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> Re: Tape(s) recorded on October 7, 19; November 13, 1980 Transcription of said tape(s)

Memoirist: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

Interviewer: Mimi Alperin

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RABBI MARC TANENBAUM Oral History of The American Jewish Committee

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(Memoirist)

(Signed) MARC TANENBAUM

(Date)

10/30/80

Marc Tanenbaum interviewed by Mimi Alperin

Tape 1 - 1 October 7, 1980

Q. This is Mimi Alperin interviewing Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, the Director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee. The date today is October 7, and we are conducting the interview in Rabbi Tanenbaum's office.

A. ---messy office.

Q. Messy office, just say anything so I can get your voice.

A. Well, she's the prettiest interviewer I have ever seen this week.

Q. This week, okay. Okay, let's begin by telling me something about your parents. You grew up in Baltimore?

A. Uhum.

Q.

Q. Tell me something about your parents. Because I know they weren't born in this country.

A. No, my parents were born in the Ukraine. My father was born in a small village called Damedifeh (?) which nobody can spell, which was a bend in the road, a village about two or three hundred years and my mother was born in a similar large enetropolis called Alika(?) in the Ukraine which is also a very small bend in the road. Everyone there was born into relatively poverty, in these European Jewish villages and they had differing kinds of backgrounds somewhat, I guess for a whole variety of reasons the images of my mother's background seem to be stronger than those of my father. My father was a marvelous storyteller and a consummate romantic. We had, well when my parents came to the United States they first landed in New York ---

- - - together? They were together?

Tape 1 - 2

No. separately and then they met here. Married, at least my father, somewhat Α. later in life. But my father started out in a sweatshop in New York and they met in Baltimore. The marriage was arranged by a family (?), the point is that after they married and had to make a living they opened up several small grocery stores or general stores or confectionary stores. I was born in our home in 1850 Light Street which was the only Jewish house in the neighborhood it was predominately a Christian neighborhood, ethnic neighborhood, Italians, Irish, German. The point I started to make about this is that my father wo uld love to sit in the living room look out and watch the sun and watch the trains go by and tell stories about the old country. They are all marvelous reccollections and but my mother used to tell very concrete definite experiences about how her mother had been a very strong woman in the family and her father who had been quite devout while he was often but in the synagogue studying, the mother used to go into the market and try to earn a living to support the family so the father could study. And she tells stories of how she would help her mother make what was called pollier (?), soda water. They would make soda water and sell that in the marketplace. And the family Avidoff (?), essentially what they did whatever they could scrape together. They would sell wood or lumber or clothing. My father used to sit... I loved him very much... he was almost impractical. My mother ran the business, ran him, took care of him. He wasn't terribly well. He eventually developed a series of heart attacks and my mother was incredible. She passed away in February of this year and I delivered the eulogy and the night before my brother, I have an older brother Ernie whose three years older than

Tape 1 - 3

I, and a younger sister Sima (?) who'se just about three years younger than I. She's an artist and he is in the radio business or a version of it now, radio advertising. We sat up almost the whole night telling stories about our family life together and I made notes of that and in delivering the eulogy I just wanted to tell her story and give her the send-off she deserved. And my brother taped it and we have a tape of that. Anyway she was a dominant factor in our lives. I just tell you this because it's interesting in terms of the live memories we carry around and all of us carry this around. She --- you know, we sit around and talk about her as if she's sitting with us in the living room now. She used to get us about six o'clockein the morning and go in open up the store, my father would eventually come around at seven o'clock or so. She'd get the store ready, the customers used to come in. They worked in the factories and businesses. Somehow between 6 and 7 o'clock while she was opening the store, she would manage every single morning to squeeze by hand three fresh glasses of orange juice and we woke up in the morning upstairs, she would come upstairs with the glass of orange juice next to our bed and wake us up to get ready to go to school. This used to start the day off right. And we were going to go to school and (someone comes into office and Mr. Tannenbaum is interrupted.....)....So, I guess we tended to take that for granted, in relection we took that as an extraordinary act of love. And by the time we would come downstairs, there was always a four to six course breakfast, she would not let us out of the house unless we had oatmeal, eggs and toast and milk and cakes and things like that. And we would stuff ourselves with things we could take ourt of the store. Then we would go out to school. I went to a Hebréw Parochial school. It was an orthodox school in East Baltimore. All the kids were

Tape 1 - 4

poor. They all came out of families whose fathers were rabbis or teachers or ran little stores, little shops. The Russian, Polish immigrant generation.
Q. But they lived in different neighborhoods, do you know why you lived in the meighborhood ?

Yes, this is when my parents - - - they had one store which apparantly collapsed on them during the depression and this was the only thing they could afford to buy. It was available, it was cheap apparantly and my uncle helped them. One of my uncles helped them buy it and they finally got themselves on their feet and they were able to send us through school by virtue of working very hard in the store. Just to finish off this image of what really shaped us and I have an enormous sense of indebtedness about that. Because it's a generation now which is gone and it's a lifestyle that will never be recreated in the same way. So we would go out to school, this hebrew school called the Jewish Parochial school in East Baltimore Street and it was both religious and secular studies and would start at 9 o'clock in the morning and I was never home before 6 o'clock. I would come home, there would be a hot dinner every night which she made while she was running the store during the day. And then after dinner, I'd sit down and do my homework and my mother was always there making sure that I did my homework. She was a mathematical wizard, it was unbelievable. She had almost no education but she used to put up a column of figures and zip like a computer and she would sit with each one of us. We could not go to bed at night unless we had done our homework and she was there checking on every single one of us. And there was always a NASKATXONXX

Tape 1 - 5

basket of fruit and something to drink and when she just --- she invested her entire life in her kids and I ---you know, I've said it. I said it at the funeral, we really owe almost everything we have to her. My father was really in the background and it's the power of the jewish mother. But it's also the power of an incredible amount of love and devotion and so, it's - - - she was also very driving, very achievement oriented.

Q. What were her ambitions for you?

Well, that's a crazy story, really crazy story. My father was determined Α. that I become a doctor as for everybody else practically but we felt that especially, the depression was murder for us and my father used to say,"I want him to be a doctor," ----- so my father, when we had our family pow wows like every other hour, it was a running discussion, my father would say, "No, he's going to be a doctor because look we went through the depression and there will always be sick people, they will always make a living because there will always be sick people." My mother who was more religious than my father ... my father was observant but it was not the most important thing in the world to him. He was more interested in world affairs and the news of the world. Everyday he would, he would start the day off listening to the radio and find out what was going on in the world. He would read newspapers. My mother was not very interested in that. She was really more interested in making a living, taking care of the children, etc. But her ambition for me was to become a rabbi. Part of that had to do with, I later found out that her stepfather, her father died and her mother remarried. Her stepfather was a very fundamentalist orthodox jew and he never felt that my mother was orthodox

Tape 1 -6

enough for him. And she was very traditional, a kosher home and sabbath, and holiday observances and I think she had enormous guilt feelings that she was not religious enough for her stepfather. And she was going to show him that not only was she religious enough but she was going to have a son and make him a rabbi. That would show him. Well, the crazy thing, my parents worked out their conflict over my body. That is my father continuously pressed me to become a doctor and my mother continuously pressed for me to become a rabbi and I was very young. I started college when I was 14 1/2 years old. I had developed an interest in biology because my brother, my older brother whom I_{γ} admired a great deal, he is tall and handsome and has a big shock of auburn hair and I was short, fat and pimply. And I always felt very inadequate next to him. He had very little interest in the religious field, he was much more interested in social life and girls and he couldn't wait to get out of Hebrew school to get to a secular school, High School with a swinging crowd. I always had the feeling that I was living a cloistered life while he was out in the big world. Well, he and I had the same bedroom and we had beds side by side and our room was filled with tanks of fish, snakes, chameleons, little lizards because he was interested in biology and so as a result of that, that was one of our strong bonds together. I developed a strong interest in that. Anyway, I was very young and I was sent off to college before I went to college we began to explore my going to premediaal school in Baltimore. I had an uncle, a wonderful uncle, my mother's brother who loved us like kids. He had three daughters and he always wanted a son, never had a son, so we became his sons and he was something of a remarkable guy, he had he was something of a politician. He had a heavy yiddish accent but he was

Tape 1 - 7

an extraordinary politician and in our area. He began looking into into trying to get me into mediaal school, premed school. So he went around with me to see if I could get a scholarship because I could not afford it otherwise and we found that as I began applying, University of Maryland, Johns Hopkins that I was

(?) there was a quota for jews in medical schools. You could start by taking biological sciences here but there was no hope for you getting in. It's - - - you know, they have five times as many jews applying and they take them geographically. Well, that looked like a disaster area for me so the Principal of the Hebrew School I went to did not want to lose me. I was a good student in Hebrew School and he wanted me to become a rabbi. So he and my mother worked out a conspiracy where they got a scholarship for me to Yeshiva University in New York where I was assured I could go study premed, biological sciences and study for my Hebrew studies at the same time. I was resisting that because I was inclining toward wanting to give a serious try to premed. I took off maybe six months before I went to Yeshiva. I went to Johns Hopkins University and I took some courses there and I was also interested in literature at that time so I took some courses in Shakespeare there but I saw that I was getting nowhere and I was fooling around and I was avoiding making a decision. When the scholarship came through for Yeshiva so my parents took me up to Yeshiva and I came there 14 1/2wearing knickers and my parents handed me over to the registrar and I cried like a baby. I was a baby. I just had no sense about living in this great big world and in any case, I found out that they had a very good biological sciences department. It later turned out that they had some highly recognized people in it anatomy,

Tape 1 - 8

embryology, organic chemistry and I developed some very strong interests. I did very well. I got straight A's in some of the courses, the biological science courses. So I was following this two-track life of studying for ordination in the orthodox rabbinical schools Seminary at Yeshiva and studying at the same time my pre med studies. I had not resolved in my own mind what I was going to do.

Q. Where were you living at the age of 14 1/2 in a strange city ---

A. In a dormitory, which was the best part of it because there were wonderful guys there. My momates, one was the son of a rabbi in Atlantic City...

Q. They must have been a lot older?

A. Yes, one of the guys was younger than me, Alan Mandelbaum, who would --- by all accounts, a genious. Alan was translating Italian poetry, Dante, at the age of 15 and --- but he was a New Yorker, and that's the way New Yorkers are (laughs) --- smart New Yorkers, they are born smartass, excuse the expression ---(laughs) But we developed, they really were a bunch of very wonderful, very bright, very gifted people and I had a real sense of community and family. So nnce I got over the shock of being thrown into this wholy different kind of world, I really caught hold of it and I became interested in a lot of extracurribular activities. I got on the newspaper and by the senior year I became editor of the newspaper. I became president of my class and I realized that I had a whole range of interests and that I was probably not going to be a congregational rabbi. I had some sense then. I began to feel by that time that while I liked some of my studies, especially I studied History, Jewish history and Biblical studies. I began feeling that some

of my Talmudic studies were really very remote at that time. We were studying about sacrifices and whether an egg is kosher or how do you pluck a chicker to find out what the viens are. What the hell has that got to do with real life? For very orthodox jews it meant a great deal but I began having a sense then that I was not going to go in that direction. I never finally resolved it ... and then the things that really gave me the greatest satisfaction were the studies that I was interested in, especially historical studies, biblical studies and my extracurricular activity. I began to find. I didn't really know --- but in high school I was active in the debating societies and one of the debating clubs and but I didn't know - - - I never tested myself in terms of writing. I began to find and as I was editor of the newspaper, I was first a news editor and then the editor, that I had some talent in writing. So I finished school. I knew that I didn't want to be an orthodox rabbi. By my senior year I realized that I was not really orthodox in my guts. That I was conforming by virtue of my birth and background. On top of that, the rabbinical school in Yeshiva was becoming increasingly repressive. It became increasingly fundamentalist, orthodox. They were bringing in some rabbis from Eastern Europe, Poland. They had one guy appointed who was the spiritual KGB. He was given the keys to open your room to look in and see what the boys were doing, whether people were shaving with a straight razor which was forbidden and that sort of thing. So I began to react against that kind of oppressiveness. I didn't act it out. I began writing editorials, angry editorials, not directly but about whether the school was going to be modern or whether it was going to create a synthesis for science or technology in the real world that we were living in. It was all

Tane 1

Tape 1 - 10

a veiled kind of anger. Anyway, when I left school, I finished my pre-med. I got a Bachelor of Science degree. I applied for medical school and than, at that time there was an Essex County Medical School. I went to medical school for one day. I was accepted. I walked in the school, I went into the cadaver room, I looked around and I said, "My God, what am I doing here?" I'm not going to spend my life cutting up people, it was absurd. I turned around and I walked out and never came back. And that decided the medical decision for me. I was never going to be a doctor. And the crazy thing was, in anatomy and in pysiology, I was... I enjoyed cutting up animals. I used to cut frogs and people would come over and ask me to help them do this. I somehow got...I cut up cats and dogs and in studying parts of anatomy...anyway I left and I was at sea by that time. I was just under 19 years old. I had a Bachelor of Science degree that I knew now I was going to do nothing with. I knew I was not going to be an orthodox rabbi and the only other thing I had going for me, I knew that I had some talent and certainly some interest in was writing. So I wantlered around on my own looking around for a job in writing -

Q. In New York?

A. In New York, Yeah. And I got a job as an assistant to an editor. A guy named Grossman. His first name will come back to me. He was an editor of a newsletter called "Current Events." And he was an extraordinary editor. He was a member of the Favorite Pary, Begin's party. A brilliant editor, in fact his daughter was weiting for that time for Time magazine, Rena Grossman. Much older than I. And so I apprenticed under him for nearly a year and learned a great deal.

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Marc Tannenbaum

We produced this weekly newsletter, a limited circulation but a very kind of elitist jewish circulation in the United States and in Israel. The...but I knew that I was living then a dreadful life because I had no money, I was making \$35/week. I rented a room. It was a hole on 42nd Street and 8th Avenue, it turned out with a German couple who were probably Nazis.

Q. What year was this? Do you remember?

Yah, let's see, I went to Yeshiva '41 to '45. It was '45, '46, something Α. like that and in '46, I went to the Seminary. The thing was, I would come home every night and I had this room that had a window facing a wall. It was always dark and this guy who had crutches used to beat his wife almost every night. I mean he would have a drinking party every night after dinner and they would start hollering and screaming and beating. And I would lock the door and lie in bed in terror at night until I fell asleep and I knew I just couldn't go on like that. In any case... but I took that room first of all because it was very cheap, it was \$10 bucks a week or something like that. I mean, I had nothing, no money, no support. And then the editors office was about 3 blocks up on Sixth Avenue and 42nd Street so it was convenient to walk back and forth. One day I was walking up Broadway, and one of my classmates in Yeshiva, a guy who was in my class in '45, Harold Shulweiss (?), who was now a very prominant rabbi in Oakland, California. We were all very good friends, Harold was in...we had a tremendous class in '45. I mean just spankling, vital, incredible people, very...real jewish ethnics. And, so I ran into Harold and most of the guys in my class were in my similar condition. They come out of orthodox backgrounds that they were rebelling against. And they weren't going to continue at Yeshiva and they weren't going to become rabbis, what do you do with yourself?

Tape 1 - 12

I mean, work. So one guy went off to become a bio-chemist and another guy went off into advertising, so Harold Shulweiss was a philosophy major and we were walking and I bump into him on the street one day on Broadway and I said, whatcha' doing? He said, "I don't know what I'm going to do?" He said, "what do you do with A B.A. from Yeshiva? in Philosophy?" So he said, "I hear there are some entrance exams to the Jewish Theological Secminary." "And I think I'm going to take it." I said, "What are you going to do that for?" So he said, "Look, I need some place to sort myself out. I got to put myself. together. I just don't know what's going to happen to me." "I got a lot of talents, but I have no other interest." So I said, "You know, I'm in the same condition, Let's go. I'm going to go with you." (laughs) That's how I made a decision to go to seminary. So I went with Harold, We took our entrance exams and we both got in. And I started the seminary in '46 and I stayed there through '50. And Impeated the same pattern. I went to seminary. I began studying. It was a very congenial atmosphere in many ways. It was free, intellectually free. There wasn't the same oppression. We go to services it was a volunteer thing to do. Nobody was going to hit you over the head if you didn't go. You weren't looked upon as an infidel. Well, you know, by some faculty members. But it was an atmosphere in which you had a chance to grow and find yourself. Although I'll never forget my first night. The first night in the seminary. Also they had nice living quarters, lovely apartments that 2 boys shared adjoining rooms with a common john. My first night there was spent...my first roommate was Harold Weisberg who was a brilliant philosophy major who

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turned out to be a radical socialist. He used to spend his spare time on boxes in Union Square preaching about socialism. And, I remember going into the bathroom the first years of the seminary and uh, he starts engaging me in a discussion to prove the existance of God. We stayed up till about 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning screaming at each other ... how do you philosophically deal with this? ... if this is what seminary is going to be about, I'll never get any sleep. And I remember there was a visiting novelist, Irving Fineman (?) living next door to us who came in shouting, "Will you people please go to sleep, you are not going to solve that problem tonight in the john!" "Get the helll out of there, I want to go to sleep." (laughs). So in that seminary I really repeated the pattern of the Yeshiva, namely that I paid a great deal of attention to the things that I was really interested in. And I realized that I had a great interest in Jewish history, jewish philosophy and jewish literature and I was less interested in studies that I thought were remote from real life and real human needs. So I paid less attention to talmudic studies than I should have. I concentrated on historical studies, we also had a great professor, Alexander Marx (?) who wrote the classic textbook with Marx and Margolin, Jewish History. I did my Master's with him in Jewish history. While I began doing my studies at the seminary, I became interested in Eternal Light radio program. Morton Wishograd was then writer and he was a supurb writer. And I became a research assistant to him and I began working on research and helping him to write scripts for the Eternal Light. So I knew that this writing thing, I had to deal with that and work that out of my system. So I spent 4 years working

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with Morton Wishograd and then I began writing for jewish newspapers along New York the way and I became chief of the "bureau" of the "National Jewish Post". It gave me entre to study jewish life and the important things that were happening and then I became friendly with one of the editors of Time magazine, Douglas Auchingloss (?) and he began calling on me to seve as a consultant for him especially when he was writing stories about jewish subjects and jews. Anyway I went through the seminary. It was a very important growing time for me intellectually because there I really began studying deeply the things I really cared about and so I was ordained. I think some of the members of the faculty were not really crazy about me because they felt I should have devoted all my time in life to studying the talmud and rabbinic studies. One important influence in my life in the seminary was Rabbi Heschel (?), Abraham Joshua Heschel. We actually became friends after I left the seminary. But we became friends in rather a strange way. In those days - - - he had just come to the seminary and he was all tied up oin knots in his own life. He was not a very good teacher, he was very defensive and somehow I didn't connect with him as a teacher. But I will never forget him for the fact that in my senior year my father became terribly ill and had a series of thrombosis, heart attacts and my mother began going beserk, I mean she was just overwhelmed. She was taking care of the store, taking care of my father, my brother had left, my sister was alone in Baltimore and my mother and sister were carrying the full burden of this. I used to go down whenever I had a chance, the weekends, to try to help out but one day I was riding the elevator in the seminary and I talk - - - my mother called me that morning that my father just had a heart attack and I was ashen. I was

Tape 1 - 15

crushed, filled with guilt at leaving my mother alone to handle this. And Heschel turned to me and he said, "There is something troubling you." "Come into my office." So I went into the office with Heschel and two - two and one-half hours we sat and having poured my heart out and he was like a father to me after that. I cried like a baby, I was filled with anguish with exams coming up ---while we were together he picked up the phone and called my mother and if you knew what that meant to my mother. It was like God calling. And I fell in love with him. One - -when I was ordained - - I don't know if you want to get into all that detail - - ?

