



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE  
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

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

Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 95, Folder 5, General correspondence, memos & working papers, 1970.

# Rabbi Jacob B. Agus

BETH EL CONGREGATION  
8101 PARK HEIGHTS AVENUE  
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21208  
HUNTER 4-1448

RESIDENCE  
7906 WINTERSSET ROAD  
BALTIMORE, MD. 21208  
HUNTER 4-0967

January 13, 1970

Mr. Philip E. Hoffman  
The American Jewish Committee  
165 E. 56th Street  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I have long been associated with the work of the American Jewish Committee, especially in the field of interfaith relations. For this reason, I presume to respond to your invitation to react to two positions of the Committee, which I feel require thorough revision.

One, your endorsement of preferential and compensatory treatment for Negroes, while at the same time asserting that the rights of Jews be not infringed. I think that this policy is basically wrong and self-contradictory. Its inner contradiction was amply demonstrated in New York and in the riots throughout the country, which were accompanied by a concerted drive to expel Jews from the inner cities.

It is morally wrong, because first, individuals should be judged on their own, not for their fathers' sins or virtues. Once you divide "the pie," no matter how hopefully expanded, according to groups, you open the door to the quota system, whether you call it by that name or not. As you note, many white ethnic groups are not represented according to their numbers in the colleges and professions. Daniel Moynihan pointed out in "Commentary" that a "quota for" is a "quota against," and the "Philadelphia Plan" shows that the word can be evaded. Seven out of eight students and professors will have to be sent home on this basis, according to him.

Second, as individuals, two out of three of the very poor are white. Why should they be denied the benefits of "compensation" and "preference?" And if so, are we then advocating a Soviet system, with preferences for the proletariat and according to an ethnic line? - Furthermore, a good 25% of the Negroes are in the upper half of the income level. Are they entitled to preferences? And once you start, when will you end shuffling ethnic groups around?



Mr. Philip E. Hoffman  
The American Jewish Committee

-2-

By encouraging the expectancy of compensation, you only help to foster a series of "Black Manifestoes," with their unfortunate consequences.

Third, it is demoralizing for the Negroes to be artificially pushed ahead, either in the colleges or in the professions. Sooner or later, they will have to stand on their own feet and encounter the deepest frustrations. We may be certain that they will not blame themselves. The lowering of standards in their behalf is a slow-burning fire for them as well as a time-bomb for the nation.

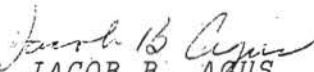
Fourth, in terms of the ideal vision of the Great Society, the ethos of ethnicism should be expressed in cultural, not economic terms, if we are to have a free society. Else, we shall transfer the national wars of the past into civil wars within our society itself. Need I remind you that the enumeration of Jewish economic successes in Germany was the most potent argument of the Nazis?

What then? Shall we be hard-hearted and insensitive? On the contrary, more generous and more sensitive, taking into account the needs of all the poor, not the most visible and the most intractable. Make all the "one third ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed," to use F. D. R.'s phrase, the objects of our concern, whatever their color or national origin, whether they live in big cities or rural areas. And supplement this effort with fair employment and equal opportunity rules, guarding against every kind of discrimination. Your work with the poor whites, Appalachian or ethnic, will then be meaningful. In the long run, it is best for the Negroes not to claim an exceptionalist status. This I can avow and prove as a Jewish historian.

The second matter is the doctrinaire opposition of the Committee to the public support of private schools. From a tactical viewpoint, we shall need the help of the Catholics if we are to succeed in keeping opportunities open to all equally in all our institutions. From the philosophical viewpoint, we want a culturally pluralistic society, while it is economically integrated. We are cutting our own throats, when we favor "neighborhood controlled" ethnic islands in the economy, while rigidly opposing cultural islands. In countries where private schools are strong - notably Holland, Canada and England - democracy is no weaker than it is here. Constitutionality is best left to the courts.

As I see it, both issues are connected. They are basic to our vision of the future. I suggest that you find some way of focusing the best thinking of our philosophers and sociologists on these issues.

Sincerely yours,

  
DR. JACOB B. AGUS  
Rabbi

JBA/rp

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FO-CA  
**date** 1/16/70  
**to** Marc Tanenbaum  
**from** Brant Coopersmith  
**subject** Black Baptists and Israel

While it may not be a surprise to you it was to me to learn that at least three Negro Baptist pastors will have led visits *from D.C.* to Israel by members of their congregations and friends in the 12-month period between September 1969 and September 1970. This is a substantial leadership involvement. I don't know whether it is unique to Washington. My purpose in writing this is to find out how familiar we are as an agency with the numbers and kinds of non-Jewish American groups, particularly Negro, who visit Israel.

Even a cursory discussion with a Baptist pastor, Rev. Raymond Robinson, who visited Israel last November, would indicate that some program might be desirable. I know of two more Baptist clergymen who are planning trips later this year. I would appreciate suggestions from the recipients of this memo as to whether or not there is something we might do. I have good contacts with one of these men, who also happens to be a member of the City Council.

In view of the difficulty that we have in communicating with the Negro community about Israel, it seems to me that these visiting groups are of potential importance to us. Before exploring this phenomenon further I would like to have your suggestions and comments.

Regards,



BC:pvh

CC: Morris Fine  
 Isaiah Terman  
 George Gruen



*Neil Katz*

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** January 27, 1970  
**to** Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
**from** Neil C. Sandberg  
**subject** cc: Eleanor Ashman; Will Katz

3/10

CONFIDENTIAL

I have just been informed by Rabbi Gilbert Kollin of Seattle that a meeting has been scheduled for Tuesday afternoon, March 10th, co-sponsored by AJC, the Jewish Federation and ADL. You are to be the principal speaker. I protested to Kollin that it was not appropriate for ADL to be a sponsor of this meeting and he indicated that because the Federation was involved this was necessary politically. He further indicated that our Chairman, Arnold Robbins, had participated in the discussion where the decision was made. The meeting will be endorsed, but not co-sponsored, by the Archdiocese of Seattle and the Council of Churches, and will be held in a local Protestant church. In view of the fact that we have no professional director at this time and because of the problems this raises with our lay people, we may have to go along with it.

I would appreciate having your views.

Regards.

*Neil*

P.S. The Seattle Chapter is also planning an evening meeting with you as speaker. Details will follow.

TRANSLATION

GENERAL CONTENT OF THE LETTERS SENT TO CATHOLIC PERSONALITIES

Dr. Miguel Darío Cardinal Miranda  
Primate Archbishop of Mexico

Your eminence:

We have read with the deepest satisfaction the new document on Catholic-Jewish relations approved by the Vatican under the permission of Pope Paulo VI, which was made public by Cardinal Lawrence Shehan from Baltimore, USA.

This statement is undoubtedly one of the most perceptive, reconciling and advanced pronouncements on Christian-Jewish relations that has been issued by any major worldwide Christian body in our lifetime.

It seems to us of justice that this document acknowledges the links between the Jewish people and the land of Israel, and the Torah, given by God to his people which is still observed in accordance with the treaty of God with Abraham, as well as the condemnation it contains against antisemitism, claiming at the same time for the revision of those religious texts which feed antisemitism.

Of the deepest historic importance is the acknowledgement on the part of the Catholic Church of the re-emergent centrality of the Land of Israel in the religious and cultural consciousness of the Jewish people, as its reconciling intentions hopefully will have eventual healing effects between Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Middle East.

This is undoubtedly a good augury for a most intimate collaboration between Jews and Christians.

In the most respectful way we ask you most Eminent Cardinal, to accept our acknowledgement for the content of this Statement approved by the Vatican which represents a decisive step on the mutual commitment to build up an authentic human community between Christians and Jews.

At the same time we wish to offer you our modest but sincere collaboration for this common labor.



TRANSLATION

EDITORIAL COMMENTARY BY DR. RAMON DE ERTZE GARAMENDI, PUBLISHED BY "EXCELSIOR" ON JANUARY 31, 1970

The pontifical Court, after adopting a General Statement in respect to the relations of the christians with the followers of -- any other faith has just approved a document directly related with the dialogue with the jews. Next to be published, Cardinal Shehan Arsobishop of Baltimore USA and member of the Secretariate of the Unity has made it public. The jewish means have received it with deep satisfaction, looking on it a "a courageous action" from part of the Catholic Church. For the first time this document talks about the possibility of common prayers between jews and catholics and reiterates its reprobation of antisemitism, and it even asks the catholics to acknowledge the religious meaning that the Land of Israel (the State of Israel) has for the jews.

This statement has been the result of different meetings which took place in Rome to discuss the application of the Conciliar decisions about judaism. As an example, from April 8 to April 12, 1969 21 catholic experts got together under the presidency of Cardinal Willebrands. It was clear that posconciliar experience is already a practical base which allows to establish the conditions of profitable encounters (meetings). Some historical and theological studies have demonstrated the developments of thought after the Conciliar Statement about the jews. The way of how liturgical -- texts as well as some other documents may be improved to demonstrate the common patrimony was studied, social collaboration on different projects was also studied.

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** February 5, 1970  
**to** Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
**from** Sergio Nudelstejer *S. Nudelstejer*  
**subject** Vatican Council Document on Catholic-Jewish Relations

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your kind memorandum dated December 16, 1969 in relation to the above mentioned subject.

I wish to thank you for the sending of this memo as well as all its background information which was extremely useful to us. We also made positive use of your statement analysing this document in detail.

We have taken advantage of your suggestions and we wrote some letters to important personalities of the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico, among - them to: Dr. Miguel Dario Cardinal Miranda Primate Archbishop of Mexico; Dr. Sergio Mendez Arceo, Bishop of Cuernavaca, Dr. Mendez Arceo is an important personality of the liberal group of the Church in Mexico; Dr. - Ramón de Ertze Garamendi, catholic priest and President of the Archdiocesan Secretariate of the Faith. He is also journalist and writer; Mr. Jesús Licóna, laic, coordinator and promotor of the Ecumenical Commission - of Mexico.

I am enclosing hereby a translation into English of the letters and its general content.

Under our suggestion, Dr. Ramón de Ertze Garamendi wrote some days ago, an editorial commentary which was published on Excelsior, one of the most important newspapers of Mexico City. I am also enclosing hereby a photostatic copy of such commentary as well as the corresponding translation - into English.

We have suggested some jewish organizations in Mexico to write some letters similar to the ones which we sent, but until this moment we have had no answer in this respect.

I would greatly appreciate any commentary from you. In the meantime, please receive my best personal regards and best wishes.

c.c. Dr. Simon Segal  
 SN\*vnm



UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

2167 UNIVERSITY AVENUE

BRONX, NEW YORK 10453

(212) 295-1220

February 6, 1970

MINISTER  
JAMES E. PIERCE

Dear Fellow Middle East Seminar Participants,

I have just heard on the radio that the Israeli Air-Force has carried out its largest aerial raid on Jordon since the June 1967 war; also that the Iraqi government has executed five more people; I could go on and on as you well know. What in the world is happening in the Middle East? What can we possibly do to understand the day-to-day developments and set them in an historical context that will give meaning to the present and some hope for peace in the future?

What is enclosed is just a drop in the bucket in this direction but a necessary drop if understanding and peace are ever to prevail again in the "Holy" lands. It's a travel brochure describing a 21 day trip to the Middle East. It has a "touristic" format. However, Kerm Yoder, (who has spent two years in Lebanon and who is now General Manager of the Menno Travel Service) and I are definitely trying to give this "tour" an added plus. It's going to be a serious International Relation's Seminar in which we will avoid the superficial connotations of "walking in the footprints of Jesus" and "feeling the hand prints of Jesus." We want to provide the participants with a first hand understanding of the political, military and religious dynamics that are ripping this area to shreds. As escorts for the trip we'll also seek to relate the Middle East to the whole third world revolutionary dynamic.

As you can see the seminar will spend six days in various Arab countries and seven days in Israel and occupied territories. Our purpose as escorts is to keep the dialogue going between the "Zionist" and "non-Zionist" participants in the seminar. As a seminar group, we'll listen to the propaganda on the Israeli side of the situation; as a group we'll listen to the propaganda on the Arab side of the situation. Our task as leaders is to help the group question themselves and critically evaluate what they are being told in relation to the daily events happening around them. I can assure you that this is not going to be just another Holy Land's Trip. If at all possible we intend to provide an authenticity that will really deal with life as it's presently lived in the un-Holy "Holy Lands."

The seminar will conclude its travels at the Oberammergau Passion Play. As you know the play is produced once every ten years. I saw the play in 1960 following a year of study at the American University of Beirut and Near East School of Theology. The Passion Play is a surprising and exciting complement to an exposure in the Middle East.

The tour is at bare-bones minimum cost. The accommodations are first-class-B; in other words, we won't be staying at the "Phoenicia" variety hotels. There are no built in honorariums as with so many other Holy Land's Tours (though I do get a free trip out of it!) If you have any questions about the International Relation's Seminar, please write to Kermit L. Yoder at the Menno Travel Service, 102 East Main Street, Ephrata, Pennsylvania 17522, or to me at the University Heights Presbyterian Church, 2167 University Avenue, Bronx, New York 10453.

Best wishes.

JEP:ajk  
Enclosure

Peace,

  
James E. Pierce

February 12, 1970

Annette Widell

Eleanor W. Ashman

Rabbi Tanenbaum's Seattle Visit.

*Widell*

We will not be able to let you know about the flight that Rabbi Tanenbaum will take from San Francisco to Seattle until he returns from Europe on or after February 16.

As soon as we find out his plans we will let you know, or perhaps it will be convenient for him to contact you from Phoenix when he is there at the Western Regional Conference.

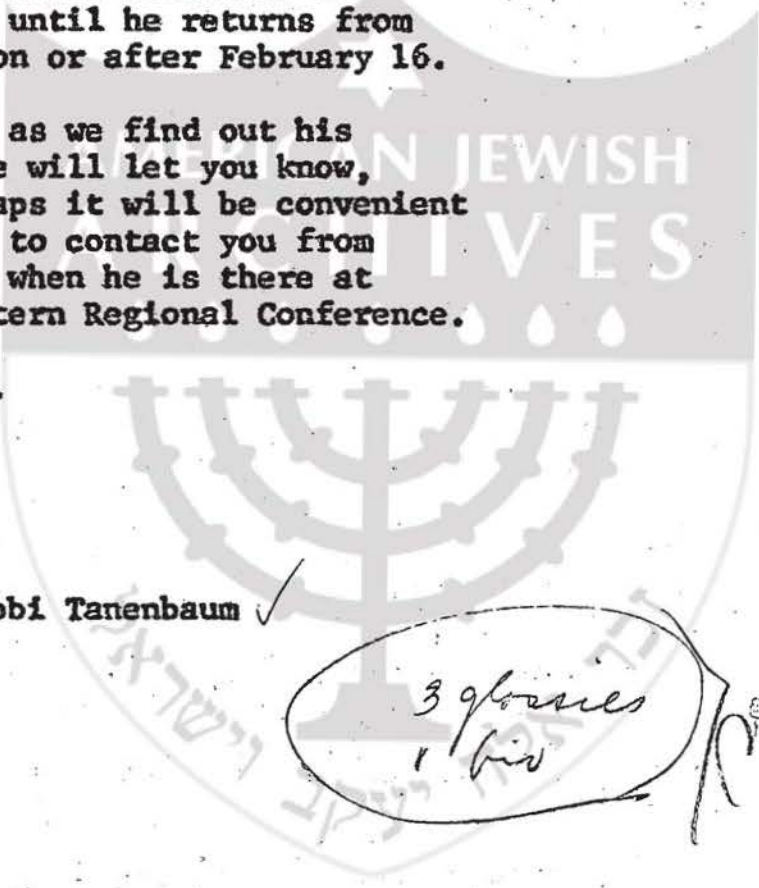
Regards.

EWA:at

cc: Rabbi Tanenbaum ✓

*3 glossies  
1 bio*

*sent for EA  
2/17*



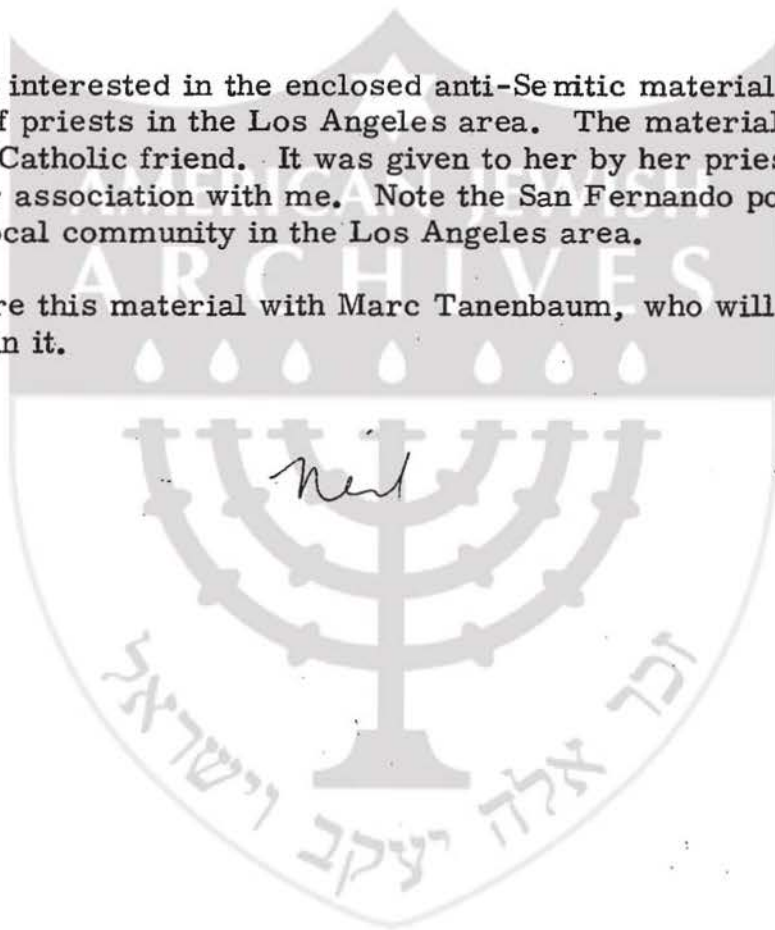


**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** February 17, 1970  
**to** Milton Ellerin  
**from** Neil C. Sandberg  
**cc:** Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
**subject**

You will be interested in the enclosed anti-Semitic material sent to a number of priests in the Los Angeles area. The material was given to me by a Catholic friend. It was given to her by her priest, who knew of her association with me. Note the San Fernando postmark. This is a local community in the Los Angeles area.

Please share this material with Marc Tanenbaum, who will be most interested in it.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

MEMORANDUM

2/24

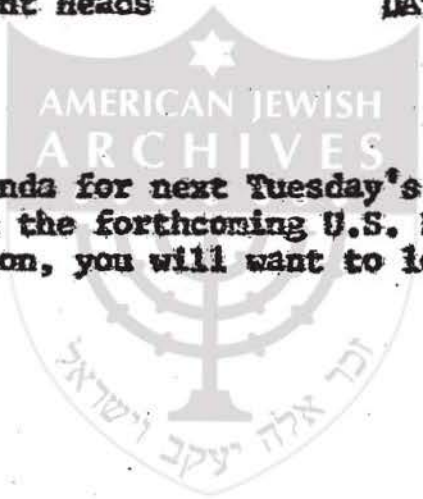
TO: Program Department Heads

DATE: Feb. 19, 1970

FROM: Morris Fine

We are putting on the agenda for next Tuesday's meeting the questions of AJC's participation in the forthcoming U.S. Bicentennial Celebration (1976). In this connection, you will want to look at the attached material.

MF:ms  
atts.



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** January 30, 1970

**to** Milton Himmelfarb

**from** Steven E. Frieder

**subject** The 1976 Bicentennial

In 1976 the United States will celebrate its 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Whether it will be one prolonged July 4<sup>th</sup> display of political fireworks or a time for serious reflection upon the ideal of American democracy and a focal point for drawing up national energy to carry out important social goals, is a question which is of concern to the AJC.

While 1976 is six years away, in terms of the drawing up the formulation and planning of social programs it is around the corner. That is why the AJC would do well to consider now what it can do to make the 1976 Bicentennial a meaningful celebration.

Planning for the Bicentennial has already begun in some governmental quarters. A Joint Congressional Resolution has been approved (July 4, 1966), setting up an American Revolution Bicentennial Commission to coordinate national and international activities with plans and programs developed by state, local, and private groups.

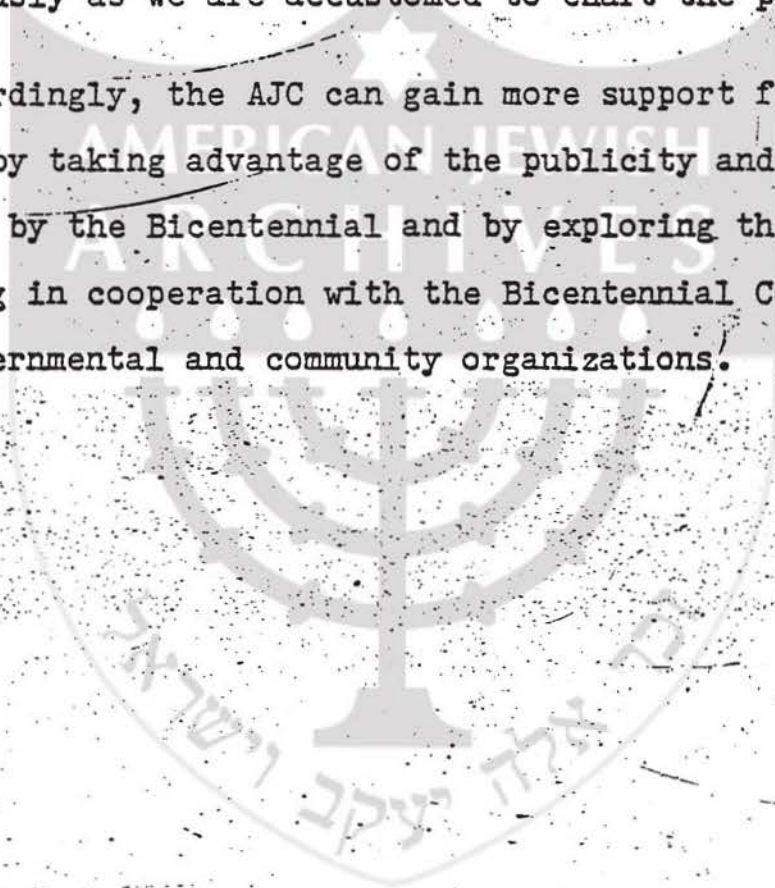


President Nixon, in his statement on the establishment of the National Goals Research Staff (July 13, 1969), commented on the importance of the Bicentennial:

Only shortly beyond the nation's 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary lies the year 2000. These dates together, can be targets for our aspirations. Our need now is to seize on the future as the key dimension in our decision, and to chart that future as consciously as we are accustomed to chart the past.

Accordingly, the AJC can gain more support for its social programs by taking advantage of the publicity and interest generated by the Bicentennial and by exploring the possibility of working in cooperation with the Bicentennial Commission and other governmental and community organizations.

SEF:cs





U. S. GOVERNMENT  
\* AM. Bicentennial  
FEB 1 1968  
1976



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January 30, 1968

Mr. Bertram Gold, Executive Director  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, New York

Dear Bert:

As you know from our previous conversation and from an earlier memo of mine, Congress has created the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission "to plan, encourage, develop and coordinate the commemoration of the American bicentennial" in 1976. The chairman of the commission is Carlisle H. Humelsine, president of Colonial Williamsburg. Of the 16 public members (besides members of the Senate and House), two are Jewish: Dr. Leonard W. Levy, chairman of the graduate committee in American civilization at Brandeis University, and Dr. Daniel J. Boorstin, professor of history at the University of Chicago.

It is reasonable to assume that at some point there will begin to be consideration of the need for organized Jewish participation in the bicentennial which will of course be related, among other things, to the bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence.

I suggest that the American Jewish Committee ought to take the initiative in beginning to plan for Jewish participation by convening an initial group of people. You will recall the Committee had this role in planning the American Jewish Tercentenary in 1954.

The form, content, cost, leadership and staffing of any Jewish participation in the American bicentennial will obviously be the subject of considerable discussion before anything gets under way. But whatever will be done can only be done effectively through an early start, probably not later than 1970.

- continued -



JWB BIENNIAL CONVENTION • APRIL 24-28, 1968  
FAIRMONT HOTEL, SAN FRANCISCO



If the Committee decides to get into this, I'm available as the coordinator, expeditor, secretary or whatever you want to call it for the first stages of the operation since I'll be retiring from JWB on November 1, 1970.

