such investment in highly industrialized areas. When the poorest nations require large sums of outside capital assistance, to advocate reliance upon private foreign investment is to offer them a weak reed.

In the world food problem, the United States has a unique role of leadership. I need not review the various courses of action being pursued. Having just read of the establishment in the State Department of an office to review the UN voting records of aid recipients and administer a "carrot and stick" policy of rewarding or punishing the recipients by giving or withholding aid I am sceptical that the objective of a depoliticized aid policy—as least toward the most severely affected nations—is fully supported by the Administration.

I am also disturbed by the lack of a larger long term commitment to emergency food aid. One sometimes gets the impression that U.S. policy in this area is committed to selling every possible bit of surplus to cash foreign customers and letting PL 480 dispose of the rest.

This brief and admittedly cursory review leaves me disquieted. I see no prospect of an effective U.S. initiative to bring about what Kissinger called a just share in global prosperity for the developing countries. Perhaps this Committee could ask Administration spokesmen to spell out what is meant by this and how the measures proposed in the UN address will help to bring it about. Without such a demonstration, I am left with the fear that economic growth in many poor countries will continue to be too slow and if that happens no one can say that the response of the industrialized countries has been adequate.

Today, we find that income in the world is unequally distributed with a few people in the rich countries overconsuming, and at least a fourth to a third of the world population lacking necessities. Spokesmen for the United States and other industrialized countries try to justify this by pointing out that the rich countries produce more, and more efficiently, while the poor countries have themselves to blame for producing too little. While this thesis may find support in some circles, it is not acceptable in a Christian critique.

Faced with the contending positions between the nations of the North and those of the South and the marked contrast in the life styles of peoples of the two regions, U.S. policy makers must accept the task of mobilizing public opinion to accept the necessary increases in taxes to fund multilateral assistance programs for economic development.

Admittedly, this task can be distasteful and politically unpopular. However, I believe that other sectors of American society, including the Churches, share this responsibility with leaders of government. Certainly in times like these in which domestic conditions are seriously strained, the instinctive reactions of many Americans is to reject talk about the needs of others overseas. But it is necessary, nevertheless, to present in as forceful a way as is possible, the concrete facts of absolute need abroad versus relative poverty at home.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOREIGN POLICY

The defense and promotion of human rights continues to take on an increasing importance in world affairs. In Pope John's encyclical, "Pacem in Terris," he described the approval of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the U.N. General Assembly (1948) as an "act of highest importance."

The protection of human rights is especially vulnerable because of two distinguishing elements of the international system: a lack of moral consensus and the absence of centralized authority, both of which are presumed in domestic societies. At the same time, the international community is committed in principle to human rights standards as these are expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since no centralized authority exists to implement the principles of the document, the burden falls primarily on individual states which remain the principal agents of authority and action in world politics. To pose the issue of human rights in the context of foreign policy inevitably raises the question: what responsibility does one state have concerning the violation of basic human rights in another sovereign state?

On the one hand, in terms of classic diplomacy, the sovereign state is the basic unit of international politics and the conduct of its internal affairs is beyond the purview of the criticism of other states. Complementing this perspective is the assertion that a sovereign state's survival is its first and ultimate responsibility, hence the domestic affairs of another state are only brought into the matrix of foreign policy calculations if they threaten the first nation's security.

On the other hand, Catholic theory, as expressed, for example, in "Pacem in Terris," places the nation within a framework of moral and legal restraints. The sovereign state in this conception is not seen as immune from criticism by its own citizens or by other agents in the international community. Violations of basic human rights within one nation, therefore, are the legitimate concern of outsiders. This concern is especially compelling for us when it is provoked by the oppressive conduct of nations with whom the United States is closely allied.

It is encouraging to note the recent appearance of an increasing awareness among citizens and a growing consensus within the Congress that human rights be given greater weight in U.S. foreign policy. When the internal conduct of a nation with whom the United States has a significant association becomes blatantly and seriously restrictive of human rights, the moral integrity of the United States is challenged. The basis of America's domestic commitment to human rights is a belief in the dignity of the human person. The affirmation of that belief is universal in its intent and implication; this means that to affirm the rights and dignity of the person here in fact, is to be committed to affirm it in other places in principle. To put the same case from another perspective, when rights are violated with impunity somewhere, they are implicitly threatened everywhere.

In U.S. bilateral relations, the standards to which we as a nation are committed domestically on human rights set a correspondingly high standard for our foreign policy. If we cannot maintain a certain consistency between our national ideals and our international behavior, we weaken the moral claim upon which our own rights are based. Minimum standards in the protection of human rights, below which no nation's conduct may fall without incurring the ire of outsiders, are part of the fabric of international affairs.

It is incumbent upon U.S. foreign policy makers that ways be found to factor specific human rights concerns into the foreign policy, as they have learned to do with a variety of other concrete issues, such as our commercial, labor, agricultural and fisheries interests.

A second method by which the United States can positively manifest its commitment to human rights is in its support of the U.N. Human Rights Commission and the Inter-American Human Rights Commission.

There is, therefore, a pressing need for the U.S. to pursue a double task: to strengthen and expand international mechanisms by which human rights can be protected and promoted, and to take seriously in this "interim period" the human rights dimension of our own foreign policy.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I note in your invitation you mentioned an "overriding question that must be answered, 'What kind of a nation do we want to be among the family of nations?'"