A. Yes I do. I would stop you - - -

Q. Okay. When I was ordained, I left the seminary. I still had not resolved what I wanted to do. I was still unclear as to whether I wanted to be a congregational rabbi. I really began to have very serieus doubts, theologically, religiously and real concerns about the relavance of the ritualistic part of the traditions. As a matter of fatt, I wrote a paper on sacrifices that upset one of my professors terribly. And I ended up talking about it and in those kind of cynical days I asked questions like is this really essential to the faith this primitive stage of devlopment we had to pass through. And they had the feeling that they were raising a heretic and it is better to take care of him beforehand. And Rabbi Finkelstein used to call me in occasionally to give me long lectures about the importance of religious observance and being a religious leader to your people and all that and in any case I left the seminary in 1950. I worked for about a year for <u>Time</u> magazine in the religion department and I worked on several cover stories. One of them was about Rabbi Finkelstein and he liked it. Some things that troubled him, some things cut too close to the bone. It was not

Tape 1 - 16

altogether heroic story because I don't think it should be a heroic story. But it was a sympathetic story and thatl's...I developed a marvelous friendship with my editor at that time. I began working on another cover story with him about Rabbi Heschel which this time was bumped because of a news crisis. It was a very important learning experience for me but I had the feeling though that I was kind of the odd man out. I had the sense - - I mean that was such a jet set world that was so elegant and there people were constantly getting drunk and drugs...too much of that, wife swapping. I was really too square for that kind of world. I was still a Yeshiva bucha (?), son of peasant parents and I always had a sense of inadequacy in that highly sophisticated world. And I was there only because they felt I had something to contribute in my area of competance, but some people...it was a lifestyle. It was akin to their whole existance. Living in that mileu, the social life of it, the christmas party...the wild christmas parties. In any case, toward ..., in the 1950....

Q. Was there any anti-semitism?

A. But very sophisticated kind. In a limited way, it was kind of elegant. Elegant, waspish mask of anti-semitism - - -oh, these smart jewboys - - -of course there were a number of jews on the staff who were key people. Some of that was just rivalry. But I always felt that it was really a wasp world. I was being allowed in as a specialist...being squéezed for something they needed and was useful for them. In the main there, I got along well but it was... I was not comfortable. I probably was not comfortable with myself. I was going through w all these adolescent and post-adolescent conflicts about who I am and my jewishness, am I orthodox? not orthodox? My conflicts about what my future is going to be. A lot of things happened in my class. A number of guys went through the same thing. There was a kind of embarrassment of riches. There ware guys there with an enormous amount of creative talent and didn't know how to handle it. They didn't know how to manage them. This could not focus clearly on one objective. There were some guys that did. One guy knew biochemistry from the day he was born apparently. He knew he was going to be a biochemist, researcher. Some of us who were kind of...this humanistic, artistic, literary world really took a lot longer time to find our way. Also because of me---I just started too young. I mean I was always tagging on to an older class and an older community. And I always had the sense of having to define myself in relationship to guys who had much more stabilized - - - some of them were even married at the time we were in school together in seminary. Anyhow - - -

Q. Most of your classmates from seminary go to congretations? You were one of the few who didn't - - - ?

A. I think so. Well, one of my closest buddies Wolf (?) Kellman is now Executive Vice President of Rabbinical Assembly of America. Well Wolf took this kind of professional civil servant job. Although he's in the middle of the rabbinic world there, I think most of them in fact became congregational rabbis. Shulweiss became one, Yank Rosenberg who was in one of my classes and I think a large majority of them did. For that was a professional rabbinic school for which you came for that. Now, there was a period of time after I left...I wanted to write a novel. I thought I had a novel in my belly and I took off a year and went off for summer. My brother got me a shack at the side of a mountain in Western Maryland.

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Marc Tanenbaum

From a farmer we knew. He said yeah, we got this shack here so I went over there, drove over there one summer and no water, no electricity. We were awakened in the morning by cows who come around the shack and nibble at the straw. And I sat down and started working on a novel which really was autobiographical in many ways about my whole childhood experiences, which were very rich in Baltimore. And we lived in this poor neighborhood, surrounded by incredible stimuli. There was, down the street, there was an

(?) where cows were killed and was filled with smells and stinks and rich experiences. Cows used to come -- they used to bring cows, down in the morning, four, five o'clock in the morning, down the street in front of us and we would come down and watch them chase the cows. About a mile away there was a port, it was a very major port in Baltimore, and ships from all over the world used to come there. And my father with his great romantic love used to take us to go visit these ships and we used to climb up on top a Russian ship. My father spoke Russian and the captain greeted him. We were kids and an enormous, a rich, excitement, about that, an incredible amount of imagery. And then there was a cherry orchard not too far away, an apple orchard, and my brother and I used to go there. So that -- Any case -- In that area of South Baltimore which had this, it was almot like a kind of cannery row, Tortilla Flat, and I was struck by what was happening to people, these Irish, Italian, German Chrisitans, many of whome had come from farms, to move into the city. Across the street from us was a very large bucket manufacturing factory and the sons used to go to work in that factory and I watched the transformation of those families. I mean, the impact of this

assemblyline existence on them. I want to write a book about about, you know, what happens to people who come to the city to find their fortune and become atomized, dehumanized, and became attachments in this assembly line and the effect on their lives was devastating. The family began getting drunk and families began falling apart and -- Anyway, I developed a kind of social protest outlook. My brother got this shack for me and I went up there, drove up in a car, and began writing every day. I realized after my first week or so I had no money. So I began writing short stories. I'd start the morning off, every morning, I would go down to the bottom of the hill get a bucket of water out of the stream and have to go to the john, had to walk like a mile down to go to the gasoline station and it was crazy but I was determined. I thought I needed that privacy but I was spending like twenty-five percent, thirty percent, of my time just surviving and maintaining myself. In any case, I used to start off the day writing, I began writing literally a short story a day and began sending it off hoping that, you know, in the turnover I would make enough money to keep myself going. And I have a very good collection of rejection slips from the best, New Yorker -- In fact when I was in seminary I had a roommate once, he and I were both writing together, we started writing stories together, and we got -both of us got an extraordinary collection of rejection ships-Harper's, New Yorker and -- So we decided one morning just so it shouldn't be a total waste, we took a fruit box and we took all the rejection slips and made a montage and put a coat of shellac on top and in the evening we'd come back from our classes and sit around and have a glass of sherry over our -- and celebrate.

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Q.

Do you still have those stories?

Some of them. I have a couple of them around. Actually Α. I began looking at the novel again not too long ago, I never published it because by the time I finished it I felt that -- I just was not confident that it was serious enough a piece of work. I looked at it, it's not bad. There's alot of very rich episodes in it and I may some day come back, take a look at it, and re-work it. I'm working on other things from that side, it's sort of the past. So I spent that summer, roughly about two, two and a half, months, laying out the novel and I began writing a good part of it, got started. When I realized I just couldn't hold out there any longer, the living conditions were impossible, and it served its purpose of enabling me to sort of shake myself down, to get a sense of where I was. So I came back to Baltimore, I got a job teaching in a Hebrew school so I could finish working on the novel. After I pretty much finished it I came back to New York and I got a job with a publisher, Henry Schuman (?) and Schuman was a marvelous character, an original, was a violinist and he ran this very exquisite, elite publishing house and he had a marvelous wife, Ida, whom I loved, she was a great friend, and she really was running the business, she was like my mother. She was an elegant woman but -- They had a brownstone on E.70th Street. So I worked with him as an editor and a public relations consultant. And Henry used to love to publish very good books and publish them with quality publishing, the covers were exquisite, and the art was -- He would spend fortunes getting artists -- then he would forget about them. He didn't care about selling, that was crass materialism.

Q. That was your job?

Well, in part. His wife called me and to put him in touch Α. with the real world. I had developed a whole series of lifescience library and books by Gaster (?). The big thing that happened there was that one day Rabbi Herschel called me, I was working for Henry Schuman (?), and he asked me if I would take a look at a manuscript, a book called "The Earth is the Lords," which was a love poem for the Jews of Eastern Europe. He wanted to capture the essence of life in Eastern Europe. And it was a beautiful, moving book, excessive, you know, idealized the words and the poverty and all but he was from the spiritual richness of that world, its inter-life, its great devotion to learning. It was stunning and I read it and I stayed up all night, I just couldn't sleep after that. And I came back the next day and I said to Schuman "You're publishing this book, Henry." So he read it and he fell in love with it, too. So, I then worked with Schuman and Rabbi Heschel (?) and we got a magnificent artist craftsman, (?) did (?) woodcuts for it which are classics. Anyway they should not be lost, they should be made into cards or something. They had been at one time, illustrating that life. Anyway, I made that my major project and--cause I knew we had a gem and also I loved Heschel, I felt that the (?) he would be my father. My father, by this time, had died, and we developed a father-son relationship and I used to see him almost every day. So I went around and I got

(Tape Ends)

We were called Heschel, one of the great spiritual treasures of this generation, plucked from the fires of the Holocaust. That launched Heschel's career because Nibor (?) was the foremost religious leader of that generation. And I made Heschel my project. And I got his book around every Christian and Jewish leader. First of all, after awhile I began realizing it's very good for the Jews that Christians understand what was lost in the Nazi holocaust spiritually. So it became a very good seller. It was a best seller for Henry Schuman. And then I kept on working for Schuman for, I guess, another year or so. Heschel by that time had been working on some other books and I got him -- Schuman began going under, began going bankrupt, he simply was not a business man. He became ecstatic over Heschel's books and the reviews and it's unbelievable. But Henry Schuman loved to have violin string quartets in his office and every Thursday afternoon like clockwark, he didn't care what happened, he would have three friends over and have a string quartet. And he would pay no attention to his appointments. He, one period, stopped looking at his mail, stopped looking at the bills, stopped looking -- I said, "Henry, you're going to go under." He said, "Oh, let the God damn business world rest, no patience for that. I just like to produce." Anyway, I realized this was not exactly a thriving future for me. He certainly did very well by Heschel, he fell in love with his idea and caught some of my enthusiasm for it and literally helped launch Heschel. Afterwards, then, I introduced Heschel to Roger Straus, (?) Straus, and got several of his other books published. And I did some more work in publishing. By that time, '51-'52, I got a call from a friend of mine who was

working with the Synagogue Council, which then was in shambles, it was supposed to be the coordinating body of the orthodoxconservative-reform groups, both the rabbinic bodies and the congregational bodies. He was getting ready to go to Israel, make aliya, and the organization had nothing. I mean, it had no program and he had a budget of \$12,000 and a deficit of \$18,000. They were supposed to represent the Jews to the world and one time it had a program under the forties, fifties, and then it collapsed, the director left. So he asked me if I'd come and help him with some programming. So I said, yeah, part-time I could do that. I'm busy now, I've got these editorial projects I'm working on. So I came over and I started giving a few hours a week and little by little, you know, I began to look at the stationhead, the letterhead, you know, potentially it had real possibilities and this is the one group where all the religious branches came together, the rabbis and the lay leadership, and I felt, you know, it's really worth something that I ought to give it a try. So -and this guy was not interested. He felt the whole thing was a waste of time and it was just a job for him. He used to spend half his day studying. He'd sit in the office and read the Talmud or Rabbinic Sources or -- So he used to ask me to do more and more. So I began poking around and I somehow met somebody at the National Council of Churches, (?). We became friendly and I told him I was working part-time at the Synagogue Council and I said something to him about "Is there anything we can do together?" He said "Sure, let's sit down and talk." So I organized the first meeting of the Synagogue Council and the National Council of Churches. He had a mar --

Q. Is this a radical--?

A. Change.

Q. Development, change, or did this happen before?

There had never been programs of that kind between the Α. official bodies of Judaism and the National Council of Churches. There had been meetings in the past when Marice Eisengraf (?) was alive and used to do some things on his own but that was always a kind of one-to-one thing but never really affected the structures of Jewish life. That began the first serious meetings between a major representative Jewish body and the National Council of Churches. And I began to get a feel that there was an area here that needed cultivation and the interesting thing was the friendship I developed very quickly with these people. Laszlo Barns (?) was a magnificent human being, a presbyterian. He was the assistant general secretary and really the brains of the National Council of Churches. And he began to introduce me to other people and their foreign affairs department and their social welfare department, domestic justice department, so I began developing some program for the Synagogue Council and based on that we began raising some money. I guess I had been around doing that for a year or so and Meyer (?) said "Look, I'm leaving for Israel, there's no future for me. Why don't you take the job?" And I think that's where my formal career in Jewish-Christian relations began. I began to see that I had some ability to get along, not just in terms of the kind of usual brotherhood business, but to be able to get very quickly to serious issues and build program and build relationships around it. So, in those days, the Catholics were not involved in ecumenical relations at all.

There was some underground, secret ties between the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, in those days it was called the National Catholic Welfare Conference, it was a Monsignore Carroll who had some connection, but it was always very quiet. So I began-- I took the job at Synagogue Council and I walked away from the publishing thing and I devoted myself full-time to it. I spent ten years there and I must say it is a resurrection from the dead. It began developing and, you know, these things begin building cumulatively. We did some programs on the National Council. In those days we were getting into questions of Israel and Jerusalem that sometimes are like deja vu, the same discussions all over again, some of the same problems. Then I remember in '57 I helped organize the White House Conference on foreign aid and trade, which was my big shot cause by that time we began putting relationships together and a whole network of connections and it became a major meeting. The president of the Synagogue Council, an orthodox rabbi was to speak, Archbishop Fulton Sheen was to speak, and a Protestant Alder, Dr. Edward Alberg (?) of the National Council of Churches, And I began writing the speech for Rabbi Adams and so there I became friendly with Fulton Sheen and we just hit it off and became very good friends. He asked me to have dinner with him, lunch with him, and realizing that there's a big world here that's unattended, potentially a great many friends for Jews. And the Jews had an obligation to really move in and be present as a major force in American life. Otherwise it's always Christian America and Jews just don't figure with this kind of presence. And in fact everything I began moving into we became a factor and an enormous respect began to develop for Jews

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in these situations. Now this is-- They had been doing other things, I'm sure that are things going on in the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue but there were no national things going on. So by--Q. Also you had the support of the organizations behind you

in these efforts or was there ever any suspicion of your relationships with Christian leaders on the part of --?

Α. Synagogue Council was a nightmare because in a sense I snuggle that program, it would never happen otherwise. The orthodox representatives would veto anything that the reform would want to do. The reform would veto whatever the orthodox would want to do. They had a policy that we were never to discuss religion or theology, not only with all the Christians, with all the Jews. So that I had to say, of course, I understand the policy and then I'd go off and arrange a meeting and I'd invite individual orthodox rabbis and they'd come and they'd be the first one who'd want to tell the goyim what it's all about and they'd want to talk theology and relition but they didn't call it that. They'd call it sociology but it was always religion. So I began developing, I mean, this kind of -- really it was a school of diplomacy, of statesmanship, you know, how do you keep this thing together and keep a league of fiction going of a collaborative enterprise in which they didn't want to collaborate on anything serious. They would collaborate on the girl scouts, the boy scouts, we would have committees for that. That they would work at. If there was a chance to deliver a prayer at some major event, an inauguration or something, or the Senate or House, it meant the possibility of publicity for some rabbi, we'll do that. But they didn't pay any money, I had to raise money and by the time

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I finished, I brought a guy in to help me fundraise, he was liquidating the deficit. In any case, I did that for about ten years and then John Slausen called me. Morris Kurtzer (?) was resigning and John called me and it was a breath of fresh air for me because I just got tired of the politics. I couldn't make a move without clearing with six agencies, agencies that really had paid only lip service to this common effort. It was backbreaking to get them to pay a thousand dollars a year dues. By that time we had developed a budget of \$75-85,000. I began trying to build up a staff, etc. and I had to raise all the money myself, with minimal help. I got a guy, Mike Nicholson (?) whose a genius in raising funds and part-time he helped me put together a dinner and one year we raised \$100,000. We just liquidated the budget, we gave ourselves -- that's what I left the organization with, \$100,000. Assets and a vibrant program. In 1960, by that time I began developing contacts in Washington and I was named vicepresident of the White House Conference on children and youth and I felt that it was a chance, too, for Jews to really make an impact on a very broad network, there were 1,700 people who came there. And I prevailed on Rabbi Heschel to deliver a paper "Children and Youth (?) the Jewish Tradition." It had an astounding impact. He's got a penetrating way at getting at issues, especially values, ideals, morals, the cultural condition, what Jews have to contribute to try help humanize life, moralize society. And so I knew then that we were moving into the bit leagues in terms -- and also it was a chance for Jews to be understood that we're not just 3% of the population, we are onethird of the major religious communities of America, Catholics

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Protestants and Jews. We changed the whole status of Jews. We were dealt with essentially in terms of our statistical numbers. We really were inconsequential, we're one of the smallest minorities in America. But it's really because of our great religious cultural tradition that we received the disproportionate amount of attention, aclaim and status and I was determined to build on that. Any case, just about that time--

Q. May I just ask you one thing?

A. Sure.

Q. Did you have any philosophical focus for your--this long term goal of making the Jews a--putting the Jews in the forefront of whatever discussions were going on as one of the three major religions? I mean was there a certain--?

Α. I guess it began to evolve slowly. I always worried about Jewish security and, I guess, because of my childhood, that having been raised in an overwhelmingly Christian neighborhood, I played with Christian kids, there was always anti-Semitism in the streets. Sheenie Jew, this that and the other. They used to call my father Abie, Abie, Jew baby. I mean I was very much conscious of how much of that was in the streets and gutters of America and --. But beyond that, as I began to see that -- I began to find that Judaism was an unknown religion to most Christians and they're always (?) around Pharisees, legalists, and I thought there was a very important need to help find some way to face these misrepresentations, these characatures, to have them have some real experience with who Jews really are. And I began around that time, earlier than that time, began organizing these for Israelis, began organizing

some things for Abba Eban and some of the Israeli leaders who came here and have them have some impact on the Christian world. Now I think, though, in those days, part of it had to do with my own sense of -- of -- which has really been a basic pattern with me. On the one hand containing, trying to contain, hostility, anti-Semitism toward Jews, on the other hand to try to continue to build up an understanding of Jews at their best, Jewish values at its best, Jewish culture at its best, create experiences where people would be exposed to our best minds or to have people come to a seminary or to a museum or to go to Israel. And I think some of that pattern, the basic pattern, was set there. It's taken some new forms for me now in AJC in recent years but I think that really in some ways I had the feeling that it was nothing terribly new about it, that was really the experience of exile for two thousand years. Jews were always defending themselves against the hostile world, that anti-Semitism was endemic in Western--

Q. Did you personally feel that way in your first--feel that anti=Semitism and that hostility in your first contacts with clergy, with Christian clergy?

A. The first couple I met they were remarkable human beings. I mean this fellow Roswell Barns and Kenneth Maxwell, who was in charge of foreign affairs, were people, Presbyterians, who had a very deep affection for Judaism really because of their own Calvinist training. The old testament is a source of--holds a place of great honor in that tradition and also they were very sensative people then. This was not too long after the Nazi holocaust and they had a sense of horror of what anti-Semitism

led to. And they were determined to try to face that in some way, to deal with it, and they tried to develop a whole new set of relationships with Jews and they just had to have Jewish partners to work with. And I just fell into that situation of beginning to become their Jewish partner.