Perhaps the first thing that needs doing, probably even before other organizations are involved, is to meet with the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission to learn what their plans are, how any Jewish program will fit into such plans and what the theme, keynote, objective, etc., of the general program will be. It would also be useful to get dates, availability of federal funds if any and in short to learn all one can about the general program.

Without knowing any of this, I have some ideas about the broad nature of a Jewish celebration. In brief it ought to focus on the creation of resources needed by broad elements of American Jewry, such as major reference works (A Dictionary of American Jewish Biography, a readable yet authoritative American Jewish history); the organization of a national trust for preservation of Jewish historic sites, national and local; an organized program of identifying and marking hundreds of now neglected Jewish sites in every state of the union; the revival of an American Jewish history month to focus attention on American Jewish history; encouragement of chairs in American Jewish history at universities, compilation of Jewish travel guides to all 50 states; steps to encourage establishment of permanent Jewish historical museums on a regional basis like the Magnes Museum in Oakland; a stepped up effort to further the organization of local, state and regional Jewish historical societies (there are such societies now in California, Rhode Island, Maryland, Illinois, Missouri and District of Columbia).

Broadly speaking the goal of any Jewish celebration should be not horn-blowing and chauvinism but emphasis on research, exhibits, publications, TV and other audio-video programs which would have permanent use and value and thus far more impact. One big project that needs doing and which might be launched during the celebration is the preparation of an index of everything Jewish in every public and private museum in the United States. The establishment of permanent collections of Judaica in major libraries is another possibility.

A good deal can be learned from the experience of the Canadian Jewish community in connection with the recent Canadian bi-centennial. Canadian Jewry did more than just sponsor the Jewish pavilion. And speaking of pavilions, any Jewish planning for 1976 would have to determine if there is to be a Jewish pavilion at whatever world's fair there'll be in the U.S. that year, probably Philadelphia. This will obviously entail intricate problems of relationships, policy, fund-raising, etc.

I hope this is enough of an agenda to indicate that I have been thinking about the matter and that I know something about it.

As for my own qualifications for the assignment I suggest, here are a few facts:

- 1- Former editor of Jewish Telegraphic Agency
- 2- National PR director of B'nai B'rith 1938-46

- 3- National PR director of JWB 1946 - to date
- 4- Co-author -- A JEWISH TOURIST'S GUIDE TO U.S.; JEWISH LANDMARKS OF NEW YORK; LANDMARKS OF A PEOPLE, A GUIDE TO JEWISH SITES IN EUROPE; ENCYCLOPEDIA OF JEWS IN SPORTS and THE DAY ISRAEL WAS BORN (1969).

Yours,

*Bernard Postal*

BERNARD POSTAL, Director  
Public Information









W.P.A. 12/17/69

## 47 Million Voteless Americans

For a country that talks endlessly about democratic principles and thinks of itself as the greatest democracy in the world, the United States has a shameful record of voter participation. Last year Richard Nixon won the presidency with 31 million votes, but 47 million Americans who might have voted stayed away from the polls. One way of looking at it is that this vast "silent majority" influenced the outcome by failing to exercise their most elementary right.

The Freedom to Vote Task Force set up by the Democratic National Committee under the chairmanship of former Attorney General Ramsey Clark notes that voter participation is getting worse rather than better. The presidential election of 1876 took 82 per cent of the electorate to the polls, which was a little better than the average for that period in our history. Today many democratic countries get turnouts from 75 to 90 per cent without resorting to compulsion. In the United States, despite the direct effect of presidential policies on the lives of the people in many different areas, only 60 per cent of the eligible citizens make a point of registering their preferences.

We think the task force is right in saying that something must be done to correct this defect in

our system. What it proposes is a universal voter enrollment plan that would seek to involve every qualified adult in the quadrennial presidential contests. Enrollment officers would be trained to seek out every citizen, as do the census-takers, in the weeks immediately preceding an election. Eligible citizens not on the voting rolls would be given a certificate entitling them to vote for President and Vice President. Even those missed in this enrollment and those who might lose their certificates or be away from home on election day could vote anyway by presenting an affidavit identifying themselves. Such votes would not be counted until the affidavits could be verified.

The task force would set up a National Election Commission to carry out this policy and would make every presidential election day a national holiday. Probably only experience would be conclusive in regard to the latter proposal. There are widespread fears that a holiday would beckon people to resorts, sporting events and other recreation rather than to the polls. But there is no doubt about the desirability of national control over voting in the presidential elections, and the aim should be maximum participation without any taint of compulsion or high pressure tactics.



February 19, 1970

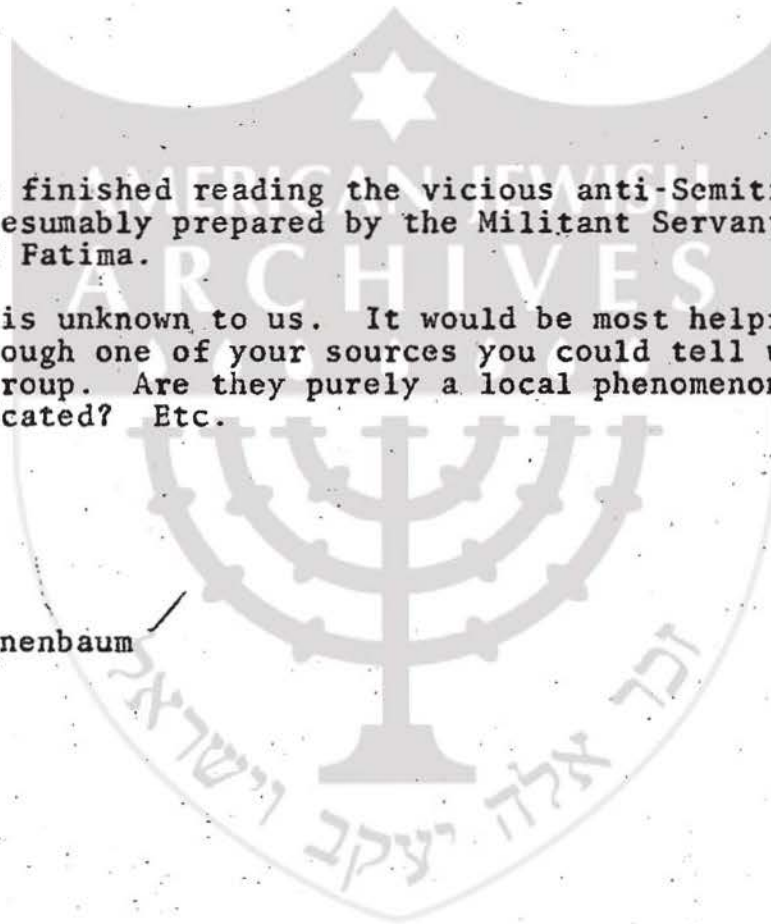
Neil Sandberg  
Milton Ellerin

I have just finished reading the vicious anti-Semitic material presumably prepared by the Militant Servants of Our Lady of Fatima.

This group is unknown to us. It would be most helpful if perhaps through one of your sources you could tell us more about the group. Are they purely a local phenomenon? Where are they located? Etc.

ME/lk

cc: Marc Tanenbaum





לשכת ראש הממשלה  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Jerusalem, 24 February 1970

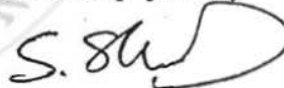
Rabbi H. Tanenbaum,  
Director, Dept. of Interreligious Affairs,  
The American Jewish Committee,  
165 East 56th St.,  
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

I wish to thank you for having kindly  
sent a copy of "Lutheran Quarterly" to Prime  
Minister Golda Meir.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,



Shmuel Shiloh  
Assistant Director  
Prime Minister's Bureau

February 27, 1970

Dear Marc,

For your info.



Henry B.



STANFORD UNIVERSITY  
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305

HUMANITIES SPECIAL PROGRAMS

Honors Program in Humanities  
Graduate Program in Humanities  
Religious Studies Program

February 24, 1970

Mr. Leo N. Albert, President  
Prentice-Hall, Inc.  
Englewood Cliffs, N. J.

Dear Mr. Albert:

While browsing in the new books section of the University Library a few days ago, I came across a book published this year by your concern entitled Middle East: Past and Present by Yahya Armajani. Upon leafing through the book I found certain passages quoted below which are based on incorrect information. I must confess that I was surprised to find such statements of a biased and tendentious nature in a book intended to be a textbook in our schools. I should emphasize that I have not read the book in its entirety and it is only by chance that I lighted on this particular page.

The passage on p. 377 is as follows (the underlining is mine and was done to emphasize the passages I comment on immediately following): "The Israelis are more or less agreed that, at least legally, belief, faith, or ideology have nothing to do with being a Jew. There are in Israel devout believers in God and in the Torah, and also agnostics and atheists, but all are Jews. The most important (perhaps the only) criterion for being considered a Jew is birth. The courts of Israel have decided that a person whose mother was of "Jewish blood" can be considered a Jew. This emphasis on "Jewishness" is consistent with the claim and program of Zionism, but appears anachronistic when applied to a modern state. Regardless of belief, immigrants into Israel who cannot prove their Jewish descent are not considered Jews and therefore are not participants in the privileges and perquisites of the laws of the "ingathering."

The basic fact ignored by Mr. Armajani is that anyone can convert to Judaism of whatever background. And the child of a female convert born after her conversion is automatically considered a Jew. Since this is true "Jewish blood" in principle has nothing to do with the matter and this fact could be easily ascertained from a variety of authoritative sources, e.g. the Jewish Encyclopaedia, s.v. Proselyte, etc. The two criteria from an Orthodox religious point of view for being a Jew are (1) the individual's mother being a Jew and (2) the conversion of the

February 24, 1970  
Page - 2.

individual to Judaism. It is quite clear that those of non-orthodox persuasion have different criteria for those identifying with the fate of the Jewish people of a less legal nature. Finally, it should have been pointed out for greater clarity that any non-Jew can become a citizen of the state of Israel through normal naturalization processes.

★  
Yours sincerely,

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Lawrence V. Berman  
Associate Professor of Religion

LVB:lm







3/2  
Marc Tanenbaum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

February 26, 1970

TO: Members of the Board of Governors  
FROM: David Sher, Chairman

REMINDER: Next Meeting, Tuesday, March 3, 1970, 4:00 P. M.  
Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., N.Y.C.

As indicated previously, at this time our Board will be required to take action on the proposals for organizational restructure submitted by the Committee on Organization. That memorandum has already gone forward to you.

We will also discuss certain very recent developments with respect to the Middle East as well as the implications of Monsieur Pompidou's visit here. In that connection I think you will find of interest the enclosed report based upon information provided by our Paris office.

Please let us know on the post card enclosed that you will be with us on the 3rd. WE WILL START PROMPTLY AT 4:00 P. M. In addition, I hope you will indicate your attendance plans concerning our Washington meeting on March 31-April 1. Plans for that meeting will be reported by Hy Bookbinder at our meeting next Tuesday, but if you plan to be with us your hotel reservation must be made well in advance.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

I look forward to seeing you.

DS/pcb  
Enclosures  
70-100-27

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F - what couch

February 27, 1970

Annette Widell

Eleanor W. Ashman

Marc Tanenbaum in Seattle

Many thanks for handling Marc Tanenbaum's visit so well. At the present time, he expects to arrive in Seattle via United Flight #242, leaving San Francisco at 8:00 A.M., arriving in Seattle at 9:47 A.M. Marc is anxious to have a press conference, and I hope that you make sure that one is held even though he may be delayed if the flight is delayed. Since you are meeting the plane, you could take him directly to wherever you are planning the conference or have the conference at the airport if time is short. This I will leave to your good judgment. Perhaps you could have it late afternoon after the conference and before the dinner, but this you will have to work out, but be sure to have one if it is at all possible since Marc believes this to be of the greatest importance to arrange.

Best regards, and many thanks for all your efforts. I will hope to have a report from you following the meeting.

EWA:at

cc: Neil Sandberg  
Marc Tanenbaum ✓  
Dorothy Davidson



## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 2, 1970  
to Seymour Samet  
from Samuel Rabinove  
subject Attendance at conference on religion and public education at Defiance College.

On February 27, I participated in a Resourcium: "Religion and Our Schools" sponsored by the Departments of Education and Religion & Philosophy of Defiance College in Defiance, Ohio, a school which is loosely affiliated with the United Church of Christ. The meeting began at 9:00 A.M. and continued until 9:00 P.M., including lunch and dinner. There were about 120 people in attendance, almost all of whom were clergymen, religious teachers, public school teachers, administrators and board of education members. While the aggregation was preponderantly Protestant, there were about a dozen priests and nuns. As far as I could discern, there were no other Jews present, although the Coordinator had indicated that a few were expected. I should add that I received an exceptionally warm welcome, a number of people taking the trouble to express individually their appreciation of my participation.

I brought with me a quantity of Phil Jacobson's discussion guide on religion in the public schools, as well as our own Statement of Views pamphlet on the same subject. These were picked up by many people and appeared to be very well received.

After dinner, as is indicated on the attached schedule, I served on a panel which attempted to sum up the various discussions of the day. I tried to elucidate AJC's position on these issues, along the lines of our Statement of Views. The atmosphere of the Resourcium as a whole was one of candor, openness and awareness of the complexities involved in the relationship of religion to public education. People listened attentively and some asked questions freely, most of which were intelligent ones. A question that I raised was whether teaching about religion "objectively" might not conflict with the desire of many parents to inculcate in their children "subjectively" the unique tenets of their own particular faith, thus perhaps confusing some children. Some Fundamentalists, for example, who believe the Bible is the Word of God, object to the public schools treating it as literature. (This was not answered satisfactorily.)



There was a good deal of attention paid to the U.S. Supreme Court rulings in this area and what they really signified. Many of the participants, I sensed, were not very happy about the Court's religious instruction, prayer and Bible reading decisions, but were nevertheless disposed to obey the law of the land. There was some confusion, however, as to the actual reach of these decisions, which I did my best to clarify.

Just about everybody present seemed to feel that it was very important for public schools to teach about religion. The consensus was that there is widespread ignorance among our youth on this vital subject, which ought to be remedied by the public schools, since so many youngsters do not attend church or Sunday school. The need for balance and objectivity in teaching about religion, careful selection and training of teachers, as well as the need to develop appropriate materials and curricula, was expressed or conceded by a number of people. Most of those present apparently supported a considerably greater emphasis on religious instruction in school programs, including separate courses or units in comparative religion and biblical literature, such as the Pennsylvania elective course "Religious Literature of the West." Much of the discussion centered on the "when (at what grade level) and how" to do the job, without offending any faith group.

When I explained why many Jews were wary of teaching about religion because of fear that teaching "about" could easily become a screen for religious indoctrination, J.A. Clark of the Ohio Council of Churches expressed the view that Jews are being unnecessarily apprehensive and urged that the Jewish community reconsider its position on the issue. I cited the prevalent disregard of the Supreme Court prayer and Bible reading decisions in so many school districts in the South and Midwest, along with the fact that school authorities assist in Gideon Bible distribution, a Protestant missionary activity, in almost half of the school districts throughout the country. (Several people nodded their agreement with this statement.) Indirect support for my position was voiced by Father John T. Hiltz, of Notre Dame University, who said that the Wisconsin public school he attended could well be considered to have been a Protestant school. Another speaker observed that Jews might be helped by objective public school instruction about Judaism, which could reach countless youngsters who presently are learning nothing about it, and who cannot be reached for this purpose in any other way. The problem, word, of course, is "objective."



While I personally remain very much opposed to any intensive teaching "about" religion in public schools, it seems to me that where a separate course or unit on religion appears to be inevitable, it is important that there be Jewish participation and consultation in shaping the program. Otherwise, we will simply be left out, to our probable detriment. But even this may not be enough. Once such a program is set in motion, it has to be monitored. While on paper it may appear to be "objective," in practice it may be something else. This was brought home to me quite forcefully by a conversation I had during the Resourcium with James Panoch, a strong proponent of teaching "about" religion, who has co-authored a book on the subject. He told me that he had occasion to sit in during a class in "Religious Literature of the West," taught by Mrs. Inez Long in Lancaster, Pa. Mrs. Long, wife of a minister of the Church of the Brethren, was a leader of the Resourcium. She is an utterly charming woman who, I believe, sincerely aspires to be fairminded with respect to the Jews. But she is imbued with religious fervor. Panoch said that the way Mrs. Long taught the course, in all honesty, did serve to advance religion in general and hence violated the mandate of the Schempp decision. However, he feels that this need not be the case. Yet this is how it can work out in practice, which certainly lends support for Jewish apprehensiveness about such programs in general.

SR:ig

enc.

cc: I. Terman  
Morris Fine  
Marc Tanenbaum ✓  
Seymour Brief  
Sonya Kaufer  
Murray Friedman  
Joel Ollander

RESOURCIUM: "Religion and Our Schools"

February 27, 1970

Defiance, Ohio 43512

Sponsored by The Defiance College Departments of Education and Religion & Philosophy with a grant from the Schauffler Fund

- 9:00 a.m. Registration - Defiance Hall  
Displays - Sisson Theatre
- 9:30 Opening Session - Sisson Theatre  
Presiding: Richard Howard\*, Assistant Professor of Religious Education  
and RESOURCIUM Coordinator
- Welcome: David Ruffer, Dean of the Faculty, Defiance College
- 9:40 "Keystone For Education" (film)  
Introduced by Daryl B. Adrian, Assistant Professor of English, Ball  
State University
- 10:40 Coffee Break
- 10:55 "Religion and the Social Studies"  
Raymond English, Director, Greater Cleveland Social Studies Program,  
Educational Research Council of America  
Introduced by Maxie Lambright\*, Director Curriculum Materials Center  
and Audio Visuals
- 12:15 p.m. Break
- 12:30 Lunch at the Enders Student Union
- 1:30 "Religious Literature of the West: An Experiment in the Pennsylvania  
Public Schools"  
Inez Long, McCaskey High School, Lancaster, Pa., Teacher and Member of  
the Development Team.  
Introduced by Horace Everett\*, Head of Teacher Education
- 2:45 Break
- 3:00 "Education and the Social Issues: Narcotics, Smoking, Sex and Alcohol"  
Robert O. Greer, Assistant Superintendent Urban Education, Ohio Depart-  
ment of Education  
Introduced by Harold Palmer†, Principal, Defiance High School
- 4:10 First Round Discussion Groups
- Defiance Hall, Room 21  
Convener: James Bray\*, Director of Field Experience  
Resource Leader: Mrs. Long
- Defiance Hall, Room 22  
Convener: LaVerne Hunt†, Board Member, Paulding Schools  
Resource Leader: Dr. Greer



Defiance Hall, Room 32  
Convener: Jack Whetstone+, Coordinator, Paulding County Schools  
Resource Leader: Mr. English

4:45 Second Round, Discussion Groups

Defiance Hall, Room 21  
Convener: Dosia Carlson\*, Assistant Professor of Religious Education  
and FORUM Coordinator  
Resource Leader: Mrs. Long

Defiance Hall, Room 22  
Convener: Mr. Palmer  
Resource Leader: Dr. Greer

Defiance Hall, Room 32  
Convener: Mr. Lambricht  
Resource Leader: Mr. English

5:15 Free Time  
Displays - St. John United Church of Christ Church, Webster and Grand

6:00 Dinner - St. John Church  
Presiding: Mr. Bray  
"The Group" from Defiance High School Choir, Leslie A. Brooke, Director

6:45 Panel: "Implementing our Learning"  
Mrs. Long, Mr. English, Dr. Greer, Mr. Howard and Samuel Rabinove,  
Director of Legal Division, American Jewish Committee, New York, N. Y.

7:15 Project Groups  
To Discuss and Recommend Pilot Projects

8:00 Summary Session  
Determining Pilot Project Priorities

8:30 Adjournment

We express appreciation to the Religious Instruction Association, Inc., 4001 Fairfield Avenue, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46807 and to Lilly Endowment, Inc. of Indianapolis, Indiana for their generous assistance, providing materials for display and the Pre-RESOURCIUM Study/Reflection Kit.

\* Member of the Defiance College Faculty and Planning Committee

+ Member of the Planning Committee

Additional Members of the Planning Committee include:

Leslie Ratliff, Superintendent, Ottawa-Glandorf Schools  
Normand Jones, Superintendent, Defiance County Schools  
Father Edward Schleiter, Roman Catholic Church  
Rev. Wendell H. Tobias, Church of the Brethren  
Victor Hayes, Chairman, Religion Department



TEMPLE UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS  
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19122

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

March 2, 1970

Mr. Donald J. Thorman  
National Catholic Reporter  
115 E. Armour Boulevard  
Kansas City, Mo. 64141

Dear Editor:

I was dumfounded to read Martin Marty's column in the February 18th issue. Since demurrers seem to be in order, let me say that I am one of Marty's devoted admirers -- even though I recognize neither "Mr. A." nor "Mr. B" in his descriptions.

The thing that puzzles me is why Marty feels compelled to take upon himself the criticism which I heaped upon Liberal Protestantism for its endemic Anti-Semitism. My major references in the address were to Hitler's professors and to the same serious theological defect which is becoming daily more evident in American Liberal Protestantism. It is true that in passing I referred to a neutralist editorial in The Christian Century, but more vigorously to an insipid statement of the General Board of the National Council of Churches -- which managed to discuss the Middle East crisis without once mentioning Russia or the ijihad, surely a miracle of unreality. Neither Marty nor any other person was mentioned by name, which is another reason why the recent personal attacks on me and on Roy Eckardt in the Century and on me in NCR are more revealing of the style of the opposition than they are of us. Why not discuss the issues? Why try to reduce the argument to the level of personalities and the abuse of journalistic privilege (since no real answer is possible)?

The problem very simply is this: the Jews are not American Indians, and to flatten out Christian responsibility to the Jews to the level of mere discussion of humanitarian concerns or political pragmatism is to reveal a fundamental theological defect. ("Why should one affirm a bond with a soil and a concept of chosenness for one nation alone out of the 100-plus in the United Nations...") It is precisely the defect which led the Deutsche Christen to repudiate the essential Jewishness of Christianity, to replace the Old Testament of the canon with a deutsches Alttestament, and to accommodate to the demonic Aryan culture-religion as German Liberal Protestantism did. How much more appropriate to Christian faith is the recent draft statement on Roman Catholic/Jewish relations issued in December by Cardinal Shehan: "Fidelity to the covenant was linked to the gift of a land, which in the Jewish soul has endured as the object of an aspiration that Christians should strive to understand."

Under the auspices of the National Council of Churches and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops a study project is under way to probe in depth the problematic of Israel's meaning to Christians -- as a people,



a land, a state. The Dean of one of the leading Liberal Protestant seminaries has written to condemn the whole theological study as "special pleading" and "patently Zionist". The fact that such a response is made speaks volumes concerning the endemic Anti-Semitism of Liberal Protestantism -- far more dangerous, far more insidious, far more prestigiously situated than anything Gerald L. K. Smith or other rightwing extremists represent in this country. Arthur Cochrane's classic study of the Barmen Synod (The Church's Confession Under Hitler, 1962) and Bernhard Olsen's study Faith and Prejudice (1963) are weighty enough evidence as to the weakness of Marcionite Christianity vis-a-vis Totalitarianism, even if my own Wild Tongues: A Handbbok of Social Pathology (1969) is discounted.

I don't see that it is necessarily "polarizing" to point this out, and I hope that Marty may yet see fit to discuss the theological problem. One professor (a Gentile) wrote a letter to the point: he said he was glad to see one professor at least who did something besides demand equal time for right and wrong.

The Holocaust was a major event in Christian history, not just Jewish, and Nasser's threatened Second Holocaust is too serious to be wrangled about on some balcony. Hatred of the Jews is as much a malaise of the disintegrating society of Islam as in disintegrating sacral society "Christendom". I stand behind what I said at the Washington Emergency Conference -- what I really said, and not some caricature of it, and I still address the question of the Liberal Protestant malaise to colleagues who want to argue the issues -- issues too important to be played out at the level of personalities, -whether "Mr. A", "Mr. B", or the undersigned.