This is a question that cannot be answered fully or mainly in the context of foreign policy. We would all like to be seen as a nation conscious and respectful of its moral and political heritage of law and free institutions, preserving of our rich bounty of resources and natural beauty, living in harmony with one another, and caring lovingly for the poor, the aged and the handicapped. Our success in presenting that image has been marred recently; God willing we will recover our balance. The Bishops Bicentennial Committee, to which I referred earlier, has held a series of hearings around the country, the results of which we think will enable us to contribute to the national effort to set new directions and infuse a new moral purpose in national life and policy.

In the area of foreign policy, the national leadership has a more direct and decisive impact on the kind of nation we are and are seen to be. It goes without saying that most of the world expects us to continue to be strong, militarily, economically and technologically. But it also looks to the United States for moral purpose and inspiration, to be assured that we avoid the temptations of power and the abuses which come so easily to the powerful. This means, I think, that we need to act with more restraint, to avoid intervention in marginal situations, to act calmly and deliberately and with the understanding that we don't have the solution to every problem.

Our greatest challenge is to learn to live in a world in which many are still obsessed with power but in which power is not always the ultimate arbiter. Only two great powers, the United States and the U.S.S.R., have great military power and their relations to each other are dominated by considerations of power. But events today in many parts of the world are not susceptible to control by these two powers. Many new nations have a different approach to the solution of their problems: their criteria are

public opinion, the appeal to nationalism, and the drive for modernization. In such a world, we must accept the limits to the utility of sheer power and to recognize that it may not be effectual in establishing or restoring order and peace in every situation, especially those of internal political and social conflict. And, there are many evils in the world whose eradication require our compassion, not our force, our resources and technology, not our political dictation. The challenge in short is, while retaining the ability to use force when absolutely necessary, to avoid dignifying the use of force and, where possible, to discredit the resort to violence.

Our greatest opportunity, it seems to me, will lie increasingly in our response to Third/Fourth World countries, in our willingness and ability to provide capital and technical assistance without dictating the modalities of their particular economic and social development. We should be willing to some extent, to share our abundance with them, and in the process, at least for some of us, to experience some of their suffering. Only in this way can we help make the family of nations a real family, based not on national egotism and striving for power, but on a shared and living commitment to the international common good.

STATEMENT OF RABBI MARC TANENBAUM
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Members of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

My name is Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum. I serve as National Director of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, a major human relations agency of the Jewish community. I am grateful, Mr. Chairman, for the privilege of your invitation to testify here today together with eminent leaders and friends from the Roman Catholic, Protestant, Greek Orthodox, and Black Church communities. The views that I present are my own, although I should like to think that they find concurrence among many in the Jewish community.

The American Jewish Committee was established in 1906, in the wake of programs in Czarist Russia, to protect the lives and rights of Jews in the United States and abroad. Basic to its philosophy is the conviction that the denial of justice or equal opportunity to any group threatens the rights of all.

The American Jewish Committee has been committed from its earliest days to the ideals of the promotion of peace based on the right to self-determination, co-existence, mutual respect between peoples and nations, and constructive collaboration between the nations and peoples of the earth in service of our common human welfare. In particular, we have sought to make a contribution to the advancement of international human rights; that is, to the idea that it is desirable and feasible to promulgate universal standards of human rights to establish institutions or procedures for implementing them. In addition, we have pioneered in a program of religious and general education designed to uproot the sources of group hatred found in negative or hostile stereotypes that frequently feed religious bigotry and political-ideological fanaticism, the explosive chemistry which is responsible for so much of the religious-ethnic conflicts that tragically pockmark virtually every continent of the globe.

Moral and ethical values and ideals of Judaism

Neither the Bible nor Rabbinic Judaism has a word for "ethics". A small volume in the Mishnah often referred to as the "Ethics of the Fathers"—because it contains much ethical instruction—entitled in Hebrew merely "The Chapters of the Fathers." Ethics is not conceived apart from religion, so that it is included in whatever expression the Bible and the Talmud use for religion. Ethics is part and parcel of "the way of life" of Judaism.

That Jewish "way of life" has its origins in the experience of the Divine Presence in the midst of the decisive events of the Exodus and of Sinai, events which have altered the entire course of human history.

Israel's religion, Prof. David Flusser asserts, was a breakthrough in human consciousness. The God of Israel initiated a new era in the history of mankind, introducing a new concept of justice—which is the central message of His revelation—an uncompromising moral law, and an original social order to be established paradigmatically in the Holy Land of Palestine, conceived in this justice. This postulate of individual and social justice was not to be limited to Israel only. The Creator of the universe postulates this justice for all His human creatures; it was incumbent on all the peoples of the world.

The concept of justice which emerges from the Hebrew Bible is not, just the regimen of mighty men—the Bible does not identify God on the side of Pharaoh and his tyrannism. It stresses that God cares for the poor and unprotected, for the orphan, the widow and the stranger. The basis of social justice was not to be external power and might, but the reverence of God and obedience to His moral will.

To understand the idea of justice in Israel, we must bear in mind the Biblical teaching that the human being is created in the image of God, that each human life is sacred and of infinite worth. In consequence, a human being cannot be treated as a chattel, or an object to be disposed of for someone's program or project or ideology, but must be treated as a personality. Every human being is the possessor of the right-to-life, dignity and honor, and the fruits of his or her labor.

Justice is respect for the personality of others and their inalienable rights, even as injustice is the most flagrant manifestation of disrespect for the personality of others. Judaism requires that human personality be respected in every human being—in the female prisoner of war, in the delinquent, even in the criminal condemned to death.