Q. What about Bishop Sheen?

Fulton Sheen? Well, we just developed a kind of personal Α. friendship and I didn't have any designs on him in terms of program or anything. I was determined to test out where he stood about Jews because at that time he was far more popular than Billy Graham. There was television programs and he used to have some discussions. And I one time said to him, I Said, "Bishop, you're the greatest evangelist in the world today." "Aw, Come on." "No, you are. What do you think about us? You have your eye on us?" He said, "You're God's people. God loves you. God chose you specially. It's the God to decide what he wants to do with Jews. That's not my role. If a Jew wants to become a Catholic of course I'll catechize him, I will proseletyze, I'll evangelize." And Jews did, there were Jews who did. There was a period of time he did go after a few very prominent Jews and therefore there was a period of time there was real hostility towards Sheen in the Jewish community. But I wasn't, I wasn't somehow put off by that. Somehow he and I just hit it off. I mean, in fact in 1966 right after the Vatican Council we sponsored the first Catholic-Jewish dialogue in Rochester and he was the bishop there and he agreed to speak. And I came on that -- it was held in a synagogue there, Temple Beth Kodesh, it was like Yom Kippur and the place was packed with about 2,500 people, Catholics and Jews. We became

the event of Rochester and he spoke and I spoke. And I walked in that room he ran over and embraced me like a long lost friend. Newsweek took some pictures of it which they published with Sheen and me hugging each other. I mean there was a real respect and even love, a very deep love. Well, he got up and made a speech about Jews, Gods love for the Jews and the prominent place of Jews in the world. It was incredible. People were crying in the audience. It was important for me to see Catholics crying. And in effect he just abandoned the whole proseletyzing toward Jews, publicly. We read the text of the speech, it was a spectacular event. And, of course, for me it was -- I mean I just felt that where every Jew in the room was anxious what was Tanenbaum going to do now. You know, after that number. I did my own number in my own way and I held up but I knew that I was next to Uncle Miltie. And it was a great night. But that's been part of my -- my whole sense is, you know, having been victimized so much ourselves about charicatures and stereotypes to really take people seriously in terms of their complexity and not to dismiss people because of a single sentence or a single statement or a single image. And that's why I made a point in my whole career afterward to make a final way to get to know Billy Graham. Billy Graham was just dismissed. I mean he was billed as a quacker and a Bible-thumping evangelical Baptist preacher but I just had some sense somewhere along the way that there was more to this man than that public image. So in the '60's I sought him out and the same thing happened with Fulton Sheen happened with him. I mean we developed an incredible friendship. And --Were you criticized within the Jewish community?

The orthodox community thinks that, and parts Α. Oh. yeah. of the organization, thinks I've sold out. And some of that has to do with the simple anti-goy, just anti-Christian mentality. There's alot of anti-Christian bias, especially from Jews who come from Eastern Europe who suffered terribly. And I understand that, I appreciate that. Some of them, and this is a legitimate criticiam, worry that the images of Jews and Christians being very good friends, doing television with them and speaking on first name terms, tends to weaken the sense of difference between Jews and Christians and in the popular Jewish mind is taken to be a sanction for intermarriage. And I recognize that that is potentially a problem but I have to weigh that against the very large needs of the Jewish community and Jewish security. Our priority concerns are the security and survival of Israel and Israel would not survive a week if there were not, literally, millions of Christians in America who cared about Israel. And that's the basis of political support for Israel. There isn't a president who hasn't known that thirty, forty, fifty million evangelicals who cared--(Tape interrupted) But I, what I've begun to find is that in talking with orthodox friends there's an ambivalence. On the one hand they know that somebody has got to talk to the Christians and keep up lines of friendship.

Q. It might as well be you (laugh).

A. And it might as well be you. Actually I had a very interesting moment which I've never recorded before. During the Vatican Council when we were preparing documents to submit to Cardinal Bayer (?) I insisted that every item we prepared be shared with a major Jewish religious personality so that we would

never be seen as going it alone and not taking our best minds seriously. So I arranged to show each of the three major studies that we sent to the Vatican to Rabbi Heschel, Rabbi Finkelstein, Dr. Freihof, Rabbi Freihof the reform rabbi of then in Pittsburgh, a great reform scholar and Rabbi Solovatchik (?) at Yeshiva University, he was the dean of orthodox rabbis in the United States. And, nobody knows this, but Rabbi Solavatchik (?) read every one of the documents we submitted. He sent me letters commenting on every one or had his son-in-law write out detailed responses to all of those documents. And, in fact, at that time during the third session of the Council there was a question of a uniform calendar coming up, an international calendar, which orthodox Jews particularly felt would undermine the Jewish calendar if it were adopted. It would change Saturdays to Sundays and that sort of thing. Solovatchik (?) wrote me a note which I still have saying that while you are in touch with the Pope and the Vatican I urge you to undertake a special commission at my request to intervene to see if you could stop the adoption of the uniform calendar. I am asking you because I trust you implicitly. So I see Rabbi Solovatchik five, six times a year to discuss our role in the Vatican, to keep him constantly informed, as I did with all the others, including Dr. Belkan (?) who is president of Yeshiva. After the Vatican declaration came out, the first version of it, which had some reference to conversion, the orthodox rabbinate began attacking the Vatican left and right. And Rabbi Solovatchik in response to that pressure from the right wing of the orthodox community came out and disavowed the whole involvement in the Vatican. So I called him up

and he said "Look, there are certain things you have to do. But I support what you did. You had to do what you had to do and I had to do this because of these circumstances. But I want you to know I'm behind you." And I said, "But you know you placed an impossible situation." He said, "I understand, but that's

(?) we're in the diaspora and that's the madness of living in the exile." So, I mean, but that's typical of the kind of response you get in the orthodox community today. And I get that everywhere I go. I ran into somebody from the Agudas Yisrael an orthodox rabbi, and it was a White House observance honoring Simon Wiesenthal and I just came over and said hello to him and afterwards I was outside on the telephone and he comes over to me and says "You don't know me but I know you. I listen to you regular on WINS. I don't disagree with everything you say but you did a broadcast on the (?) year, it was a <u>kiddush hashem</u>, you sanctified God's name, it was marvelous." So I said "You have no idea how much that means to me." Q. That's very nice.

A. So, I made up my mind a long time ago that, and this really is something I learned at AJC, a central question for us is to be effective. And in order to be effective you've got to be serious and you've got to do your homework first, you've got to study your problem and to know what has to be done to bring about a certain result that you think is going to be good for Jews and for America, whatever you value. Once you know that you've considered all the options and that's the way to go then you go ahead and do it and worry about the politics, the reactions afterward. Along the way you've got to keep things from exploding

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in your face. But, I've been operating that way ever since I've been here and this is my twentieth year at AJC and we started out with the Vatican Council. Nobody wanted to touch it, nobody. Q. Did you have to convince the Committee, John Slausen,

those lay leaders to get involved or --?

No, to John Slausen's credit, I had just come into AJC Α. so the Vatican Council began in '62, the first announcements were in '61, it's John Slausen's credit and the late David Danzig (?), Danzig was our program director, who was brilliant. Danzig had a feel, eventhough he was personally secular in many ways in terms of his idiology and his training, he had an understanding of the importance of religion as a factor in culture, as a factor in politics, and when he heard about the Vatican Council he already began saying we ought to look into that, to do something about that, when I just had come into the scene. And John Slausen also had that sense. It sounds like it's important. We'd better pay attention to it. And so John had called Jack Shister (?), in my presence, had Jack go to Rome to look into it. So Jack came back and he says potentially it's of historic importance. It's going to be a major event, the first time in our lifetime something like this will happen. We'd better get to it. And when I'd been at the Synagogue Council the year before there and I'd put on the agenda the Vatican Council and that the Jewish religious community should respond to it, we should find out about it and see whether we ought to relate to it. It was vetoed. The orthodox community said, and I respect this judgment, I think it was a wrong judgment but it was their judgment, it's an internal Christian meeting, we're to have nothing to do with it. Never

mind what they say about Jews. That's their problem, it's not our problem. So I was prevented from making any entrees to the Vatican Council then. And that got -- was part of my own feeling that when Slausen came to me and said "I want to offer you this job at the Committee." I began -- I was really filled with enormous frustration there. I couldn't move anywhere. I was constantly being undercut by these kind of theological bands to move. And here was a breath of fresh air with the freedom I had not only freedom but leadership and support. And Slausen used to tell me very early the important thing is to know what you're doing and once you're clear about what is required and we have approval of it go ahead and do it and I'll back you. And I've had that, for twenty years. With John and then with Burt Gold. And we really have broken ground in almost every field in Jewish-Christian relations in this country and abroad. The Vatican Council, ADL didn't come in until almost the end of it, the second session of the Council. The World Jewish Congress didn't come in. They all submitted a two-page memorandum. We did the first systematic study on the textbook which documented the problem of anti-semitism in the Catholic teaching. Cardinal Bayer (?) had our study translated into six languages, sent around to all of the bishops who were involved, and he said based on that evidence we have got to adopt a declaration to put an end to anti-semitism. It's no question this is what we're teaching about Jews. We did the study on liturgy the same way and the story on the crucifiction and it became decisive. I mean it just changed the whole mentality. And when Bayer came here in March of 1963 we arranged this meeting at AJC with all of the top

Jewish leadership, religious leadership, and that's when the thing was clinched. He took out the preliminary text that nobody had seen before and we discussed it there. There were written questions and answers. And that became the turning point. Well, it changed the whole world. I mean there's been an explosion since 1965 with the Catholic world. They've changed the textbooks and liturgy, and teacher training institutes with nuns, the sister Angelans (?), the Rose (?), Father Flanary's, Polokofsky's (?). I mean all of that was made possible by he Vatican thing. And it's been one of the historic contributions of AJC to the improvement of attitudes toward Jews here and elsewhere. The same thing happened with the evangelicals. You know in 1965 who would talk to Billy Graham? I mean the Jewish community would be run out of town. They would be regarded as selling out the Jewish people.

Q. How could you do it when other people couldn't do it? A. Well, by that time I'd had, you know, about four years of very good appresticehip in an agency that was really a very great agency. And we had a staff at that time that was like a post-graduate faculty at a university. Marshall Sklar, Lucy Davidowitz, David Danzig, Ed Lukas, it was an extraordinary gifted group and our morning discussions about issues, in fact they used to be sometimes too abstract, too intellectual. Somehow we'd never get around to what are you supposed to do about it. That was Danzig's weakness, he would love to talk. But he was an incredible--

Q. How often would these take place? And is this a continuing--?

Yeah, we have it now, Monday morning (?) meetings. Α. We have good discussions now. They're much more practically oriented now. Also I think we have many more concrete problems to deal with. The (?) luxury of--with a staff cabinet meeting was much more of that kind of thing. We sat back and took a kind of a world view look and (?) that sort of a thing. But the point is that over that period of 1961-65 by then I began to really grab hold of the issues and having been to Rome several times on the Vatican Council with Zach I began having some mastery over the field and I began to feel that there's going beyond what I had done before. I mean I came in with a substantial background by that time but this was, I had the sense it was possible to push out now to the outer limits and be effective. So, when I came back and after we got alot of the Catholic programming going and institutes and serminars and textbook studies I had begun travelling a little bit around the country then and I had begun seeing what was going on in the south and I realized that the we had no understanding of what was going on, the Jewish Committee had no understanding. I mean the south was now developing economically in incredible ways, there was massive population movelments to the south and our image was still of crackers and bible-thumpers. And I began talking with some of the Baptist churches and I said MyGod, this is a whole new world. Imean it's like the Vatican Council all over again. There's a whole empire here to be developed and explored. So, as things began to develop I began looking into how I could relate to the Southern Baptist Convention. I brought a guy in my staff, Jerry Strober (?) who I thought at that time was an

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evangelical Christian. He was born of Jewish parents, had become an Evangelical Christian, I didn't know about his Jewish background at all. He was working on a study project of the NCCJ that we were doing jointly on Protestant textbooks and when that expired I took him on and we began looking together at the whole evangelical field. And then we opened up our first conference in '68. Actually I began my own conversation with Billy Graham in '66 and when the six-day war broke out Graham called me one day and he said "I"m very worred about reaction to Israel. There seems to be a growth of anti-semitism. There's been so much silence on the part of the Protestansts toward Israel." And felt there was a kind of negative back-lash developing. Whereas as some people had cried in Israels' development there was an awful lot of feeling that these Jews were destroying these Arabs. So he said, "I want to do something. I want to do a film about Israel." I said, "That's wonderful." He said, "I'd like your help." "Sure." So he had Kenneth Bliss, and I just got a letter from him today, in fact, I'm still working on projects like that, call me and I helped him with a script called "His Land". And he did this marvelous film about Israel. He invested a half a million dollars in this love poem for Israel, one of the mst beautiful pictures about Israel as the land of the bible. And then we helped him promote it. We'd presented it at an AJC meeting, at a board meeting, at an annual meeting, and we got it around the country in many churches. So little by little began developing a trust relationship and alot of correspondence. And over a period of time he proved to be one of our most trustworthy friends, for Israel, Soviet Jewry, anti-semitism, Eastern Europe.

4

He helped me get three families out of the Soviet Union who could not be gotten out. It's an incredibly beautiful story of--

Q. How did he do it?

Well, I'll tell you briefly. There was a woman named Α. Rifka Alexandrovitch whose daughter, Ruth, was put into Putmel (?) prison, a slave labor camp. She had been a nurse; she suffered from asthma and arthritis. Her mother was terrified she was going to die. She was thrown into prison because she was found buying a bible on the black market and the KGB-- It was a pretext because she was part of this whole dissident group, but that was a pretext for throwing her in jail. And Rifka was in a state of panic, she was sure that unless she got her daughter out shortly that it would be the end of her. She came from first Riga, Latvia then Moscow where she was an English teacher, she spoke perfect English, and then she went to Israel and she came here. We invited her to speak at an annual AJC meeting. As soon as she got off the plane she spoke at the anual meeting and after that session she went over to me and she said, "I want to speak to you. There's only one person who can get my daughter out of prison." "Who's that?" "That's the number one man in the United States." "You mean Nixon?" "Yes. And you know Billy Graham." "How do you know that?" She said, "I know in Israel that you know Billy Graham and he can get her out." So I said, "Okay, we'll try." She told her story and she was just overwhelming. She was very dramatic and very moving, mother and her daughter, it was a very gripping story. So we first arranged for her to speak before the general assembly of the United Presbyterian church in Rochester and it's the first time they ever had a Soviet Jew do that. She

had a standing ovation. She was dynamite. She was a small woman like this, a powerhouse. There was a little of my mother in her, too, which I think grabbed me which is I was doing it not for her but also for my mother. In any case, I called Billy Graham after that Presbyterian meeting and I said, "Billy, this is an important woman and I need your help." He was getting ready to get on a plane with Nixon to go to Austin, Texas to dedicate the LBJ library and it was on a Friday. And he said, "Look, I'll do what I can to help. I will be in Chicago on Sunday, this coming Sunday. If you will come with Mrs. Alexandrovitch I'll talk to you and we'll see what we can do to help." I said, "All right, what time?" "Four o'clock." "Where?" "Conrad Hilton. I'll be there under a pseudoname." He gave me his name. Four o'clock the following Sunday Rivka Alexandrovitch and I went to Chicago. We were there in Chicago. Came up to the hotel room, just an incredible image. Rivka Alexandrovitch, I guess she was like five by five, I mean, that was the sense she gave like this kind of packed person and Billy Graham was like six foot four. We walk in, Graham and I embrace and he walks over to Rivka, he bends down and kisses her and she began getting tears in her eyes. We sit down, he says "Mrs. Alexandrovitch, tell me your story." She said, "Dr. Graham, when I first came to the United States you know what hit me, what had the greatest impact on me?" He said, "No." She said, "I stayed at the Holiday Inn and 1 walked in the Holiday Inn and the first thing I see is a bible open. And I walked over and I read it and I kissed it. Do you know what it means to find an open bible in a room? It's because of that bible that my daughter is in prison." She knew who she

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was talking to. Graham began getting tears in his eyes. She told him, she said, "She wanted to study the bible. It was forbidden. So we had to go out in the black market. She spent fifty rubles to buy a bible and the KGB put her in prison because of that." So Graham then turned to me and says "Marc, will you lead us in prayer?" And we reached out and held hands together and I suddenly remember the prayer for the (?) of the captives, not all of it but part of it, so I said that prayer and we were all crying like babies. It was an incredible emotional moment. Graham gets up and says "All right, I'm going to make a phone call." He takes out his telephone book, dials a number, it's in Florida, KeyBixcayne. "Hello, Henry, this is Billy. I want to talk to you about a very important matter. It's a terrible story and I'd like your help. And I'm personally interested in this. There's a Mrs. Alexandrovitch, her daughter's in prison, Rabbi Tanenbaum's with me, he has all the information about it." Kissinger says to him, "Alright, put Tanenbaum on the phone." I get on the phone, Henry Kissinger, he was on vacation in Key Biscayne. And he says, "I'm seeing Ambassador Dobrynin on Wednesday. I will put this on the top of my list as a matter or national interest to the United States government. Send me a telegram at once with all the information, with her prison number how long she's been there, exactly what cell she's in, what her condition is in, and send it to me at the State Department. And I promise you I'll do everything I can." I got and I wrote him a telegram and sent him immediately from Chicago and we talked a little bit more and Graham said, "I'll keep after it and call me in a couple of days. We'll wait till after he sees Dobrynin on

Wednesday and I'll probably hear from him by then." In about a month she was out of prison. She had been in prison three years, couldn't get a visa from the Ovear (?) and Kissinger, via Billy Graham, sprung her out of prison. She got out of prison and came to Israel. Got married and got divorced, unfortunately, and had a child. And the most poignant thing for me about all of that, two things happened subsequently, she came back again to get some help for another family because there had been another person then. She brought a samovar that she had taken with her out of Moscow and asked me to bring it to Graham. And I did. When I went to see Graham at his home I brought it down to him. He was very moved by it. And then, subsequently, her daughter, Ruth, came to the United States and I was not here and she left a folder for me, a little leather thing, and Dear Marc, thank you for saving my life. Ruth. It's a very simple folder, it's one of the most beautiful things I've got and I kept it. Then Rivka, (Tape interruption)

Q. You were talking about Ruth getting back to you. She left a package here when you were gone.

A. Oh, Rivka Alexandrovitch went back to Israel to teach in a high school, teach English in a high school, and she made a project of having the students take to do a verbal history of the redemption of Ruth. She had them gather all the newspaper clippings, all of the letters, all of the telegrams we sent, and she had a book like this. It was incredible. I mean, letters to the president, to the (?) and it became a record of the saving of a single life, of her daughter. It was a very moving document and--but it shows how much goes into, in a case like that

of just bringing out one family and we've been doing it with dozens of families. And every one of them is that kind of life story, in different ways. George Bush did something like that for us. We got a couple of people out through him. Quite dramatic stories. And we became very close friends as a result of that. He was superb.

Q. Was it with the help of Billy Graham?

A. No, he did it on his own, did it on his own. And some day I'll have to find a way of putting that down but-- He made---He literally violated protocol with the State Department. There was a young Jew named Gabriel Shapiro who was a dissident, a leader in the dissident movement, and the Soviets were out to really punish him. And he had a girlfriend here named Judy Silver, a very big, heavy woman, who used to literally camp in my office to try to get him out. And we thought it was a whole group of dissidents who were going to be involved in his fate so we decided, I decided, to do what I could to help. So I went to George Bush one day and--

Q. How did you happen to chose George Bush? Is he someone you know?

A. No, I just called him up. I figured at that point, he was at the United Nations--No, we

(End of Tape 1)

Marc Tanenbaum interviewed by Mimi Alperin

Tape 2 - Side 1-45 October 29, 1980

Q. And I'm on the date today is October 29th and we're resuming the interview in Rabbia Marc Tanenbaum's office at the American Jewish Committee. Last time you were talking about an incident in which you called George Bush and to help get the release of someone in the Soviet Union. Can you begin in the beginning of that story because I think we stopped in the middle.