Sincerely yours

Franklin H. Littell  
Professor

[start]

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# The strange story of Mr. A & Mr. B

By  
Martin E.  
Marty



PICTURE TWO MEN who are obviously war with each other over the subject Israel. Let me introduce them in order. Mr. A. has a thing about Israel. If you spent an evening in his home, you would probably drink Israeli wines and liqueur, eat some Israeli foods, see a library of books about ancient and modern Israel, handle ancient objects from Israel. If you don't bore easily, he would then treat you to Israeli folksongs, let you dance to Israeli music, and have you discuss Israeli affairs. His wife might well be wearing original Israeli jewelry. Suddenly you are surprised to find that he has been to Israel only once, but he speaks as if he would kiss its soil tomorrow if he could. He is obsessed by questions of the survival and freedom of Israel and her people.

considers their affirmation of "the final solution to the Jewish problem" to be the most horrendous theological commitment in Christian history. Get the profile?

THINK WHAT a rough time this man would have communicating with, understanding or tolerating Mr. B., who can be introduced more simply as the opposite of all the above. To keep the record accurate, however, let's quote exactly a few charges recently made against him.

Mr. B. is someone who "has not worked through the lessons of the German Church Struggle and the Holocaust." His theological training "stopped with the Liberalism of the 19th century, which was still dominant here before World War II." He is "identified with the *Kulturreligion* of America and of the Middle East Christian ghettos... is uncritically, ideologically pro-Arab." He is helping "grease the skids to war and genocide." His interests are tied in with "international oil companies, who are perfectly willing to link their own profits to despotic — even Nazi or Fascist — regimes."

While Mr. B. could live with Jewish losers from "encysted, ghettoized life," the charge sheet says, he can't stand Jewish winners, who do "not have to beg protection of a patron... who can take the Golan Heights in six hours." His doyens are the Hitlerian theologians who "made Christian accommodation... to the 'final solution to the Jewish problem' possible." He is a virtual Nazi who stands "squarely on the theological ground but lately vacated by the *Deutsche Christen*, the so-called Christian collaborators with Hitler," and he helps "encourage those who threaten the very existence of the Jews."

Enough, for that profile. Time for identifications.

But I cannot evade his charges.

While the *Christian Century* knows better than to entrust the basic writing of its foreign policy editorials to an amateur like me, I am now the oldest and longest-senioritized editorial writer and policy-setter on the magazine's staff. While I often disagree with *Century* editorials and policies — no mindless conformity is sought in these opinion journals — there has been plenty of opportunity for me to disassociate from those policies which Littell has just tabbed uncritically, ideologically pro-Arab, pro-Fascist-Nazi, pro-genocide.

The *Century* editors (the oldest of whom was in seventh grade when 19th century Liberalism stopped being dominant in America, on Littell's own time-table, and none of whom was heavily influenced by it) are critical of war in general, so they cannot be enthusiastic about Middle Eastern partisans. Their antecedents were critical of many aspects of the rise of Israel, but ever since have worked on the assumption that Israel is here and that its survival is basic to world peace and is the right of Israeli people. Uncertain about Middle Eastern courses in the midst of tragic dilemmas, they have always found it important to print advocacies from both sides. But as recently as two years ago, when they put out a special issue with four clear pro-Israel and one clear pro-Arab article, they were clobbered by some American Jews and pro-Israeli Christians for being uncritically, ideologically pro-Arab.

plan even to "take it" when I do not share certain Christian tenets. Why should one affirm a bond with a soil and a concept of chosenness for one nation alone out of the 100-plus in the United Nations, especially when he devotes his career to fighting religious-nationalist bonds everywhere, including in his own nation?

I can understand what I cannot share; and I can understand that what Christians call "Jewish theology" ordinarily affirms such a bond with a particular soil. I can appreciate Jews' love for Israel, and find their passion for traces of historic identification with that land to be beautiful. But crusades and holy wars based on such identification are "out."

Let me also say that one can talk to hundreds of Israeli students before he will find even one who holds to the bond the way American Christian apologists say they do. They get by with much less "biblical faith" or metaphysical sanctioning or theological claims than Christians give them credit for, and are to most eyes most of the time pretty simply "secular men" — who love their nation.

American Jewish organizations that think they will make their point by sponsoring calls for us to witness by helping make napalm and bombs would help us more if they would sponsor means to help close down munitions works on both sides. Those who think they might convert by disseminating polarizing speeches like Littell's would do better by sponsoring efforts of those who seek to understand, to convert, to empathize, to win over those of us who have problems celebrating any kind of war, those of us who try to see the problems of developing nations, also in the Middle East.



Mr. A. is not a Jew, but a Christian. Thus his theology must be of a distinctive sort and his political opinions must have been shaped by certain decisive experiences. His library is full of works on the Holocaust and the German Church Struggle, and he understands their meaning. He is intensely critical of the kind of 19th century German liberal Protestant thought which was tied to bourgeois regimes and was at home with anti-Semitism, but his own training — "orthodox" and "neo-orthodox" for the most part — never led him to be tempted to take it seriously as an option. He has written a score of books criticizing America's "culture-religion." He is a provincial: he knows 1000 American Jews and 100 Israelis for every Middle Eastern Arab Christian of his acquaintance. Perhaps this living knowledge keeps him from being ideologically and critically tied to pro-Arab causes. — he has not had personal exposure to proponents of such causes.

Keep going: at mid-career he was identified with the major anti-war fronts, and was so concerned with issues relating to genocide that he rather nervously identified with the American Black Panthers when they charged that they were scheduled victims. He gets livid when international oil companies are mentioned. A born loser, he likes to have heroes and to identify with winners — which may be what has led him to admire the Israeli sabras though he wouldn't deviate from his anti-pacifist ideology enough to make heroes of any soldiers, any military people. He despised Hitler's theologians, and con-

Mr. A. is Martin E. Marty — as he sees himself and as he is known by not a few American Jews and some Israelis who know him at all.

Mr. B. is Martin E. Marty — as he has recently been described by his good friend Franklin H. Littell in a speech attacking the *Christian Century* and then submitted for publication to it and to the *National Catholic Reporter*. The speech was entitled "The Glory of Israel and the Malaise of American Protestantism" and was delivered in January at Washington to the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Littell and I serve on each others' boards, share interests in American civil liberties; both write books against American Kultur-religion, have appeared together on numerous inter-faith panels, and have often planned inter-religious conferences together. As a matter of fact, I recommended him to people in Israel who were inviting American Protestant historians for their first look-see in Israel last year. What prompted Littell's outburst I cannot say; I will let him do the motive-reading and name-calling while I keep on hoping he'll "come back to charity and reason."

What inspired Littell's wrath now was an editorial advising *Century* readers, few of whom are instinctively more inclined to admire the current Administration than are the editors, not to dismiss out of hand the Administration's efforts to take a new look at the Middle East and to try to distance itself from the hawks on both sides. The lines Littell quoted urged "a more positive response than has heretofore greeted Secretary of State William Rogers' recent initiatives toward a Middle East settlement."

Dear reader: Cannot something as deviationist as that be said without evoking charges that it represents Hitlerism and genocide?

American Jews like to hear words like those of Littell or of Roy Eckardt, who was answered in a recent *N.C.R.* editorial after he told us that the proper place for Christian witness today is "in an Israeli munitions factory." They are not alone, but are joined by some others who argue that the Christian who does not share the theological belief of many Jews that "the land of Israel" is integral to Jews' theological vision is anti-Semitic. We must share their particular version of "chosenness," "mission" and "manifest destiny."

How does one share that which he cannot believe to be true? Should he be a hypocrite, and "fake it"? There are many tenets of Jewish, Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist belief that I do not share; I don't

MY DEFENSE of Israel is simple. It is all the Israelis are going to get and it is all, many of them tell me, that they really need. Bracket all questions of the origins of the nation in 1948. Shelve all metaphysical speculation about God's bond with Israel or America or anybody else. Face the given fact of Israel. Do we want to support any policies which might lead to the extinction of that state and its two million people? At the other extreme, do we want to encourage policies that will lead to escalation toward World War III?

Between those ruled-out policies are hundreds of options, choices that have to be made daily in the light of changing circumstances. No one is going to look good as these choices are being contended for. But I hope every one of the members of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations will soon learn that if they endorse speeches like the one they are now circulating, they will lose friends and supporters by the millions. It should come as no surprise to them that none of us likes, any more than do any of them, to be called Fascist, Nazi, *Deutsche Christen*, or agents of genocide.

Everybody together, now: another chorus of *Ha Va Nagila*...



[end]

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From....

HYMAN BOOKBINDER

3/5/20

To: Marc Tanenbaum

Here it is . . . .

I have one copy for my office file. Between you and him, would you decide what further use we should make of this? Tammund? Shuster? etc -

Hyman

Washington Representative, American Jewish Committee  
818 18th St., NW -- Washington, D.C. 20006  
Tel: AC 202 -- 298-8787 .



CONFIDENTIAL -- NOT FOR QUOTATION OR PUBLICATION



A Study prepared by a Working Party, initiated by the American Friends Service Committee and the Canadian Friends Service Committee and acting in association with the Friends Service Council (London) and the Friends World Committee for Consultation.

The Working Party's report is presented for the consideration of all persons seeking a peaceful solution to the crisis in the Middle East.

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**Members of the Working Party:**

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**Hanna Newcomb**  
Co-Editor, Peace Research Abstracts and Peace Research Reviews  
Canadian Peace Research Institute  
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**Don Peretz**  
Director, Southwest Asian and North African Studies Program  
Harpur College  
Binghamton, New York

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AN APPROACH TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

I

Preface

Out of our own concern, and with the urging of both Jews and Arabs, a group of Quakers began in 1968 the exploration of possible approaches to the making of peace in the Middle East. As we listened to many people, in many walks of life, and to high officials at the UN and in world capitals, in Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, the United Arab Republic, we were drawn into an effort to record the various viewpoints we encountered and to make some attempt at assessing the possibilities of finding a practical solution. Such a task staggers the imagination and may well be beyond the capabilities of any private group. We have been tempted at various points to give up the effort, in the face of what many experts have judged to be a completely unsolvable conflict. That we have persisted is less a proof of our own confidence in our judgments than a demonstration of our anguished concern, and of our belief that a great many human beings on both sides yearn for the world to pay attention to their continued suffering.

We have now listened long and carefully to the many viewpoints of the various interested parties, and we believe we have a reasonably objective understanding of what those viewpoints are and how they have developed. We have tried to hear all of the assorted and contradictory voices as the distressed cries of real people overcome by real fears and frustrations--and explainable hatreds. We are convinced that no lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict can be found until it is possible for the outer world, and the antagonists themselves, to hear, really hear, what the various and divergent voices are trying to say. No one truly interested in eventual peace in the Middle East can dismiss any of these voices as manifestations of depersonalized evil or demonic unreason.

It is one thing to listen; it is another to sort out the sounds of hope. It is still another to put together a set of coherent and feasible suggestions for finding the way to peace. We confess at the outset our sense of grave limitations as students and observers of the Middle East, even though some of us have spent many years studying, working, and living with the peoples of the Middle East and their problems. We and other Quakers have had considerable exposure to the interests and concerns of Arabs and Jews, but this does not guarantee us against humanly fallible judgments.

In the Hitler years and afterward Quakers worked closely with Jewish organizations to oppose the persecution of Jews and to aid the victims of persecution. Work among Jewish refugees was carried on by Quakers on a substantial scale in the United States and in various parts of Europe. Quakers have worked with Arab educators in the operation of schools in Palestine and Lebanon for almost a hundred years. At the end of the first



Arab-Israeli war in 1948 Quakers were asked by the United Nations to assume the major rôle in administering relief for over 200,000 Arab refugees in the Gaza Strip. During the past twenty years there have been a number of Quaker programs in Israel and in several of the Arab countries. Our involvement in these experiences has deepened our concern for both Arabs and Jews as people and increased our desire to be helpful in their time of conflict and trouble.

In recent months, through far-ranging talks with political leaders in the area, out of visits to refugee camps, out of discussions with many displaced Palestinian Arabs and with Arabs who continue to live in the occupied West Bank and in Gaza, and out of numerous conversations with Israeli citizens representing a variety of viewpoints, the overpowering conviction that grips us is that a comprehensive political settlement is the greatest and most urgent need of both Israelis and Arabs--and that all men of concern and good will must support the search for such a settlement.

As Quakers we believe, as do many people of other faiths, that the spirit of reconciliation is an ultimate power in human relations and that it can overcome the hatreds aroused by nationalism and war. We attribute to ourselves no special piety in this belief. We recognize within ourselves, and in all men, dark forces of fear, anger, bitterness and hatred which can drive us toward violence. We may differ among ourselves as to just how the forces of conflict and destruction may be best contained. However, we must acknowledge an inner imperative, linked to the ancient Quaker testimony against war, to affirm our deep conviction that violence is not a suitable instrument for the solution of problems, that it almost never brings a permanent solution, and rarely produces even an expedient short-term answer for deep and continuing tensions. We believe that only in the search for reconciliation and justice can the true interests and rights of both Jews and Arabs be found and preserved.

A major obstacle to rational understanding of the Arab-Israeli dilemma is the extent to which attitudes have become polarized in the West, especially in the United States. This polarization has resulted in frequent distortion of the issues in the press and in other communications media. The tendency is for each side to deny that the other has any legitimate case and to attack those who seek a middle way as enemies.

In the Arab-Israeli conflict most Israelis and their supporters regard the Palestinians and the refugees as "invisible men," or as non-existent at all. Arab nationalists, on the other hand, regard the State of Israel as legally non-existent, denying that its Jewish residents have any valid case for nationhood.

These Arab and Israeli images of each other have come to be regarded as so characteristic that they have seeped into the public images of the conflict in the Western world with the result that the Arab-Israeli propaganda war has infected much of the Western press. Expression of sympathy for the Arab refugees is often regarded by Jews as pro-Arab, anti-Israeli, or even as anti-Jewish, and concern for the future of Israel is regarded by Arabs as tantamount to acceptance of the full Zionist credo.

We ask our fellow countrymen of both Jewish or Arab background to understand that our position is one of concern for both peoples and is based on our belief that the rights and interests of neither can be preserved in the Middle East without recognition of the rights of the other. We firmly believe that it is possible to be both pro-Israeli and pro-Arab without being anti-Jewish or anti-Arab; to understand the deep emotions and fundamental needs of both peoples without denying sympathy and understanding to either.





### Background

The Jews and the Arabs are ancient and long-suffering peoples, and their sufferings continue. Both have been cruelly dealt with by peoples of other cultures, and both are still subject to manipulation by forces and powers beyond their control. Both are distrustful of other peoples and of each other, as they seek to establish their own identity, their right to respect, freedom and national self-development.

It is one of the great ironies of history that the roots of the present Arab-Jewish struggle should have grown not in a poisoned soil of ancient mutual animosities, but in the mistreatment each has received at the hands of others. The Jews and the Arabs are Semitic cousins, share many cultural traits and traditions, and through long centuries lived at peace with one another. During periods when Jews were subject to almost continuous persecution by the Christian West, the Jews had basically friendly relations with the Arabs; for the most part, the two peoples lived in harmony right down to the beginning of the present troubles.

The tragic mortal struggle of Jews and Arabs has come since the beginning of the twentieth century, more precisely since the end of World War I and most intensely since the end of World War II, as the two peoples, in their own separate ways, finally sought to put an end to persecution and to their common status as subject peoples--and ran head on into each other.

Zionism, the most dynamic force of a late-blooming Jewish nationalism, burst upon the world scene just as Arab nationalism was beginning to rise from the dying remains of the Turkish Empire. These two simultaneously emerging nationalisms, unfortunately, were destined to fight for possession of the same territory in the Holy Land of Palestine.

That the drive for Jewish nationalism should focus upon efforts to reclaim an ancestral homeland between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea was to early Zionist leaders right, just, and fore-ordained of God. (To be sure there was a brief period when some Zionist leaders gave serious consideration to the possibility of accepting a British offer of a Jewish homeland in the highlands of Uganda, but this proposal was rejected in favor of a "return" to Palestine.) Initial approaches to the Arabs were made in terms of land purchases and peaceful co-existence. However, once it became fully evident what the Jews intended in terms of numbers of settlers and the acquisition of political power, the Arabs, who already lived there and had had uninterrupted use of the land for well over a thousand years, grew increasingly determined to thwart the Zionist ambition. The Arabs did not succeed, but they tried. Beginning in the 1920's, accelerating in the 1930's and 1940's, the violent struggle of Arab against Jew and Jew against Arab repeatedly broke the calm which the British Mandate Government tried to maintain. Well warned though the British and the world were by these disorders, no solution to the problem was found. Study commission followed study commission, but the international community paid little attention to what was happening then and gave scant thought to what might happen later.

With Hitler's assault against Europe and his evil campaign of extermination against the Jews, the flight to Palestine became for many European Jews a matter of life or death. Here again, before and after World War II,



the Christian West was weighed and found wanting. Instead of opening wide and promptly their gates to Jewish refugees when the Nazi persecution began-- and perhaps saving millions of lives while there was still time--the free nations vacillated, took half measures and waited. In the end, Western Europe and America, plus the Soviet Union, fought and at great cost won a war for survival against the Nazi military machine while an estimated six million Jews were murdered. When the fighting ceased a large portion of the pathetic remnant of European Jews could, for the most part, think only of getting away from the continent of Europe as quickly as possible. With a Jewish beachhead already established in Palestine, with a well-organized, well-financed World Zionist Organization working to assist in resettlement, the movement of concentration camp survivors and other European Jews to Palestine became a tidal wave. The British Mandate Government tried to impose certain kinds of control upon that movement, but it succeeded only partially.

How many of those who went to Palestine would have migrated to some other country if they had been given adequate encouragement cannot be known. In any case, the Christian West was able to escape, in large measure, from its accumulated centuries of anti-Semitic guilt by helping the Jews find a refuge on lands already occupied by Arabs. The Palestinian Arabs, who previously had had little conflict with the Jews, were forced to give up their lands to Jewish settlers as part of a grand-scale international effort at restitution and compensation to the Jews. The Arabs, in effect, were asked to pay for the sins of the Christian West.

This is obviously a simplified and only partial explanation of how the Zionist movement came to gain broad Western support, but it will be impossible to understand current Arab attitudes apart from this unflattering interpretation of why the United States and Western Europe have given support to the creation of Israel.

Most Arabs start with the conviction that most Jews now living in what was once Palestine had no right to settle there in the first place, that their presence was forced upon the Arabs and that, by a combination of trickery and violence, hundreds of thousands of Arabs were made to give up their homes and land to the Jews. It is highly unlikely that any other people, in similar circumstances, would react differently.

Asked what he would want if he could have his way about this conflict, almost any Arab will answer that his first choice would be to have most of the Jews (particularly those from Europe) withdraw from Palestine, leaving only a minority comparable to the minority of Palestine Jews who lived there at the time of the creation of Israel in 1948. However, such a desire, many thoughtful Arabs recognize, has no possibility of fulfillment. Today even the leaders of the Arab guerrilla organizations publicly acknowledge that large numbers of Jews who have migrated to Palestine since 1945 are there to stay. No longer is it considered expedient or rational to talk about driving them into the sea. The decisive Israeli victory over Arab forces in the war of June, 1967--following the earlier Israeli victories of 1948 and 1956--has, of course, had much to do with this "change of heart". The point is that it has taken place. This also must be recognized if there is to be any realistic understanding of current thinking in the Arab world and of the prospects for peace.



Offensive as such a judgment is to the Israelis, the "acceptance" of a substantial Jewish presence in the Middle East is viewed by the Arabs as a "major concession" on their part, tied directly, as it is, to their long-standing assumption that the European Jews had no "right" to come to Palestine in the first place. At this point Arab opinion divides sharply into two camps: a) those who would now accept partition of the original Palestine into Jewish and Arab states, and b) those who want to reconstitute a united Palestine with equal rights for Jews and Arabs in a multi-religious society under a secular democratic government. Both Palestinian Arab factions, however, insist that the Israelis must withdraw to the demarcation lines which defined Israel prior to June 5, 1967 before any settlement can be made. Both factions also agree that psychologically and politically the Arabs cannot reach any real settlement with the Israelis until the Israelis accept a major share of the responsibility for the Arab refugee problem and take positive steps to provide restitution and compensation for Arab losses. More about these viewpoints later.

Meanwhile, it must be recognized that most Israelis operate on the basis of quite contrary fundamental assumptions. These include the belief that (a) the Arabs have not accepted a Jewish presence in the Middle East; (b) that the Arab states merely wait for a propitious time to resume all-out war to destroy Israel; (c) that the holding of the territories captured in the June War is essential to Israel's security until or unless a comprehensive peace can be negotiated and signed by all the governments involved--and even then, as many Israelis see it, they should not surrender much, if any, of the conquered territories; (d) that Israel must keep open its doors to receive whatever other Jews may eventually need a haven of escape from anti-Semitic governments, most likely (as the Israelis judge things) those in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union; and (e) that while the Arab refugees constitute a human tragedy the State of Israel has no responsibility for the creation of that tragedy.

These fundamental Arab and Jewish viewpoints are so far apart that it is exceedingly difficult to see how any kind of reconciliation is possible. There is a very great temptation to say that the situation is utterly hopeless, that each side must inevitably resort to greater and greater violence, and that after much more suffering, bloodshed and death on both sides, will the situation have "ripened" to that stage of utter exhaustion wherein a settlement can be made. This is the considered judgment of some of the most knowledgeable and experienced students of the Arab-Israeli conflict. They may be right.

There are others, however--Arabs, Israelis and outside observers--who believe that there may still be some slight chance to avoid another major round in the ongoing war, some slight possibility that a political settlement could yet be made by peaceful means. It is to analyse and give support to that hope that a group of Quakers have labored for some months, in the Middle East and elsewhere, to produce this statement.



III

PEACE COULD YET BE MADE

Peace must come again some day in the Middle East. It can come in the discernible future only if the United Nations and the Major Powers can, first of all, bring about a reduction in the level of violence in the area so that the increasingly probable fourth-round war can be averted, and, secondly, if they can define and support, more decisively than they have done up to now, a comprehensive political settlement. It is urgent for the welfare of the peoples of the Middle East and for the peace of the world that the leaders of all nations with important interests and involvements in the Middle East should move promptly and energetically to exert influence in behalf of such a settlement. Daily, violence leads to greater violence, and the prospects for peace steadily fade away. Time appears to be running out.

After three wars and the passage of twenty years of constant conflict between Israelis and Arabs, it is clear that the issues are profound and complex, that the passions on both sides are enflamed, that the reasoned case each side presents to the world and against its enemy allows of no compromise--and that the antagonists continue on a collision course ever deeper into a fourth-round war. Yet, however minutely fractional the hope for peace may be, it must be pursued in the United Nations, in the talks among the Major Powers, in continuing discussions with the leaders of the peoples concerned in the region, including representatives of the Palestinian Arabs--with all dispatch, energy, and imagination. A military solution will be no solution. To prolong the existing conflict will be to guarantee further escalation and increasing dangers for the Middle East and the world. There is no tolerable alternative to a political settlement and a stable peace based upon justice.

These are the convictions of this group of Quakers, who join in issuing this appeal to our own leaders and our fellow citizens and in putting forward these expressions of concern and good will to both Arabs and Israelis. We know that any suggestions on the making of peace in the Middle East are likely to be considered by some on all sides as meddling. Professions of even-handedness may well be discounted. All analyses of so difficult a problem are subject to errors in judgment; yet we feel, despite the obvious presumption, we must attempt an appraisal of the issues and prospects in the hope that it will advance in some measure the search for greater understanding and eventual peace.

The continuing pattern of daily attack and counter-attack, we believe, brings only more destruction, more death, and more angry hostility. Each side is the victim of what it is convinced is the aggression of the other side. Everyone feels deeply aggrieved at an enemy from whom he cannot escape, whom he suspects and fears, and with whom he sees virtually no hope for peace. All are caught in a web of self-justification, bitterness, and hatred. Each side feels that force is the only language the other side will understand. And each side is wrong: force, we are convinced, is precisely the language neither side understands.

Although most Palestinian Arab refugees have found jobs and at least



temporary homes in Jordan and in the neighboring Arab states, about a half million Arab refugees remain, after twenty years, in "temporary" refugee camps, some of them having been made refugees three times during that period. Further violence makes still more refugees and pushes still farther ahead the uncertain date for solving their problems. Since the June War of 1967 attitudes have hardened and voices of moderation which are not absent on either side have tended to fall silent, largely self-suppressed for the time being by the violent emotions which the mutual terrorism of attacks and counter-attacks has created. (A sampling of these moderate voices from each side appears as Appendices B and C.)

The arms race among the Middle Eastern powers is on in earnest again. Nations which need all the resources they can acquire to further the economic and social advancement of their peoples are caught up in a frenzied competition to acquire planes, tanks, artillery, missiles and all the other hardware of war and to divert large numbers of their men to use them.