The stability, as well as the happiness of a community, can only be assured when it rests upon a foundation of peace. In the absence of peace there can be neither prosperity nor well-being.

While the Prophets of Israel and the Rabbis believed that God intended the nations to be at peace with one another, war was not prohibited. Jewish ethics would admit the duty to defend the higher values in human life by war if necessary. If Isaiah or Jeremiah had thought that yielding to the foreign invader would mean destruction to the religion or the people they valued, they would have urged resistance, with the same vigor that they demanded constantly the practice of righteousness in obedience to God's will. All the facts of Biblical and post-Biblical Judaism taken together lead to the conclusion that the ethical judgment on war, according to Judaism, is that it must be eradicated to make human life conform to the Divine rule, that those guilty of causing it commit a crime against humanity and a sin against God.

However, they are justified who, to defend the higher values in human life, resist, if necessary by war, an attack on them. The justification would extend to a nation's defense of its liberty. The spiritual values in the life of a nation, which include its historic distinctiveness, may justify it, when attacked or threatened to engage in war to save its independent existence.

The American Democratic Ethos: A Bicentennial perspective

As we mark the observance of the American Bicentennial, it will be helpful at this Senate hearing to recall that however angrily the Founding Fathers might argue over points of constitutional structure, they agreed unanimously that it would take more than a perfect plan of government to preserve ordered liberty. Something else was needed, some moral principle diffused among the people to strengthen the urge to peaceful obedience and hold the community on an even keel.

Samuel Adams spoke for all American thinkers when he reminded James Warren, "We may look up to armies for our defense, but virtue is our best security. It is not possible that any state should long remain free where virtue is not supremely honored."

Another Bostonian added, "Liberty cannot be preserved if the manners of the people are corrupted, nor absolute monarchy introduced, where they are sincere."

The decade of crisis preceding the Revolution brought new popularity to the cult of virtue that had long held sway in the colonies. Revolutionary thinkers drew heavily on their colonial heritage in proclaiming virtue the essence of freedom. There was a widespread conviction that free government rested on a definite moral basis—a virtuous people. Conversely, the decay of a people's morals signaled the end of liberty and happiness. On no point in the whole range of political theory were Americans more thoroughly in accord. Free government was in large part a problem in practical ethics.

In the process of exhorting one another to be brave, frugal, and honest, and of damning England as "that degenerate land," American writers worked out a well-rounded theory of the ethical basis of the government. In particular, they identified the essential public virtues, described the contrasting political fates of good men and bad, and recommended techniques for promoting virtue and discouraging vice.

In addition to approving all recognized Biblical (Jewish and Christian), Roman, and English virtues, Americans singled out several attitudes or traits of special consequence for a free republic:

* *The Political Thought of the American Revolution* by Clinton Rossiter, Harvest Books.

First, the willingness to act morally without compulsion, to obey the laws of nature as interpreted by reason and the laws of man as established in consent;

Second, the love of liberty, the desire for the adventure and sacrifices of free government rather than the false security of tyranny;

Third, public spirit and patriotism, defined by a native in 1776 for the enlightenment of his fellow Virginians as "a disinterested attachment to the public [sic] good, exclusive and independent of all private and selfish interest;"

Fourth, official incorruptibility, a state of virtue saluted by Jefferson in *The Summary View* when he reminded George III that "the whole act of government consists in the art of being honest;" and

Fifth, industry and frugality, hard work and plain living, the only path to personal liberty and national independence. Special attention was devoted to the fifth of these qualities for industry and frugality were essential to the success of America's program of economic resistance.

The cultivation of these great public virtues—moral action without compulsion, love of liberty, public spirit, incorruptibility, and industry and frugality—was considered the first duty of a free people. Men and women who displayed these qualities were the raw material of liberty. Without such people, in low places as well as high, free government could not possibly exist. The fruits of virtue, for nations as well as men and women, were liberty, prosperity, and happiness; the fruits of corruption and luxury were tyranny, poverty and misery. "And as too great authority intoxicates and poisons kings, so luxury poisons a whole nation," Nathaniel Ames warned.

How to encourage virtue and thus "keep up the spirit of good government?" To this key question of political liberty, Americans replied: (a) hortatory religion; (b) sound education; (c) honest government; and (d) a simple economy.

Just as religion, education, government, and agriculture could raise the level of public and private morality, so morality could strengthen each of these great human undertakings. It was the business of political philosophers to discover the virtues that lead to free government, and the form of government that leads men and women to virtue.

SOME MORAL AMBIGUITIES

Like Israel of old, we were a messianic nation from our birth. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution defined the mission. We were born to exemplify the virtues of democracy and to extend the frontiers of the principles of self-government throughout the world.

A sense of mission can be a fruitful source of discipline and inspiration. The substance and content of our national sense of mission, namely, the preservation and extension of democratic self-government, is more valid than other forms of national messianism. Indeed, Prof. Bayless Manning, writing in the *JANUARY 1976* issue of *Foreign Affairs* on "Goals, Ideology, and Foreign Policy," makes precisely this point in discussing the conduct of foreign policy in the nation's "third century":

"Whatever policy the United States may follow in economic matters, it is debatable whether the developing nations that have adopted central economic planning systems will ever welcome the return of fully free-market forces to their economies. But if America preserves at home its steadfast stand in favor of the claim of the free individual, and also continues to make progress in dealing with its own internal social inequities, the United States will eventually regain its moral leadership among the nations of the world—not by force of its economic power and its arms but by virtue of its ideological example as a society of free men."