A. Yah, there were several episodes but this one had to do with a leader in the Soviet Jewish dissident movement, his name was Gabriel, Gabriel Shapiro. He was a young man, I think his middle twenties, who (?) and there

was a whole cluster of dissidents around him, A youngish, American, Jewish woman whose name was Judy Silver, she was a granddaughter of a rather prominant orthodox rabbi in Cincinnati, came to my office, I don't know, it was five, six years ago, I don't remember the date but I could check it out. She came to my office and asked me to help her to get Gabriel out. She had been to Russia with a delegation of American Jews the year before and had met Gabriel and fell in love with him, but also had enormous respect for him as a key personality in the whole dissident movement. And the Russians were especially oppressive because he played such an important leadership role. So, she had been trying to get a visa for Shapiro to get him out to Israel and kept running up against a brick wall. The Soviets kept saying an enemy of the State, there's no circumstances he'll be allowed to get out. So one day I called Ambassador Bush, who ws then the American ambassador to the United Nations, and asked if I could come down to see him and they had me come down and I

brought Miss Silver with me and we told him the story. And he responded immediately, with very deep feeling, and "Gee, that's terrible." Actually I had established the contact, as I think about it now, with George Bush before. I once did a broadcast for WINS on the Syrian repression of Jews and the Syrian ambassador get up at the United Nations the day after I did a broadcast, on Sunday, and condemned me as a Zionist, propagandist agent and George Bush told me that morning, he said, "You've just been attacked by the Syrian ambassador." He said, "Exactly, what the hell did you say on the radio?" So, I said, "I just told the truth which is that they have been denying Jews their civil and political rights, they don't let Jews leave the country and this is in violation of the United Nations covenant of human rights." He siad, "That doesn't sound terrible. Let me see the script." So I sent the script down to him by messenger. He called me in the afternoon and he said, "There's absolutely nothing in that script which is unacceptable. I mean there's nothing there that's not true. We know it from our own American sources. And that guy misrepresented you and I'm going to defend you." So he got up in the United Nations that afternoon at 4:30 and delivered a speech defending the case that I was making against the Syrian ambassador. So I called the next day to thank him and that he really went out of his way and he really (?) something because I was defending a Jewish organization --

Q. He did mention the American Jewish Committee?
A. He read the script. He read my script. He said, "I just received the script from Rabbi Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee. I've read the script. He had been misrepresented by

the Syrian ambassador. We owe Rabbi Tanenbaum an apology for misquoting him and the other charges are certainly without foundation. And my government defends the right of the Syrian Jewish (?) their human rights." So I developed people a very warm feeling for him as a result of that episode. He didn't have to do it but he did. He went out of his way to make a case So then when the Judy Silver episode started I called him of. and we came down to see him. Judy Silver told the story. She was a rather, I must say a very large woman, a young woman, she probably weighed about 250 pounds. She'd come up to my office and eat Pepperidge Farm cookies (laugh), for her diet. She was a tough dame to deal with and I say that by way of telling another part of the George Bush story. Anyway, we came to see George Bush and Bush was very much touched by the plight of Gabriel Shapiro and he said to me, "Look, I'm going to do some= thing I'm not supposed to do. I'm going to violateState Department protocol. But there was a time factor involved. We had to get through to the Soviet Union within a matter of a week because they were preparing to sentence him and probably send him to Siberia. It was an effort to really kill the whole dissident movement. And I approached him on an urgent basis. So he put through a call to the American ambassador in Moscow. He was not allowed to do that. He had to first clear it with the State Department and get clearance from the policy to do that. So he had a feeling of the urgency of this and that possibly a person's life was at stake and probably other dissidents were at stake. So, it just so happenend that the American ambassador in Moscow at that time was Jacob Veen (?) and Veen was a classmate of his

at Yale and they were very good friends, they were Jake and George. So he called Jacob Veen from his office at the U.S. Mission to the U.N. and said this is a personal call and that cleared it with the State Department as being a personal, humanitarian basis, and he told him something about Gabriel Shapiro and he said, "Look, you've got to go down to the police tomorrow and ask to visit Shapiro so that they know that the United States government has got their eye on him. And please tell them that it's a matter of very high national interest in our government. And we expect them to behave in a responsible fashion and not railroad this guy out. There'll be hell to pay. There'll be rallies all over America and (?)." And he did that. And in a matter of a couple of weeks Shapiro got his visa. He's gotten out of prison. But they made him get out of the country very quickly, almost overnight, and he went to Israel. In the meantime then they went after some of the other dissidents who were very close to him including Mark Nashovitz (?) who was a dentist, studying to be a dentist, and he didn't get away. They sent him off to a labor camp and the problem was there was nobody around. Almost in every case when you have somebody advocating, like Judy Silver was advocating in this case, and another case Rivka Alexandrovitch was advocating for her daughter, and this lifted up her cause and it came to a personality. There was nobody here for Mark Nashkovitz and we tried and brought a lot of pressure to bear but he was sent away. In any case, Gabriel Shapiro was brought to Israel. This woman, Judy Silver, went to Israel and married him. They were married for less than a month or so, something like that, and it collapsed and she came

back to the States, which is what she told us, which reminded me of the good old days of waging the enormous struggle. Part of the thing I was getting at with Gabriel Shapiro, Judy Silver-Shapiro, she said it was numb (?), she married Gabriel, was that during the fight of the campaign, after, a week after he made his call, before Gabriel got his visa, I got a call from Tom Lias (?) who was Rich Shapiro's (?) administrative aide, and he says "Something terrible is going on. Ambassador Bush is meeting with a group of journalists, twelve, fifteen people, and Judy Silver is out front of the U.S. Mission with a couple dozen kids and she has a bullhorn and she's screaming that George Bush is an anti-semite."

Q. How long after?

A. This was a week after.

Q. A week after?

A. A week or ten days after that. But it was after we had seen Bush and he had made the telephone call. She had alot of anxiety that if Gabriel wasn't gotten out of prison in two days they were going to send him off to Siberia. And, of course, he was not released in a matter of two days, she felt that somehow Bush had betrayed her and magically (?), you know a fantasy (?). So got together this little

(?) of kids and the Students Struggle for Soviet Jewry among others, we knew that, and Bush was besides himself. Here he was sitting trying to reach a whole bunch of American and foreign correspondents on some important questions and she was calling him an anti-semite.

How did you feel?

Q.

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Well, I was sitting at a meeting here when the Bush guy Α. called me and I said "That's a scandal." If anybody went out of his way and really risked some things, he had gotten a serious reprimand from the State Department, and the very least she owed was gratitude. So I told Lias I'll be right down. So I broke up the meeting I had, I grabbed a cab and I ran down to the U.S. Mission to the U.N. and I came over to Judy Silver and I grabbed her by the shoulders and I said, "What the Hell is the matter with you? Have you gone out of your mind? Do you always try to destroy your friends, the people who try to help you? You were there when he made the telephone call. You know how he did it for you. He didn't have to do that. He did it out of the goodness of his heart and your voiding his decency by trying to undermine him." And I said, "If you don't stop this immediately and break up this riot don't you ever call me again for anything and I will run you out of the Jewish community." I just threw everything at her because she was a hysterical woman and I knew she had to be reached in a way she would understand. Well, she got the message and she turned around she said (?) to JDL and the others and they broke it up and went away. So I walked to the side door and George Bush came out, he was taking these guys to lunch up on Second Ave., and he came out and embraced me and thanked me and said "You've saved my life. That's all I nneeded with all these correspondents being called an anti-semite. George Bush being called antisemite." He said he was on his way to the White House and the State Department. But I think that's simply a matter of just basic, elementary fairness. After that episode we became fast

friends. He would call me about all kinds of things. If Jewish officials came to see him and he didn't know who they were he'd call me up and say, "Should I see these people? Who are they? What are they all about?" I had two other cases that he helped me get people out, much (?), and some of them very poignant cases. A young, beautiful Russian Jewish woman who was pregnant, six, seven months, and they let her go but kept her husband back and (?).

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So I came down to see Bush and this is after the Silver episode, and he acted as if the Judy Silver episode never took place and did some of the same kinds of things all over again. And he got he husband out in a short period of time. He did the same thing with Ruth Alexandrovitch, her daughter-- Rivka Alexandrovitch was the mother and her daughter was put in prison and was very seriously ill and he did some very strong things although the real person who helped me get her out was Billy Graham.

Q. You told that story, it's a wonderful story. So much of what you do depends upon your personal contacts with leaders of all kinds, both religious leaders and government leaders. Have you ever been disappointed when you contacted someone and asked for their help in any way? Have you been turned down? Is there any instance you can think of?

A. Sure. This is not all fun and games, and ---

Q. Success stories

A. Peaches and cream, sucess stories. There are a great
 many disappointments and I have frequently (?).
 We've had some very great disappointments with the Vatican. We've
 had some perfectly marvelous meetings with Popes who say all the

right things about the spiritual relationship between the Catholic church and the Jewish people and then the Vatican Secretary of State turns around and spouts policies. For a very good example his last statement of the internationalization of Jerusalem. They betrayed the Israel Embassy in Rome. They assured the Embassy in London that nothing was going to happen in Jerusalem and if something was going to happen on Jersalem they would let them know first. They dropped the statement like a time bomb on the United Nations on the internationalization of the city of Jerusalem. That's a moral outrage! And I was fit to be tied. A number of years before, in fact, during Pope Paul's VI reign, I happened to be very close to the Pope's representative in the United Nations, a monsignor Signonetti (?) and he one day came and asked to have lunch (?) have lunch with (?)

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and me for the sole purpose of telling us that he had a direct message from the Pope Vatican on the (?) Secretary of State to assure us that the Vatican had given up permanently any proposal for the internationalization of the city of Jerusalem. All they were interested in were free access to the holy places. And they know they have that now under Israel better than ever before and all they wanted was some kind of international statute to confirm what is already in place there. And I, you know

was (?) to that in that there was one front hostility toward Israel that was dissolved. So little by little we got to the end of the 1970's this identification X (?) for the Secretary of State of the third world line, the PLO and the Arabs. We were (Hussein saw him) overwhelming the Vatican and a month ago he was saying so. And after that a

representative from Sadat saw him and he (?) then right after that King Hassan All of them

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internationalization of the city of Jerusalem. The egyptions did not do that but all the Arabs and Muslims did. The Jordanians have a special understanding they want (?) to be turned over to Jordan. I don't know you can read in (?) the Vatican now for almost a decade, they have very deep feelings

(?) it's a very disappointing business.

(?) hope that out of these relationships, it is very restrained that they will not try to do something to intimidate them. But this last act was one of intimidation. And that was outrageous.

Q. How did you respond or did the committee respond?

A. Well, we have joint international committee now of all the major jewish organizations andwe register. We have a meeting on October 21 in Rome (?) our people's (?) representing AJC at which we registered a formal protest about what was said and how it was done and we've asked for a meeting for the

(?) Secretary of State and we're in the process of setting that up and there we plan to do whatever we can. It's a very difficult problem. Because on one hand the Vatican is alligning itself with the European Economic community

(?) The European countries now want to capitualate to the PLO and to the Arabs. They'll buy off their opposition and maintain indefinite flow to the (?). And the Vatican since it's power base rests first of all in Western Europe, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal...'s very large constituencies. And the policies of those governements is let's guy out the Arabs. Recognize the PLO. They want to impose the peace in order to assure free access (?) and the Vatican City conforms to that. And the United States has nothing terribly helpful? X(?) to that....the White House and they CXMXX get mixed signals

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d so it's a massive, massive problem. A great challenge is how to find the right conception of how to cope with that and it's not easy...force of history, but go ahead and try to do it. I have no illusions about that. inhibit their going very public and ()?)The National Council of pressing aggressively (?) Church United Nations (?) dominated by Arab Christians who sit in on all their (?) who write all their statements about (?) about Israel. We just had a meeting in Crakow the end of August, we walked into the meeting and there is a resolution on Jerusalem contending that Israel is one sided, unfair, unjust resolution written by --- and i know the guy who wrote it and the guy happens to be a (?) for the PLO. And he was told by Arab (?) this is what I want you to (?) so they so we had this meeting AND I led off the discussion and I ((?) I got very tough because I felt who am I playing games with? (?) discuss t heology and (?) and moral values while these people are out there undermining Jewish existence (?) I started by saying that you're making....you're --- I this relationship at all but if you are don't know (?) (?) on display it might be impossible to continue. You are doubtless enemies of the jewish people. People who are out to destroy us. And we're not going to make any pretense about it. We have good good relationships and dialogues going when year after year you adopt positions which are threatening the very exist4nce of Israel and of Jersalem. Then a (?) of Jersalem and by the time we few others joined in including Professor finished the Christians in that room were beside themselves. A bunch of these were and then they had a private caucus. And Western Christians (?)

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they adopted a statement supporting our point of view and demanding that the Central Committee of the World council of Churches hear a delagation: of Jews and Israelis to make our case on Jerusalem and ask them to repeal the statement. It's not going to happen but at least something happened there that with that group and it was a unanimous poisiton of all the Christians or the Christian Committee-of the Jewish people. But it's a minor victory because the positions have been adopted. and we have to continue the battle. In that sense part of this work where you are dealing with in a sense the religious side of political positions, it's like Sisifus (?), you keep pushing the rock of the mountain and you have very little hope that you will get close to the top of the mountain before the rock of (?)falls down. And you sit there (?) You know that you are going into this minefield. And that the mines are all pointing at you and you still go out and try to detonate as much as you can. Defuse as many as you can. And it's just plain percentages, you'll never make any ultimate difference. But that's part of the job. Compensation comes with meeting with many Christians within the United States, it's the kind of this Baily Smith episode (?) thing like friendship with Billy Graham and and you (?)know a lot of people are horrified about that. The important thing that happened, more important than the statement he made was the response and I have really filed the letters and telegrams, resolutions adopted by Southern Baptists Evangelists condemning him

(?) their love for Jews and Judaism. There's a marvelous cartoon we have in the latest newsletter of an angel sitting at the switchboard in heaven called the Celestial Telephone Company and the caption on it was the angels says, "I"m sorry Doctor Smith, you'll have to wait a few more mintutes, he's talking to a Rabbi now."

(laughs)

Q.

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But that's been an encouragement. That's the product of more than twenty years of working with evangelicals. Which the American Jewish Committee did because nobody else wanted to talk to them. In fact there was a time when I started talking to Billy Graham that people thought I was going banannas. Here at the Committee? Did you have critisism when you began that? Q. No, the marvelous thing about the Committee was that while people may Α. have personal reservations, there is a certain respect that ---assumption that --they thought I knew what I was doing ---my staff knew what we were doing. They let us do it though they thought it was a waste of time, foblishness, nonsense. And then if it worked, it's marvelous...you're a dancing girl. I operate very strongly---the basis approach you have in this work is first to study very carefully while we are working. I spend a great deal of time sinse we study this whole area and I read probably everything I can get my hands on in terms of Southern style, Southern culture, Southern religion, politics and I have a sense of some vast churning going on, some churning. I read a great deal of Billy Grahams material and I saw there were insights there, a kind of openness in certain places and that it had to be tested whether it could be with all of them. And so I moved in that direction when I felt that there was a probability of change and it worked. I saw that it could work and it did. And when we saw what happened when Graham came to the AJC meeting in Atlanta in a spectacular speech. We had people who didn't want to come. We had people who cancelled their reservations when we were inviting Graham, when we were inviting these primitive, or fundamentalists, anti-semite. In the popular mind the cliche was that evangelicals were all anti-semities.

Well, that's not the case at all. There are millions of Babtists, Southern Babtists, who love Jews, who see Jews as brothers and sisters under the skin, that both of us have suffered terrible persecution for freedom of conscience, for religious liberty. Babtists suffered terribly in America. In Virginia they were thrown into prison, they were arrested, they were shot for demanding the right to carry out Babtist worship. The Anglican church was the established church and they wouldn't allow them The Babtists who've gone through that history know to preach. that history. They were the foremost champions of religious liberty in America and their greatest contribution was pluralism. Their intuative feelings about that were Jews is powerful and whenever we sit and meet with them that comes out immediately. They see us as their greatest allies and we see them as very great allies in that field (?). So all of that history as well as their appreciation of the bible, and they feel great indebtness to Jews for the bible, it's through us that their greatest (?) treasure has come, that their very strong and we have been building relationships all over the United States. We have the most extensive program with Southern Babtists and Southern Presbyterians of any Jewish group in America.

Q. Are these the same people who make up the moral majority and --?

A. Not really. The moral majority is the right wing fundamentalist wing of the evangelical community (?). It's a very diverse group. The core of the Evangelical Christians is the Southern Babtists who number about thirteen million people. And there are Southern Presbyterians who probably number about

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five, six million people. And there are Southern Methodists who are part of the Methodist Church, the Methodist Church itself has about ten or eleven million people. A good core a good part of that are Evangelical Christians. Then there are a great many independent Babtist churches, there are some thirty independent Babtist (?). All together they number forty, fifty million people. Now the Fundamentalists are the ultra-Conservative wing of the Evangelical community who have very little to do with other Evangelicals. They being the fact that they're heretical, as it is now. So our work with the moral majority group has been, on the one hand, to expose the ideology of the moral majority, which we think is threatening to American democracy and pluralism and that's why I moved ahead with that meeting with Jerry Fallwell (?). Now at first a standard conversation with him about what you're doing, you better understand what you're doing, at least in my perspective, and I must say that his response was phenomenal. He was sitting in the chair that you're sitting in, in fact. But he really got in touch with the rest of America. He was contrasted, for example, with somebody like Dr. Jimmy Allen, who's the former president of the Southern Babtists, who's a moderate, very committed to social jistice, very committed to human rights, has been a very great friend of Israel and on Soviet Jewry, and the Israel govenment were holding hearings on the law dealing with religious liberty and missionaries they invited him to testify as a friend of the court. And he came and gave very great testimony and the orthodox Jew, David Glass, expressed his decepest appreciation for him. So there are Babtists and there are Babtists. There are white

Babtists and there are black Babtists.

Q. Have you had any contact with these Fundamentalists groups at all before?

Yeah, but by and large negative. (Interruption) Yeah, Α. my first experiences were disastrous with them. In 1969 we organized a conference with the Evangelical Theological Society in Santa Barbara, California. They were holding their annual meeting. And these were all of the major Evangelical Theologians. (Interruption) So we had this meeting with the Evangelical Theologocal Society, it was our first major conference with them, we brought together a group of Jewish scholars in Santa Barbara, and it was a very nervous, anxious meeting because these were ultra-conservative theologians and they were struggling to find ways of talking to Jews with respect to Jews and at the same time to tell them that we're not saved that to be saved --(Interruption) So, well we had this meeting and it's polite and pleasant and everybody's trying to be as nice as we could to each other and we were trying to warm up and it was like a first blind date. And -- But it begins warming up and we have Jewish. scholars present papers, very impressive papers, the Evangelical scholars present very impressive papers and then, by the end of the second day, an Evangelical Hebrew Christian, I'll never forget his name, Dr. Louis Feinberg, gets up on the floor and he's a very Fundamentalist guy and he says "This meeting is a fraud. It is an act of hypocracy because I have heard noone here testify to the fact that noone is saved except that he accepts Jesus Christ as his Lord and Saviour. Only by the blood of Jesus is our solemn sins forgiven." Well it was like the PLO

coming into a meeting a dropping a hand granade and the damn thing just began to explode. And the Jews felt put upon, as if we had been invited to their seminary and they suddenly decided that they were taking us hostage, spiritual hostage. That was a very touchy moment and they were embarrassed. The Christians were more embarrassed than we were, especially the more sensitive among them. Well, one of our scholars, Samson Levey, was standing at the microphone and he was infuriated by this and he got up and he delivered a speech, just in reaction to this in anger, in which he began going after what he took (?) to give the irrationalities of Christian theology. Jesus crucifiction was nothing other than human sacrifice, the regression to barber (?). I mean he began giving it on the level where all of his guts were spilled out. It was a nightmare. So I finally got up when I saw it was getting out of hand and I tried calmer words and I remember saying something pacifying, some placebo, and I just tried to move the meeting to the point where we finally declared the meeting adjourned. I said there were some very good things here, some important things here, and we shouldn't let that be washed out. But this is an indication of what happens when you get a fanatic with extreme position which are beyond discussion and when you insist having only your own way. And when you insist having only your own way then you get somebody who insists on having only their own way on the other side and you have disaster. So that was the meeting with Fundamentalists, a major group. Ι thought we began making some progress with them, they began seeing Jews as people for the first time, but this one guy threw his time bomb and that did it. Anyway, there have been several things

like that. I mean I've had experiences in speaking in a synagogue in Florida and a guy got up and said almost the same thing. It's like a kid that throws a tantrum at the end of the meeting because the meeting-- because there were no conversions at that meeting, no decisions for Christ, it was useless. Well, that's around, it's all around it's all over the country and you have to now anticipate it. But this is a different thing, though, the whole moral majority alliance with ultra-conservative politicians is a different reality because now you've got a mixture of religion and political organization and an ideology of the Christians (?) there's a whole different

kind of chemistry and the responsibility is to, one of my friends (?)unpack it, you've got to unpack the elements to understand what's here. Unpack the politics from religion and then deal with it each in their own way. Q. Is this a concern, the concern with the moral majority and how to combat what's happening, just something that you are doing in the Committee or is it something that the whole Committee is involved in and how do you work with other departments to attack an issue such as this which might cross the boundaries of a department?