Moreover, the Fedayeen resistance forces, made up of Palestinian Arab refugees, have reached new levels of public esteem and support and have gained a hold on the emotions of the young people and of most of their elders unequalled by any other political or ideological group. Both Israeli and Arab governments are increasingly wedded to a no-compromise line and to strident propaganda attacks on each other.

The June War of 1967, we are convinced from a careful reading of the record, was a war nobody intended to have happen. Yet, day by day, through the early months of 1967 the false moves and the inflammatory speeches and threats from both sides stepped up the pressures until by the end of May each side reached a point of no return. Similar pressures have been building up once again. The provocations for a new all-out conflict are evident to everyone; it is at any moment possible for the Arabs and the Israelis to stumble into an all-out war. Moreover, there are heightened risks this time that nuclear weapons could be introduced into the conflict and that a major show-down between the Soviet Union and the United States in the area could develop. The peace of the area, and conceivably the peace of much of the rest of the world, is being put at the mercy of the capricious, unpredictable, and uncontrollable forces that inevitably operate in times of continuous irregular warfare.

Thus, in 1969 we face a situation in the Middle East no less dangerous than that of 1967. There can be little comfort in speculative, short-range assurances that somehow the Middle East conflict will be kept in hand and that somehow the rest of the world will not get more deeply involved. Moreover, the curtailment of the conflict in the Middle East is of major importance in easing the broader tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States.

As we see the Middle East conflict, our conclusions are:

1. Time is working against everyone. The situation is desperate and steadily worsening.
2. The contending sides are unable to solve their conflict and are even incapable of reaching, on their own, any



meaningful kind of truce. The cease-fire lines of 1967, worked out by the United Nations, are violated daily-- by both sides. Those lines were intended to be purely temporary, pending early withdrawal by Israel. After two years, they have taken on more the character of international boundaries and to the Arabs are a constant incitement to violence.

3. Outside initiatives--on a vigorous, determined, and sustained basis--are essential if any settlement is to be reached. To succeed, those initiatives must have broad governmental and popular support, particularly in the United States.
4. No conceivable settlement could possibly satisfy the desires and demands of both sides, and it is almost inevitable that any workable solution will contain elements seriously objectionable to both.
5. There has in the past two years emerged an important new factor--the Palestinian Arabs, self-consciously seeking a role in their own salvation. They must be heard.
6. If there is to be any significant progress toward a settlement, there is urgent need for objective, balanced, candid and realistic delineation of the respective positions taken and the objectives sought by all the interested nations and groups concerned about the Middle East.



IV

Viewpoints on the Conflict

We should like at the outset, despite the inescapable risk of oversimplification, to try to summarize the various viewpoints as we have encountered them--at the United Nations, in several world capitals, and in the Middle East.

1. The United Nations Viewpoint on the Middle East

There are, of course, a great many attitudes and ideas on the Middle East among the various members of the United Nations. Moreover, almost any action taken by the United Nations comes slowly, is certain to represent a compromise of viewpoints, and is afterward subjected to diverse interpretations. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that since its formation the United Nations has been intimately involved in the Palestine problem, that the legal creation of Israel was by formal action of the United Nations, that through the intervening years the UN has taken an extensive series of actions concerning the Middle East, and that on November 22, 1967, the Security Council of the United Nations voted unanimously for a resolution which spelled out the current basic guidelines for a Middle East peace. (The text of the resolution appears as Appendix A.) Under that resolution, the Secretary-General of the UN appointed Ambassador Gunnar Jarring of Sweden to serve as his Special Representative to seek ways to implement the resolution's formula for peace. The November 22 Resolution, confirmed by later UN votes, remains the highest official policy statement of the UN, and has been the beginning point for the Big Four talks.

The United Nations guidelines, expressed in the unanimous Security Council Resolution, and reflecting the wording and intent of both the UN Charter and the Middle East resolutions, assert the following basic principles and requirements:

a) The withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent (1967) conflict and

b) Termination by the Arab States of the state of belligerency, establishment of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area, and the right of all to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

Three practical steps in implementation of these principles are then affirmed by the Resolution as necessary in the search for settlement:

a) Freedom of navigation through international waterways must be guaranteed;

b) A just settlement of the refugee problem must be achieved; and

c) Territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area must be guaranteed by suitable measures, including establishment of demilitarized zones.



Formulation and acceptance of these guidelines was delayed until late 1967 because the Arab States, supported by the Soviet Union, insisted upon the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories as a condition for implementation of other provisions of the Resolution, while Israel, supported by the United States, refused this order of priorities. The Resolution, remarkable for its unanimous acceptance by the Security Council, did not provide a timetable. Although its definition of basic principles and supporting practical actions seems clear to the ordinary reader, it has been subjected to varied interpretation.

Ambassador Jarring failed to gain agreement from the Arab States and Israel for any practical steps toward implementing the agreement, and the growth of violence in the area eventually prompted the Governments of France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States to undertake a series of Big Four talks in search for ways to bring support and eventual success to the Jarring mission. Clearly there are differences of interpretation among the Great Powers--as well as between Israel and the Arabs--on particular points in the November Resolution, but they all still say they base their search for peace on the principles of the UN Resolution.

It is the position of the authors of this paper that the combatants in the Middle East may reasonably be expected by the international community to accept the principles and requirements of this Resolution, to establish effective contacts with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the UN, and to work actively and in good faith for a peaceful and accepted settlement in the area.

## 2. The Relation of the Great Powers to the Middle East Conflict

The debate in recent months over whether the Great Powers should "become" involved in the Middle East suggests an unhistorical view of the whole situation. The Great Powers are involved. They have been involved for a long time. Regardless of cultural and political differences, they share guilt in the perpetuation of anti-Semitism into the era of the multi-religious, secular State, and the consequent unfulfilled longing of a portion of world Jewry for the imagined safety of a national home.

Great Power involvement continued into the Twentieth Century with the arrangements surrounding the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the preceding and continuing promises of freedom to the Arab peoples, expressed in correspondence and personal relationships of British public servants with Arab leaders. The secret Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, by which Britain and France agreed upon a plan for division of the Middle East in their own interests, added to the several promises of political freedom for the area just being released from the Ottoman Empire, constituted a further descending step toward chaos. These self-serving arrangements were later encased in the Mandate system of the fledgling League of Nations.

The United States has for many years had large oil interests in the Middle East. Though far less vital now than in past years, these interests,



as seen by some observers, have had undue influence upon U.S. policy in the area. The United States, as seen by others, has allowed its policy in the area to be shaped by a vigorously active Zionist minority pressure-group among its citizens. American policy has at crucial points been distorted, too, by a simplistic opposition to Communism and fear of its expansion in the Middle East. As a result of these forces, American public opinion has been continuously misinformed over many years, special privileges have been allowed to benefit the state of Israel, and diplomatic stupidities have compromised U.S. relations with the Arab world. As we write, there is no sign of improvement in the U.S. position toward the region.

The Soviet Union has proved in the Middle East the legitimacy of its descent from Czarism by continuing the earlier Russian policy of seeking influence in the Mediterranean-Middle East area. Together with its Socialist associates, particularly Czechoslovakia, it has eagerly supplied arms to the area, first to Israel and more recently to the U.A.R., Syria and Iraq, and has made a standing offer to Jordan to provide similar assistance.

Both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. have contributed substantial economic aid to nations in the Middle East. Soviet aid is granted exclusively to the Arab states; U.S. aid has been made available to both Arab nations and Israel but on a substantially greater per capita basis to Israel.

Potentially, American and Soviet involvement in the Middle East and their support roles in the Arab-Israeli conflict constitute one of the greatest of all the various threats to the peace of the whole world. Both nations now have powerful fleets in the Mediterranean and nuclear missile and air bases close at hand. Here nuclear confrontation could occur. However, properly directed, Soviet-American involvement in the Middle East is one of the chief hopes for peace. The two Super Powers are achieving a kind of "balance-of-interest" relationship with one another, a competitive co-existence in the Middle East. Efforts to make United States and Soviet involvement in the Middle East truly responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people of the area for peace and prosperity are essential. The Soviet Union and the United States find the Big Power talks about the Middle East important in their own self-interest, highly useful as a means of communicating about their respective commitments in the Middle East. Since the peace of the whole world is so significantly tied to Soviet-American relations, it is essential that in an area where they compete with special keenness for influence, trade, and power they should clearly understand each other's objectives and attitudes. Moreover, it is evident that so long as the United States has a special sponsor relationship with Israel, and the Soviet Union has a special sponsor role toward some of the Arab states, continued conflict between Israel and the Arab States poses the possibility of serious conflict between the two Great Powers. It is also evident that each of them must favor some mutually acceptable solution to the Middle East crisis. At this point neither of the Great Powers can look with favor on the introduction of nuclear weapons into the Middle East, but that grim prospect becomes increasingly likely.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union are publicly committed to a "just settlement" of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of the UN November 22 Resolution. But that resolution is not self-enforcing, and the



United Nations cannot enforce it against the wishes of either antagonist and without Soviet-American agreement. The two Great Powers share both a measure of national self-interest and a kind of political-leadership responsibility to use their influence, within the UN guidelines, to bring about peace. And they will want to have associated with them in these efforts not only France and Great Britain, but also other nations whose restraint in supplying arms to the Middle East would be important.

Does all this indicate that the Super Powers must "impose" peace? Not necessarily. However, it does appear to be essential for the Soviet Union and the United States to step out of their roles as sidelines observers and behind-the-scene advisers and creditors and involve themselves directly and in concert in a search for ways to establish peace and to nurture the hope for security among the peoples of the Middle East.

It is the position of the authors of this paper that large responsibility for the distressing continuance of conflict in the Middle East rests, though not necessarily in equal measure upon the Great Powers, both historically and at present. They are involved and will continue to be involved in the area. What is at stake is the character of that involvement. Unremitting efforts must be made through both bilateral and United Nations channels to persuade the involved Powers to recognize and to act upon a genuine concern for the peace and welfare of the Arabs and the Israelis-- and the rest of this war-weary world.

### 3. The Palestinian Arab Position

There is a basic agreement among all Arabs, Palestinians included, that the Israeli state, born with the aid of Western political cynicism and achieved through the determination of the European and American Zionists to colonize Palestine, was a shameful injustice to the Arab majority in the area. They believe that until that injustice is admitted, both by the victorious Israelis and by the international community, steps toward redress, however inadequate, and toward peace cannot be contemplated.

Among the roughly two and a half million Palestinian Arabs in the world, about one half have since June, 1967 lived under Israeli occupation. Ever since the war of 1948-49, a million or more Palestinians have lived as exiles, wards of a United Nations agency of limited powers and meagerly financed by UN member states. This situation continues despite the UN Resolution of December 11, 1948 which establishes their right to choose through the Conciliation Commission whether to return to Palestine and live at peace with their neighbors (in what had meanwhile become a Jewish state), or to choose resettlement elsewhere and accept compensation for lost property and rights. This solution of the problem, annually repeated in UN resolutions, has been refused by the Israelis, and with the passage of years, while hope has dimmed, determination to seek justice has grown rather than died among the displaced people.

Thus, ironically, the Arabs of Palestine have become a people in diaspora, just at the time the Zionist Jews have sought to bring an end to the long-standing dispersion of the Jewish people. There is a clear causal



relationship between the one act and the other. Even more ironically, throughout the past twenty years as Governments have sought to deal with the Middle East problem, the people most victimized, the Palestine Arabs, have had as a group no official standing, no unified voice, no direct instrument of representation. To be sure, as the principal nation-state heir to Palestine territory, and as host government both east and west of the Jordan River to the largest single bloc of Palestinians, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has often been assumed to speak for the Palestinian Arabs. With the best of intentions and the highest sense of responsibility, no Government could hope to satisfy their aspirations under existing circumstances. Cast aside, dispersed and divided, the Palestinian Arabs have been the forgotten element in the Middle East during the past twenty years.

Yet in one of history's great surprises, at the lowest ebb of their fortunes, the Palestinians since the June War of 1967 have emerged as a major and inevitably complicating factor in the situation. International relations by definition deal with relations among nation-states; diplomatic procedures are closely geared to this basic understanding. International public servants and their organizations are naturally appalled at the thought of dealing with non-state, non-governing groups, associations, resistance organizations. Yet in the Middle East there has now emerged a new and imperious demand for the just recognition in international life of an abused people, rising to claim its rights. Over recent months our Quaker observers have become convinced that the Arabs of Palestine and their viewpoints must be recognized as the force without which no significant progress toward peace in the area can be achieved.

There is no agreement among Palestinians, either refugees or those living under Israeli occupation, upon a single preferred course of action. For the resistance organizations, representatives of by far the largest number among the Palestinian people, the possibility of peace is linked directly with the dissolution of the present Zionist state of Israel. A Jewish state as a separate entity in the Middle East, they say, is not and never will be accepted. Instead, they call for the creation of a secular, bi-national state in which Arabs and Jews can live as fellow-citizens within a democratic system. They reject, as Arabs rejected in 1947, a partition of Palestine between Arab and Jewish states, citing the difficulty of agreeing upon just and practical boundaries, the transfer of populations, and fair compensation for property. They specifically deny any intention, formerly expressed by some Arab extremists, to "throw the Jews into the sea."

The United Nations approach to peace-making, as well as the assumptions behind Big Four discussion of the Middle East problem, obviously accept the present reality and the expected continuance of a nation-state of Israel. Some among the Palestinian Arabs, including persons living under Israeli occupation, now generally silent in the face of inflamed public opinion on both sides, agree that this is the only rational conclusion responsible people can reach, and they are prepared to accept it under certain circumstances, particularly if the Israelis withdraw from territories occupied in June, 1967. Moreover, they regard the proposal to create a unitary, bi-national, secular state in Palestine as wholly unrealistic, quite apart from the evident difficulty--some say impossibility--of securing its acceptance. To continue the proposal, which in any event



many suspect of being a mere bargaining-point, is to postpone the already painfully slim chance of a peaceful adjustment of the area's problems.

These persons support application of the basic principle of self-determination for the Arabs of Palestine. It is proposed that a beginning be made by Israeli withdrawal and the creation under United Nations sponsorship and protection of a governing body responsible for the West Bank and Gaza. During a predetermined period of development, plans can be laid to learn by democratic means the will of the Palestinians and to decide what political and economic course they can successfully agree upon in relationships with fellow Arab states and with the state of Israel. It is the judgment of this group that recognition of the existence of a state of Israel, within defined, agreed and internationally guaranteed, permanent borders, is an act of political maturity designed to create conditions favoring peace and mutual development in the area.

Moreover, it is contended that the acceptance of a state of Israel as defined above is the only way to counter the expansionist hopes of an extreme faction among the Israelis, whose views, under present internal and external political conditions, influence Israeli government policy far out of proportion to their numbers.

Back of all Palestinian Arab feelings is the fear that there are no bounds to the territorial ambitions of Israel, that the Zionist ideology still dictates official Israeli policy, and that, if and when an undefined Jewish nation-state should find it possible to gather in the millions of Jews the Zionist spokesmen have promised to bring eventually into the Middle East, Israel, under pressure from its right-wing religious parties, or from plain economic requirements, would embark upon further expansionist adventures. Arab convictions of an unlimited Zionist expansionism, whatever the true intentions of Israel may be, are a very real source of continued Arab fear and hostility. Until and unless the correctness of these convictions can be clearly disproved, it is highly unlikely that the majority of informed Palestinians can be brought to believe in the possibility of an acceptable peace with Israel and progress toward correcting of that injustice to the Arabs brought about by the creation of the Zionist state in Arab Palestine.

It is the considered opinion of the authors of this paper that recognition in practical form of a way to rebuild the community and to regain the political rights of the Palestine people, under occupation and in diaspora, would be a necessary early step toward solution of the area's problems. This must be achieved straight forwardly and honestly, with full cooperation of the international community and of Israel, avoiding any tendency to unwarranted outside influence for selfish national purposes, and with patience in order for a dispersed people to find their true identity and direction in an incredibly complex and difficult situation.

#### 4. The Israeli Position

The Israelis won a swift military victory over the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria following their daring pre-emptive attack on the Egyptian air force in the pre-dawn hours of June 5, 1967. Since then they



have fought a series of defensive, diplomatic holding actions on many fronts while warding off increasing guerrilla attacks across the cease-fire lines and launching counter-attacks on neighboring territories.

Although the November UN Resolution was immediately accepted in 1967 by Jordan and the United Arab Republic, which promised to implement its provisions, Israel has regarded the resolution only as a statement of goals, a list of agenda items to be dealt with in direct negotiations between Israel and the defeated Arab states. This Israeli interpretation is now widely regarded as tantamount to Israeli rejection of the UN Resolution, though there has never been an official Israeli statement of repudiation.

Israeli actions in the occupied areas and Israeli cabinet-level pronouncements concerning those areas indicate quite clearly that the Israelis do not regard the November Resolution as providing a correct formula for peace. In fact, a number of Israeli leaders make it clear that they believe implementation of the Resolution provisions on withdrawal from the occupied territories, however they are interpreted and restricted, would entail an unacceptable threat to Israel's security.

Specifically, Israel has proceeded to incorporate Arab East Jerusalem into a Jewish-run unified Jerusalem, although no nation has given official recognition of this change, and the United Nations General Assembly has voted 99 to 0 to censure Israel for unilateral annexation of East Jerusalem. Jewish agricultural-military post settlements have been established in the so-called Arab West Bank. There is now a new small, beleaguered Jewish community within the Arab city of Hebron. Israeli bull-dozers have wiped out any trace of three ancient Arab villages which until 1967 stood in the so-called Latrun Valley salient alongside the road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Various long-term Israeli projects are under way in the Sinai.

Officially, Israel has never declared its long-range intentions toward the occupied areas. Israeli spokesmen, however, have repeatedly said they will never give up the newly absorbed Arab sector of Jerusalem, will never withdraw from the Golan Heights, will never again accept the boundaries north of Jerusalem which gave the country a "pinched waist" in the center of the country, will not withdraw from Sharm el-Sheik at the southern tip of Sinai, and will absorb the Gaza Strip. Cabinet officials have made conflicting statements about Israeli intentions toward the whole of the West Bank. There have been repeated declarations that Israel does not want a large Arab minority. At the same time there have also been declarations that the West Bank Arabs must remain disarmed and that Israeli security requires a permanent defensive line along the Jordan River. Moreover, one vigorous minority faction in the coalition government has made clear it will insist on Israel's keeping every inch of Arab territory now occupied. Annexationist versus anti-annexationist arguments have become a principal factor within Israeli politics, and not even the Israeli cabinet has been able to arrive at an agreed-upon policy. In fact, the Government of Israel has studiously avoided all serious efforts to discuss the fundamental issue of permanent boundaries, either within the cabinet or in any public forum, on the grounds that until there is any serious likelihood of negotiations with the Arabs such discussions would only exacerbate internal conflicts among the factions of the ruling coalition and would compromise the country's future bargaining position. During this chosen state of official



indecision individual political leaders have made widely conflicting claims and promises. Arabs tend to take the most extreme statements as the true definition of Israel's long-range policies and as proof for the contention that peace with Israel is not possible.

Meanwhile, the Israelis have undertaken many public works, educational and social welfare projects among the Arabs to get them used to working on constructive enterprises with the Israelis and to try to break down their hostility and distrust. These efforts toward reconciliation, undertaken at considerable cost, are generally undercut by other aspects of the occupation--the arrest and interrogation of commando suspects, the blowing up of houses alleged to have harbored commandos, the expulsion of dissidents to Jordan. The unmistakable fact is that the antagonism of the Arabs toward the Israelis grows steadily as the occupation continues.

Some Israeli officials indicated at one time that they hoped eventually for the creation of an autonomous Palestinian Arab political entity on the West Bank, one which could be linked to Israel through some kind of customs union. Again and again, West Bank Arab leaders rebuffed this suggestion. Surely the Jews, of all people, say the Arabs, should understand the unacceptability of a Quisling regime. Yet, the Israelis are not discouraged. Given enough time, they feel they can create enough "new facts" so that they will eventually get substantially what they want--militarily secure boundaries on their own terms and some kind of live-and-let live relationship with disarmed, if not permanently occupied, immediately neighboring Arabs.

Perhaps the most widely expressed statement of Israeli political opinion is to the effect that Israel has never wanted anything but peace in the Middle East and the right to exist as a nation. The entire blame for the Arab refugee problem Israeli leaders place upon the Arab governments, both for the original flight and for the more than twenty years of impoverished exile. They point out that they were attacked by Arab armies on the day the State of Israel was proclaimed and that their Arab neighbors have never accepted the existence of that state. On the contrary, they see themselves as having been harassed without ceasing--by propaganda, trade boycotts, a proclaimed state of belligerency, and endless guerrilla attacks. They insist that they were forced to fight three wars in twenty years in the hope of stopping Arab attacks and of gaining acceptance of the right of their state to exist. They accuse the Arab governments of being unwilling to make an acceptable peace or to restrain the Palestinian guerrilla groups. Big Four efforts to promote a settlement the Israelis regard as futile and likely to lead only to greater intransigence on the part of the Arabs. If such a settlement could be signed, the Israelis say, it would not be fairly enforced. Moreover, they argue that merely to sign such a document, with Big Four guarantees, would be to give the Russians a firm special position and still greater power in the Middle East. Such a development, they claim, could only work to the long-term disadvantage of Israel and the western nations and increase the likelihood of still greater conflicts in the future.

In short, the Israeli government is opposed to a Big Four sponsored immediate peace and does not believe peace is really possible now or for several years. It is content to keep things the way they are, ward off the guerrilla attacks as pin-pricks, irritating but not fundamentally dangerous.



Meanwhile, the Israeli official position is to keep insisting that the only way to make peace is for the Arab governments to send representatives to negotiate, point by point, a comprehensive peace. The Israelis say that the Arab leaders and their peoples must not be enabled to "hide behind" a peace suggested (or "imposed") by third parties, for such a peace they think could and would be repudiated. They want the Arab leaders to have to take the initiative in admitting to their peoples that they cannot destroy Israel and in putting their personal and political existence on the line by declaring officially and publicly the necessity for accepting the existence of Israel and establishing peaceful relations with her through a bilateral negotiated peace treaty.

The Israeli government leaders keep declaring that they are prepared to negotiate on all issues. Let the Arabs, they say, come to the conference table. Until the Arabs are prepared to come and sit down for such negotiations--and the Israelis recognize that this is unlikely to happen for a long time--Israeli leaders are prepared to hold all of the conquered territories and to believe that an indefinite prolongation of the present stalemate serves Israel's long-term interests.

Within Israel there are respected voices which, however cautiously, challenge the Government position. These range all the way from a handful of pacifists to scholarly historians and other professors and writers to radical leftists and include some inside the Government service. What the critics agree on is the inadequacy for Israel of an indefinite continuation of the present no-peace-and-no-war policy and the possibility of ultimate disaster unless the Government moves beyond its repetitive appeals for the Arabs to "come to the conference table."

Alternatives to present Israeli policies are rarely put forward in any great detail by Government critics or pressed with assurance. It is insisted, however, that: (1) it is impossible to "negotiate" a comprehensive peace at this time with any imaginable group of Arab leaders, and that (2) the obsession of Israeli leaders with calculations of "militarily secure" boundaries--and new settlements right up to the new boundaries--can lead only to the freezing of Arab attitudes of rage and hostility which will make the achieving of any ultimate security impossible.

It is the conviction of the authors of this paper that the present Israeli policy of prolonging indefinitely the military occupation of Arab territories and of disclaiming all responsibility for the plight of the Arab refugees, plus the repeated statements by Israeli leaders that some, if not all, of the lands taken over since June 5, 1967, are now permanently Israeli, make direct negotiation of an Arab-Israeli settlement impossible. It is our further judgment that such a stance will be ultimately self-defeating for Israel and can only bring continued violence and make virtually inevitable a fourth-round war, with unforeseeable consequences for all Arabs, all Israelis, and many other peoples across the world.

##### 5. Viewpoints of the Arab States

Jordan and the United Arab Republic and the Arab states most directly affected by the conflict with Israel, have paid the heaviest price in loss of manpower, war material and territory in the June War, and are most directly



involved in the continuing attacks and counter-attacks across the cease-fire lines. Their responses to peace-making efforts are crucial. Without their cooperation no political settlement is possible.

Central in their approach to a settlement has been the demand that Israel withdraw from all territories under Arab control prior to June 5, 1967. They are supported in this view by what they regard as the clear and non-negotiable directive of the UN November 22 Resolution, which these two Arab states have publicly accepted without reservation.