While concurring with much that Prof. Manning stands for, it would be helpful to keep in mind continually something of the moral realism associated with the thinking of the late Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr. One of the moral hazards of a democracy, Dr. Niebuhr wrote, particularly with a strong sense of mission, is that it ascribed a purity of motive which no nation possesses, or for that matter all but saintly individuals lack. American foreign policy expressed the simple anti-imperialism which was a staple of our policy for a generation. It had the defect that it was blind to the moral ambiguity of the imperial enterprise, of the mixture of creative and exploitative purposes and consequences in the impingement of strong nations on weak ones. For a nation of great economic strength, like ours, was bound to express itself in economic penetration of weaker nations—a form of covert imperialism which permits the expression of power without too obviously contradicting original ideals.

Such nations are inclined to pretend that they have triumphed over the baser impulses—chiefly the will to power, political lust, and ambition—screened behind the ideal purposes with which our sense of mission has endowed us.

¹ (See *The Holy Year and Its Origins in the Jewish Jubilee Year*, by this writer, published by the Vatican Office for the Holy Year, 1975, Vatican City.)

The pretension of superior virtue of a particularly powerful nation gives comfort to our Communist adversaries with their dogmatic anti-imperialism, more deceptive and simple than our own, and is bound to prove vexatious to even the friendliest and closest allies.

While I believe democracy to be the ultimate norm of political organization, no better way can be found for chastening correctives to false messianic pretensions than by making every center of power responsible to the people whom it affects; by balancing subordinate centers with other centers of power to prevent injustice; and by denying immunity from criticism to any organ or mouthpiece of prestige or authority.

SOME APPLICATIONS OF MORAL VALUES TO CURRENT FOREIGN POLICY CONCERNS

Arms race and nuclear weapons proliferation
The deep concern for upholding and preserving the preciousness of human life and for building a just and peaceful world community has at no time in human history been more seriously threatened than by the current spiraling arms race and insane proliferation of nuclear weapons. Following a study that I made of the rise in crime and the spread of violence and terrorism, accompanied by the staggering increase in international trade in arms and in nuclear installations, I found no more appropriate characterization of this period than that of "An Age of Terror" or an "Age of Violence." (See my paper, "Religion In An Age of Violence," delivered before the International Conference of Christians and Jews on the Nazi Holocaust in Hamburg, Germany, June 9-11, 1975).

Consider some representative data:
In each of the 60 military conflicts since the end of World War II imported weapons were used almost exclusively, and those arms have brought not only violence and destruction but death to more than ten million people. (The MIT Center for International Studies.)

In 1973, \$240 billion were spent to train, equip and maintain armed forces. The international trade in non-nuclear arms now tops \$18 billion annually—up from a mere \$300 million in 1952, and a jump of 550% since 1950. In fiscal 1975, the United States sold \$9.5 billion in military supplies to 71 countries; \$800 million worth more was sold through commercial channels and another \$600 million worth was given away.

The Soviet Union is second in international arms sales—\$39 billion since 1950, \$5.5 billion in 1974. France is third with a sale of \$3 billion to 80 nations, and Britain follows with \$1.5 billion.

In 1973, Third World nations imported \$7.7 billion. Impoverished India has doled out \$3 billion to the Soviet Union for arms in the past three years. Pakistan, scrambling to find \$250 million for a new fertilizer factory, spends at least that much on weapons annually.

Today there are 428 nuclear power plants in 39 nations, a number of which would permit production of atomic bombs as well as electricity. The International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, according to the New York Times of Nov. 2, 1975, predicts "the installation of 856 nuclear generating stations in the third world by 1990."

Poor nations can be expected to obtain nuclear weapons as a by-product of the atomic power plants that many of them are now building or contemplating, and it is quite conceivable that some may use these as instruments of blackmail to force the developed world to undertake a massive transfer of wealth to the poverty-stricken world.

Five arms control experts, writing in the Harvard magazine of Nov. 1975, predict that some nuclear wars are likely to occur before this century's end as a direct result of bombs spreading around the world like an "epidemic disease." The proliferation of "peaceful" nuclear power only aggravates the danger because as MIT Political Scientist George Rathjens (formerly of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) writes, "by the end of the century there will be several thousand reactors around the world, each producing enough material to build a weapon a week."

The peril is compounded by the knowledge disclosed by Dr. Ted Taylor in his study, "Nuclear Theft," that an atomic weapon would not be impossible for a guerrilla-group to construct with just over 13 pounds of plutonium. It is believed that more than 4,000 pounds of plutonium were shipped in the United States last year and nobody knows exactly how much of that material was lost in transit or production.

I fully appreciate, and support in many ways, the argument made by Dr. Paul Nitze that "the United States take positive steps to maintain strategic stability and high-quality deterrence" as a means of assuring that the Soviet Union or an enemy is deterred from believing he could profit from seeking a nuclear-war-winning capability or effectively use pressure tactics to get their way in a crisis situation (*Foreign Affairs*, January 1976). Nor am I unmindful of the need and possibilities of controlling the defense budget through judicious pruning of waste. (*Foreign Affairs*, January 1976, "Controlling the Defense Budget," by Barry M. Blechman and Edward R. Fried.)