A. It's an agency-wide concern and we've had a number of major staff discussions. We had one at the Staff Cabinet meeting at which we discussed it in terms of a whole range of components. This deals with one side of it. The (?) Evangelicals deals primarily with the role the Evangelical churches, far less with the politial component on it although it keeps spilling over. Then there is the right-wing lunatic fringe as the term

has been used that of the KKK and the American Nazi Party which is part of the atmospherics, though, this ultra-conservative atmosphere that exploit in the anxiety that those things emerge. So Milton Hallerin and his staff have done a marvelous, a really excellent job, first of all in getting data and then by a written superb memorandum that was used by the NEC. No, it's an interdepartmental concern. It's just that the thing that has happened is because the electronic features I deal with are so media conscious that they're called media freaks that in confronting them and responding to them so you tend to hook into their media attention. It's because we take them on -- Now, I don't know what would happen if we took on the KKK, if we did something in relations -- Well, actually I did yesterday with Suffolk County the Daily News picked up a quotation about that, too. But our other work which is serious and extensive has not gotten as much attention. But I do think that's because of the fact that the electronic creatures (?) have got much more attention then politicians. But it's a major agency concern. That's why the NEC meeting now, when we put that discussion together we had Allen Crawford who did a political analysis of the conservative right wing and Dr. Jimmy Allen did a religious side of it. All of that was part of our whole agency approach.

Q. Do you have personal -- You seem to get alot of media attention and you do alot of travelling and publid speaking, do you ever feel sometimes that the policy of the Committee, which is to do things behind the scenes, is -- hampers you in the way you do things?

A. No, -

Q. Or are you really free to do --?

A. No, actually whatever I do-- I haven't taken a single position on any of the major issues without consulting standing AJC policy or getting clearance with Bert Gold or Selma Hirsch. I sometimes have some differeing interpretations of our positions and I'm very careful about not pushing those too far but sometimes it becomes essential when I'm put on the line that I have to declare my personal views which may be--

Q. Can you--?

A. Give a case in point?

Q. Give a case of where you differ.

I tend to feel that we have got to be more forthcoming and communicate to the Catholic community, as well as the orthodox Jewish community, that we care about the education crisis that they face in the private school system, in the parochial I think it's not enough simply to say that school system. they're violating church and state in parochial schools. I uphold the separation of church and state and I don't think there ought to be any government funds for the support of religious instruction in schools. But I do think there are aspects of the parochial school problem, really crisis. They need some help. For example, I sat down with Murray Friedman from our Philadelphia office, to talk through whether it's possible to support auxilliary aid for remedial, therapeutic services for children in school without violating church and state. And we consulted with some of our lawyers who said yes, they felt it was not a violation. It could become a borderline case and I

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encourage that we try to find every constructive way to relieve some of the pressure. You know middle class, blue collar people who're sending kids, ethnics, Jewish parents, orthodox, who're sending their kids to parochial school, to yeshivas, people earning twelve, thirteen thousand dollars a year, fifteen thousand dollars a year, are sending three, four kids through school and have to pay tuition four, five hundred, eight hundred dollars a year. And they're suffering. I mean, they are hurting very badly. And I say that if you care about inter-group relations you have to pay attention to that. So I have tended to take a very positive attitude to let Catholics know that we care about their children, about parents who are hurting, that we're not simply saying nyet to everything they're asking for but that we're going to try to find constructive alternatives, within the constitutional principle, and we're going to work at it actively. There's a great sense of appreciation for that in the Catholic community. They're not asking us to violate the law, they just want to know that you care. Just as I think Jews know that it's important for us that there are many Catholics and Protestants who care about us about things that hurt us. Who are going to be there when we're hurting on anti-semitism, who are going to be there on Israel, who are going to be there on Jerusalem, who are going to be there on Soviet Jewry. And it's a two-way street. You can't have it when you -- You know I say this at some meetings with Jews who feel that you can say anything you want, you can be as negative and critical and hostile, and Christians are still going to come and give a crack at your door when you want them. I mean that's, first of all, it's incredibly

arrogant and it's a fantasy life, there's no sense of realism. In human relationships there's got to be a certain amount of sharing. People have to know that, yeah, okay, you were there to help me and the human quality is to say that you were there when I needed you I want to be there when you need me. Without treating principles, as it stands, it's an attitude. And one thing that I tried to do in this agency has been within the confines of our position to communicate this kind of caring to Catholics and others. I've written some pieces about it, I've published some things in a book about it and I think that's been a very important contribution to the friendship we've had in the Catholic community. They know that of all the Jewish agencies at least the American Jewish Committee is not dismissing us, is not calous and indifferent, they're really trying in good faith to find a way to help.

Q. Do you think they see that? In the Catholic community?
A. Oh, yeah. They write articles about it and they say that.
They make distinctions between groups who are out simply to try to destroy them, as they see it, undermine their school system.
So that's been a factor and --

Q. Have you ever had to fight within the Committee for an issue of something that you've believed in where you had to fight within the--for a position, for the Committee to take a position or not to take a position?

A. Well, this has been one of them, the aid to parochial schools, and I've participated in a debate pushing our support for auxilliary services for schools as means for providing for remedial reading, for therapy, for medical services, that the

whole thing now about bringing buses and those kinds of services to the street in front of a school so that the kids come out of the parochial schools and use the buses so that there's no violation of the use of the property. Well, I've fought pretty hard for that in a couple of lay committees for that to happen. I've fought for us to have this German program. We have a program now on the revision of German textbooks and bringing, working with the University of (?) which is now examining textbooks in the whole religious and secular system of Germany and producing new books and in cooperation with us to teach about Jews, Judaism, the Nazi Holocaust and Israel. There was a certain kind of ambivalence about that, not wanting to touch Germany, worrying about whether Jews will understand what we're trying to do. And, in fact, a year ago, more than a year ago, I proposed in a session in one of our annual meetings on the German thing and there was a reluctance to want to touch it, like an unguided missile that can explode in your face if you can't handle it right. But we just had it this past week it was a sensational session. We brought over a German scholar who I proposed bringing over and he made a marvelous presenta-There was alot of anxiety, you could feel the anxiety in tion. the room. Could you believe him? It's not true. They're not changing, they don't care, they're all Nazis, they're all antisemites. So that was -- I know there were other issues along the way. In the Vatican Council, too, I (?) an enormous amount of verse (?), certain ways of doing things, both in Rome and here, how we held with statements (?) because of alot of feeling about that, some conflict that we had to deal

with that. But, generally, there was a very creative atmosphere, it was a kind of creative competition which I welcomed. There was a difference in point of views but they were honest differences in most cases.

Q. Your whole staff, do they generally feel that they can disagree and fight within the confines of the Committee and not fel that they're going to lose their job in any way?

Oh, sure. I, in fact, sometimes I think they err in Q. feeing too much with us. No, there's just too much agreement and sometimes consensus. An agency that's alive and vital and is dealing with very hard issues can stand a good measure of creative debate, intellectually searching, pushing as far as we can go and we have them. We have honest discussions. It's just that on any number of issues there's so much consensus about real things we don't debate about how you fight the Klan or the Nazis, only it's just a question of method. You know that they're an enemy and you've got to zap them wherever you can. With the Evangelicals there was some reservations. But, you know, I've been here now for twenty years and there's a certain sense that people have that I know pretty much what I'm doing, I don't start getting involved in something unless I've really done my homework. And when I make a recommendation that we really ought to move forward on something I've got a track record. And we've had alot of success stories and that's put me in good stead. It's just that I don't squander that because I don't say that because of that they believe in something silly or foolish or a flash in the pan. Also I've gotten alittle bit more silver (laugh). Q. If you were given all the money you wanted for programs

what would you like to be doing?

A You mean at AJC? First I would say I would take off six months and finish a book and retire (?).

Q. What is the book?

A. I'm doing a book on this whole patriotism and piety thing and I've written five or six chapters.

Q. Is that the title?

No, no, it's kind of working thing that was at one time Α. of an Evangelical renaissance and -- I may, I don't know, depending on how things turn out. That's hard to say. I--I--It would really take a very long discussion. One of the first things I would want to do, we have a task force for the 1980's, I'm not involved in that, so I don't know what they're doing but I know for myself I would (?) of the best minds I could find in America, on the one hand, and create somewhere a kind of a summit meeting of the best Jewish minds I could find, in America, In Europe, in Israel, Latin America, to go somewhere for a week or so and to look at the Jewish condition in the con-text of the world condition and do the most thorough examination of what's been happening in the Jewish situation and in the profound transformation since 1973 with the emergence of OPEC and superpower and the availability of billions of petro-dollars and the propaganda campaigns in the universities, etcetera. They have a major strategy to delegitimize the Jews, to delegitimize Israel. The thing we're talking about is the thing started at the U.N., and anti-semitism here and the investing in this country where they can. It's an effort to (?) Jews out of the mainstreet and remove the sense that we're a valid,

legitimate community that's playing on the conscience of people in support of the (?). I don't know of anyplace where we sit systematically to look at that in a global way and then devise strategy and--

(End of Tape 2 - Side 1)

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A. I've got involved with Norman Lear, the producer of
 All in the Family in this business of creating a counter media
 blitz against some of the moral majority kinds of things

(?)

Where is the money coming from for this new -? Q. Well, he put it up himself, \$350,000 to buy time to do Α. the commercial to get it started and raise another \$600,000 from contributions and I've been helping him raise some additional finds from people who care about this sort of thing, both Christians and Jews. It's really just gotten started and it may develop into something significant. But what struck me was here's one man who's a master in media, really a genius, out of his own personal concern came to me and said "I want to do this" and I said "Fine, do whatever I can to help you with (?) issues, etc." And his first commercials are now all over the country. There've been fourteen major market cities and we're beginning to get (?).

Q. I've seen one, yeah.

A. They're good.

Q. Very good.

A. And you can get all the organizations together, all the Catholics, all the Protestants, all the Jews, with all the radiotelevision, couldn't put together a single commercial. But you get one guy who's that kind of professional, who makes up his mind that he's going to use his talent and knows how to do it, for him it's like, you know, cooking eggs for breakfast, he does that all the time. We don't have that in Jewish life (?) adequately, sufficiently, in terms of the basic (?) in Jewish life. I think somewhere along the way a Normal Lear kind

of approach to Jewish concerns here and abroad, somebody who's really masterful. All we get are these kind of superficial things that go on, you know you get the Jewish Guide in 60 Minutes or they'll pick up the Moral Majority, They describe the problems from an American point of view and the Jewish quality doesn't come through. Bill Moyers would do something. Somebody on A.B.C.'s 20/20. We haven't really created an ongoing mechanism with people who have that kind of standing in the profession to work at that in an organized way and it becomes all the more serious problem for us because as the Evangelicals dominate the airtime Jewish messages become less and less. Occasionally something will come out, there's a big series being prepared now called The Education and Jewish Civilization, which will be helpful. But, I mean, that's one aspect of it and the other thing to be that I think that I would, if I had more staff, more resources, I would bring a kind of Jewish (?)(?) who would systematically go through the

country where we had major problems and work, in an organized way, to see to it that an area is covered thoroughly, that key opinion makers are reached systematically. Now, we do alot of that but we have (?) resources. We haven't (?) in Philadelphia. Jim Williams (?) was first

asked to do it and he asked if I would do it. (?) I said, "Bill, I'm

more tired than you are, and you know the program. you go and do it." So he went there last night. But, you know, I run my staff ragged and we have regular people in the area, officers,

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there just needs a better management thing of resources and personnel and better mobilization of resources that is keyed in with our priority needs around the country. Sometimes we get (?) themselves, but you, know, (?)involved in some domestic problems in neighborhoods and something like that. It's important in itself but remote from my central concern. I think we need a better method of defining our priority, keeping in mind it'll be adjusted to needs but (?) in our resources to make the most effective use of that at the time when it's most needed. And I have to say I think one of the reasons why this department has been effective and gets the attention it does is we spend alot of time studying and anticipating major (?) developments. And we studied the Evangelical thing, as I mentioned, before anybody else wanted to and we ran the first conferences on it, we published the first books on it, we had the first background statements out on it and, as a result of that, because it was media meat it got very prominent attention. The effect of that was to give us a certain authority. We have a certain authority in the Evangelical world, the Babtist world. Since the Bailey Smith (?) thing I've got a dozen invitations to speak at Babtist seminaries and colleges as a sign of friendship for Jews. I can't possibly handle it. Jim will do some, Judy'll do some and me some. Ihope we get around as much as we can with other Jewish scholars. One of the things I have to face all the time, and I'm just getting used to it, is because this department gets alot of media attention and we get alot of media attention because of a certain perception that I have, and I think my staff shares. After you read studies

such as those of Daniel Borstein, he has a book called America and its Discontents. Borsteins thesis is that television and advertising on television are the most powerful forces for establishing cultural values, heroes, images, incentives, models for imitative behavior than anything else in America. There impact on the cultural climate, on the attitude and feelings of America, is more decisive than all the churches and synagogues, more decisive than colleges and education. In terms of their effect on the purchasing power, the patterns that people buy, I mean, they move America from buying certain kinds of cars to other kinds of cars. They get children to buy certain kinds of cereal and not other kinds of cereal. You know you can't be happy unless you use a certain kind of deodorant. So that the values of that are powerful. Billy Graham and the Evangelical world understood that and it wasn't Billy Graham who grabbed that. It was a group of Evangelical billionaires who felt that if they're going to have impact on America, it's moral value system, they really want to see put the laissez-faire capitalist system. They needed somebody who was going to articulate their values, the greatness of America as well as the greatness of religious values, including the Puritan value of hard work and (?) They made Billy Graham. Hearst sent a memorandum down after he once heard Billy Graham at a crusade, "Who's this guy? We're going to make him a national figure." The Catholics did it with Archbishop Fulton Sheen. He became "Mr. Catholic", a human, sunny, loving character. And he humanized the Catholic church and went around the image of the Catholic church that it was (?) to American liberty. I mean that's what Kennedy threat

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had to defend. The closest thing Jews came to that was a combination of a couple of people. At one time Joshua Rothstein did a book Peace of Mind and he didn't really become national, he became regional, but he was a very attractive, very intelligent guy and he was talking about deep, human needs and self-fulfillment while caring, he got some attention. Rabbi Heschel began getting better attention. He had a limitation because he spoke with an accent and he was European, but his message was so perceptive, profound, value oriented, that Heschel began to emerge as a closest equivalent of a Billy Graham or Sheen in his own way. And I did everything I could to help him. I introduced his first book to the United States, I was an editor in a publishing house, and I did that because I felt that we needed somebody. I wish he had spoken the King's English but in the absence of that what he had to say was so profound and so moving that I felt we had to do as much as we could to move that forward. Well with much lesser sense I have the same sense about use of the media for our purposes. We would have to make a million speeches a year to try to reach the kind of people we reach when we do one program on the Today show or now the CBS Sunday morning thing. Now, (?) all of the country. I'd have to travel around the country, my whole staff would have the travel around the country sixty times to reach that many people. So there has got to be a rational sense that this is no simply a megalomania or ego gratification, although I think they get ego gratification out of that. You get your kicks out of being effective and getting attention. My real sense is that it is the most effective means for achieving certain ends we have in

mind. One of the major ends I had was to (?) of Jews as a major resource, a major treasure, a spiritual, human treasure for America and the Western civilization. That we're not what our enemies paint us to be; we are not what the PLO says we are, we're not Zionist, settler, state people who are Fascist racist imperialists. And the only way you counter that is by much more effective use of the media. And that's why I pay a great deal of attention to that. When I worked on the Holocaust program it was always (?). Nothing has reached Americans and people throughout the world, that something about the Holocaust's horror, as that program. I did the same with Jesus of Nazereth for NBC. The whole statement about the Jewish background of Jesus. It was an Italian, Franco Zefferelli, a great producer, came to me and said "I'm going to break these old laws (?) about Jesus, about Jews, about compassion." And I spent months working on it. I flew to London to help him cut the film. I'm working on something now with NBC I've got to get the guy's who finishing the film The Diary of Anne Frank. Those kinds of messages feed deep sentiments of a positive kind about Jews, Judaism, about Israel, about our history and the importance of taking the Jews seriously. And the forces organized against us to undermine that are massive. This whole movement that's saying the holocause is a hoax. I mean, if that isn't countered that's going to become the world (?) It's an obligation to see what reality you're dealing with and to know there are certain things you ought to pay attention to. Has any consideration every been given to the Committee Q. having a television program?

A. 0h, no.

Q. Or Jewish organization? I guess there's the Eternal Light.

The Eternal Light is on, yeah, and the (?) Board Α. of Rabbis have alot of programs. There are lots of programs around but not -- The Eternal Light at one time was a very high classed program, sometimes a great program. When I was a student at the seminary I worked with (?) as an assistant when he was doing the radio program. I thought he was a great witer and produced some very great programs, deeply moving pro-There's not a single great Jewish program around today. grams. Eternal Light is good but in a certain sense it's peaked and people have heard it before, it's a repeat, there's something tired about it. It comes every once in awhile with something fresh. But if you look at the media there is not a single, identifiable, major Jewish media event on any sustained basis, at least here in America. You get pieces of things, you know, you get a piece of 20/20 but it just becomes a small thing but

(?) going's to come through. I think there's a very large need. It's more difficult now because of the Evangelical thing. The competition from the Evangelical worled, the amount of time that they have, the time they bought from the network affiliates, has become a major threat.

Q. What role do the lay people play--?

(Interruption of discussion)

Q. I wanted to ask the role of lay people in the decisionmaking process in your department and how are they used and what role, in general, do they play, and what kind of relationships

have you developed with laypeople over the years?