Jordan and Egyptian officials interpret the United Nations Resolution as being "not an Arab formula for peace." It requires them to give up positions which for twenty years they held to tenaciously as matters of principle: (a) refusal to accept the existence of a State of Israel and to end the state of belligerency with Israel; (b) refusal to grant to Israeli shipping the right to use the Suez Canal. The giving up of those positions, as seen by the Arabs, is an immense concession. Reluctantly, after three wars, they have concluded that they must agree that Israel is a reality of geography in the Middle East and is not going to disappear. They say they are willing to put an end to the conflict--provided Israel withdraws from the territories she has occupied since June, 1967.

The government leaders of Jordan and the United Arab Republic recognize that the Palestinian commando groups are an influential force in opposing such a political settlement. However, they argue that if a "just" peace plan is implemented with total Israeli withdrawal from conquered territories and proper satisfaction of the Arab refugee claims, the Palestinian groups will eventually accept the settlement as the best attainable solution, as well, they believe, the more irreconcilable elements in all Arab states.

Jordanians and Egyptians say that the chief barrier to a political peace settlement is quite simply the refusal of the Israelis to end their military occupation of Arab lands and to withdraw from the conquered territories. They believe that only external pressure, from the United Nations and from the Big Four, will ever persuade the Israelis to withdraw. Therefore, they welcome the talks among the Major Powers on the Middle East, but they are pessimistic about the possibility that the United States will ever agree to the application of sufficient pressure on Israel.

It is the conviction of the authors of this paper that while the responsible states must establish control over commando groups operating from their territories, no progress can be made toward such control until the Arab Governments and their peoples have reason to believe that there are real prospects for a fair and just peace settlement and that the cease-fire lines of June, 1967 are not being frozen into permanent boundaries. For such prospects to be seen, some comprehensive, even if preliminary statement of intention will be required from Israel, now the militarily dominant Power in the area. However small this first step toward accommodation may be, it may open the way to widely useful results.



Can Israel and the Arab States Make Peace by Themselves?

We do not think that Israel and the Arab states can make peace by themselves. From numerous conversations with many sorts of persons at varying levels of responsibility, we see each side now solidly determined upon a hard course dictated by the conviction that a campaign of attrition will in the end wear down the enemy. We would be foolish not to take seriously the determination and sense of self-righteousness of both parties. Yet even without considering the waste of human life and treasure involved and the growing dangers to the outside world we believe them both dangerously wrong. Time squandered in continuing this present violent struggle works not for one side or the other, but against both.

True, in the short run, Arab artillery bombardments and commando raids can kill Israeli soldiers and civilians. True, in the short run, Israeli planes can blast Arab gun positions and training camps. True, most likely, for the short run, Israeli military superiority can bring additional major victories. Each side can play the game of no-peace-and-no-war and can probably persuade its people that these half-muted military operations will eventually bring victory. Or each side can push up the level of violence until another full-scale war is under way. But what is being settled, whatever the level of violence? Nothing.

As one sensitive and able Israeli, Professor Yaakov L. Talmon, historian at Hebrew University, said recently:

"The greatest difficulty between the two peoples...is a neurosis that grips both of them. The Arabs are motivated by anger...insult...hatred and envy. The Jews...by fear and distrust."

Continuing violence will not bring relief from that shared neurosis; it will only intensify the collective sense of insecurity and hatred.

Despite the present dominant military position of Israel it would seem that it is the Israelis who in the long run are likely to be most threatened--unless a drastic shift in mood and circumstances can be brought about.

Even if all the world's Jews should migrate to Israel--a most unlikely possibility--they would number no more than 20 per cent of the Arab population of the surrounding lands. As Arab societies modernize and as competent leaders increasingly succeed in guiding them into greater effectiveness in technology, industry and science--the prospects for a small state like Israel which had not won the good will of its immediately encircling neighbors would appear bleak.

As Professor Talmon put it:

"Israel may be able to win and win and go on winning till its last breath, win itself to death...After every victory, we face more difficult, more complicated problems...The abyss of mutual hatred will deepen and the desires for vengeance will mount."



And as Professor Avigdor Levontin, of the Law faculty of Hebrew University has pointed out:

"A border is secure when those living on the other side do not have sufficient motivation to infringe on it...We have to remind ourselves that the roots of security are in the minds of men...We have fallen today into a vicious circle: since there is no trust in the Arabs' desire for peace, people emphasize the need for security (apparently as a substitute) and even say that one really couldn't rely on a peace agreement with the Arabs even if they agreed to it, since it wouldn't be a 'true peace'."

Professor Levontin goes on to speak directly to the oft-stated demand for an immediate, directly negotiated bilateral Arab-Israeli comprehensive peace treaty:

"I don't think that it is possible to exchange this situation (the continuing sporadic conflict) for one that is not as bad by the joint endeavor of the parties to the dispute."

The writers of this statement agree with that judgment. Let us try to show how the attitudes of the leaders on both sides provide confirmation.

1. The Israeli Government's Pre-occupation with Security

The Israelis have had a passionate conviction about what they are fighting for: they are fighting, they say, for survival.

Two thousand years of discrimination and persecution have toughened the will of Jews all over the world. Those who survived Hitler's extermination camps, those who, from wherever they have come, have struggled to build a fresh life in this old and rugged land, intend to survive in Israel or die in the attempt. A cliché in the Middle East, quoted and believed by both Jews and Arabs, is this: "The Arabs can lose any number of wars, the Israelis can lose only one." The Israelis don't intend to lose.

Many, perhaps most, Israelis live with the conviction that they are surrounded by an enemy with but one goal: the destruction of Israel and the death of every Israeli. Israelis and Jews around the world who support this state view Israel as a symbol of the justice that has all too often been denied Jews through many centuries in many lands. Israel's security is obviously the overriding concern of many Jews in other countries as they try to influence their nations' policies toward the Middle East.

Although all Israelis say they want peace and eventually must have peace, many of them are convinced that the only peace worth having is one which is based primarily upon arrangements designed to maximize the chances for military security. This is clearly the attitude of the present leaders of the Israeli Government even though within the cabinet coalition there are sharp differences of opinion as to how that security will be best obtained. However, the present Israeli Government has made evident its determination to seek security through the establishment of new permanent boundaries based upon strategic considerations even if this requires holding substantial Arab territories never claimed prior to June 5, 1967 and at the price of a loss



of approval in the world community. Many Israelis say they do not want Israel to be a fortress state surrounded by a sea of hostile Arabs, but if this is the way things must be--and this is the way many of them see it--they are prepared to (and believe they can) build and maintain such a garrison state indefinitely. They obviously have great faith in their fighting ability and in the strength of their national will. They obviously are not impressed by the fighting ability or will of the Arabs. They refuse to believe that Soviet backing of the Arabs will lead to direct Soviet military intervention.

## 2. The Arabs' Preoccupation with Justice

The passionate feelings of bitterness and hatred among the Arabs toward Israel (and toward the UN and much of the Western World) are rooted in a profound sense of injustice. They start with the fundamental assumption that the creation of the State of Israel was an act of wholly unjustifiable aggression against the Arab people, and particularly against the Palestinians. They and their ancestors had had undisputed occupation of that land since the middle of the seventh century. From an even earlier period, following the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and dispersion of the Jews in 135 A.D., there had been only a small minority of Jews in the area. True, various types of empires had ruled during most of that time, but the Arabs had had continuous use of their land. When the British, in World War I, drove out the Turkish colonial rulers, Britain promised independence for the Arab peoples even as they made the Balfour Declaration promising British assistance in the establishment of a Jewish "homeland" in Palestine. That promise, incidentally, did not say anything about a Jewish political state and specifically gave assurances that the "civil and religious rights" of the Arab population would not be prejudiced. (The fact that the British had no authority to make promises concerning the disposition of lands or political powers in Palestine is, of course, not overlooked by the Arabs in their discussions of the period.)

Concerning events since the end of World War II, the Arabs frequently demand of the Westerner: "Is it your idea of justice to make refugees of more than a million Arabs in order to provide homes for 600,000 European Jews who survived persecution by a Western, Christian nation--and whom the West would not take in?"

The long years of refugee camp life for several hundred thousand Arabs, the loss of millions of dollars worth of Arab property and bank accounts to the Israelis, for which no compensation has yet been made, add to the feeling of bitter frustration and the sense of injustice.

The acquisition of additional Arab territories by Israel as the result of the 1967 War, and the refusal of the Israelis to withdraw from any of these territories, further intensifies Arab outrage. Many Arabs are convinced that the Israelis will never give back any of these occupied lands and will in fact, in time, take more. Just as the Israelis hear the voices of Arab extremism, promising the destruction of Israel, so the Arabs are quick to note the Jewish extremists who talk of a Greater Israel and claim a mystic right to lands which the Arabs interpret as stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates.

Some Arabs still hope that Israel can be made to disappear, and this is the central political objective of several of the Palestinian guerrilla



groups. They like to recall the fact that the Crusaders occupied lands in this area for two hundred years, but were eventually driven out. Many a young Arab will tell you that he may never live to see the regaining of his homeland but that he is prepared to die in a "just" war to win back those lands for his people and that, after enough Arabs over a long enough time have died, eventually "justice" will be done, Israel will be eliminated, and the exiled Palestinians can go home.

Even those Arabs who reluctantly conclude that the Israelis are in the Middle East to stay and that the Arabs must learn to live with a Jewish state, go on to insist that somehow Israel and the Western world must give overt recognition to the fact that terrible injustices have been visited upon a great many Arabs. For any form of peace ever to be established, they say, there must be gestures of good will and reconciliation extended from the Israeli side, some admission of wrongs done to the Arabs, some abandonment of the self-righteous Israeli effort to place all blame for the conflict on the Arabs. The importance of these psychological factors cannot be exaggerated.

### 3. Barriers to Direct Negotiation of Peace

The Arab leaders have, thus far, refused to negotiate with Israel directly. Their reasons are simple, though not always clearly explained. In the first place, they say that no meaningful progress toward a peace settlement can be made until Israel categorically accepts the November 22 Resolution of the United Nations and commits itself to complete withdrawal from the occupied territories. They recognize that occupation of Arab territory provides Israel with formidable bargaining strength. They want the Israelis to be forced to accept the UN Resolution's principle of "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" as a beginning point. They do not intend to be put into a position in which they are having to bargain for elementary and generally recognized principles of justice already proclaimed by the United Nations. Defeated and with much of their territory occupied, they feel that their refusal to deal directly with Israel is one of their few bargaining strengths and that the longer the Israelis remain in occupation the more the weight of world public opinion will swing against Israel. Even "minor border rectifications" pressed persistently by some in the West as the maximum Israel should be allowed to claim (and also as the minimum Israel can be expected to accept) are rejected by Arabs as contrary to the UN formula. Moreover, they see no evidence that Israel is interested in settling for "minor border rectifications."

Another basic reason for refusing to negotiate, sometimes stated publicly, is that the internal political pressures against negotiating with Israel are enormous and that the political and physical future of Arab leaders who might negotiate would be placed in jeopardy. All Arab government leaders are under constant fear of accusations that they would be selling out Arab interests by even agreeing to consider a negotiated settlement.

Above all, the Arab contention is that the Israelis have no intention of "negotiating" a peace, but, as victors, want to impose a peace. Unless they can impose a peace, say the Arabs, the Israelis prefer to continue with the present no-peace-and-no-war situation. No Arab leader, it is clear, is willing to enter the conference room to submit to an "imposed" peace.



The Israelis, however, point out that negotiation through third parties is at best a preliminary form, which neither establishes permanent relations nor involves that mutual confidence which alone will make possible peaceful relations. Such third-party relationships, they point out, were tried in 1956 and did not work. They refuse to be caught again in this situation.

It is the considered judgment of the authors of this paper that the Arabs and Israelis cannot now solve this problem by themselves. The work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring of Sweden, has been continuously frustrated by the intransigence of both sides. There seems little likelihood of progress for his mission unless fresh and stronger outside influences are brought to bear, both upon the Great Powers, without whose leadership progress is not possible, and upon the protagonists themselves. If the Israelis continue to demand their formula for a "true peace" and the Arabs insist upon what they call "just peace" and if neither can be pressured into reasonable accommodation, the prospect is bleak.

The Arab leaders have... their... In the first place... settlement can be made... from the occupied territories... they are not intended to be put into a position in which they are having to bargain for elementary and generally recognized principles of justice already proclaimed by the United Nations. Defeated and with much of their territory occupied, they feel that their refusal to deal directly with Israel is one of their few bargaining strengths and that the longer the Israelis remain in occupation the more the weight of world public opinion will swing against Israel. Even "minor border negotiations" passed peacefully by some in the West as the maximum Israel should be allowed to claim (but also as the minimum Israel can be expected to accept) are rejected by Arabs as contrary to the UN formula. Moreover, they see no evidence that Israel is interested in settling for "minor border negotiations".

Another basic reason for refusing to negotiate, sometimes stated publicly, is that the internal political pressures against negotiating with Israel are enormous and that the political and physical future of Arab leaders who might negotiate would be placed in jeopardy. All Arab movement leaders are under constant fear of assassination and they would be selling out Arab interests by even appearing to consider a negotiated settlement.

Above all, the Arab contention is that the Israelis have no intention of "negotiating" a peace, but, on the contrary, that they are engaged in a "negotiating" process, and that the Israelis prefer to continue with the present no-peace-but-war situation. The Arab leader, in his view, is willing to enter the conference room to suggest an "imposed" peace.



VI

Suggestions for the Bases of a Practical Peace Settlement

Along with strong encouragement from people of diverse viewpoints for Quakers to attempt to make some statement on the Middle East situation have come suggestions that such a statement should include proposals on how a peace might be achieved. It has been said with good-humored bluntness: "Everybody knows the Quakers are in favor of peace, but so is everyone else. What are the practical steps to be taken toward peace? The Quakers should try to come forward with some specific suggestions, even at the risk of being ridiculed."

We believe that everyone is in favor of peace in the Middle East--in the abstract. As in all conflicts, it is natural to want a peace that gives one's own side what it wants, or peace which represents total surrender by the enemy. The trouble is that peace as a concrete reality is almost always based upon accommodation, bargaining, compromise--even after an overwhelming victory by one side. So must it be if peace is to come to the Middle East.

Are there any grounds for hoping that the bases for an accommodation in the Middle East can be found? We believe there are, despite abundant reasons for discouragement and even despair. We know full well that whatever approaches are suggested will be subject to rejection and abuse by both sides--and may prove, objectively, to be ill-advised. Nonetheless, with all the risks involved, we are prepared to state our considered conviction that the following guidelines offer the most promising approaches to a settlement of the Middle East troubles that seem likely to be available.

1. The first step must be an effort at psychological and emotional disengagement.

Ever since the Jews began praying, "Next Year in Jerusalem," the essential ingredients for a special kind of psychological conflict in Palestine have been emerging, and this has been a long, long time. At least since the 1920's, many Arabs in Palestine have been urgently aware of the awesome drive of the Zionists to make a physical and permanent return to Palestine, to establish themselves in an autonomous "national home", energetically and relentlessly sought since the First Zionist Congress in 1897. Increase in Jewish population in Palestine, from 5% in 1880, to 11.5% in 1914, to 28% in 1939, had intensified Arab apprehension. All during the growth of this period of tension, during years of growing fear and frustration, Arabs employed all the means open to them to oppose Zionism: protest, political action, strikes, demonstrations and sometimes terrorism. Nothing succeeded. Convictions about an inevitable Jewish expansionist drive alongside continuing Arab technical and military weakness, over against growing consciousness of a proud and great Arab past, long ago became a dominant factor in the Arab view of the world. It is, understandably, a fixation, a cause of fear and pessimism, a basis for the judgment of all other current political phenomena.

The sometimes explicit, sometimes merely hinted references of Israeli leaders to a continuing in-gathering of Jews from all over the world give to the Arabs a sense of fearful hopelessness and resentment that overclouds all attempts at rational discussion of a Middle East settlement so long as that in-gathering can be interpreted as tied to an expansion of the Jewish held



territories in the Middle East at the expense of the Arabs. Insofar as anti-Semitism still exists anywhere in the world, or may develop in the future, it is a problem with which responsible national leaders must deal and against which world opinion must be mobilized. This, like all other forms of racism, must be combated vigorously if there is to be a decent life in this inter-related age for any of us. But it is not a problem which the Arab countries must be expected to solve for the rest of the world by means of what one Israeli critic of his government's policy calls "salami" tactics in reverse. To place that burden upon the Arabs is to transfer from the West to the Middle East the most loathsome aspects of the anti-Jewish madness and to make peace for the area, in any true sense, impossible. Prior to the June War, and since, some Israelis have said that, by the intense application of labor and capital, Israel could absorb all the Jews of the world, if that should become necessary, within the truce lines recognized prior to June 5, 1967. All Israeli leaders insist that it was not any Jewish territorial ambition that produced the June War or that would stand in the way of peace now. However, having acquired that territory by war, many of them do not want to give it back, and some indicate that they want even more than has heretofore been claimed. Yet it simply defies all reason and the generally accepted sense of justice to expect any nation to negotiate freely a peace with a neighbor which, already holding lands that once belonged to another people, talks about territorial issues in such ambiguous terms as to lend credence to the accusation that continuing conquests will be attempted. Only a forthright declaration by the Israeli Government on the relation between Jewish immigration and territorial needs and ambitions can begin to allay some of the most persistent Arab fears.

The Arab paranoia over the prospects of unlimited Israeli territorial expansionism is matched by a Jewish paranoia toward the prospects of unceasing Arab determination to destroy Israel and to slaughter all Jews. The daily commando attacks on Israeli communities, military outposts, or individual soldiers and civilians, of course, feed that fear. So do Arab propaganda broadcasts, declarations and calls for a Holy War which seem to support the Israeli charge that the Arabs will not accept the existence of Israel in any form. The Israeli Government and people continue to brush aside the commando attacks as having no more military significance than traffic accidents, regrettable though bearable, but they serve to unify a loose coalition government that would otherwise fly apart and bind an otherwise critical and peace-hungry people to the hard-line policies of the government. Even those Israelis who denounce their government, sometimes in the most devastating terms, nonetheless also denounce the commando violence and say that if that violence brings on another war, they, while still critical of what they regard as their own government's stubbornness and stupidity, will join the fight, as Israeli patriots, to defend their nation against destruction. The further the Arabs go in trying to solve the conflict with the Israelis through violence the more violence the Israelis will use against the Arabs. The more threats against the existence of Israeli are uttered by Arab spokesmen, the more the Israelis become convinced that no peace with the Arabs is possible.

It is the conviction of the authors of this paper that the emotionally overcharged atmosphere in the Middle East must be cleared, that the mutual fears and hatreds must somehow be abated, that the beginnings of mutual credibility must be established--if the first steps toward a settlement are ever to be taken. This means, we believe, (1) that the Israeli Government must give forthright assurances on eventual with-



drawal from occupied territories and on rejection of future expansionist aims, and (2) that the Arab governments must declare their acceptance of the fact of Israel's existence and a willingness to live, on however distant terms, in a state of non-belligerency with Israel.

2. The second step is an effort toward military disengagement.

Absolutely nothing can be accomplished toward a peaceful settlement if the acts of violence on both sides continue to escalate. Therefore, a most urgent issue in the area and before the United Nations and the Big Four is finding the means to reduce and, it is hoped, to half the violence. To this end we suggest:

- a) that an attempt should be made to secure agreement for the establishment of a substantial United Nations emergency peace-keeping force to hold suitable demilitarized buffer zones;
- b) that a special United Nations Commission on Guerrilla Activities and Reprisals be set up to function on both sides of all cease-fire lines for the purpose of compiling an accurate and immediate record of all irregular acts of violence whether committed by guerrillas or by agents of civil or military authorities, whether labeled as terrorism or counter-terrorism reprisals, these reports to be transmitted regularly and promptly to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and made available to the news media of the world;
- c) that a conference be convened by the United Nations of the arms-supplying nations involved in the Middle East arms traffic, to explore ways of reducing the flow of arms into the Middle East and to undertake suitable UN action declaring the Middle East a nuclear-free zone.

It is the opinion of the authors of this paper that, however great the financial cost to the world community of such a program, it would be in the end cheaper than a continuance of the present situation, and in any case it is incumbent upon us to accept any conceivable cost for the sake of relieving intolerable human misery, reviving blasted hopes, and rebuilding the bright visions of the future of two great peoples.

3. The third step is the effort to structure a political settlement.

Even after psychological and military disengagement, when tempers have cooled, the shooting has stopped, and long-dead hopes of peace are reviving, it is unlikely that one grand, comprehensive peace plan can be drawn up and accepted at a given moment by all the parties to the conflict. Certainly, this is quite impossible in the form of "direct negotiations" for which the Israelis have so persistently pressed. An enormous amount of indirect bargaining, involving the Great Powers, the United Nations Special Representative and perhaps others, will have to take place before anything approaching direct and general Arab-Israeli negotiations can occur. At the same time, it must be recognized that eventually, under United Nations auspices and under conditions approved by the United Nations, representatives of the Arabs, specifically including the



**Palestinians, and of the Israelis must meet and seek concrete agreements, and those agreements must be encased in official, public, written documents.**

It is recommended by the authors of this paper that the Israelis should cease their opposition to the Big Four talks and lay aside their insistence on immediate "direct negotiations" with the Arabs. Otherwise the conclusion is inescapable that the Israeli Government really prefers the indefinite prolongation of a no-peace-and-no-war situation.

**In the creation of a political settlement, we believe that the following guidelines are fundamental:**

- a) **The right of existence for all states in the Middle East must be accepted by all other states in the area.**
- b) **All claims and acts of belligerency of one Middle Eastern state against another must be ended.**
- c) **All Israeli claims of the acquisition of territory by conquest in the June War of 1967 must be abandoned and Israel must make firm commitments for withdrawal from the territories occupied after June 5, 1967.**
- d) **The right of self-determination for the Palestinian Arabs must be recognized by all parties to the conflict and appropriate United Nations arrangements should be set up to determine the will of the Palestinians. Pending such a determination, a temporary United Nations Trusteeship administration should replace the Israeli military occupation for the West Bank and Gaza.**
- e) **Until a final disposition of the boundary questions between Israel and the Arab states of Syria and the United Arab Republic can be reached, temporary United Nations Trusteeships should be immediately established over the demilitarized Sinai and over the Golan Heights area.**
- f) **A new and special status for Jerusalem should be established. One of the original United Nations resolutions on the partition of Palestine called for Jerusalem to be an international city. Both Israel and Jordan ignored that proposed arrangement. Jerusalem was fought over and was from 1948 to June, 1967 divided into Israeli and Arab sectors. Since 1967 the Israelis have moved energetically to unify all of Jerusalem under Israeli rule and have indicated that they regard this as permanent and irreversible. With the deep and special meaning of Jerusalem, it is understandable that many Jews in and outside of Israel are united on this issue as on no other question of territory. It is reasonable that Israel should be allowed to annex the old Jewish Quarter and the Wall of the Temple to West Jerusalem; it is not reasonable that she should absorb Arab East Jerusalem and surround it with new Jewish settlements.**

**In time it should be possible to create some kind of "federal district" condominium for Jerusalem. Meanwhile, the most acceptable arrangement would seem to be the establishment of separate Jewish and Arab boroughs with unified municipal services under a co-ordinating United Nations agency.**



Jerusalem must be recognized as equally a Holy City to Christians, Jews and Muslims. That it should eventually have a unified municipal administration is obvious common sense, despite the fact that this cannot be achieved until after a transition period. That it should be united under exclusive Israeli control seems unlikely ever to be acceptable to most Muslims and Christians.

In some ways, this is the most intractable problem connected with the Middle East conflict. Yet Jerusalem could conceivably become in time a true City of Peace, a happy international meeting place for different races, religions, and cultures. It should not again become a barbed-wire divided zone of conflict as it was for twenty years. It cannot peacefully become the sole possession of one race, one religion or one national state.

g) The shipping of all nations must be guaranteed the right of free and innocent passage through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal.

h) All persons who became refugees since the 1947 partition have the right, in accordance with repeated UN resolutions, to the option of peaceful repatriation to their original homes or to compensation for the loss of their property including appropriate payment for the years of non-use of lands, houses and other properties left in Israeli hands. Those who choose to settle elsewhere should have the right to generous assistance in establishing permanent homes inside or outside the area. A special UN-supervised Mixed Commission, continuing the work of the Palestine Conciliation Commission, should be created, with representation for both Israelis and Palestinian Arabs, to deal with the rights and property claims of the refugees. This Mixed Commission should have authority to deal with all questions relating to amounts of compensation, conditions of restoration of property, permission for repatriation and types and amounts of assistance for resettlement.