Given the "absolutely catastrophic nature of nuclear war," we must ask whether our Government and its allies have done enough to restrict their sales of nuclear reactors to unstable countries and to countries of uncertain political persuasion. Andrei Sakharov has proposed the creation of an international committee to investigate all nations forbidding all bombs. Sen. Hubert Humphrey has introduced a bill calling for Congress to share systematically in shaping policies guiding arms exports. We sincerely trust that Congress will help America finally to develop a rational approach to arms sales as well as to the intensification of universal disarmament measures. The very survival of the human family depends on such measures taken vigorously here and in concert with other nations.

STATEMENT OF CLAIRE RANDALL

I. INTRODUCTION

My name is Claire Randall. I am the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., a cooperative agency of thirty Protestant and Orthodox churches in this country.

As General Secretary, I do not purport to speak for all members of the communions which constitute the National Council of Churches. I am speaking for the Governing Board, the policy-making body which is composed of persons selected by member denominations in proportion to their size.

Senator Sparkman, we appreciate the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's invitation to persons from a broad cross section of American life to help formulate directions for foreign policy through the 1980s. The consent of the governed is a basic precept of our democracy. It is the opinion of some that many Americans, because they feel increasingly alienated from the policies made by elected officials, are withholding their consent to these policies. This committee has sensed the urgency of listening to the people.

While as representatives of the National Council of Churches we share many concerns with others who come before this Committee, we wish to testify specifically concerning three concepts which grow out of our understanding of the Christian faith and which are especially critical in the area of foreign policy.

II. INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE WHOLE HUMAN FAMILY

I speak as a representative of the ecumenical movement within the Christian Church. The word "oikoumene", from which the word "ecumenical" is derived, means "the whole world." The concept of the wholeness of the world, and thus the interdependence of all people, is a religious concept and an important part of the Christian faith. However, in today's world, it is also a very practical truth, for our political, economic, and environmental life are so deeply intertwined that there is no real way any of us now can act alone as individuals or nations.

There is a need for a new definition of national interest. A National Council of Churches resolution concerning the national interest of the United States concluded that "our neighbor's growth is a part of our growth. We seek their well-being in partnerships for peace, realizing that we are mutually dependent for security. It is both out-of-date and dangerous, economically and politically, for a minority of humankind to live in abundance surrounded by misery."

A. Economic interdependence

In 1961 the United Nations launched the First Decade of Development. The industrialized world agreed on a goal of 0.7% of each country's Gross National Product as a contribution to the development of the poorer nations. In 1975, the United States is contributing only 0.25% of its G.N.P. At the same time the U.S. is consuming a disproportionate share of the world's resources. Such imbalance means that 460 million of the world's people are starving; 200 million are unemployed; and the ecosystem which sustains all life—at home and abroad—is being pushed to the outer limits of tolerance.

From the 1950s to the 1970s there has been no significant transfer of economic resources or power on the international level. While a few improvements can be noted, the relative economic status of the Third World remains virtually unchanged. The developing nations are urging that adjustments be made in international trade arrangements. Raw materials now account for 80% of the developing world's exports, and except for oil are subject to weak demand and falling prices.

The churches have long been leaders in supplying aid to countries around the world. However, such aid can never provide the long-term benefits which will result from transforming the social and economic structures of nation-states and increasing the per capita income of the poverty-stricken masses throughout the world. Therefore we hope that U.S. foreign policy will give leadership to the western world in responding to the call of Third World nations for a new economic order. We particularly urge the U.S. to work with other nations to develop a system of indexing which will stabilize the relationship between the prices developing nations pay and the prices they receive. A second area needing attention is the development of commodity agreements which will insure stable markets at stable prices for stable quantities of raw materials.

B. Transnational corporations

Many U.S. transnational corporations have annual budgets larger than most countries of the world. They exercise enormous influence on the economies of the countries in which they operate and recently we have learned that they have illegally influenced the governments of some countries.

Historically U.S. foreign policy has been protective of American business interests overseas. When these business interests are in conflict with American foreign policy or with U.S. national interest, they should no longer expect U.S. government support. I suggest it is in the national interest for the Congress to support international codes and guidelines for the conduct of transnational corporations.

Let us now affirm that our national interest is dependent upon relationships with other nations which are just—both economically and politically. Developing nations gave indications at the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations that they believed the United States heard their pleas for a new economic order. They wait expectantly—and even impatiently—for concrete evidence of U.S. commitment to a just economic order for all nations. A just world economic order depends not only on a more equitable distribution of resources, but also on ensuring a voice for developing nations in making the decision which affect them. Without such a voice, these nations will see any transfer of resources as a form of imperialism.

C. United States support of the United Nations

The heritage of the Christian community provides us with a wholistic view of the world.

Our nation is also a part of the family of nations, and it too must consider the whole family. Both the recognition that our future as a nation is interrelated with that of other countries, and the commitment to insuring a voice for developing nations should motivate us to responsible participation in the United Nations and its related agencies. The U.N. and related international bodies deserve not only U.S. support, but our leadership in making them effective in serving the needs and aspirations of those nations which suffer most from poverty and where people's lives are dominated by racism and repression of human rights.

III. SIDING WITH THE POWERLESS

A. Withdrawal of support from repressive governments

Our religious tradition is also one which is always concerned for the oppressed. United States support of repressive regimes has brought our nation dishonor. It is our national shame that the governments of South Africa, Rhodesia, South Korea, the Philippines, and Chile are able to stay in power in part due to American support. We do not minimize the problems in these countries. But surely the most effective way to promote democracy and oppose communism is to support those activities of other nations which build a decent standard of living and political freedom for all persons. Détente has helped us to understand it is possible for nations with opposing ideologies to work together for common goals.