Well, it's probably more ambiguous in this department Α. possibly than in others, although we've been working at it very seriously especially with our national chairman, (?). Our former chairman, (?), was really issue and task oriented. I mean, he had a feeling about anti-semitism, which he, himself, experienced in the executive suite, and he was determined when he came in, wanting to use the department with how to deal with problems. And lay people he saw, if they could help support it, fine. But he wrote articles, himself, about it which no other lay person did. Leonard was that kind of task-oriented. Miles and Bob Jacobs were especially gifted in trying to work out lay-professional relations and spent much more time with that. I see the ambiguity out of the fact (?) that in certain areas of this work it takes a certain kind of lay-professional confidence. Imean, there's the business of knowing Christian theology and knowing Catholic theology, and knowing Evangelical theology. You can't get that in instant lessons (?) and you can't fake it. You can learn more about it, and I hope our people do learn more. I think along the way more and more is learned about it. Frankly, I think our lay people just by sitting on some of the sessions know more about it than most lay people in any other Jewish organization. First they know there is an Evangelical and they know there are Fundamentalists and they know it's possible to have friendship with a Billy Graham and a Jimmy Allen, which other people don't know. Also the business of textbook studies, it's a very technical

thing and we even in my own department the only person really (?)competent to do that is (?) and (?) are not involved in that. It's a whole and different experience. She does the programming of passion play studies. It's a highly specialized thing. One of our lay people, Kurt Kellman (?), for example, because he comes from Germany and has had a great interest, he has just done a study of the passion play for us. That's also a semi-professional role. He's a lay person acting as a professional, doing a professional job. There is the area of policy making and we have been trying to do more and more of that. For example, on the 75th anniversary we had not made a step in terms of planning for that without having a sub-committee on the 75th anniversary out of whom all the ideas have come to plan for that. And that's been a very healthy thing. Tim Likofsky (?) is the chairman of that and there are other people on that committee. That's a good model of how to work. And ideally we need to be doing more of that in other areas of our work, in relation to the Evangelicals and others. One of the problems was a staff problem. This department is over-produced and under-staffed. It is, given the fact that we are all together four professionals, I was hoping you knew this. We covering a country that has 325 million people, touching (?) the Vatican, touching the Royal Council of churches, programs in Asia, contacts in Africa, in Latin America. I every sense it's absurdity. What you try to do is pick and choose and pick aspects of this which you know are central themes which means, though, that you do not have enough manpower to be able to do justice to lay-professional

relationships and we have to provide for that. One of the biggest problems in this agency is that we need executive and administrative help, we don't have that. I need an executive assistant who does nothing but run an office. I dan't have that. I have a secretary who does as well as she can but it's been just very difficult to get that in terms of the budget. But that's how a well run operation would run. You would make sure you provide enough help for program, enough help for executive back-up to see to it that the program could work most effectively and enough of that administrative executive help would be also by running lay-professional relations. Somewhere along the way, before I retire, we'll get to that, hopefully sooner rather than later.

Q. Shall we stop now? It's a good time to stop. (Interruption of Interview Tape 2 - Side 2)

Q. This is Mimi Alperin resuming the interview with Marc Tanenbaum and today is November 13th. I want to know how you feel about Jerry (?) receiving an award at the Jabotinsky dinner from the Israeli government for his support of Israel?

A. I think it's important, at the outset, to see it in some context. First of all, the Jabotinsky dinner was a political, ideological event, it is not an event of the Israeli government. It was organized by the <u>Herut</u> revisionist party and primarily was a fund-raising function to raise funds which are undoubtedly are going to be used for the political campaign of the <u>Likud</u> next November. So, in that sense, it was not a government function. Then the context was that a humdred people who have ostensibly

had records of service to Israel and to the Zionist movement were honored. Jerry Fallwell (?) must be seen as not only one of the hundred but one of, perhaps, a half dozen Christians who were also honored. Now, Billy Graham was honored and quite legitimately so. Graham has been a very great fried of Israel from the very beginning and has been an intimate friend of people like Golda Meir and Rabin, and others. He's done a very great service to Israel especially at periods of great crisis such as the 1967 war and 1973 war. He deserved to be honored. He did this great film on Israel which we collaborated with him on, called His Land. Also honored were two protestants, Dr. Franklin Littell #?), who deserved it, and the Eckhardts (?), Dr. Willy Eckhardt (?) who have been -- (Tape interrupts). So what I'm trying to say is that it was appropriate to honor a group of Christians. The problem became the notoriety of Fallwell. Had Billy Graham been there Graham would probably have gotten as much attention as Fallwell had. He certainly would have represented a balance against which Fallwell's presence would have been relativized, would have been seen in some proportion. Because the election just took place and because of all the prominence given to the moral majority Fallwell stuck out like a very large thumb and one saw the distortion the media gave to that by the fact that the New York Post wrote a piece as if the whole Jabotinsky dinner was organized for the sake of honoring Fallwell. The whole headline was that. And on the television camera had much less about the Jabotinsky dinner than they had with personal interviews with Fallwell. So in that sense it became one of those distortions that the media frequently

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perpetrates and I wouldn't get terribly excited over it. Fallwell deserves to be acknowledged. He has been a great friend of Israel for some twenty-five years. He never misses an occasion to speak words of support for Israel. He also has given alot of money to Israel. He's planted some gardens, and trees in Israel. Given the fact that the Jews are so isolated and Israel is alienated in the United Nations that the Pope has been saying peculiar and troublesome things about Jerusalem and the Palestinians. The Royal Council of Churches has been doing the same thing. We can't exact to be a purist about who your friends are and now that we're moving into a new administration in the United States with a Reagen presidency and these conservative Republicans are going to play a very important role in the next administration, we've got to find a way selectively how to work with people who are supportive of Jewish interests and be critical of them when they are anti-democratic or anti-pluralist, which is the line that we've been taking.

A. But you feel free to be able to do that?

think people who treat them as if they're monsters or stereotypes will in fact make monsters out of them, will in fact alienate them. The truth of the matter is since I saw Fallwell I had lunch with the president of the Moral Majority in New York and Dr. Carl MacIntyre (?) who came here to see me just yesterday says his problem with Fallwell is Fallwell is not Fundamentalist enough for him. Anyway, it's not-- One of my press used to say "Life is mightier than logic," and by abstract logical category

Well, I don't think that we have any alternative.

you become very circumspect and even precious about who you work with. We're not in that business. We're not in the business of trying to produce pure events and you have to realize that people who would prefer, for example, to relate only with liberal Christians, how do they explain going to bed with the National Council of Churches which has been struggling to come out with a more balanced position and ends up endorsing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the PLO. So there are no ideal situations and you have to -- The whole theory of how people relate to each other in a democratic society, and the theory is that of selective participation. Nobody gets involved totally in any one organization to the exclustion of others. I mean, you work selectively, and that's how I work in Religious Affairs. There are certain things selectively we can do with the Roman Catholic Church. We cannot go the way they want to go, as they would like us to go, on abortion and aid to parochial schools, yet there's a whole area where we can work with them. And the same if true with the Protestants and Evangelicals as well as with other Jews.

Q. Okay, I want to skip to your experiences in Southeast Asia. How did you--? I can understand your personal involvement, but how was it decided by the Committee or those, let's say, Bert Gold, that you become involved? Or did you go to him? How did that happen that you became so involved in the relief efforts and really raising American consciousness to what was happening in Southeast Asia.

A. First of all, we had a number of precedents for that kind of involvement in humanitarian, refugee projects before then.

In 1968 I was approached by some people from Biafra, there was a big Biafran struggle to develop an autonomous republic independent of the Nigerian government, and a number of Biafrans, Negro Christians, came to my office, sent to me by Christians with whom I had worked in other areas, Catholic Relief Service, Church World Service, asking if we would help. And in those days the Christian Ibos, who were called the Jews of Nigeria, were being massacred by the thousands. They came here with photographs of their children who were dying like flies. They started off by saying what's happening to us is like what happened to the Jews in Germany in 1930, we're being destroyed by the tens of thousands and nobody's paying attention. So we organized an American Jewish Emergency Relief effort for the victims of the Nigerian-Biafran conflict. I brought these people in to meet Bert Gold, Bert met with the officers, he made a decision then, and we called together twenty-one Jewish organizations here at AJC and we organized that intra-Jewish Emergency Relief Effort for Biafra Nigeria. It was a very important contribution, they'd never done anything like that before in the same way. We raised alot of money, we helped provide doctors and nurses, literally helped save thousands of lives. Now, against the background of that precedent, and the feeling that we had that this was an appropriate thing, a necessary thing for Jews to do, in order to overome the kind of callousness to human suffering that was taking place in the world, that when the Southeast Asian episode emerged with the destruction of so many thousands of Vietnamese boat people, it was almost a replay of what happened in Nigeria-Biafra. At that time, 1978, the president of the International Rescue

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Committee, Leo Churn (?), called me up. He knew that I was concerned about these matters as a Jew and as a representative of AJC and as a human being. He was then putting together a delegation of fourteen prominent Americans who'd be willing to go on a semi-governmental, fact-finding mission to look into the plight of the Vietnamese boat people and he asked me if I would join them. So I said I was interested in doing it if I could and I discussed it with Bert Gold and Bert authorized my going. So I went on this mission and I was transformed by it, I mean it really changed my life. We went through every refugee camp in Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, the Phillipines, Thailand, Singapore, and to see people literally dying before your eyes, mothers holding children, collapsing from hunger and malnutrition. I couldn't sleep for nights after that and I was determined to do whatever I could when I came back. I mean, for me it was like looking at some of the Jews who were left after the Nazi concentraion camps. I mean children with bodies that were bones, just sacks of bones, bloated bellies from starvation, hair that was turned orange from protein malnutrition. And I knew that, I didn't think about it logically, just my human response to that was one of we've got to do something about this. What kind of world is it that allows Biafra to take place and lets. hundreds of thousands of people die, in Uganda 400 thousand, 500 thousand massacred, and now this. And you cannot say you don't know about it. It's on television, on radio. The problem is that it's very abstract and remote, you watch it for 3 minutes on Cronkite on television and then it's over with. So I came .

and I discussed it with Bert. Bert called together a meeting of some twelve important Jewish leaders, people of substance, and we made a decision to set up our own fund to try to raise some funds for them and we did. There were some very important Jews who came to that who themselves had earlier come to Bert saying what are we doing about it, people like Albert Parker, who's in the movie industry, another fellow from Washington who owned the Baltimore Colts, people of real substance, and then then some of our own leaders, Richie Moz (?) was there, Morris Abrams was there and others. So we made a decision that AJC would get involved and I saw that, as I came back, that Catholics and Protestants were raising money but my own feeling was that a great many people did not understand the magnitude of this human crisis, did not realize how serious this was, and that there had to be some organization taking place, some interpretation of this. I also felt that it was an occasion to try to help Christians understand what Jews went through, the terror of being abandoned by the world, of being literally confronted by a world that was escaping the reality of the massacres that were going on. So I began travelling around the country organizing ecumenical and inter-religious groups and literally every region of the United States we probably have organized forty, fifty groups with the purpose of having them number one receive refugees and number two help raise funds and I guess the third thing was to help them become rehabilitated when they came back. And to the credit of the Jewish community after, I think, AJC dramatized the seriousness of the plight almost every major Jewish group began to get inovlved after that. The Reform Seminary,

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Rabbi Alfred Gottschalk (?) of HUC, sent a letter, he, himself, is a survivor of Nazi Germany, sent a letter to every reform rabbi in America asking every reform congregation to adopt at least one Vietnamese family or one person and literally hundreds of congregations, not only reform but conservative as well, Jewish community councils, Jewish federations, began doing that. The Jewish community has resettled something like eight to ten thousand refugees. And that was taking place at a time when we were also burdened with receiving Soviet Jews, Iranian Jews, but nevertheless the Jewish heart was big enough to be able to receive these people. Jews wanted to make a statement to themselves and I think to the Christian world that we did learn something from the Nazi experience, that you don't stand by while human beings are dying before your eyes. And it really, to me, has been one of the magnificent chapters of the American Jewish community and it's created a kind of consciousness that while Jews are overwhelmed by their own problems there is such a deep sense of humaneness and caring, compassion, that when tragedies like this strike Jews will be present. I just got a letter yesterday from the president of the Church World Service, a very warm letter, expressing deep appreciation for the contribution AJC made, we just gave them \$10,000 not too long ago, and he said this is a model of what happens when Christians and Jews in America collaborate in great human issues. So we had all kinds of values not the least of which is that we helped save literally tens of thousands of lives. I think one of the most important things, I've gone back three times to Southeast Asia with the International Rescue Committee, one of the most important things

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that happened that was that our delegation came back, we met with President Carter and Mrs. Carter, Brzinsky, with Vance, Cyrus Vance, with a large luncheon with senators and congressmen in the Capitol, and the most important thing that we did was that we got President Carter to issue an executive order to the seventh fleet in the Phillipines that was there, steaming in the harbor, polishing brass, that they must go into the South China Sea and whenever they see a boat in trouble they were commanded to get the people out of the water before they drowned. Prior to that sixty percent of the Vietnamese boat people were **i**rowning. It's incredible.

Q. And the Seventh Fleet would stand by and watch?

And the Seventh Fleet they sent in ships and helicopters Α. and they kept waiting all over the South China Sea and whenever they saw a boat in trouble somebody would signal them that they needed food or water they went in and took them out or gave them provisions. And, literally, it has virtually brought to an end the drowning of the Vietnamese boat people or the Cambodians. Then after that the Cambodian crisis took place and that was the last trip I took in February with Liv Ullman and Joan Baez, Bayard Rustin, Eli Wiesel, and Leo Churns, and several others, and a great many Europeans. We brought twenty truckloads of food and medicine to the border of Cambodia. The Cambodians wouldn't let us in, we turned around and took it back to the (?), camps in Thailand, (?) and which are two of the major camps, and we distributed that food to the Thai Red Cross and it helped save thousandsof lives. And, to me, it was one of the proudest chapters of my twenty years with AJC. And thank God that AJC's had the vision and Bert Gold has given us unqualified support in these kinds of things, he and the leadership of AJC. And I feel very grateful to AJC for making that possible. And he gave us the chance to really change the mentality of thousands of Jews in America.

Q. One of the criticisms against the Jewish community is that we've become so parochial, that we've become so concerned about our our own people and our own issues that we can't look beyond. It seems to me that this is--

Well, it was not a deliberate factor but it was a Α. secondary factor in my own thinking that while Jews have been very free in criticizing Catholics for being single politics people, which is not true, but, generally, there's a kind of a liberal, doctrinal, approach, dogmatic approach, where you see all these worst features in everybody else. The Catholics are concerned only about abortion and aid to parochial schools. It's not true. They get involved in a great many human crises all over the world and have very broad vision about many domestic and international problems. They say the same things about the Evangelicals, now, that all they care about these, and in part that's been true, too, but there are many Evangelicals who've organized their own World Relief Service and I kept running into them. I have problems with how they operate and they make condition of giving aid, in many cases, to their becoming converts to their churches. And to many Jews it is true altruism, we don't ask anything in return. And, I think, the effect it has had on Christian leadership and on people in Congress is that Jews as human beings in the twentieth century care, indeed, about Israel

care about Soviet Jews and specific Jewish problems, the Jews also care about the condition of the human family and just don't talk about it but do something about it. That we're present. And you see that in the response of congressmen and senators in their recognition that with all the problems we have Jews have found enough conscience in their souls to be present when people are hurting. And I think it's had some political effect. It's had some political effect on Christians. Not incidentally, as part of this picture, one of the most impressive things I saw in the camps for Cambodians and Vietnamese (?) in Thailand, in particular, were teams of Israeli doctors and nurses. With all of the problems that Israel has, with all of the efforts of isolate Israel, to paint Israel as some kind of moral pariah, the Israelis were among the first to send over teams of doctors and nurses. They sent over four teams, I saw the fourth team when I was there, and they did a fantastic job. They put an end to epidemics of all kinds, malaria, choleria, typhus, because they had very great experience working with these kind of emergency hardship cases especially in Sinai with Bedouins. So we spent some time together there, we met the Israeli ambassador there, gave a reception in her honor. It was a very high experience, deep experience for me.

Q. Do you plan to write about it at all?

A. Well, I've kept notes and files, I've written a few articles and have done some television. The problem is that I've got to find some time to write generally. I'm working on a book now on the Evangelical phenomenon and I've written about five

chapters on that but I can barely find some time to get back to it.

Q. I want to ask you something about your children. You haven't said anything about your children, I haven't given you an opportunity but tell me, you have three children?

Three children. As you may know I've gone through a Α. very great tragedy with a divorce which was a nightmare for me. I've just about gotten out of it, this past year. This was a completely unexpected thing. The children, thank God, are fine. We have three children and they're superb, superb human beings, and didn't deserve to have this tragedy inflicted upon them. My wife wanted the divorce, I didn't want the divorce, and she's--I'll just say a word about it, I don't want to make--you know, it's a personal matter, but my wife was born in Germany and she was taken away from her parents when she was eight years old. And for about three years she wandered through the Netherlands, England, the United States, and she suffered a very deep break in her personality and suffered a very great sense of abandonment. When I met her one would never know that. She was finally reunited with her parents when they came to the United States after 1938, '39. She's a beautiful woman, very bright, she's phi beta kappa, she was studying to be a psychologist and very vital, tremendous vitality. And I fell in love with her very early.

Q. When did you meet?

A. 19-- We were married in '55 and probably met in '53. But it had not become evident until a little later on that beneath that surface of vitality and normalcy that there was one

of her -- She's been in psychiatric care for most of our marriage. There was a volcano of rage and anger, constant explosions, and, well, I learned to live with it, to accomodate with it. My father used to bang into the heads of the three of us, my brother and sister, you make your bed and you sleep in it, and I'm quite traditional in that sense. My values were that you don't break up a family and if you make a mistake you've got to make the most of it. You've got to affirm whatever is affirmable. And then when the children were born that sort of shifted some of the focus and they were a source of enormous pleasure and gratification. I used to, when my first child was born, Adina, she was a colicky child, I used to stay up every night with her rocking her to bed and I've never forgotten those moments. It was -- I was bleary-eyed when I came to work at AJC, it was 1960, but those were very precious moments for me. I changed diapers and took out the garbage. Because I enjoyed that, I mean, I felt that -- it was not a big business for me about women's lib and consciousness. In any case, just to round out the story, it was a rather stormy, tempestuous marriage. There were very many positive things in it otherwise we wouldn't have stayed together for twenty-two years, but there was so much anger and rage that it became immobilizing for me. There was an enormous amount of guilt that my wife used to inflict on me and it got to be horrendous. It was a combination of those personal characteristics and then, later on, she grabbed hold of the women's lib movement, the most extreme version of that, which made demons of men, this idiological thing that men are the enemy and I began to see that transformation taking place in her. So, it exploded one

She confronted me in January, 1977 and said she wanted a dav. divorce and separation. I was traumatized, I could not understand it. We were going to a marital therapist and the therapist had told her that she's got to get hold of herself and she cannot allow herself to get caught up in this kind of business of ideologically monsterizing men. In any case, our three children are marvelous young people that continue to be. Adina is now twenty-one, and she's completing her last year at Barnard College. She went this past year, she spent this past year, in Jerusalem at the Hebrew University and before that she was at Barnard earlier and Yale. She studied, as her younger sister, Susie, is now studying, at the United Nations International School and they've gotten marvelous educations. Adina is something of a linguist, she speaks fluent Russian, French, Hebrew and she went to the Hebrew University to study Arabic and she's very good now in Arabic, what she does with that I don't know, but she also has become a very religious girl on her own and she's become quite orthodox. She left Yale because while she did very well at Yale, she felt that her environment was not Jewish enough for her and so she came to Barnard in order to be together with a bunch of traditional girls who are also very bright and very learned. So I expect that some day she, on her own, is going to surface in some kind of leadership role. She had everything going for her. She is musical, she dances marvelously, she's got a great zest for life and she's just very bright. A marvelous student, she was the valedictorian. In fact one of my great moments, despite the tragedy I was going through at the time, she was named the valedictorian at the United Nations

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International School and she came to the--and the graduation was held in the general assembly hall of the United Nations, and she came up floating in this beautiful pink gown and standing in the platform of the U.N. with all of the signs behind her, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, and she delivered this magnificent speech she wrote about (?)