4. The fourth step is peace development.

If psychological and military disengagements can be achieved, and if a practical political settlement can be eventually arranged, the Middle East will still be a long way from true peace. It is not realistic to assume, after all the bitter conflict of these many years, that "normal" political and economic ties will be quickly established between Israel and the Arab states and that mutual trust and friendly personal relations will rapidly develop between Jews and Arabs. Many small and large acts of good will, many shared experiences of constructive achievement must take place in order to create the climate of understanding in which real peace can grow. Many acts of support, of hope, and of faith will be required on the part of the international community.

In the long run, Jews and Arabs must themselves take the primary responsibility to push forward with the tasks of reconstruction and reconciliation. What outside groups, governments and international agencies do or don't do may only aid or hamper the accomplishment of those tasks. Here, we believe, are some pertinent suggestions:

a) A greater role should be envisioned for international economic



aid, and it should be calculated more in human terms and less in economic and political terms. Though there is still a role for bi-national aid schemes, so selfishly have the Great Powers sought to tie aid programs to their own economic, political and military purposes, that bi-national aid from these sources is seriously compromised. No single proud Middle Eastern state wishes to see its future in terms of an association with outside political influences, nor should any be required to do so. More and more contributions of manpower and money should be channeled through the United Nations or through an institution to be created, an Institute for Research, Planning and Development, able to lift its sights from local problems to regional and world wide considerations, avoiding the compromised and competitive domination of the Great Powers.

It is the suggestion of the authors of this paper that nations of the middle rank, politically uncompromised in the Middle East, concerned for peace and justice and willing to invest generously in orderly advancement of the area, take the lead in organizing cooperating institutions and activities wherever possible among all nations of the region. They should find ways to maximize local leadership and resources, providing politics-free advice and counsel, and a balance within the inevitably confused Middle East political structure.

b) A Middle East Bank for Development should be created, perhaps in association with the World Bank, to help assure the wisest uses of resources over the region. It should be clearly understood in advance, however, that any effort to "buy" peace, to put an economic value upon the hopes and dreams and loyalties of human beings, will inevitably fail.

c) A Middle East Human Resources Institute should be established, to carry out regional demographic studies, to plan for the day--perhaps far distant--when the technical competence of any one part of the region may be usefully employed elsewhere; to direct educational programs toward the development of most-needed skills; and to advise and counsel on the development of pertinent, action-oriented interdisciplinary educational programs and intercultural research. Within its scope might be a Center of Semitic Studies, whose aim would be, in local institutions and overseas studies programs, more effectively to acquaint Jews and Arabs with their respective backgrounds and traditions. For some time, perhaps such efforts will be most fruitful at universities in Europe, North America and elsewhere, employing the benefits of neutral meeting grounds. In all of this activity, efforts for rational and maximal use of human resources within the several social traditions must be made, and flexibility and openness in defining emerging political, social and economic forms and relations for the future must be sought.

It is the conviction of the authors of this paper that here, in the field of social development, lies the greatest of the great human challenges. Progress in this field of endeavor will go further to re-create the world role of the two great Semitic peoples than any other effort we might undertake.



VII

But is any Kind of Peace Possible?

There is no question that one of the main barriers to the constructing of a Middle East solution is the widely shared belief on all sides that under existing circumstances no peace is possible now or in the predictable future. This pessimistic view is reinforced by the cynical judgment on each side that the enemy has no interest in peace.

The Israelis say that the Arabs are not interested in peace because: (a) the existing Arab governments would be overthrown if peace were made; (b) the governments of Jordan and the UAR would lose their subsidies from the oil-rich Arab states once the conflict ends; (c) Arab societies would have to undergo a social revolution if peace should come; (d) the Arab states would lose whatever sense of Arab solidarity they now possess once the Israeli challenge were removed; (e) Soviet financial aid to the Arab world would be greatly reduced once peace came. Moreover, the Fedayeen have a short-lived glory and financial support only so long as a state of war or near-war can be maintained. In short, say the Israelis, the Arabs are not interested in peace, they have not abandoned their long-proclaimed dream of driving Israel into the sea, and they are interested only in playing games through the United Nations and the Big Four discussions in order to prevent peace.

The Arabs say that the Israelis are not interested in peace because: (a) they need a state of war or threat of war to keep the money flowing in from American Jews and other Jews around the world; (b) they need a continuing crisis to maintain domestic morale and acceptance of an uninspired, faltering coalition government; (c) they need a war economy to maintain a high level of economic activity and prevent the return of unemployment and the economic stagnation which obtained before the June War; (d) they need the myth of the beleaguered Jewish homeland to attract new immigrants and to prevent the return of the trend toward outward migration which was evident before the June War. And, the Arabs point out, the Israelis have shown their contempt for all peace-making efforts by their rejection of the UN Resolution of November 22, 1967, and numerous other UN resolutions, before and since; by their cynical establishment of Jewish communities in the occupied Arab territories; and by their unshakable hostility to the Big Four discussions on the Middle East. Moreover, say the Arabs, the Israeli obsessive demand for a comprehensive peace through immediate and direct negotiations with Arab leaders, given the present psychological and political situation in the Arab countries (of which the Israelis are fully aware), is such an unrealistic proposal that the Israelis can make it only on the basis of a shameless hypocrisy, knowing full well that this maneuver is the surest guarantee that no progress toward peace will be made.

The arguments on both sides are overpowering. Examining them soberly, how can anyone imagine for a moment that anything can be in store for the Middle East except more bloodshed and more bitterness and almost certainly at least one more major, all-out Arab-Israeli war? Yet there are other factors which must be examined too:

4) The ordinary people on both sides are sick of war and the threats of war and want to be allowed to live in peace.



2) Among both Arabs and Israelis, particularly among small groups of intellectuals and students, there are sharp critics of the existing governments and of the current collision-course policies. The Israelis are a highly individualistic people and very much divided about their government and its policies. On each side the people will march once more when the bugle sounds, but they will do so with little enthusiasm and with little faith that their government knows what it is doing and can bring peace at the end of the battle.

3) Familiarity with war has not brought a diminished fear of war in the Middle East. On the contrary, there are deep apprehensions that if all-out war comes again it will be far more ghastly than anything previously experienced, that the principal cities on both sides will be bombed, that civilian casualties will be heavy, and that much of the positive achievements of these hard-working peoples, bought with great effort over the past twenty-five years, will, on both sides, lie in ruins. Fear has never been a guarantee against going to war, but, despite all the warlike rhetoric on both sides, fear of the consequences is now exercising a restraining influence--for a time.

4) Quite apart from these human considerations, the governments of the Arab states and of Israel have good reason to question the possibility that any national benefit can come from another war. On the Arab side there is widespread expectation that another war would mean another Arab defeat. On the Israeli side there is a widespread conviction that Israel cannot afford another "victory".

5) Still another reason for hope lies in the shared judgment of the Soviet Union and the United States that their own self-interest and the desired future of their relations with each other demand a calming down of the Middle East. Specifically, the Soviet Union must give high priority to its growing conflict with China and its attendant dangers. The United States remains mired in a costly and unpopular war in Southeast Asia. Neither of the Super Powers wants to be dragged into an unpredictable war in the Middle East. Neither can view with any equanimity the possibilities that the smaller states whom they serve as patrons will come to dictate the course of the larger states' foreign and military policies.

Beyond all these political considerations, which can be interpreted variously and debated endlessly, we feel, as Quakers, that we must assert the human claims of Jews and Arabs alike, and of all of us, for a life freed from the threat of wholesale destruction and the constant risk of violent death. The peoples of the Middle East are weary of this conflict. They want to get on with the tasks of building a decent existence for themselves and for their children. They don't see a way out and their passions are easily inflamed by new calls to arms. Yet, at the same time, they could be moved by a vision of peace with justice if enough voices are raised for such a vision--before everything blows up again.



VIII

A Quaker Expression of Concern and an Affirmation of Hope

Any analysis of the Middle East situation is bound to be incomplete, and will, in varying measure, displease everyone, including its authors. Any proposed solution is certain to be flawed by seeming, on particular points, to favor one side over another. Any particular set of suggestions, including specifically these, will invite criticism for being too general or too detailed--or both. We have no pride in our authorship; we have no special interest or privileged position to defend.

Some, including other Quakers, will find what we have written "too political". We will only point out that what we are faced with in the Middle East is a thoroughly political situation and that attempts at economic amelioration or at cultural cooperation will come to nothing until some significant progress is made on the basic political problem. We persist in believing that, despite all the proofs of hopelessness, progress toward a political settlement can be made.

We appeal, therefore, first of all, to the United Nations and to the representatives of the Big Four to continue, with renewed energy and imagination, their search for a military disengagement and a Middle East settlement. Outside involvement has helped to produce and perpetuate the conflict; outside assistance must be available for bringing a solution.

We appeal to the Israelis to reassess their present policy of seeking security primarily through what Defense Minister Moshe Dayan has termed "secure and strategic boundaries". We hold the conviction, shared by numerous Israeli citizens and other concerned residents of the area, that Israel cannot hope to survive indefinitely as an armed camp surrounded by vastly more numerous hostile Arabs. Despite official Israeli intentions to run an enlightened and humane occupation, the longer Arabs and their lands are held under Israeli control the deeper will grow the bitterness and hatred. In such a climate the cry for a war of revenge to destroy Israel will inevitably gain in popular support. In time the Arabs will have the technical and military skills, to go with their superior numbers, to win military victories over the Israelis. The tacit assumption of Israeli leaders that time is on their side, that if they can only be allowed to wait it out they will be able to create so many "new facts" that eventually a more accommodating Arab leadership will come to the fore with which a reasonable peace can be made--this assumption, we earnestly believe, is false. If it is maintained as a basis for Israeli policy, we can see only disaster for Israel--and for the rest of the Middle East. Israel's ultimate peace and security are dependent upon having peaceful relations with its Arab neighbors. We, therefore, appeal further and most urgently to Israel to realize the fruitlessness of its past rigid policies, to recognize the obligation, as military victor in past combats, to make the first move toward peace. **Let us be plain:**

It is the opinion of the authors of this paper that without such first moves, to which Israel is obligated by the manner of her creation in the Middle East, as well as by her present military dominance, no progress toward a settlement of the Middle East situation will be achieved.



We appeal to the Arab States to reaffirm categorically their acceptance of the State of Israel as a reality in the Middle East and to express their readiness to renounce all claims of belligerency against it. Such a policy has already been publicly proclaimed by Jordan and the United Arab Republic in their notification of the acceptance of the UN Resolution of November 22, 1967 and has been frequently re-stated by their officials. The Israeli Government does not believe these are valid assurances and may never believe them until a peace agreement is actually signed, implemented and lived with. Nevertheless, the Arab States could make a real contribution toward a political settlement by some further unequivocal public commitment now, through the United Nations, to accept an Israeli State within agreed and final borders.

We appeal to the Palestinian Arabs to accept the fact that the State of Israel has come into being on a portion of their original Palestine homeland and to recognize that attempts to destroy that state can only bring more suffering and more injustice for more people than will be the case if Israel is accepted. At the same time we urge the Palestinians to seek to concert their voices and to become an active and constructive force in the making of peace. We do not presume to judge whether their best interests will be served by the establishment of a new independent Arab Palestine, or by the creation of a semi-autonomous Palestine federated with Jordan, or by reabsorption into the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. We feel that the Palestinians have a right to self-determination and should claim that right. The introduction of such a new factor could help to break the present stalemate.

We appeal to Jordan, the United Arab Republic and Israel to allow and encourage the Palestinian Arabs to seek to determine, freely and democratically, their own fate. To take such a far-seeing approach will be to allow some measure of mutual disengagement. Such an approach can succeed, however, only if all three states faithfully refrain from the temptation to use the Palestinians for their own national ends.

We appeal to the world community--to governments, international agencies and voluntary organizations--to persist in all reasonable efforts to promote peace in the Middle East and to resist the counsels of despair, to continue and enlarge the flow of financial support for the social and economic development of the Middle East and for satisfying the material needs and hopes of all the refugees, Arab and Jewish; and to continue to work at the many large and small tasks which must be performed in behalf of the long-term spiritual and cultural reconciliation of the Jewish and Arab peoples.

We reaffirm our conviction that there are no hopeless situations, there are only hopeless men. Even in these dark days, we find hopeful men on both sides of the tragic conflict. May their voices of moderation be more widely heard. And may common sense and peace and human justice prevail.

October, 1969.



Appendix A

TEXT OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION - NOVEMBER 22, 1967

U.N. doc. S/RES/242 (1967) (S/8247); adopted unanimously on November 22)

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security.

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter.

1. Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

(i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. Affirms further the necessity

(a) for guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.



## Appendix B

The following selections of moderate Israeli opinion are taken from TO MAKE WAR OR MAKE PEACE, proceedings of a Symposium on the Middle East, sponsored by NEW OUTLOOK, March 27, 29 and 30, 1969, and published as a special issue of NEW OUTLOOK. (Full copies available 8 Karl Netter Street, Tel Aviv, \$2.50.)

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Chairman of the World Zionist Organization. (Letter of greeting to the Symposium):

"...understanding with the Arab world is the Number One problem of Israel's future."

Yehoshua Arieli, Professor of History, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, "Trapped in Vicious Circles" (translated from the Hebrew):

"The time has...arrived for both sides to take stock; to learn the lessons of past experience in order to avoid being drawn blindly into the whirlpool and to halt the escalation into another war."

"So long as the Arabs ignore the true nature of the Jewish movement of renaissance...they will be incapable of understanding the reality created before their very eyes and no...dialogue...will be possible."

"On the other hand, we too are not free of the need to take stock...Like them, we have evaded the need to understand, we have ignored their feelings, the suffering caused the Palestinians as a result of the dispute and wrapped ourselves in our own righteousness and...self-justification."

"...the serious failure of the Jewish community and of the Israeli leadership to understand the other side...found its first reflection in...the refugee question, when the State of Israel made the settlement of the refugee problem dependent upon a total peace agreement...(Israel) didn't take any energetic initiative to compensate the refugees and her own moral and human responsibility..."

"The Government of Israel will have...to come out with an initiative for peace...It is not the Arabs but we who have returned to this area and to the Arab world, and our future depends upon our ability to live in peace with the peoples of the region."

Simha Flapan, NEW OUTLOOK Editor, Tel Aviv, "Peace Will Solve Palestinian Problem" (translated from the Hebrew):

"...the focal problem is that of the refugees."

"Today, we are paying the terrible price for the neglect of this problem during twenty years, by us as well as by the Arab countries."

".....if during...twenty years we and the Arab countries had solved the problem of the refugees, we would not now be facing this tragedy. The fact is that during two years--two years after the (June) war--not one step has been taken towards solving the problem...This is one of the decisive errors committed by our Government...For those who look for a path to the hearts of the Palestinian people, that path runs through the solution of the refugee problem."

Appendix B (continued)

Avigdor Levontin, Professor of Law, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, "The Possible instead of the Ideal:"

"A secure border...isn't a 'natural' boundary, like a mountain range or a river;...Nor is it a border mentioned in signed documents. A border is secure when those living on the other side do not have...motivation to infringe on it..."

"When we find the spirit in ourselves to see clearly that what our right here has come up against is another right, then we shall no longer regard the position of the other side to the dispute, and his very existence, as problematical, irrational, almost psycho-pathological...We will discover that whatever language it is that the Arabs do understand...it is precisely the language of force that they do not understand..."

"I would...say about the term 'secure' borders that it has to face not only the test of reasonableness, but also...of integrity...The term ceases to be an honest one when you expand settlement up to the new border, so that in order to make the new line 'secure' you need still another strip of some tens of kilometers, and...things are liable to continue in what may perhaps be described as a salami method in reverse."

Yossi Levy, Student, "Peace is Basis of Security;"

"...the only way to attain lasting security for the State of Israel is peace... Military means can never guarantee real security..."

"We therefore are for any attempt by no matter what ways...that may open some possibilities of finding a solution. We...call for...the formation of a new government that will be capable of taking initiatives for peace."

"Such initiatives will include readiness to give up the territories we occupied in the war...to find appropriate compensation for the refugees and a solution for their problem."

Dani Peter, Teacher, Tel Aviv, "Points for a Minimum Program:"

"The desired goal of full peace should not be forgotten...But if you try to turn this goal into a point of departure, a starting point, if you say today: contractual peace or nothing, you are deliberately or unwittingly blocking the path to peace."

Yaakov L. Talmon, Professor of Modern History, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, "History as Fixation and Guide;"

"The greatest difficulty between the two peoples...is a neurosis that grips both of them. The Arabs are motivated by anger...insult...hatred and envy. The Jews...by fear and distrust."

"Israel may be able to win and win and go on winning till its last breath, win itself to death, thereby demonstrating the truth of Hegel's aphorism about the 'impotence of victory.'" After every victory, we face more difficult, more complicated problems. If we continue to go on triumphing, the country will become a standing army; we will all live in Bevingrads, one



Appendix B (continued)

larger than the other. All our energy and talent will go into spying, policing, repressing, and preventive action, and the perpetual state of emergency, the atmosphere of suspicion, fear and peril will corrode the whole fabric of our life. The remarkable constructive character, the idealistic splendor, the wonderful humanistic spirit and values that were at the cradle of our great movement of renaissance would be entirely perverted. The abyss of mutual hatred will deepen and the desires for vengeance will mount..."

"...In short--we can win war after war, but you can't solve this problem by force."

Aryeh Yaari, Student, "Tell Ourselves the Truth:"

"One of the greatest hurdles to Jewish-Arab agreement is the inability of Jews and Arabs to talk together...Let us start talking to ourselves, telling ourselves the painful truth, courageously and frankly, and then there may be hopes of one day being able to talk to our enemies as well."

Natan Yalin-Mor, Journalist, Tel Aviv, "Justice for the Palestinians:"

"...psychotic factors are acting as a barrier to...political solution...Both sides...are obsessed by genuine fears. Israel is gripped by a terrible fear of the danger of annihilation; she has justified reason for that..."

"The Arab world...is gripped by violent fear of a threat of Israeli expansion... And there are grounds for this fear."

"...The actual deeds of establishing settlements in the conquered territories and the political maneuvers of the National Unity Government serve as proof that this is the official policy of Israel, and that its concrete aim is to maintain the status quo until such time as the world accepts it as a fait accompli, by virtue of possession..."

"The Government of Israel, unfortunately, has opted for the path of practical and psychological annexation...This finds expression in permanent settlement (in the occupied territories)...Politically, this is a provocation; historically it is a distortion; and geographically it is a lie; the infantile act of people...who believe that semantics can be used to solve political problems."



## Appendix C

The following selections of moderate Arab Palestinian opinion are taken from various sources published and unpublished, all since the June, 1967 War. All persons quoted are personally known to members of the Quaker staff.

An unpublished West Bank statement, early 1969:

"At the present state of the Israeli-Arab dispute...there cannot remain doubt that neither the Palestinian people nor the Israeli people will renounce their rights to a free, independent homeland in (Palestine)..."

"The fundamental question is whether the building of these two homelands must be mutually exclusive as we are constantly told by leaders of both nations. Our reply is an emphatic no..."

Avicenna, "Breaking the Circle," THE NEW MIDDLE EAST, January, 1969:

"Oh, how I wished that Israel took positive steps after her victory in the June war, proposing a reasonable and fair settlement, in which the personality and the dignity of Palestinians would be preserved. It would have proved to the Arabs, and to the world at large...that...Israel had no intention of humbling her adversaries, nor of taking forcible possession of their entire property. Many...among the Arabs would have been won over..."

"The Palestinian people, too, have lost much, endured much and sacrificed more than they could afford to...They yearn for the opportunity to settle down quietly in a part of their home, where they will be able to govern themselves. They want to shake off that hateful term 'refugees'..."

Dr. Aziz Shehadeh, "The Voice of the Forgotten Palestinian," THE NEW MIDDLE EAST, December 1968:

"Some among us have taken the course of military struggle against Israel; others, perhaps the majority, still believe in a peaceful solution."

"...It is unfortunately we Palestinians...who have been the principal victims of the stumbling, tottering and faltering leadership of the Arab states... There are many reasons for...continuing failure to achieve...progress in dealing with our problem. In my opinion the following are the most serious:

1. The lack of solidarity and real coordination among the Arab states.
2. The rivalry and conflicting interests of the Big Powers in this area.
3. The vacillations of the Arab leaders in determining...policy...
4. The subjection of the Palestinian Arab leaders...to pressure from abroad.
5. Last, but not least, the attitude of the Israel Government has also made the slim chances of achieving a settlement more difficult...Until now... the Government of Israel has failed to put forward any proposal acceptable as a basis for discussion either with the Arab States Governments or with the Palestinian Arabs..."

"Moreover it must be remembered that there exists a strong undercurrent among the Palestinians, inside and outside the occupied territories, and also among the Israelis, which obstructs and hinders the way to an honorable settlement..."



MAR 10 1970

SS/JG/GG



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

Paris Office: 30, Rue La Boetie, 75 Paris 8, France • Elysees 69-11, 83-63 • Cable: Wishcom, Paris • Zachariah Shuster, European Director

FO-Eur  
March 6, 1970

MEMORANDUM

To: Foreign Affairs Department  
From: A.S. Karlikow  
Subj: Reaction in France to Mr. Pompidou's Visit.

Irritation, appreciation and dispute mingled with a governmental self-proclaimed satisfaction accepted or decried by press and public according to ones's bent, with no single impression dominating --- such was the varied reaction in France to the Pompidou visit to the United States.

Irritation at what was reported to have happened in Chicago and appreciation for Mr. Nixon's beau geste in soothing French feathers.

Considerable understanding being expressed for the pluralistic nature of American society, of hyphenated-American groups and their tradition of demonstrating in a demonstrative nation, in explanation of American Jewish community action, side by side with warnings concerning Jewish "double loyalty" and editorial hand-wringing that "the demonstrators" actions only reinforce the impression that Israel is in a category apart, using and abusing pressure groups that have been recruited in various countries on racial and religious rather than political grounds, with more appeal to passion than to reason."

Grumblings that preparations for Mr. Pompidou's trip had been poor, his running around all America unnecessary, and French officialdom's handling of the Chicago incident no less inept than that of the Chicago police, combined with assertions that now, indeed, Mr. Pompidou had made his personal mark on the American public, hopefully on American business and, certainly, on the U.S. administration.

General agreement that the trip had altered neither French nor American fundamental positions, especially on the Middle East, and equal agreement that, after all, nobody had expected it to do so. Plus sneers from the left that the French president had kowtowed to the American dollar, hurrahs

.../...

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from Gaullists that he had proven French independence, reports of cheers from the Arabs, of new frictions with Israel, of grave admonition from Communist papers like Poland's Trybuna Ludu that "the French begin to understand the role that Zionist groups play in France and in the United States," and, finally, in all this jumbled mess, the queries and dispute over:

What, really, did Mr. Pompidou say in his meeting with the Chicago Jewish leaders? And if he did not use the phrase "racial and religious" to describe the state of Israel --- though his press spokesman in the United States twice insisted that he did --- why, then was there, as France's leading afternoon paper Le Monde declared, such "tardy denial"? And was this not the real view of the Pompidou administration, denied or not?

Rarely has there been in France such an intensity and density of discussion about things Jewish as in the past fortnight, as the more dramatic elements of the Pompidou-Jewish sparring in the United States overshadowed most other aspects of the visit: a discussion arousing Jewish indignation and inquietude here as much because of the turn it took in France itself as because of Mr. Pompidou's alleged remarks in the United States.

Jewish leadership in France is particularly exercised (and perturbed too,) over a column of "Free Opinion" that appeared in Le Monde shortly after Mr. Pompidou departed for Washington, written by a former ranking French diplomat, René Massigli. Indignant, because Massigli accused Jews of "double loyalty" in sharper terms than has been used by any member of the French establishment since pre-war years. Perturbed as to what may lay behind the article because, the speculation goes, the article probably was an inspired one... but by whom?

Talk to the Jewish proverbial "man in the street" who never heard of Mr. Massigli (while eating in a restaurant in the Jewish quarter of Paris or while at a community center meeting in Toulouse) and one finds a similar mixture. There is real anger, expressed in earthy, sometimes scatological, terms, an attitude of "to hell with their warnings," of "2,000 years is long enough to be polite, and with what results," tinged, for all its vigor, with malaise. "The inner ear hears the music of anti-Semitism again, no matter what their words," said one, no matter how often President Pompidou proclaims that "nobody will succeed in making an anti-Semite out of me" --- and partially, probably, because of such proclamation.