Our foreign policy must have its own integrity. It must be more than a response to communism or even to the fear of communism. And surely our government must withdraw all support of authoritarian regimes on the right as well as on the left. By its control of appropriations, the Congress is uniquely equipped to play a vital role in determining what policies and what values the United States does and does not support.

B. Reducing defense appropriations

The proportion of the nation's resources that go into so-called defense and arms sales flaunts U.S. wealth and power. Both actually and symbolically, such expenditure increases oppression and reduces the possibility that poor and oppressed people at home and abroad will believe that we care about them at all. The Governing Board of the National Council of Churches spoke of the necessity "to proceed to more far-reaching steps in the control and reduction of armaments." It specifically recommended "significant reductions in defense spending and the channeling of the funds into development projects at home and abroad. We believe it could not be taken without concern for its effect on the nation's economy.

Some fear widespread loss of jobs if defense expenditures are reduced. Studies show that the increasing sophistication of weapons development has made the defense industry increasingly capital intensive. Thus the number of jobs generated by defense expenditures is actually lower than the number of jobs which would be created by comparable non-defense appropriations.

C. Arms sales

Huge arms purchases by nations not only produce a potentially explosive situation in the Middle East, but use precious resources urgently needed for development. Swollen budgets for defense needs in the U.S. and in developing nations have contributed to the swollen stomachs of the starving both at home and abroad.

The National Council of Churches calls for a "radical curtailing and strict controlling of the supply of arms to other countries" and for "a major and sustained effort, in conjunction with other nations, for substantial and rapid progress toward arms control and general disarmament through international agreement."

The potential for manipulation of the natural fears of citizens in the name of defense, i.e. "national security," has been so exploited as to create a military monster in direct opposition to the will of the founders of our nation who worked hard to create checks and balances against just such usurpation of power by the military.

IV. HUMAN RIGHTS

Concern for human dignity and human rights has deep roots in the Judeo-Christian tradition, and is an integral part of our nation's life. The first ten amendments to the Constitution have provided protection of basic rights throughout the history of our Republic. United States representatives played a vital role in the development of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in writing concern for human rights into the United Nations Charter.

Yet today, of the eighteen U.N. Covenants related to human rights, the United States has ratified only four--and three of these are against slavery! A comprehensive review of the international human rights treaties which the U.S. government has not yet ratified is a matter of some priority. The U.S. should also seek to strengthen the Human Rights functions of the United Nations. Congress should establish some mechanism responsible for observing and commenting upon the attention given to human rights by U.S. foreign policy.

In recent years we have seen an increase in the violation of human rights in many parts of the world. We deplore these violations in whatever country they occur, but we are filled with shame at the degree to which the United States government has provided economic, military, and political support to some of the most flagrant violators. Our support of the repressive, authoritarian governments of South Korea, the Philippines, South Africa, and Chile undermine confidence at home and abroad in our commitment to liberty.

Let us never again use national interest as an excuse for condoning, or worse, supporting repression, brutality, torture, or terrorism any place in the world.

V. PUBLIC READINESS FOR A NEW VISION IN FOREIGN POLICY

Some of the foreign policy directions that have been suggested may at first sound visionary. But throughout our nation's history both the religious tradition and the patriotic tradition have supported such values. After 200 years the American people still declare officially that all persons are "created equal and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights."

When we help make possible an adequate standard of living for all persons, ensure people's political rights, and enhance the quality of life at home and abroad, our government is fulfilling its most basic commitments.

Peace that is based on justice requires sacrifice by those who are rich and powerful. There are powerful interests within the U.S. more concerned for private gain than for the future of humankind. Let us choose goals in foreign policy which conform to the historical American values of justice and freedom and let us find means to attain them of which we can feel proud.

VI. THE ROLE OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

I have spoken of the directions in which foreign policy ought to be moving in the 1970s and 1980s. Let me add a word about the role of private organizations in the development of policy. Staff from the National Council of Churches and individual denominations serve in every part of the globe, providing relief, refugee, and development services. They often work closely with government personnel providing related services. Many staff members in the U.S. have served overseas and have a high degree of competence related to international affairs.

Under no circumstances do these staff of the National Council of Churches want to relate in any way to any covert operations of the U.S. government. However, the National Council of Churches hopes the informed judgement of these highly skilled persons on a variety of policy and operational matters is a resource which will be used by those making policy decisions.

More and more people who work on farms, in mines, and in factories realize the interrelatedness of their own welfare and that of the world. Along with millions of citizens with roots in Asia, Latin America, and Africa, these Americans see national and international affairs as one. Through churches and other private groups, they want a voice in the development of foreign policy. We therefore hope that government leaders in this and other areas of decision-making will seek imaginatively for ways to take advantage of the competence of private organizations and to become aware of the opinions of more of the American people.

VII. CONCLUSION

Speaking as a representative of Protestant and Orthodox churches in the ecumenical movement in this country, I have chosen to lift up issues which grow out of deep religious conviction; the interdependence of the whole human family; the need to stand with and work for those who are powerless, and the basic human rights belonging to every person. These are values which run very deep in the American conscience. They are eloquently referred to in the Declaration of Independence.