Q. Had you seen this speech before?

A. No, oh no, entirely her wwn creation. And she did a talk about the philosophy of time, time they spent together, the students, and it was a very philosophical, poetic address and I was just stunned by it. And she got a standing ovation from all the students, including the PLO kids and the Lebanese and the Africans. It was a great moment for me. Our son--

(End of Tape 2 - Side 2)

Marc Tanenbaum interviewed by Mimi Alperin

Tape 3-Side 1-93 November 13, 1980

Michael was probably the most brilliant of our three A . children. I'm not saying that because he's a boy. He has an incredible analytic power and he, in some ways, is a child of the 1960's. He has, literally, mastered American history and has read all the revisionist versions of American history and he got in trouble in high school because of it. The history teachers used to talk about Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Michael used to sit and mumble, "Yeah, Jefferson was a slave owner and he had a black concubine." And he went through that whole historic period and the teacher didn't like that, so he got into trouble. Whenever I used to go down to testify before a congressional committee or meet with some congressmentor senators, I used to go in and sit down with Michael and I'd say I'm going to a foreign affairs committee or foreign relations committee. And he would say, "Well, you know the boting record of Dick Clark (?) on this legislation?" He used to memorize -- he didn't sit down and memorize but actually would absorb the American almanac of politics which had the voting records of all the congressmen and senators. That was his bedtime reading. And he had this grasp of every political movement that was going on. But he has something of this very critical, almost radical, orientation toward the establishment since childhood. When he was fourteen, fifteen, he began to feel that the whole nuclear energy phenomenon was a threat to the quality of life and to survival. We had alot of debates about it and we said well, we've got to find a way to preserve nuclear energy, the real issue is safety technology and how we

enforce that. He didn't want to hear any of that. He felt that the military-industrial complex was so determined to make profit that people were secondary to profit. So he began marching in all the anti-nuclear parades and he continues to this day. He watches that stuff very carefully and he feels the toxic waste business, all of those, the American people are expendable in the minds of the --. So he has this kind of radical bent and I miss him very much. I just don't get to see him that much, occasionally conversations, telephone. He's -- I think if he sorts himself out because the divorce has hurt him, he generally feels that the adult world is crazy. I mean, he feels that this business of the disproportion of money that is spent for armaments and nuclear weaponry while people are starving and dying all over the world is an indication of the kind of anarchy, moral anarchy, in the world and he stands against that. But if he, you know, pulls himself together and transcends this difficult time he'll find his way, i think, somewhere in the political arena. I got him a job a couple of years ago in a political campaign and there were few things that gave him greater pleasure. He used to go out in the street, get up early in the morning and work till late at night handing out ----

Q. Who's campaign was it?

A. Well, he was in O'Dwyers campaign. At one time he was in Gene McCarthy's campaign. So, that's his shtick.

Q. Does he plan to go to college?

A. Yeah, but I think this year he's going to sit it out.I think mainly it's because of this transition period which,thank God, is coming to an end. Susie is a ball of sunshine.

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She's now fifteen years old. She has been since childhood, I guess it's true frequently of third children. She walks into a room and she lights the room up. She sparkles and she's filled with humor and great sense of fun. I love all the children and I participated in raising all of them, not as much as I'm sure I should have especially -- The first ten years of our marriage I didn't travel at all. Then at AJC I began travelling more and, of course, I did not spend as much time as I should have but I was always home for weekends and usually two, three nights a week I was home and I tried to be as close -- I used to work with the children homework. Susie I used to put to bed every night and read stories to her and tell jokes and we just had a marvelous nighttime ritual. I used to say prayers with all the children at night, Hebrew prayers. Susie is now flowering (?). She's at the U.N. School, she's among the most popular children in her class. It used to wonderful to come home when she'd have a birthday party and see this bunch of Indians and Japanese and Pakistani and African kids would come in and she was the life of the party. And they loved her and she loved them. And she used to carry on correspondence with kids all over the world who were her penpals. Interesting (?) thing, as a kind of a footnote, is that going to the U.N. school made better Jews of the kids.

Q. I was going to ask, I'm curious as to how you happen to decide to send them to it.

A. Well, we originally thought of sending them to a Solomon Schecter school in our neighborhood, they were putting

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one together, but the quality of it was poor, they hadn't had a decent faculty and a bad curriculum and we wanted the kids to have the best possible education. So we began searching around at all of the schools. There was a U.N. elementary school, a kindergarden elementary school in our neighborhood in Queens, they had Parkway Village, which was a lovely setting. There were apartment houses and a very large park in the center of it and playground and they have the choice of some of the best teachers of people from all over the world, English speaking teachers. I know they have the European curriculum, I mean it's a no-nonsense curriculum. When they finished that school and ven half a chance you really learned and these kids got extraordinary educations that I don't think they've gotten anywhere else. And apart from that, the human relationships, I mean, these kids have been growing up to live, be citizens, of the twenty-first century and they're at home in the world. The extraordinary, almost dialectic, went to work there. In the U.N. school each of the kids is endouraged to talk about his culture, his religion, his nation and Adina became the ambassador of the Jews in her class. So when all holidays came around she was called upon to talk about Chanukah and Pesah and Shavuous and Sukkos and she would come in and do demonstrations. She would light candles and bake latkes and you would see these kids from all over the world eating latkes and she would sing songs with them and teach them how to dance. And they did the same thing with her so learned about Buddhism and Hinduism and as well as the Western religions. And Susie's had the same experience. So in that sense they have been really prepared with

good educations, very good human relationships and have an awful lot going for them.

Q. You should be very proud. I only have one more question. Where would you like to see yourself ten years from now? What would you like to be--? Would you like to still be here in the American Jewish Committee? What are your ambitions for yourself?

I don't know: I really don't know. I'm so busy trying Α. to get through this week that I don't even have time to think about 1981. I, you know, have been tempted -- I think right now, frankly, my first prerequisite is putting my personal life together. I want-- I'm not a loner and I don't know how much I want to say for the record, I just hope someday I meet someone and we'll marry and rebuild some kind of personal life cause it's not possible to continue having this kind of rich public life and not have the personal, emotional nurture that comes out of a relationship between two people who care for each other and can depend on each other. I have not had too much of that and so that's one of the high priorities. I've been tempted, during (?) the time I've entered the AJC over the past twenty years, but especially over the past, I guess, four five years, with anumber of offers. At one time George Bush proposed my name to the Nixon administration to represent the American government at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and it was given, apparantly, quite serious consideration and then some internal politics entered into it, namely some Jews who had given alot of money to the campaign and who were active politically. So I have thought of, at one point, of

embarking--

Q. Would you have liked that?

A. What?

Q. Would you have accepted that?

Well, I'm not sure, I'm not sure that I could have, in Α. fact, been effective because I think the United Nations is a snake pit and unless you're there representing -- I mean I have the greatest pity for Yehuda Blum who has to sit there every day and take that kind of abuse. At one point I had thought and some people in government had talked to me about becoming involved in world refugee problems because, if anything, I've had a real capacity to help people understand the human side of these problems and mobilize response. And I have felt, you know, as a Jew, as a person, that's one of the most important things to do. There's so much suffering in the world. I've seen so much pain and (?) terror, that if I could do anything in my life to help mitigate some of that then I'll feel I've lived a useful life. I just have a sense already that I've said it, some great moments, that if I were to die tomorrow I have the sense that I've done something useful with the time I've had here. I literally have helped save tens of thousands of lives and it's no small achievement. But those are kinds of stray moments, fantasy moments. I'm very content with my work at AJC. Every week, every month, there's an enlargement of my capacity to be effective here. I see now that almost everything we touch all the big problems we suffer now is success. If we have any more success stories I think our department will cave in. I mean just with the Women's Conference and Ingrid was in

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this morning what do we do to follow up? Where do we go from here? More conferences, more books, more publications, more--That's great. But we've got that kind of thing now with the Evangelical world. We've got to face the whole moral majority issue. Well, that's going to be years of work for us. And we've got the capacity to do that in ways that on other Jewish organization do, in terms of relationships. I mean, no other Jewish group has a network of relationships with Evangelicals so that we turn to Billy Graham and Jimmy Allen and that whole world. And that's going to be politically a very important piece of work to do during the course of the next several years under the Reagen administration.

Q. This might be the time to lobby for more staff and more funding from the American Jewish Committee.

A. Well, we do, you know, incrementally our budget has tripled since I came into the agency, our staff has enlarged somewhat. We do need more staff, there's no question. The workload-- I mean, of all the departments in the agency we're the one department that has front-line troups. There's just nobody else out on the front-lines the way we are. Our people, Jim Ruden, Inger Dubell (?), Judy Vanke (?), Imean, day after day after day they're out meeting with Christians, they're out attending their conferences, they're out standing against these resolutions, against Israel, against Jews, so that we do need more hands and feet of competent people and we thank God they're all magnificent people with enormous devotion, very great talent and ability and Ithink they're among the finest representatives of the Jewish community. I don't think the Jewish community

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really understands or appreciates the depth of their devotion and their effectiveness. When you watch Jim at the NCC and Judy Banke at a conference on Catholic educators, I sit there and I glow and, frankly, my whole policy has been to try to develop stars and superstars cause I think those self-fulfilling capacities get all the way down to the AJC and to the Jewish community. People who are repressed and denied and filled with frustration simply are not going to give their best and my people come in every day looking for another challenge, what more can they do that's of service. And we have a family relationship, there's an enormous sense of mutual appreciation here. So that means a great deal to me and so the point of it is yes, more staff but like the staff I've got now.

Q. I can't think of another thing, I'think we've really covered alot. What I think I'll do is we'll have this transcribed and then you will see it and --

A. Some of the personal stuff I may want to --

Q. Well, you can do whatever you-- It can be closed. (Interruption of tape)

Q. Økay, tell us about --

A. One of the other major highlights of the program that I've been proud of that AJC made possible, in 1970, this was three years after the six-day war when there was so much misunderstanding of Israel's victory and there was so much silence in the Christian world, especially liberal Protestants, about the meaning of Israel and Jerusalem to the Jewish people. I proposed to Zvi (?) the Dean of Humanities at the Hebrew University that we sponser an international conference

at the Hebrew University. The theme of it was Religion, Land, Nationalism, Peoplehood, that whole cluster of interaction, interacting themes, which are generally not understood in the Western world. And we brought together a few hundred people not only official representatives from the Vatican, World Council of Churches, scholars in the United States, Christians and Jews, but for the first time we brought together in Jerusalem representatives from Buddhism, Vietnam, Indonesia, Hinduism and several Islamic scholars. We also brought in some scholars from Africa. We talked about the meaning of the land and nation, tribe, people in the African religions and we produced a book that is now a basic work in that field, it's in English with sections in German and in French, and it provides one of the most comprehensive looks at this theme, which is the critical theme in all of the national conflicts all over the world. So I've regarded that as one of the important achievements of our department. It never got terribly much attention in this country and if it doesn't appear in the New York Times it doesn't happen, but it happened and it was a blockbuster. And it made friends for us. We have friends in Africa that we keep contact with that grew out of that meeting. And some day I guess we ought to be doing more things like that.

Q.

There's still a -- very little understanding.

(End of Interview)

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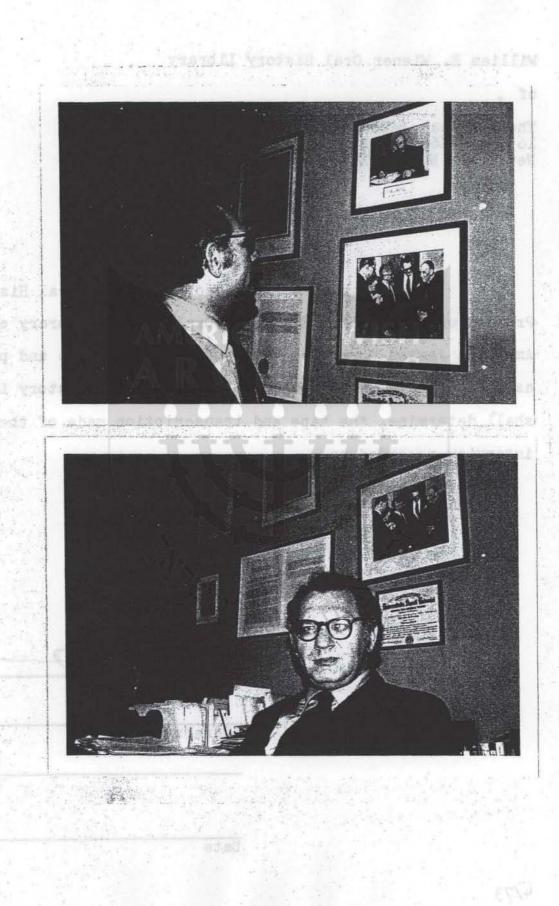
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> May 18, 1972 date

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Tanenbaum Interview

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Marc H. Tanenbaum interviewed by Mitchell Krauss

May 18, 1972

(2) We're talking with Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum in his office at The American Jewish Committee on 56th Street, it's Thursday, May 18. Rabbi Tanenbaum, we've talked about Jacob Blaustein's business career and his career as an international figure at the United Nations, his career in relation to the reparations for the Jewish community. What about his role in trying to bring the Jewish community closer to the non-Jewish community and vice versa, the ecumenical aspect?

A. Well, Mitchell, I think the situation which perhaps best illustrates the interest of Jacob Blaustein in the promotion of a better understanding between Christians and Jews is that associated with Vatican Council II. In fact, I found myself quite surprised at both his sensitivity to the issue as well as by his grasp of the fundamentals that were involved in the concerns that the Vatican Council was dealing with as it faced its relationship to the Jewish people and to Judaism.

What was the date on this roughly?

Q.

called the Council in late 1960-early 1961 for the sake of carrying out a massive program of reform and renewal of the Church to ... as he said, the open the window of the Church and let in some fresh air. In the process, there was a concentration on the issue of religious liberty, to update the Church's attitude, to come to grips with the problems of religious and cultural pluralism in the world and to develop a doctrinal position in support of that. Also the Church social was brought to an awareness of its responsibility for/justice in the world and so it dealt with that in - a major docu-The issue which brought Jacob Blaustein and those of ment. us in the Committee who were related to the Vatican Council, in particular, my own department and our own work, was the issue that centered on what subsequently became known as the Vatican Declaration on Non-Christian Religions. Originally that declaration was called the Vatican Schema on the Jews. As a result of all kinds of political and theological pressures, it was subsequently changed to deal with all non-Christian religions, Jews, Buddhists, Moslems and others. Now, Jacob Blaustein, who had been close to our leadership for quite some time and particularly during this period of 1962 to 1963, was involved in the consultations that led to a decision for AJC to relate to the Vatican Council.

(Q).

No, I think it was after his presidency. Morris

Was this at the time that he was President of AJC?

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Abram at the time was President or was just coming into the presidency. But Jacob was serving at that time as our elder statesman in relation to a number of other projects, the United Nations, on the Conference on German Material Claims, and so there was regular on-going communication with him. The central issue for us was that here the Vatican Council was for the first time in our lifetime going to bring together all of the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church from throughout the inhabited world. There were to be some twenty-five hundred cardinals, bishops, pariety, theological experts, who were to face all of these issues and, in particular, to face literally for the first time in nineteen hundred years the attitude of the Catholic Church to anti-Semitism, the responsibility for the role of Christian teaching in disseminating anti-Semitism and, as well, the question of what ought to be the authentic position of the Catholic Church to the living reality of the Jewish people and Judaism today. Formerly, prior to Vatican Council II, the only view, the only major view that existed in the Catholic Church with regard to Judaism was that Judaism was a phase along the way that was to be totally absorbed in Christianity. The Church was the new Israel and, therefore, the reality of the Jewish people became an extremely fuzzy and ambivalent phenomenon in the mind of most Christians, certainly in terms of most Christian

theologians. Jews were supposed to have disappeared at the end of the First Century and what are they doing around over the past nineteen hundred years? What impressed me about Jacob Blaustein is that he grasped the fundamental importance of what the Vatican Council was all about. He had a kind of penetrating intuition that this was not just another church meeting, that it had the possibilities of shaping a new history in the relationship between the Christian people and the Jewish people. So that he was involved at the outset in making the decision for The American Jewish Committee to relate in a very systematic and intensive way to the Vatican Council. Now, I had the benefit of working with Jacob intermittently during the course of the three-year period of Vatican Council II, both while I was here in this country and while I was in Rome during three of the sessions of the Council. The conciliar declaration in its first forms were in .in some versions breathtaking in their historic importance. It was a proposal drafted by Cardinal Baya and members of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity, which had responsibility for relationship with the Jews, in which the Church forthrightly condemned anti-Semitism, said the Catholic Church deplores, condemns, rejects anti-Semitism, explicitly condemned the Christ-killer charge which bedeviled Jewish history for so much, was responsible for so much bloodletting, pogroms and inquisitions

against the Jews. The Church, in that version of the document, literally went as far as it could go in rejecting outright. Had that version of the document been adopted, it would have said that no bigot anywhere in the world could use Catholic teaching for the purpose of advocating, either in terms of attitude or behavior, anti-Semitism or anti-Jewish discriminations. It went on beyond that in that early version to speak in the most affirmative terms of respect and reverence for the Jewish people, Jewish tradition, Judaism. In fact, at an early stage there was also some reference to the relationship of the Jewish people to Israel which would have had some practical importance. As that first declaration began to be drafted in '62 and '63, it became clear that that which was intended from the very outset as essentially a historic, religious, cultural phenomenon was perceived in the Arab world and among some professional anti-Semites as having political and reality consequences. So in 1963 we began to find that Arab governments began to exert enormous pressure to try to have the document removed altogether from the Vatican Council's deliberations. Arab diplomats, emissaries were sent from Cairo, from Beirut, from Amman, Damascus, to Rome during the Council, brought enormous pressure to bear, especially on Arab Christian bishops, some of whom were told that if you don't defeat this declaration you might as well not try to come home. So there was that kind of seriousness attached

to the document in terms of its symbolic and substantive importance by Arab governmental officials. At that point we realized that the...the declaration had crucial importance and had to be taken as a major priority in the work of ...of the Jewish community and of The American Jewish Committee. The pressure became so great in Rome, with Arab diplomats moving in on prelates from all parts of the world, with the Government of Egypt subsidizing a...the publication of an eight-hundred-page volume which was replete with anti-Semitic charges, a book called.