Tardy or not, though, the appeasement offered by French government spokesman Leo Hamon in denying the remarks attributed to Mr. Pompidou at Chicago obviously represents some government desire that no more issue should be made of them. This development, one may safely predict, will be quietly welcomed by Jewish institutional leaders here as good enough reason not to exacerbate matters further. They have been moving (or, rather, not moving) with chary wariness for a whole complexity of reasons, of which more later, for all that they are determinedly opposed to the Pompidou government position in the Middle East, and have said so in no uncertain terms.



Official denial of the Chicago remarks was but one part of a quite purposeful governmental effort to rub over all rough spots in the Pompidou visit with the kind of pan-gloss that Candide's mentor well might envy, but hardly with full success.

Here is the governmental presentation of the trip, as set forth at the Council of Ministers meeting in Paris the day after the French President's return:

-- Mr. Pompidou laid particular stress on "the importance of personal relations and good contacts" established between President Nixon and himself, with Mr. Nixon appreciating, he said, the "originality" of French support, thus nicely plastering over the divergencies between American and French government views.

-- Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann insisted that even the least favorable U.S. newspapers recognized that any points of divergence persisting should not permit one to forget the extent of Franco-American agreement, but he didn't define what this included.

-- He underlined, too, "the exceptional implication of President Nixon's gesture" in going to New York as "the reality" of popular welcome for Mr. Pompidou who, everywhere that he could have a direct and normal contact with the American people as at San Francisco, was cordially welcomed.

-- Very special stress was laid indeed on Mr. Pompidou's meetings with American economic and financial personalities, private and public, many of whom, the government spokesman declared, praised the "success of France's economic and monetary policy."

As for Jewish reaction in the United States, why, said Mr. Schumann, according to the summary given, for example, in the Paris newspaper with the largest morning popular circulation, Le Parisien Libere (March 5): "The manifestations were the act of very small minorities, with the ensemble of the Jewish population in the principal cities not participating; the Minister then underlined the measured tone of the statements of the Jewish delegations that he (sic) had received, in comparison with the manifestations. He also said that numerous Jewish personalities had participated in the manifestations of sympathy at Congress and at the Waldorf Astoria dinner."

One can doubt that the American Jewish community sees itself or its action in quite the same light, and no mention was made, in this final governmental accounting, of the snub to the leaders of the major Jewish organizations who had been scheduled to meet with Mr. Pompidou in New York. Not too much attention was paid here to this slight: Hadn't the French President, after all, seen two Jewish delegations? (In France, let it be said in passing, Mr. Pompidou has not yet received any since acceding to the presidency, though he has met with personalities such as Chief Rabbi of France Jacob Kaplan and Nobel Prize winner Rene Cassin.) French public opinion hardly could be expected to make any distinction between the more central nature of the New York Jewish delegation as against the local character of the San Francisco and Chicago groups. The Jewish protest after the Waldorf-Astoria incident was --- with one or two exceptions --- lost in the shuffle of other news.



Reactions to the other government assertions were very much mixed indeed. The press agreed that Mr. Nixon indeed had made an exceptional gesture; that the personal contacts established could in the future be of importance to France; and that the Franco-American reconciliation begun between General de Gaulle and Mr. Nixon definitely had progressed with the Pompidou trip, despite its ups and downs. Le Figaro, the most influential French morning paper, saw in "this animated voyage" a "positive element" for the development of Franco-American relations and this was admitted by even so vigorous an opponent of Gaullism and Pompidou as the newspaper L'Aurore. But government claims as to Mr. Pompidou's popular success were hardly in keeping with Le Monde's estimate that the French president had not succeeded in projecting himself "across the footlights" in his efforts to reach the American public; and were mocked by L'Aurore as "bumptious and maladroit."

While Gaullists were proclaiming how France had not yielded an inch in policy discussions with the American administration on the Middle East, Viet-Nam and other areas, and a columnist like Genevieve Tabouis of Paris-Jour even saw Washington "in a process of military disengagement (in Viet-Nam) that corresponds to what is desired by Paris," leftist papers were scathing in their appraisal of Mr. Pompidou's concessions to America. For the Socialists, Mr. Pompidou "went to Canossa" in the guise of a "reconversion of Gaullism," abandoning great sections of Gaullist policy. For Gaullism's main opponents, the Communists, "if anybody has reason to be satisfied, it is President Nixon." Pompidou, they declared, had given up the fight against American troop presence in Europe, put an end to French attacks against the dollar, and dropped any limits on American investments in Europe. "Imperialist solidarity" motivates Mr. Pompidou above all, the American trip makes clear, the Communists affirmed.

In short, political opponents and adherents of the Gaullist regime all could find whatever they wished in the vague, not very clear, results of the Pompidou visit. In retrospect, too, it is evident, French government controlled and independent media were becoming hard put to keep up interest in the Pompidou trip, by the time he had finished in San Francisco, for lack of any really "hard" news and because of a widespread impression that the only real purpose of the voyage was simply "a selling job" to strengthen Mr. Pompidou's foreign affairs image. "Paradoxically, Mr. Georges Pompidou owes it to the hostile cries at Chicago that he was able to end with brio a visit that greatly risked finishing up in the boredom of protocolar rites" commented editorialist Roger Massip of Le Figaro. The excitement around the Chicago incident (with some press and media stressing Mr. Pompidou's charges of a "stain on the forehead of America" and others deploring his lack of cool,) the contradictory flurries over the "race and religion" remarks concerning Israel, President Nixon's gallop to the rescue, made new drama of fast-approaching ennui.

Events at Chicago and afterward certainly left an impression in France, strongly featured in government controlled media but accepted more widely

.../...



too (as, for instance, in a public statement of François Mitterrand, one-time candidate for the French presidency of a United-Left anti-Gaullist coalition), that American Jews had gone beyond the limits of common-courtesy in their efforts to put pressure on Mr. Pompidou; with the result, as seen here, that in the end they had helped him and probably hurt their cause, and Israel's, as well.

At the same time, the confusion, the tempesting, and the mini-crises around these same events made for a somewhat diminished image of the French president, dulled the success he had hoped to have and --- at the outset of the trip, anyway --- brought home to France that in the United States opposition to French government Middle East policy was not limited to Jews alone, even though, by the trip's conclusion, this faded into the background.

# # #

What of the Jewish community in France, the largest in Europe outside the Soviet Union, some 550,000 strong, in all of this?

Of all the Jewish communities in the free world the Jews in France are up at the front on the ideological firing line, insofar as support of Israel is concerned, and are quite conscious of it. To support Israel in France, presently, is to be in open conflict with French government policy, to face the slings not only of the Gaullists in power but the propaganda of one of the most powerful Communist parties in the world, to meet the attacks of intellectually able and active non-Communist leftists inside the university system and out. The real pressure has been on, basically, since General de Gaulle slapped an embargo on French planes to Israel, immediately after the June, 1967 war began; and has increased steadily ever since.

To such pressures, Jews in France have responded with dignity and firmness in manifestation of their support of Israel and in opposition to their government's continuously more pronounced pro-Arab backing. Jewish mass opinion is more vociferous and intense than that of leadership, as is often the case in other lands too: naturally enough, moreover, when one considers the personal background of much of the present Jewish population. Approximately half the Jews in France have come here as refugees from North African Moslem lands since 1950 and another 20% or so are Jews who came back from, or out of, the DP camps and from Eastern Europe since 1945. The mass-leadership difference revolves around style and tactics, essentially, however, rather than on fundamentals. The present position is all the more poignant for Jews in France in that for well over a decade France's and Israel's positions ran so parallel that then to be pro-Israel was to be the best of French patriots whereas, today, increasingly, there are those who --- a la Massigli --- would charge Jews with recognizing "one's obligations as a French citizen only to the extent that French policy accepts the theses of Tel Aviv."

In this context, the visit of Mr. Pompidou to the United States presented quite a problem to the Jews of France, beginning with the sharp attack last December by the Presidents Conference in the U.S. on the French sale of Mirages to Libya,



then still being denied by the French authorities. Some elements among Jewish community leadership in Paris were furious that a Jewish group in the United States had acted without consulting them. They promptly fired off a letter to this effect to the Presidents Conference, a letter that went on to warn, moreover, that any manifestations by Jews in America during Mr. Pompidou's visit would be undesirable. On the heart of the matter, opposition to the French sale of planes to Libya, one should note, there was absolutely no difference whatsoever between the attitude of French and American Jews.

Other French Jewish leaders who had not been consulted about this letter just as promptly pointed out the illogicality of telling American Jews how to act while protesting about their interference. On the same grounds, after tugging back and forth on the matter, Jewish leadership in France decided against sending any "emissaries" to the United States for quiet talks with Jewish organizations there prior to Mr. Pompidou's arrival.

The position finally hammered out on the Pompidou visit was scheduled to appear as an editorial in a Jewish community magazine, L'Arche, during the French president's trip --- but this still has not come out on the newsstands, due to a printer's strike. The editorial was, however, circulated to the press by L'Arche, which baptized itself "the representative organ of French Judaism," and is worth quoting at some length.

"Since the political crisis that arose between France and Israel at the beginning of the year, and in the interval between the date this broke out and the voyage of the president of the Republic to the U.S.A., American Jewish organizations traditionally friendly to France have made known their intention to mark Mr. Pompidou's visit to their country with hostile manifestations not against the nation he represents but against the attitude of his government with regard to the Middle East. This is a decision that is their's to make and about which it is not ours to interfere in one direction or another, assuming that we would have any power whatsoever to intervene.

We often enough have stated here how the policy of our government with regard to the Middle East seems detestable to us, and meetings held in the Sports Palace in Paris and in numerous provincial cities have permitted all democratic allies to mark their irreducible opposition. But when the head of state is abroad in a foreign country, officially invited, he no longer represent a tendency, a party, or a fraction of opinion, but the whole of the country. National sentiment, we must say, would forbid our associating in any fashion with any manifestations casting imputations on France's dignity. In like manner, it would have been out of place to carry on a campaign here against dispositions that Judaism abroad might take, which is its business... As we would not tolerate their interfering with our affairs, so we forbid ourselves to exercise pressure on the attitude they mean to adopt in the context of the American nation."

Operating from this basic stance, firmly decided that "politics ends at the water front," one readily can see why Jewish leadership could not very well



act --- indeed, consciously had eschewed action --- as incidents, which it had anticipated, arose during Mr. Pompidou's visit. The dispute that turned on the "race and religion" phrase alleged to have been said in far-off Chicago about Israel, moreover, was obviously slippery terrain for doing battle when, after all, American Jews were the ones insisting most strongly that the phrase never had been uttered and Mrs. Golda Meir was taking quite good care of the Israeli reaction. One saw no bevy of top personalities of Jewish origin, inside the community or out, coming out in proud rejection of the implications of this remark, as they did when General de Gaulle made his notorious comments about Jews in November, 1967. On this score, anyway, it may be said with some candour, the voice of organized French Jewry hardly was missed, as arguments about the Chicago statement raged in the general press.

"It is clear, that in speaking of a 'racial and religious state' and describing Israel as a Western 'bridgehead' the French president was expressing judgements on the nature of Israel and on its structures. The statement," asserted Le Monde tartly, "seems to go far and beyond and to overshadow the comment by then-President Charles de Gaulle on the Jews as 'an elite people, sure of itself and domineering', a phrase which caused a considerable stir at the time. It would perhaps have been more useful to attack those points on which Israel has exposed itself to criticism..." the paper affirmed in a front page editorial, even as it was itself denouncing "the impression that Israel" was "using and abusing pressure groups" recruited on "racial and religious rather than political grounds." The newspaper Combat, under the title "Pompidou: Black in Chicago, White in Paris" asked itself, after the official Paris disavowal, whether, perhaps, "Mr. Pompidou was not unhappy that oil had been thrown on the fire" as explanation for the original French government spokesman's insistence on Mr. Pompidou's use of the phrase in the U.S.

Giving acuity to such hypotheses was the haste with which Gaullist official and supporting papers close to government seats of power expanded on President Pompidou's remarks. An editor of the official Gaullist organ, La Nation quickly drew from Mr. Pompidou's remarks in Chicago the conclusion that Israel should be transformed into a state "confederated in one way or another with a Palestine state." An editorial in the weekly Actualite lauded praise on Mr. Pompidou for his courage in evoking the grave problem "that Israel can make claims on the basis of its racial and religious character, particularly to mobilize sympathy abroad"; and solemnly affirmed that to pretend there is a "Jewish specificity" would be to travel the road toward anti-Semitism. There was some amused twitting over the fact that this editorial was written by Paul Marie de la Gorce, chief aide to Information State Secretary Hamon, and came out the very day Mr. Hamon was denying Mr. Pompidou's remarks.

Jewish sources added only two minor grace notes to all this quarrel. A Jewish student union protested publicly that such remarks could well open the gates to renewed anti-Semitism. Tribune Juive, (a privately owned weekly with aspirations to become the Jewish spokesman), expressing regret over excess action in Chicago nonetheless continued: "While regretting, we refuse, however, to hand out good or bad conduct certificates from our continental seat. We regret as strongly the outraged reactions that these exaggerations provoked from the President of the Republic."



For all that official Jewish leadership may have felt inhibited with regard to Mr. Pompidou's visit, the same considerations, certainly, did not hold for attacks like that made in Paris by former Ambassador Massigli. Yet, here, too, there has been no Jewish community reaction to date, although numerous private individuals took up cudgels with him. Writer and diplomat Romain Gary's response appeared as a characteristic reply. Gary angrily rejected Massigli's arguments as unworthy and unacceptable, calling them "an attempt at intimidation, not to say anti-Semitic blackmail, typical of the paternalism of the last century.

Why no public community reaction, till now, though this may still come to pass? Partly because, paradoxically enough, <sup>of</sup> the establishment by French Judaism over two years ago of an institution intended to coordinate and expedite political reaction, primarily on behalf of Israel but in other spheres as well, the Coordinating Committee of Jewish Organizations. Individual Jewish institutions now prefer to wait for the Committee to take a stand, in such cases. Tendencies in the Committee are varied, however, leaders not always in agreement, and, moreover, often absent from France, or at least Paris, (as one American newspaperman seeking Jewish reaction discovered this past week). Nor has the Committee the kind of executive empowered to take independent rapid action. It has become, thus, rather slow off the mark.

Events of the last fortnight served to point this up, and there have been mutterings that changes are required in Committee structure. Then, again, in the end, many Jews may well come to the conclusion that they were, perhaps, as well served by a policy of no action as they could have been by some more vigorous communal demonstration.

What may be the upshot insofar as Jews here are concerned of this brouhaha, already swept off the front pages here by student riots at Nanterre, miserable weather, and forthcoming cantonal elections.

Generally, there is the Jewish sentiment that it will be increasingly easier for anti-Semitism to come to the surface now. During the past fortnight, indeed, there was, a notable increase in anonymous anti-Semitic threats and letters; menaces of blackmail of Jews; plus a more minatory tone than before in certain of the right-wing journals classically known for their anti-Jewish feelings, moderately stated until some weeks ago. Some Jews could be heard to evoke "it's Germany, 1932, again" but this is rejected as greatly exaggerated. Rejected, too, were claims by one Israeli journalist in Paris that the French government was already investigating Jewish fund raising in France. That such assertions could be put forward, though, gives an impression of the climate of uneasiness felt for a few days among some.

For all the glossing over, too, it is evident that the trip provided a new source of irritation and exacerbation between Jews and government. This may not have visible fall-out but will, many are convinced, be reflected in small ways, in future relationships here. There is, though, much less



concern about this possibility than that France might make matters still tougher for Israel, by further hardening its policy.

The Pompidou trip, in the last analysis, is not seen as something fundamental. What is fundamental is the determined difference between the Jews of France and the government of France as to what ought to be French policy in the Middle East, with Jews --- as French citizens and in company with non-Jews --- staunchly convinced the government is wrong. While this conflict lasts, or until the Middle East situation is resolved, the sailing undoubtedly, continually, will be rough for the Jews of France.

c.c. Mr. Gold  
Mr. Bookbinder.



# PROGRAM

8:30 a.m. – Registration

Fellowship Hall, Our Savior's Lutheran Church  
Coffee, Cake, and Fellowship

9:30 a.m. – Invocation

Dr. Horace Mays, Executive Director, Los Angeles Council of Churches  
Welcome and Opening Remarks – Rev. Charles S. Casassa S. J.  
Chancellor, Loyola University of Los Angeles

9:40 a.m. – Introduction of Speakers

Dr. Forrest C. Weir, General Secretary, Council of Churches in Southern California

Address – Dr. Douglas Young, Director, American Institute of Holy Land Studies

Address – Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, National Director, Interreligious Affairs,  
The American Jewish Committee

Open Forum with guest speakers and conferees

Benediction – Rabbi Paul Dubin, Executive Vice President,  
The Board of Rabbis of Southern California

12:00 noon – Adjourn



## PLANNING COMMITTEE

Rev. Charles S. Casassa, S. J.  
Rev. John Cosgrove  
Rabbi Paul Dubin  
Rev. Maurice D. Fulkerson  
Mrs. Rita Hoffman  
Mr. Robert Jones

Dr. Horace Mays  
Mr. Neil Sandberg  
Dr. Carl Sagerhammar  
Rev. Robert C. Walker  
Dr. Forrest C. Weir  
Rabbi Abraham Winokur



## CLERGY CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST

Monday, March 9, 1970  
8:30 a.m. - 12 Noon

at

OUR SAVIORS LUTHERAN CHURCH  
4270 West 6th Street  
Los Angeles, California

**Theme:** "The Whole People of God - A Judeo-Christian Dialogue on the Holy Land"

**Sub Theme:** "What Is The Meaning of Israel to Contemporary Jewish and Christian Theology" ?

**Speakers:** Dr. Douglas Young, Director American Institute of Holy Land Studies  
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, National Director Interreligious Affairs, American Jewish Committee

**Sponsors:** Council of Churches in Southern California  
Loyola University of Los Angeles  
Los Angeles Council of Churches  
Santa Monica - Westside Council of Churches

The Board of Rabbis of Southern California  
in cooperation with The American Jewish Committee  
The National Conference of Christians & Jews

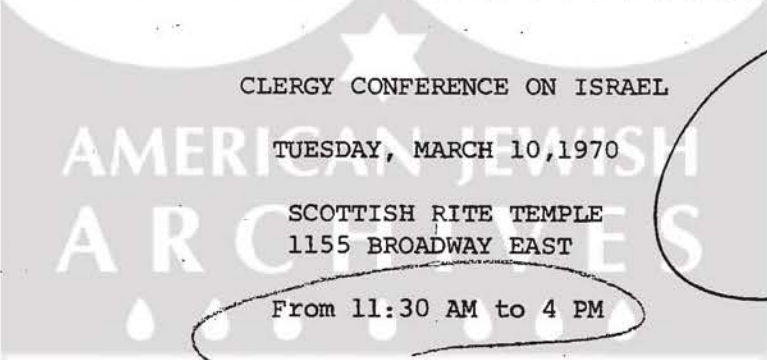
*Rabbi Tanenbaum*

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, SEATTLE CHAPTER  
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH  
JEWISH FEDERATION & COUNCIL OF GREATER SEATTLE  
WASHINGTON COUNCIL OF LODGES, B'NAI B'RITH  
WESTERN WASHINGTON RABBINIC GROUP

*West End*

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\*\*\*\*\*



CLERGY CONFERENCE ON ISRAEL

TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1970

SCOTTISH RITE TEMPLE  
1155 BROADWAY EAST

From 11:30 AM to 4 PM

*Seattle*

Co-ordinator,  
Rabbi Gilbert Kollin

Chairman,  
Rabbi Raphael Levine

RSVP Before March 2nd

\*\*\*\*\*

P R O G R A M

11:30 AM - Registration 12 Noon - Lunch

12:45 PM - Greetings - Rabbi Raphael Levine

Speaker-Dr. Rodney Stark, Professor of Sociology of Religion on the staff of the Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley, California

Topic -ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE CLERGY

RESPONSE PANEL - - - - - Question & Answer Period

2 P.M. - Introduction - Father John Mitchell

Speaker-Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Director, Interreligious Affairs Dept. American Jewish Committee

Topic -ISRAEL AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE

RESPONSE PANEL - - - - - Question & Answer Period

Registration Fee \$2.50 includes luncheon and a Conference Kit including the book "ISRAEL: AN ECHO OF ETERNITY"



FO/NP  
Feb. 12, 1970

Eleanor Ashman

Annette Widell

Rabbi Tanenbaum's Seattle Visit

206-MA-2-3931

cc-Neil Sandberg  
Samuel Katz  
Rabbi Tanenbaum ✓  
Isaiah Terman

Neil Sandberg

Seattle

In addition to the Seminar for Clergy we have arranged an AJC membership meeting for Rabbi Tanenbaum for Tuesday, March 10th at 8 p.m.

Will you please send me 3 glossies of Rabbi Tanenbaum as well as a recent bio on him.

267

Will you also ask Rabbi Tanenbaum if he will speak on the same subject at the evening meeting as he will use during the day at the Clergy Conference. If he would rather talk on something else, let us know the topic so we can publicize it in our notice to our members.

Thanks - and best regards.

3/10 - 8 pm - Membership meeting

206-

3/0

cc-Neil Sandberg  
Samuel Katz  
Rabbi Tanenbaum ✓  
Isaiah Terman

FO/NP  
Feb. 9, 1970

Eleanor Ashman

Annette Widell

Rabbi Tanenbaum's Seattle Visit

Seattle

Seattle

We have had a planning meeting for the Seminar at which Rabbi Tanenbaum will be the speaker on Tuesday, March 10th.

The title of the Seminar will be CLERGY CONFERENCE ON ISRAEL and we would like Rabbi Tanenbaum to speak on ISRAEL AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE. Will you please ask him to talk for approximately 30 minutes and then be available for a question and answer period. We are allowing two hours for his participation.

(MHT)  
2-10-70

Press Conf.  
10

Will you please advise me what flight he will take out of San Francisco that morning in order to be available for a press conference we are planning at 10:30 A.M. We will have one of our officers or board members meet him at the airport.

We are also, as already advised you, planning a Membership Meeting that evening and as soon as our plans are firmed I shall let you know.

Kindest regards.





MEMORANDUM

*West Coast*

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FO/NP

cc-Rabbi Tanenbaum ✓  
Eleanor Ashman  
Sam Katz

**date** Jan. 27, 1970  
**to** Neil Sandberg  
**from** Annette Widell  
**subject** Rabbi Tanenbaum's Seattle Visit

*3/10*

The Planning Committee met and arrangements have been finalized for the Clergy Seminar on March 10th at which Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum will speak.

This Seminar was initiated by the Community Relations Dept. of the Federation of which Rabbi Gilbert Kollin is the Vice Chairman. It is their policy that both ADL and AJC be notified and invited to participate in all community relation activities which they sponsor.

This Seminar will be held in the afternoon on Tuesday, March 10th at the Plymouth Congregational Church and Rabbi Tanenbaum is being scheduled to appear from 2 to 4 pm. He will be asked to address himself to "AMERICAN JEWRY AND ITS INVOLVEMENT IN ISRAEL". ADL will supply a speaker on ANTI-SEMITISM for the lunch session.

*2-4 pm*

The invitations will be endorsed by a representative of the ArchDiocese; Dave Colwell, Minister of the Plymouth Congregational Church, and by the Church Council of Greater Council.

The Seattle Chapter is planning an evening meeting for Rabbi Tanenbaum and I shall inform you of the details as soon as they are finalized.

Kindest regards.

*Annette*

P.S. Shall I reserve a room at the Olympic for Rabbi Tanenbaum?