Narrow definitions of "national interest" or "national security" must not be used to lead us into alliances with influence, power and corruption, to subvert these basic values by repressing liberty and denying opportunity. Let us affirm that our national interest lies in ensuring a fair share of the earth's resources for the Third World. Let us affirm that our national interest lies in reducing defense expenditures and arms sales. Let us affirm that our national interest is in strong support of the United Nations and related international organizations. Let us affirm that our national interest requires the development of an international code of conduct applicable to and compiled with by U.S. based transnational corporations. Let us affirm that it is in our national interest to withdraw support from governments that deny basic human rights and enrich the few at the expense of many. In the 1970s and '80s, let us pledge our allegiance as a nation to one world with liberty and justice for all.



JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA., CHAIRMAN

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

PAT M. HOLT, CHIEF OF STAFF
ARTHUR M. KUHL, CHIEF CLERK

December 17, 1975

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate has embarked upon an ambitious series of non-partisan hearings aimed at clearly enunciating the various foreign policy options available to the United States in the next decade.

The scope of the series is rather broad. We are looking into the role of resources, security and interdependence in foreign policy formulation. More importantly, there is an overriding question that must be answered, "What kind of a nation do we want to be among the family of nations?"

In an attempt to find answers for that question we are asking a small group of prominent religious leaders to appear before the Committee here in Washington on the morning of January 21 to discuss the values and goals that should be considered in our future relations with other countries. I am delighted that you will be able to participate in that hearing along with Archbishop Yacobos, Archbishop Peter Gerety and, most likely, Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr., and Claire Randall.

Enclosed is a commentary from Eric Sevareid, as well as examples of testimony from a few previous witnesses. In some cases, witnesses have prepared lengthy written statements for the record and then briefly summarized their documents. In others, no testimony has been prepared in advance and the witnesses have spoken from notes.

At the conclusion of the series of hearings, probably near the Bicentennial, the Committee will have prepared a summary of foreign policy choices for the next decade, the pros and the cons. It is our hope that summary will serve to encourage further discussion of the issues among a wide spectrum of the American people.

The Committee is authorized to reimburse you for your round trip transportation, economy class, and a per diem allowance of \$35.

I understand that George Kroloff, my Administrative Assistant on the Foreign Relations Committee, has discussed details with you. He will continue to keep you informed and be available to answer any further questions.

We look forward to seeing you on the 21st of January.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,


John Sparkman
Chairman

Enclosures



NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, PLaza 1-4000

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR RELEASE AFTER 10 A.M.
WEDNESDAY, JAN. 21, 1976

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21....A noted American rabbi today warned the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that world peace has never "been more seriously threatened than by the current spiraling arms race and insane proliferation of nuclear weapons."

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Interreligious Director of the American Jewish Committee, testifying on the moral aspects of America's foreign policy, declared that "the very survival of the human family depends on a rational approach to arms sales, as well as to the intensification of universal disarmament measures."

"Given the absolutely catastrophic nature of nuclear war," he said, "we must ask whether our government and its allies have done enough to restrict their sales of nuclear reactors to unstable countries and to countries of uncertain political persuasion."

Although these countries allege that they will use their nuclear power plants only for peaceful purposes, he continued, the fact is that such plants can produce atomic bombs.

Quoting the noted MIT political scientist George Rothjens, formerly of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Rabbi Tanenbaum warned that "by the end of the century, there will be several thousand reactors around the world, each producing enough material to build a weapon a week."

In addition, he pointed out, it would not be impossible for a guerrilla group to construct an atomic weapon, which would require "just over 13 pounds of plutonium."

"It is believed that more than 4,000 pounds of plutonium were shipped by the United States last year," he said, "and nobody knows exactly how much of that material was lost in transit or production."

International trade in arms and nuclear installations has made it possible for nations around the world to engage in 60 military conflicts since the end of World War II, Rabbi Tanenbaum asserted, and added:

"In each of these conflicts, imported weapons were used almost exclusively,

(more)

Elmer L. Winter, President; Richard Maass, Chairman, Board of Governors; Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman, National Executive Council; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Trustees
Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

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CSAE 1707

and those arms have brought not only violence and destruction, but death to more than ten million people."

Rabbi Tanenbaum cited figures on export sales by the world's four largest suppliers of military equipment: \$9.5 billion to 71 countries by the United States in fiscal 1975; \$5.5 billion by the Soviet Union in 1974; \$3 billion to 80 nations by France; \$1.5 billion by Great Britain.

The Rabbi also pointed out that, mostly as a result of international trade, "there are 426 nuclear power plants in 39 nations," and the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna has predicted "the installation of 356 nuclear generating stations in the third world by 1990."

"Poor nations can be expected to obtain nuclear weapons as a by-product of the atomic power plants that many of them are now building or contemplating," he said, "and it is quite conceivable that some may use these as instruments of blackmail to force the developed world to undertake a massive transfer of wealth to the poverty-stricken world."

At the same time, Rabbi Tanenbaum stated that he supported the argument of Dr. Paul Nitze that the United States should "'take positive steps to maintain strategic stability and high-quality deterrence' as a means of assuring that the Soviet Union or any enemy is deterred from believing it could profit from seeking a nuclear-war-winning capability or effectively use pressure tactics to get its way in a crisis situation."

Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is a member of the Steering Committee of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration's Citizens Dialogue Program, reminded the Foreign Relations Committee that "the United States, like Israel of old, was a messianic nation from its birth."

"The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution define the mission," he said. "We were born to exemplify the virtues of democracy and to extend the frontiers of the principles of self-government throughout the world."

Two hundred years later, he pointed out, we are aware not only of "deficiencies, shortcomings and blind spots that mar the social landscape," but also of the "will to power, political lust, and ambition screened behind the ideal purposes with which our sense of mission has endowed us."