The Plot Against the Church, that we began to realize that the Jewish community could not stand by passively and allow this kind of pressure to go on, because had the document been defeated and taken off the agenda, it would have meant that anti-Semitism would have, by that action, been affirmed, that the Church, in fact, was not prepared morally to reject anti-Semitism. I came back from Rome after the beginning of the second session and reported this to Jacob Blaustein. /woman's voice interrupts and recorder off7 So when I returned from Rome we met here at AJC and developed a strategy as to how to re-enforce with our Catholic friends in the hierarchy here and abroad the importance that we attached to the passage of the document in its strongest In discussing this with Jacob Blaustein, he volunform. teered at once that he would undertake to speak to his

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friend, Lawrence Cardinal Shehan of Baltimore. Cardinal Shehan had a key role in the American hierarchy at that time because he was the first Chairman of the American Catholic Church's Bishops Commission on Ecumenism. That is to say, he held central responsibility for the policy and the programs of the Catholic Church in the United States for promoting relationships with Christians as well as with Jews. Jacob was meticulous in his preparation for his visit with Cardinal Shehan. Before he went to see him to discuss the issue of the text of the declaration, he asked me to prepare for him a detailed memorandum, giving the historic background, what the issues were, why they were important, andand I was impressed by his professionalism. He he wasn't going to do this off the cuff. He felt that it was so important that he really had to have the language formulated and know precisely what the issues were. We have on file here at AJC in our central records on the Ecumenical Council period and the Blausteins' file the correspondence and the memoranda that were prepared. Jacob Blaustein called Cardinal Shehan, and the Cardinal agreed to see him immediately. It was an indication of the mutual respect they had. In the past, before one got to see a cardinal in the United States, one waited weeks and often months, and there was a whole change in the atmosphere. And so Jacob saw Cardinal Shehan alone, as two friends, as two Baltimori-

ans, and had, apparently, a very good conversation. The report that Jacob sent us after that meeting, he detailed Cardinal Shehan's response. He made it very clear that he completely identified with the purposes of the document, that he wanted to see the document emerge in its strongest form, he wanted an explicit condemnation of anti-Semitism in a way that no one could ever have any doubts where the Catholic Church stood on that issue, and he wanted to see some positive expression about the attitude of the Catholic Church toward the Jewish people today. Cardinal Shehan made a number of commitments to Jacob Blaustein which were quite important. He indicated that he would take leadership with the American Catholic hierarchy when it goes back to Rome to the next session of the Vatican Council to prepare the cardinals and the bishops to stand steadfast in their support of the document, to organize an opposition to any pressures that tried to weaken the document or to kill the document outright, and he did so. The exchange of correspondence between Cardinal Shehan and Jacob Blaustein are extremely interesting documents and they should be studied. They're really part of the history of that period. For example, at one point when Cardinal Shehan was in Rome and another problem emerged, a text which had been prepared was being suppressed, was being turned over to a group of conservative theologians who wanted to kill it altogether or, at worst,

wanted to insert a section about proselytizing Jews, which would have been an even more dramatic setback than not having any declaration at all, Jacob had sent a cable to Cardinal Shehan expressing some concern and asking him to look into the matter. Within the following week he got back a handwritten letter from Cardinal Shehan on his Grand Hotel stationery in Rome in which he indicated that he planned to see the Pope that afternoon with a group of American bishops, that they will make clear that they have no intention of coming back to the United States without a declaration that they could live with as American Christians who attach great importance to their relationship with the Jewish community. So that that ... that relationship and that commitment on the issues runs through the entire correspondence. Jacob was prepared to go anywhere that he was able to, given his heavy schedule, do anything that was required to represent the best interests of the Jewish people in this situation. There were other aspects of his response to this. In the organization of our effort to assure that the best possible document would come through, we related not only to Church authorities here but we related to United Nations personalities, American government authorities, American Foreign Service Diplomatic Corps people, who recognized the implications of this declaration as well as religious liberty for American civic relationships. That is to

say that we knew during the Kennedy campaign how anti-Catholic bigotry affected the voting patterns of Americans and the relationships between various groups in this country. There was a sense that this document would affect the way in which Jews would relate to Protestants, Catholics, blacks and others in terms of the civic coalitions that were constructed in America. Jacob understood that. I mean he ... he...he was not a theologian, but he understood the implications of these religious positions for political reality, for civic relationships between groups, and therefore, in addition to being prepared to intervene and intervening on a number of occasions -- he probably met with Cardinal Shehan a dozen times during the course of Vatican Council II, certainly talked to him many times over the telephone, had long ... substantial exchange of correspondence and cables with him about these questions -- Jacob also talked to United Nations people who were concerned about it, made interventions in government, State Department, Frage Foreign Service who were involved. I would say here, for the record -- I've never really documented this before -- some of this took place during the Administration of President Kennedy. I was close to one of the aides of President Kennedy in the White House, Ralph Dungan, who's since become Commissioner of Education in New Jersey, and Ralph Dungan, who's a very bright, young Catholic, who had been in the Cabinet, the

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Kennedy Cabinet, one day asked me to come by to talk to him at the White House about this issue. He was worried about its negative implications for American relationships and its political implications for relationships between the Catholics and the Jews in this country. And Ralph Dungan at the time said, "You are not overreacting to this issue. I think the Jews ought to take that seriously, as I think Catholics ought to take it seriously, and, in fact, the issue is going certain to be raised directly with President Kennedy, that/interventions need to be made with the American Ambassador in Italy." Now, in that process Jacob Blaustein played some role in communication with some American Foreign Service people with whom he had contact, both ... especially in Germany, but also in Italy. And I think one of the things that came through was the fact that a man of Blaustein's stature and public importance, that he took this concern that personally and that seriously, in itself gave heightened importance to the issue to many of the people with whom he met, and I think his contribution was one of the decisive contributions in helping to assure American both governmental as well as religious support for this declaration and for others that were tied in with it.

Q. What happened to those ... what happened to those Arab bishops when they went home? This document was essentially or quite similar to the original, was it not, the one that

was finally passed?

A. It was modified in some formulations. There was some disappointment over some language. I think, you know, in the ... when you compared the document ... the fourth version of the document, which was the version that finally came out, to the second, there was reason to feel somewhat disheartened because some crucial language was eliminated, and certainly some accommodations were made both to theological conservatives as well as to the Arab bishops' pressure. But our sense has been that if you look at this document in the perspective of nineteen hundred years it was ait was a dramatic breakthrough. Judge Proskauer, who was close to Blaustein, worked with him on a number of issues even despite their differences, called the declaration the Magna Charta of Human Fraternity. Perhaps that's rather strong language for it, but I think, if one looks at what happened since Vatican Council II, there's no question that it was a landmark, a turning point in the two-thousandyear relationship between Christians and Jews.

Q. I want to ask you specifically about Jacob Blaustein being the kind of individual that could bridge these differences among religions and groups. Now, he went to Germany and...a place where many Jews after the war would not even attempt to go, would find it unable to go for themselves, he launched into this fight in order to achieve this document within the Catholic Church. What was there about him

that made him able to rise above what some might say so many Jews would have, a kind of ghetto mentality that would not permit them to feel comfortable in this kind of work?

A. I don't know whether anyone has spoken to you about the fact of his being a Baltimorian. I was born in Baltimore and I was a child at the time that Jacob Blaustein began to emerge as an important leader in Baltimore. I'm going to answer your question indirectly this way. When I first became aware ef...of the fact that there was a Jewish community in Baltimore, he was to me, in my child's vision, already a legend, his name was legendary. My father, who owned a small shop in South Baltimore, used to talk to me about

Jacob Blaustein. Heard (?) was a classic term used in East European Jewish life for the leader of... of the community. (?) is the Hebrew word for one who sustains his people, one who nourishes and sustains his people. And by that time Jacob Blaustein had developed a reputation in terms of his philanthropy and <u>hiscochiscoc</u> first of all, his very great service to every Jewish and general charitable, intellectual cause, philanthropic cause in Baltimore. He had emerged, at least in the mind's eye of my parents' class, of....of East European immigrants, he ...he was a kind of heroic figure in that sense, he was larger than life. The thing that has come through to me is that in the Baltimore experience Jews of German origin, who

formed the leadership core in Baltimore, were a kind ... were the aristocratic elite, they were, in a sense, the Our Crowd of Baltimore. But they...they constituted that leadership element that saw its responsibility for service to the community. It was the Blausteins and ... and the Friedenwalds and other families that came from East European origins, Hemburgers, the Levys, who undertook, when the Russian and Polish Jewish immigrants came there, to educate them. They set up the Educational Alliance to help Jews make their transition into American life. Now, there may have been many motives, you know, the ... some of them were not the noblest motives, some of them were to clean up the dirty Jews of Russia and Poland, some of them were to make them speak English so they wouldn't embarrass the elite, but there was also a very powerful sense of responsibility and service to brothers in need. And the Blausteins were at...at...inin the center of that aristocratic, well-to-do, Jewish leadership that was constantly there. They leant a certain kind of stability in the Jewish community because of their presence. Now, what I. my sense is that that that experience in Baltimore and that history and tradition of service to your own community as well as to the general community was simply translated by Jacob onto the nationalinternational scene. From childhood on, he was raised in an

experience, from what I gather, of the transfor... that kind of solidarity and ... and responsibility to use wealth for service, and I think we saw that here in The American Jewish Committee and ... and then when he became involved in the United Nations and other causes.

Q. How did that lead him to be able to relate as well as he seemed to with non-Jewish individuals and groups throughout his years?

(A). I think the fact of ... First of all, I have no guestion that...that his professional experience prepared him for work with people of many classes, many races, many religions. After all, he was involved in a major industrial undertaking, he had many employees who were Catholics and Protestants and blacks, so that I think that human experience simply helped. make the the ... The business itself could not be sustained without having that kind of orientation of ... of openness. I think in Baltimore, too, he had while Baltimore was in many ways an enclave and a somewhat ethnocentric, enclosed Jewish community, still there was some openness to the larger general society. Many of the German Jews, especially Jews affiliated with Reform temples -- and Jacob Blaustein and his family were members of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. They were very close at one time to Rabbi Morris Lieberman and ... and that congregation was, in a sense, the bridge to the Christian community. It

was the first congregation that ran institutes for Christian clergy, or among the first, and Jacob and Hilda and their children were involved in the life of that congregation and were, therefore, also involved religiously in a relationship with the Christian community. Now, I can't weigh how much of a factor that was, but I think it may have been a factor in --Q. Yes.

A.____in...in having this kind of predisposition toward positive relationships.

Q. Do you know much about the early stages of his relationship with Shehan?

A. Only to the extent that I knew that before the Vatican Council got started that Jacob had made charitable contributions on his own to Catholic charities. Apparently, the Cardinal had come to him at one time for some support of some Catholic charitable program and he responded affirmatively, as he did to every charitable cause in Baltimore. Whether it was race or whether it was, you know, day-care centers or hospitals, they were involved in supporting every legitimate effort in the city. This was one that they supported. You might ask Cardinal Shehan himself. I know that they had talked about it. In fact, on one occasion the Cardinal expressed appreciation for it...for his generosity, before it was a favorable thing to do, before Jews were supporting Catholic charities in large.

Q. Do you recall your earliest meetings with Jacob Blaustein and the circumstances thereof? -You...you said that in Baltimore it was a legend, but then the legend became a reality at some point when you met him and ---

Teah, I think it was here at AJC at one of our func-A . . tions, one of our annual meetings or commission meetings that I introduced myself to him. I think the first thing that impressed me was, despite an exterior of some prepossession -- you know, there was a certain measure of what appeared to be -- I'm looking for the right word -- an exterior of ... of importance -- I was almost flabbergasted by his simplicity and directness. It was ... you know, it was both sides of ... of a complex personality. On one hand, he was very much aware of his dignity, his position and one respected that, yet at the same time there was a kind of almost modesty about him on some things. At some points we would talk about an issue and almost a humility that came through. The Lused to / you know, kind of looking for a very quick answer for that, I always sensed that somehow that was the end product of this whole complex development of this man. He started out in poverty in Baltimore. There are stories my father used to tell me about him when the legend began to develop was here is a boy who came with his father and were pushing pushcarts on the street of Baltimore, selling kerosene, and Jacob, who stood at his father's side, was ladling out this kerosene for three cents or a nickel a

canful, and by their efforts and their imagination, initiative, they developed from this peddling on the streets of Baltimore into the cne. one of the great corporate giants in America. I had a sense that he never left his early origins, that his poverty, the... the modesty of his early circumstance left a very deep impression in the shaping of his personality, and think he was always conscious of ... I had a sense that he was always aware of ... of the shifting fortunes of a person and that it was...you know, while much of this emerged out of his own effort and stick-to-itiveness, persistence and ... and boldness as an entrepreneur, I always had the sense that ... that his consciousness of social responsibility for trying to stabilize the social order grew out of a certain sense of insecurity which comes out of having been a poor kid who had to struggle and that, you know, one's bread was never guaranteed, one had to really work for it, one had to try to carve out a certain measure of stability, and I had the sense that somehow that never left him. So that may have been part of the dynamics of the personality in terms of his never feeling ultimately sure and ultimately secure about anything that was done even on the highest levels of international relationships. But I. . . it was that sense cf. the of the conditioned quality of human existence, the shift from ... you know, the arc from poverty to wealth could also go back in the opposite direction, the tentativeness of of

<u>of</u>, you know, fortunes in this sense that, in a certain eense, I think also underscored his feeling about the precariousness of the Jewish situation and why that al...that had to be watched so carefully. The health of the general society had immediate implications for the Jewish situation, and the precariousness of the Jewish situation historically and even down to this day and the possibilities of anti-Semitism erupting in situations of social turmoil, I think he had a...a very keen sense about that, kind of historic and very personal consciousness about that, and in a sense I felt that. <u>Herman</u>...he had almost a feeling of passion about his involvement with the Ecumenical Council.

Q. And yet he didn't appear, from the reports that I've had from so many, to be an anxiety-ridden person or one who was in any way paranoid about these issues.

A. No, I guess I'd make the distinction that Harry Stack Sullivan makes. There's a fundamental distinction between rational anxiety and irrational anxiety. I think he had rational anxiety, which is to say I think he had this kind of...he was...he... One of i.one of his gifts was he had a ...a talent for perceiving reality and not allowing illusions, you know, mythic ways of looking at reality, to get in the way. He would penetrate through to the issue. <u>He'd-always</u> incist...he would say to me, "You know, look, i...that's too

complicated for me, my simple way. **E.**..I want to understand it as it really is. Now, what is it that you want to get at?" He had a kind of directness about that, an insistence on getting at the heart of ... of what the issue was. And, yesh, I...I. .. he had feelings, I think he had very strong feelings and some of them was an... anxiety. He had anxiety during the Vatican Council. He was bothered... he was very strongly bothered by the possibilities of defeat, and I remember one day when I'd called him about a development in Rome, and he got very angry, he said, "Damn it, I...we can't let that happen, we just can't let that happen. "

Q.) What was the issue that you brought to his attention, do you remember?

A. Yeah, it had to do with the...one of the...the...the second...there was...in...in 1964 the second text that had been drafted was taken over by the theological commission that was under the direction of a conservative theologian, Taviani, who was determined to kill the text. And we had been assured the week before that this was moving along well, had the personal backing of the Pope, were making progress on it, and there had been some meetings between some of the Arab patriarchs and some of the conservative theologians, there was an anti-Semitic speech made by one Bishop Carli at the time. So it ... it became insulting and infuriating that

this process, which was to lead to a change for the better, became an occasion now for anti-Jewish slander, and we began talking about some of the interventions at the Council and what was happening then, and he expressed very strong feelings about getting in <u>at it again</u> at that point to see what he could do to reinforce Cardinal Shehan and...and others whom we were in touch with to see to it that...that the action was not terminated **or**...or defeated.

Q.) Others have said that <u>be was...</u>he could be as totally single-minded about any given issue as if there were nothing else that he were concerned about and at the same time he may have had six or seven issues of one sort or another all on his mind.

A. I think that's true. When we were working closely together with Dr. John Slawson, who was then the executive head of the agency, and we would sit down to talk about this issue and how to respond to it, I had the sense as if he were interested and involved in nothing else. <u>It...it</u>...it made a very deep impression. He had a kind of intensity and persistence that apparently he was able to extend to <u>every</u>...every other major concern that he was involved in. You also had the feeling that, you know, he had no business interests at the time. I mean he just threw himself so overwhelmingly and completely into this, <u>I...I.was</u>...I marveled at it. I marveled and was really quite amazed that he had the emo-

tional stamina to sustain that level of performance with that kind of intensity. It was an extraordinary met...feat of energy in a way.

What about his own religiosity? I suppose I ask you that not only because you knew him as you did and worked with him,but I suppose because you're a rabbi and I would ascribe to you a certain ability to make that kind of diagnosis.

(A.) Well, my role here was not that of a pastoral rabbi and so therefore I think a comprehensive answer to that would have to come from the rabbi, such as Morris Lieberman, who unfortunately has passed away since, with whom the ... he may have been in a kind of rabbi-congregate relationship.

Q. I guess I'm asking you for a more instinctive reaction T-

-- to that question.

A. Well, I... I'm trying to say that... that we did not have explicit religious conversations per se. We ... There... there seemed to have been a lot taken for granted religiously in our relationship. When... There... there were ~ kind of passing phrases. You know, he would say something about, "Well, that's what I learned in <u>cheder</u>," or, you know, "I heard the rabbi preach about that theme," or "The holidays are coming up and I'm going to be here for that holiday

period," or something. It... I have a feeling that, while he was not, you know, self-consciously Jewish in that religious sense, he was a very deeply Jewish man in the sense that he interiorized, incorporated, in all of his consciousness the values and the ideals of the tradition, and he had this very strong Jewish emphasis on living this out. He was far less concerned about theoretical speculation than he was in, you know, living, I think, an ethical and humane existence both as a Jew and as a man. And I think he felt, by and large, to the degree that ... that anyone feels about one's identity, very comfortable as a Jew. He saw no radical oppositions between being Jewish and being a person, being involved in the affairs of society as well as being concerned about his own community, his own people. He had ... I had a sense he had worked out a tolerable, decent balance between these themes in his life, and ... and I was impressed by that. I.I. I felt comfortable with him, you know, as a Jew, and fact of his enormous preoccupation with every crucial issue of Jewish existence and Jewish meaning in itself said that. It was ... you know, it's Emerson's point, "What you are speaks out so loud I cannot hear what you say." You know, we would talk ... he would say, "Look, I've got to go to this meeting of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims. We're now going to work out this agreement with Adenauer on this amount of

money for the ... " you know, /reparations and that sort of thing. "And after that I've got a meeting in relation to Israel and United Nations or ... " As he simply ticked off his daily or weekly calendar, you had a sense that this man was virtually a kind of Jewish professional working at the basic issues of Jewish life. He was reacting to the Nazi holocaust to ... to resolve whatever was ... whatever needed to be done in dealing with that, he was dealing with Israel, which was the other major issue of Jewish life, he was preoccupied with Jewish charity, Jewish philanthropy, he was supporting The American Jewish Committee, which had interests in Jewish survival and Jewish continuity. There was ... there was really... the more I think about it, there was a real wholeness in him, you know, as a person and as a Jew, there was was a kind of a fullness about him. And in... in that sense I felt no need in terms of thinking of, you know, this man is somehow spiritually inadequate, he is inadequate as a Jew.

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Q. Did you ever talk with him about Zionism? Obviously you must have at one point or another. This was a questionwas mark always. He reputedly not a Zionist and yet, of course, he was a great supporter of ... of Israel and one who urged the American Jew to bear his responsibilities in this area. A. I don't recall a specific conversation. He... Well,

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once we did talk after he delivered a speech about his negotiation with the Ben-Gurion Agreement. I think in the first instance, Jacob had an impatience for theory and speculation. I think he probably was as impatient with Zionist theoreticians as he probably was with theology erg. or I guess if someone came to give him a. . an ideology of business management, he probably would have had the same reaction. He was, I found, a very pragmatic, reality-oriented man, and I think that whatever were the sources of his feeling, he really didn't care very much what kind of rationale brought you to a recognition of the importance of Israel. I think he saw that...he saw himself as a friend of Israel. He was a friend of Israel and a friend of Jewish people, he knew that Israel had to be there for the sake of taking care of the persecuted and the oppressed and that Jews needed a place on the earth. Now, those are very deep Zionist themes. Ultimately, when you push them back to their ... to their ultimate, you know, kernel idea, those are easen...Zionist motifs. a. I sense that Jacob couldn't care less what the sources of those ideas were as long as they worked for the Jews and ... end ... and I think he saw very much that Israel was a very direct response to the Nazi holocaust. I think that represented a very powerful emotion in his life and a commitment and he didn't have to think through a theory to justify those connections. He saw the impact of what happened to the Jews when they were a vulnerable people, when they had no control over their fate and

destiny, and I think he was determined to help Jews achieve mastery over their destiny by having a place which ... which they controlled and ... and that national sovereignty. So that there was very little conversation of that kind. Essentially it was, you know, how do we make it work? It's here, how do we help it, how do we make it work? How do we make it work for the Jews in Israel and how do we make clear that we have very deep commitments in America? I think he had a great sense of gratitude for what America meant for him and for American Jews. It was, you know, that ... that sense that ... immigrant who made, well -- America was very good to him and he wanted to be very good to America. That's why he was prepared, I think, to serve his country at any point which he was called to serve. But ... So that those ... you know, there was a kind of two-track theme in terms of Israel and ... and America, and he didn't see them in any kind of tension or opposition, and it was his pragmatism. frecorder offf Q. This concludes the first portion of our interview with Rabbi Tanenbaum.