"While I believe democracy to be the ultimate norm of political organization," he concluded, "no better way can be found for chastening correctives to false messianic pretensions than by making every center of power responsible to the people whom it affects; by balancing subordinate centers with other centers of power to prevent injustice; and by denying immunity from criticism to any organ or mouthpiece of prestige or authority."

Security File Relations *NYG folders*

But under - Tanenbaum

Rabbi Warns of Arms Race

Special To The Chronicle

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"In each of these conflicts, imported weapons were used almost exclusively, and those arms have brought not only violence and destruction, but death to more than 10 million people."

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mtg folder

RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICE

-12- THURSDAY, JANUARY 22, 1976

RELIGIOUS LEADERS URGE SENATE COMMITTEE
TO CONSIDER NEEDS OF 'POOR, POWERLESS'

By Religious News Service (1-22-76)

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS) -- Five nationally-known religious leaders presented a "view from the pulpit" to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and laid a heavy emphasis on the "interdependence" of nations and the necessity for U.S. foreign policy to address the needs of the poor and powerless in the world.

The religious leaders, called to express their ideas "on the goals and values of American foreign policy...from a human and moral perspective," according to committee chairman Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.), were:

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., retired pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, and father of the slain civil rights leader; Dr. Claire Randall, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, New York; Archbishop Peter Gerety of the Newark (N.J.) Roman Catholic archdiocese; Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, national Inter-Religious Affairs director of the American Jewish Committee; and Father Evagoras Constantinides of Merrillville, Ind., who represented Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America.

The appearance of the religious leaders was part of a series of testimonies by various segments of the American community -- business, farming, labor and government -- invited to present their views and attitudes on current foreign policy.

In his opening remarks, Sen. Sparkman said "our hope and purpose in this Bicentennial series is to draw the attention of Congress and the American people to two basic questions: what kind of a country do we want America to be as it enters its third century? and, what kind of a world will provide a safe and congenial environment for the United States?"

He explained that the religious leaders were convened "to elicit their thoughts on the goals and values of American foreign policy in the years ahead...Our witnesses, today," he added, "are uniquely qualified to evaluate American foreign policy from a human and moral perspective...(including) the impact of foreign policy on the personal and spiritual well-being of both the American people and the peoples of foreign nations."

Dr. King told the committee that if the U.S. could make "brotherhood" work here, it would "work all over the world." he said "ideas" are what separate nations.

Explaining that she was only speaking for the policy-making Governing Board of the NCC and not necessarily for its Protestant and Eastern Orthodox members, Dr. Randall listed for the committee what she said are "issues which grow out of deep religious conviction: the interdependence of the whole human family; the need to stand with and work for those who are powerless; and the basic human rights belonging to every person..."

"Narrow definitions of 'national interest' or 'national security' must not be used to lead us into alliances with influence, power and corruption, to subvert these basic values by repressing liberty and denying opportunity," she said. "Let us affirm that our national interest lies in ensuring a fair share of the earth's resources for the Third World."

"Let us affirm that our national interest lies in reducing defense expenditures and arms sales, ...in strong support of the United Nations and related international organizations...in requiring the development of an international code of conduct applicable to and complied with by U.S. based transnational corporations.

"Let us affirm that it is in our national interest to withdraw support from governments that deny basic human rights and enrich the few at the expense of the many," Dr. Randall said.

Archbishop Gerety said this nation's "greatest challenge is to learn to live in a world in which many are still obsessed with power but in which power is not always the ultimate arbiter... There are many evils in the world whose eradication require our compassion, not our force, our resources and technology, not our political dictation," he said.

"Our greatest opportunity," he went on, "will lie increasingly in our response to Third/Fourth World countries, in our willingness and ability to provide capital and technical assistance without dictating the modalities of their particular economic and social development."

The prelate said "we should be willing to some extent to share our abundance with them, and in the process, at least for some of us, to experience some of their suffering. Only in this way can we help make the family of nations a real family, based not on national egotism and striving for power, but on a shared and living commitment to the international common good."

Rabbi Tanenbaum told the committee that given the "'absolutely catastrophic nature of nuclear war,' we must ask whether our government and its allies have done enough to restrict their sales of nuclear reactors to unstable countries and to countries of uncertain political persuasion..."

"We sincerely trust that Congress will help America finally to develop a rational approach to arms sales, as well as to the intensification of universal disarmament measures," he said. "The very survival of the human family depends on such measures taken vigorously here and in concert with other nations."

The rabbi said that in this Bicentennial year, the United States needs to examine the "pre-occupation of our Founding Fathers with 'public virtues' -- moral responsibility of public officials, abhorrence of corruption, denial of private gain if it is at the expense of public welfare -- as a pre-condition for the survival of democracy."

Father Constantinides said that in his view, current American foreign policy is "dreadfully lacking" in the following three areas:

-- In not being positive. American foreign policy in the last 50 years, he said, has been one of "reaction rather than action." This country should clearly define its foreign policy and follow it consistently.

-- In the area of morality. In executing foreign policy, he said, a nation should not permit itself to be "too devious, treacherous or base. Then its actions will be moral..."

-- In credibility. Watergate, the FBI and CIA "scandals," and "contempt for the governed" have all contributed to a loss of credibility for this country abroad, he said.

"America should return to a scorn for a balance of power politics and selfish nationalism, and the conviction that this country's role must be to protect liberty, law and moral principles. It must show concern for real people," Father Constantinides said.