March 5, 1970

Mr. B. E. Gilman  
Vita Food Products  
1844 Westlake Avenue, North  
Seattle, Washington 98109

Dear Mr. Gilman:

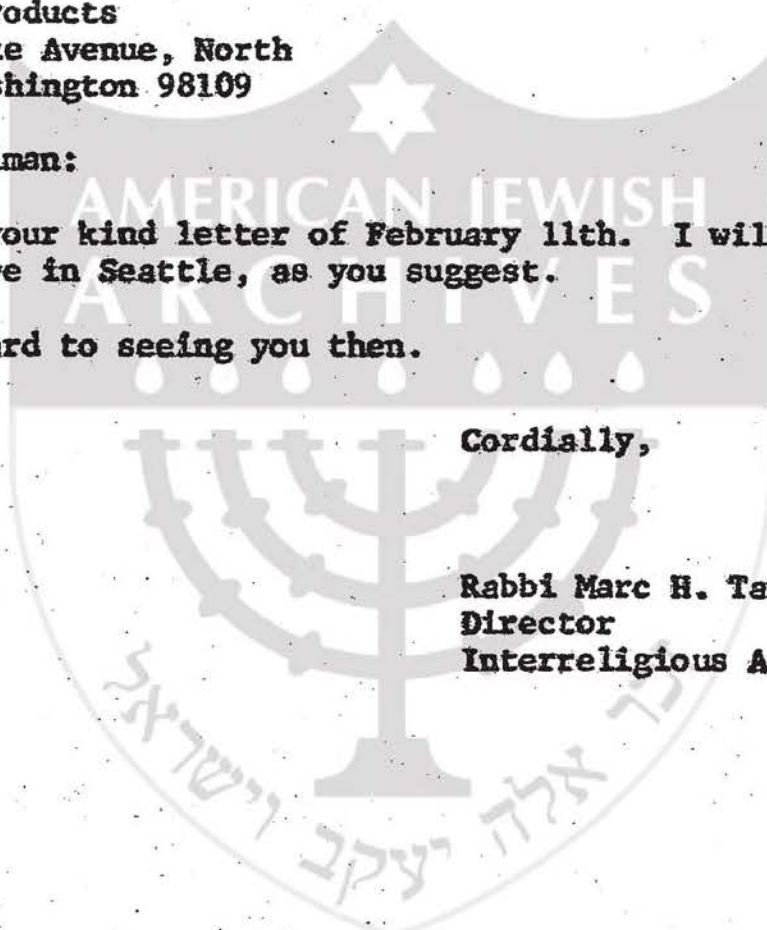
Thanks for your kind letter of February 11th. I will call you when I arrive in Seattle, as you suggest.

I look forward to seeing you then.

Cordially,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
Interreligious Affairs Department

MHT:MSB





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*West Coast*  
*7/10*

*3/10*

February 11, 1970

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum  
c/o American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum,

It is my understanding that you will be in Seattle on March 10, 1970 to address a Clergy Seminar at the Plymouth Congregational Church.

We have planned a membership meeting of the Seattle Chapter of the American Jewish Committee for that evening at my home. I believe you have already been notified of this meeting. My family and I would like to have you join us for dinner that evening prior to the AJC meeting. Please let me know if you are available. If your reply is affirmative, I might suggest that you call me at my office sometime after your arrival in Seattle. We can make a mutually agreeable meeting place.

I will be looking forward to hearing from you.

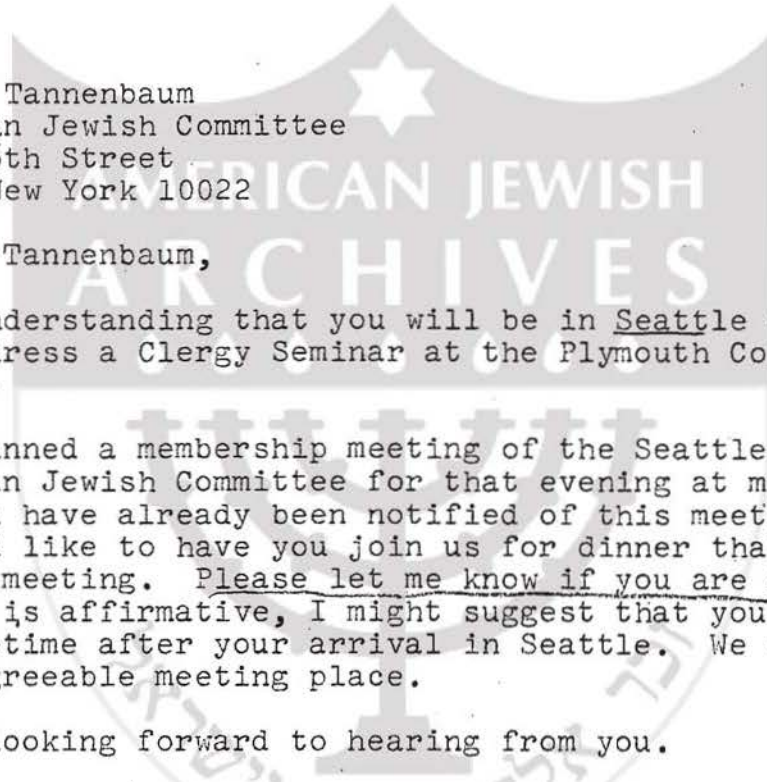
Cordially yours,

*Bob Gilman*

B. E. Gilman:

sb

*MHT*  
*pls. write*



February 25th, 1970

Mr. D. E. Gilman  
Vita Food Products of Washington, Inc.  
1844 Westlake Avenue, North  
Seattle, Washington 98109

Dear Mr. Gilman:

Thank you for your recent letter to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum which arrived while he is away from the office on an extended lecture tour.

The letter will be brought to his attention when he returns next week, and I am sure he will be in touch with you at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Miriam S. Bender  
Sect. to Rabbi Tanenbaum

MSBLdb



*Mitchell Krauss files*

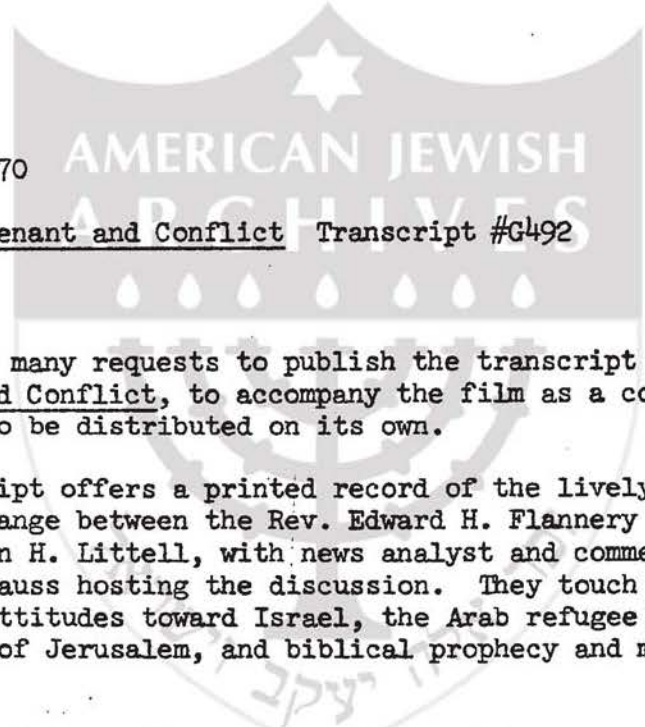
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH  
315 Lexington Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10016

MAR 3 1970

MEMORANDUM

To: CRC's  
From: Stan Wexler  
Date: March 6, 1970  
Subject: Israel: Covenant and Conflict Transcript #G492



We have had many requests to publish the transcript of Israel: Covenant and Conflict, to accompany the film as a companion piece, or to be distributed on its own.

The transcript offers a printed record of the lively and informative exchange between the Rev. Edward H. Flannery and Dr. Franklin H. Littell, with news analyst and commentator Mitchell Krauss hosting the discussion. They touch on basic Christian attitudes toward Israel, the Arab refugee problem, the future of Jerusalem, and biblical prophecy and modern Israel.

We recommend its use by church and community groups; discussion groups; high school and college classes in history, social studies and religion; and all individuals interested in Israel and how it is viewed by people other than Jews.

List price: 20¢

CRC price: 16¢

SW:am  
Attachment



# audiovisual bulletin

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

A COMPLETE TRANSCRIPT  
OF THE TELEVISION PROGRAM  
ISRAEL: COVENANT AND CONFLICT

With: Mitchell Krauss  
The Rev. Edward H. Flannery  
Dr. Franklin H. Littell

Produced by

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

In this specially produced interview, the Reverend Edward H. Flannery and Dr. Franklin H. Littell probe the meaning of Israel for Christians and offer an historical and Biblical perspective from which to view the current crisis.

The Rev. Flannery, a distinguished author and educator, is Associate Director of Judaeo-Christian Studies at Seton Hall University and a member of the national board of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, among other organizations. Dr. Littell, noted as a writer and lecturer, is Professor of Religion at Temple University. Presently he is director of a study project on "Israel: The People, the Land, the State," which is being held under the joint auspices of the National Council of Churches and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

This discussion, conducted in New York in late 1969, was hosted by news analyst and commentator Mitchell Krauss.

NARRATOR: Covenant and Conflict. A penetrating look into the turbulent Middle East, where the attempt to resolve vital issues has focused the attention of the world. Our host is the distinguished news analyst and commentator, Mitchell Krauss. Mr. Krauss.

KRAUSS: Thank you. With me today to explore some of the imperative questions concerning the State of Israel are the Reverend Edward H. Flannery, author and Associate Director of Judaeo-Christian Studies at Seton Hall University, and Dr. Franklin H. Littell, Professor of Religion at Temple University. Gentlemen, you both have spent a lot of time studying the religious and cultural life of Israel and have travelled extensively in that country. Perhaps I might begin by asking you a very broad question: Can Israel survive in the present state of affairs in the Middle East? Father Flannery?

FLANNERY: The question reminds me of a happening during my trip to Israel in 1968. I was very impressed by the placidity or the serenity of the Israelis in their plight and their trouble, and contrasted it with what I found to be a kind of nervousness on the part of American Jews and of myself during and since the Six-Day War. So I made it a point to ask a question of those I could get close enough to, to explain it for me. I asked my guide, a certain Sabra, Moshe Sabaroff by name, "Why are you so placid, so serene, in your trouble here?" He replied, "I've been in two wars already, and I'll be in a third -- this time with my son by my side -- but we'll win again." That's one point of view.



I was in another kibbutz, the Kibbutz Sa'ad near Beersheba, an Orthodox, very religious, kibbutz, and there was a boy there, married, from Brooklyn originally, and I asked him the question, too. "How are you so serene in your trouble?" He said to me, "God brought us here; nobody can get us out. It's as simple as that."

Now this I think shows the complexity of the subject. One man was impressed with the power of Israel to survive by purely natural means, its own morale and power. The other was confident that God had something to do with this. It was something miraculous or messianic, that this was perhaps the ingathering; he didn't explain much more to me. But it sort of subdivides our question for us into the natural aspect of it and the religious or spiritual aspect.

KRAUSS: Looking at it from the aspect of geography and military power and of population, the odds seem against Israel's survival with the unlimited Soviet aid, and with the unlimited millions of Arabs surrounding the State. Is this not true? Dr. Littell?

LITTELL: Well, I think that if we're to look at it just in terms of natural forces, the tremendous advantage which Israel still has is in the large numbers of technically competent people. It's true that since the Six-Day War the Russians have put two billion dollars' worth of material in there, but it's also true that most of the Arab governments don't have enough people who can do technical things efficiently. The problem, of course, is that a little country has to pay an awful price to resist and to win, and 50,000, 60,000 men doesn't sound like many perhaps to America, where we're losing that many lives every two months. But to a little country that values its lives -- it's a terrible price to pay.

KRAUSS: What do you see is the stake for Christians in the survival of Israel? Is this important to the American Christian community and to Christianity around the world?

FLANNERY: Well, if it isn't it certainly should be. I think that Christians should be, and I think for the greater part are interested in Israel's survival, first because it's on a plane of pure natural justice. A state such as Israel has a right to survive; also, as Jews and Christians are now in dialogue and profess friendship for one another, and are communicating properly for the first time, I think, in some two thousand years, I think it only natural that the Christian would be concerned with what would happen to Israel, which means so much to Jews.

But if properly seen, I think Israel is of interest to the Christian on other grounds, too. Israel has been in our past, we believe will be in our future, and should be in our present, too. The Christian theologian should not close his mind to the possibility or even the plausibility that perhaps this could be, could have something of the messianic about it. We have changed our minds, I think, very much on these points as to what Israel means and what Judaism means since the Vatican Council, in the Church at least.

KRAUSS: Mr. Littell?

LITTELL: And Jerusalem, too; I was struck by the popularity of this thrilling song, "Jerusalem, Shel Zahav," and then I remembered that one of the hymns which I heard and have sung from my boyhood is "Jerusalem, the Golden," translated from the psalms.



KRAUSS: You mentioned a little while ago, Father Flannery, that you felt that many Christians in this country were aware of and sympathetic to the problem that Israel faces, and yet there are many who are apathetic, are there not? And are there some who are hostile to this?

FLANNERY: Yes. I would say that most are apathetic, although this is a characteristic of our time with respect to many important issues, but it may be particularly true of Israel on the part of Christians, too. Is this hostility? I'm one who is inclined to believe that this kind of unconcern or indifference is a form of hostility, very well disguised, however, so I think that too many, especially since the Six-Day War, have somehow or other converted Israel into an aggressor, an expansionist aggressor. This is the old stereotype, perhaps a conspiratorial idea that Israel is undermining or surrounding the world, or taking over. I think this is almost a paranoid phenomenon -- where we take a small country and see it as a power -- when actually it's a victim of many circumstances itself, and is threatened on all sides by many nations.

KRAUSS: Well, does this have its roots in any residual or latent anti-Semitism in this country, do you feel?

FLANNERY: I feel so. Now I know many become somewhat furious to be told something like this, but I'm one who believes that we have a great deal of anti-Semitism unconsciously lodged in us yet, and it has to find devious ways to come out, such as in indifference or in an anti-Zionism. I'm not saying that one has to be for the State of Israel or be anti-Semitic. I think there are exceptions. But I think that too often those who do oppose Israel or Jews, even in these mild ways, are actually feeding off a residual anti-Semitism. It's my own personal opinion.

LITTELL: I think it's not only true in America, but that for centuries in Christendom there has been the lingering sickness of a family quarrel which occurred hundreds of years ago. A family quarrel is always much worse than any other.

KRAUSS: You're talking about the Reformation?

LITTELL: No, no. I'm talking about the family quarrel between Jews and Christians in the time of the rise of the Christian movement, and things which were said at that time by the Church Fathers and the replies by the leaders of those who remained loyal, as I understood it, loyal to the law and this family quarrel. After all, Christianity was at the beginning a Jewish sect, and the quarrel was much worse in its consequences than any fight that you might have with a stranger. And it stuck with us, so that again and again in Christendom, in the history of the Christian movement, you have seen otherwise estimable gentlemen, like Pope Innocent the Third, or the reformer Martin Luther, in many respects admirable men, who nevertheless expressed this latent anti-Semitism. So I feel that there is a sickness, and I think that the recent studies that have been made in the catechisms in France and Belgium and the United States and the Protestant Sunday School literature and so forth have shown that there is a lingering sickness there which can burst out into various kinds of alienation between Christians and Jews.

FLANNERY: I believe, too, with Dr. Littell, that the bitterness that has existed between Christians and Jews stems from the earliest days when the Church and the Synagogue separated so quickly and so violently. And I think it came about be-



cause Christians permitted themselves to use their Scriptures illicitly to attack Judaism, in a form of what I call anti-Judaism, a sort of theological attack. I think this has been done at the cost of forgetting certain pages of our Scriptures, principally St. Paul, Romans 9 to 11, where he makes it extremely plain in the present tense. Speaking of Israel and his people, he said, "I am an Israelite." He said they have -- in the present tense, about 30 years after the death of Christ -- they have the Covenants and the promises. Now this means that the Jews since Christ have been or are a people of election and have a place in the Divine Plan, but this has not been taught over the last 2,000 years. It's been forgotten about in favor of this anti-Judaic tack that was taken.

KRAUSS: You implied earlier, Father Flannery, that you saw in the creation of the State of Israel and in its endurance the possible emergence of some factor that would coalesce again, heal this division.

LITTELL: Well, this raises a very important point for Christians, I think, and that's why I emphasize Jerusalem. I think Jerusalem is a holy city for Christians and that the land is important for Jews and through the Jews for Christians.

I don't know whether Father Flannery looks at it this way or not -- but it seems to me that one of the real problems of the present day is the emphasis upon spiritual truths which have no earthly dimension at all. It's a very dangerous thing. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who was a martyr to the Nazis, said one time, "He who loves his dream more than he loves the Church is an enemy of the Church." He was speaking as a Christian. Now I would say that a person who loves a dream of Jerusalem more than he loves Jerusalem in history, and the land, is an enemy. This concreteness in the historical process is a very important thing for Christians as well as Jews.

KRAUSS: Speaking concretely, if I might, we haven't mentioned one of the critical factors in the survival of Israel and in the entire relationship in the Middle East, and that is the Arab and the Jew, and the confrontation that is or seems to be at the heart of the present struggle. What about Arabs and Jews?

LITTELL: I would say, if Father Flannery would forgive me for speaking immediately, I would say that we make a serious mistake if we draw it Jews versus Arabs, Arabs versus Jews. That's the way it generally comes out in the newspaper headlines, but there are loyal Arab-Israeli citizens, to the number toward 300,000.

The present head of the Israeli delegation at the ILO\* in Geneva is an Arab-Israeli citizen, so that even in the State of Israel itself it is not right to think, well, they are all Jews. There are after all Christians, Druzes and there are others, even though the Jewish state has some of the symbols and characteristics of the Jewish religion, the State of Israel.

The other thing is that I don't believe that anybody is legitimized to speak for the Arabs. I don't accept that some petty dictator someplace is a spokesman for the Arabs. I think that in most cases the biggest problem we have is that there is no representative government to deal with. I don't accept that the Communist Party apparachiks in East Germany are legitimized to speak for

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\* International Labor Organization



the East Germans. I know how the East Germans in fact would feel if you ever gave them a chance to express themselves, and do, whenever they break through. I think the same thing is true of most of the Arab League governments. It isn't so much Jew versus Arab as it is Israel versus Arab League despotisms.

KRAUSS: Father Flannery?

FLANNERY: I agree. I think it's been well proven that Arabs and Jews can live peaceably together.

LITTELL: Absolutely.

FLANNERY: I saw this in Israel proper. There are Arabs in the Knesset, the Israeli Parliament, and I've seen Arab villages. Some point out the fact that these are the most prosperous Arab villages or cities in the whole Middle East, and so on. Now some say that they don't have equal opportunity yet, and I think this is greatly exaggerated. The opportunities are there; they will take them. I believe that if the great powers, principally the USSR, would stop interfering, and some of these dictators, too, the Israelis and Arabs could get along very well, and will in the future. I think we should work very much for this reconciliation.

KRAUSS: But at the heart of this dispute, of course, is the Arab contention regarding the entire legitimacy of the State of Israel. They do not recognize its existence, claiming that it was taken from land and from political entities that were Arab.

FLANNERY: I don't believe this to be true. I'm very well aware of the history of Zionism, how it began and how it worked. I'm of the opinion that a great deal of this land was purchased by the Israelis, and finally it was conceded juridically a state by the United Nations. I think the Arabs had a case in here and there, but insofar as they impugn the very right of Israel to exist and develop in peace, I think they are wrong, and I think that justice must be done to Arabs and we must hear their case fully and justly. But I don't think the very right of Israel to exist can be challenged. If so, it has to be conquered, I should say.

LITTELL: Well, that's very dangerous ground, you can say, for any of the countries in that area. You can say that after the First World War some of the settlements were unjust; the cutting up of the old Ottoman Empire was done wrong or something. But that's a two-edged knife. By what right does Jordan exist? By what right does Syria exist? By what right does Iraq exist? If they want to talk about the settlements after the First World War, there isn't a one of them that has status in international law, such as Israel received from the United Nations.

KRAUSS: You know, earlier we referred to the criticism that was also made by some in this country, and certainly by the Arab states, that Israel's policy was expansionist, that it was a militaristic state now. What is your comment?

LITTELL: I talked with one of the professors at The Hebrew University about this problem, and he commented that it's very easy for the world to feel sorry for the Jew who is a loser, because this fits images for centuries, and when people get



compassionate they feel sorry for the persecutee, the loser, but it's a psychological twist to have to accept the Jew who's a winner. Now, I think there's something in this.

After the Six-Day War there was a very sharp article written by a Jewish humorist, in which he said, "The source of our problem and the loss of good will in some circles is that we won. If only we had lost. Then everybody would feel sorry for us." I feel that we reveal our own unhealth and our own prejudices if we resent a state which is, after all, vital, modern, a going concern, with good housing, with universal free education through the tenth grade, also for Arab children and Druzes and Christians as well as Jewish citizens of Israel. We should rejoice in a successful experiment, I think, even if, shall I say sarcastically, even if Jews do it. Why not?

KRAUSS: Father Flannery, do you have a thought on this?

FLANNERY: I think the question of whether Israel is expansionist or not could be solved as a problem very quickly by negotiations, and the negotiations have been offered. I think it would be seen soon enough that Israel is not expansionist but really wants secure boundaries. But negotiation is the legitimate way to find out these things, and they will go along as rumors and gossip until the negotiations take place.

KRAUSS: Let's put out on the table all of the questions that have come up. The question of the treatment of Arab refugees in Israel has also been raised as one of the unfinished pieces of business, that there is a vast resettlement problem that is yet to be accomplished, and that the Israeli government has not moved as quickly as it could. What is your view of this, Father Flannery?

FLANNERY: My view is rather that the Arab governments have not moved as quickly as they should. In fact, I think they are some twenty years too late in trying to solve some part of it, the earliest part when the first 500,000 or more left Israel. I think it's been the adamancy on the part of the Arab governments to refuse to negotiate the issue which is at the root of it, so they've been kept in a way captives in their refugee camps, more by Arab forces than Israelis. The Israelis have offered to negotiate this even in advance of the peace negotiations as late as this year, and it's been refused again. I think all should strain harder to do something for these unfortunate people. But I include the Arab governments here as much as anybody, if not more.

LITTELL: Well, then there are several important points about it. How many are there? As nearly as I could find out about 35% are employed even if they live in camps still. The figure which is used constantly in the Arab government propaganda is 3 million. This was used recently by one of their diplomatic representatives in a letter to the New York Times. The best figures that I heard anybody give who was really concerned about it was now about 350,000, and I'm not impressed frankly for the reason -- and this is related to what Father Flannery said. I spent nearly a decade in postwar Germany and I saw West Germany with broken cities, destroyed schools, hospitals, industries and everything else, take 10 1/2 million expellees from the Communist area, build them into the economy, the society and the political order. And since August 1 of '49, according to recent figures, nearly 3 million more have been absorbed.



Now, the Arab governments could have taken care of this problem in any two-year period in the last twenty years, if they'd really wanted to, but they keep the refugees out there as a kind of whip to beat Israel with an international opinion. As a matter of fact, if you made available the money which is being spent or has been spent in the name of refugees now, I am convinced that the absorption process which is going on in Israel would be speeded up and that the refugee problem would be solved by Israel alone with economic assistance.

KRAUSS: We talked earlier, mentioned the City of Jerusalem, of course. This is a most emotional issue in Israel, involving many of the world's great religions, who feel a special affinity and relationship to Jerusalem. Do you see an ideal solution for the City of Jerusalem as part of this overall settlement in this area?

FLANNERY: I don't see an ideal one because this would be a solution that would be acceptable to Arabs, Jews and Christians, and this ideal I think is not quite possible. I can see, I have my own opinion, as to what the best one is. First, I do believe that a city that is a normal unit should remain so. I don't think it should be resplit in two, any more than Berlin; if it were by some chance made into one city, in future negotiations, say, it must be split into its quarters again as it was. Furthermore, the difficulty is, to whom would it be given back?

Now it's said that Israel can't keep the Old City because it took it by aggression, but the fact of the matter is that the Jordanian army took it by aggression previously. So it would be a question of one aggressor giving it back to another aggressor, so to whom would it be given? Back to the British who've left, or to the Turks who are gone, etc., so I don't see any way of doing this.

I think the question of the holy places is a secondary one; and I think Israel is trying to solve that, to have the Christian faiths and traditions take care of them themselves, and so on. This would be satisfactory.

It looks as if the question of internationalization is pretty much dead. Nobody speaks about it now, and so I don't know what the real solution is. It should be negotiated, of course, and I think the city should remain whole. I see nothing wrong with the Israelis having Jerusalem.

LITTELL: Well, as I said, I appreciate that we shouldn't think of it just in terms of the holy places, but it does seem to me significant that under Israeli administration for the first time Jews, Moslems and Christians have free access. That reveals something besides the nature of the holy places. It reveals something about the Israeli government's view of equity, justice and fair play, shall we say. So if you're speaking of how Christian pilgrims, Moslem pilgrims and others might look sensibly so they can get their temperatures down on emotional issues, I would think you'd have to say that the Israeli administration of Jerusalem is a success, more successful than anything that preceded for an awfully long time.

KRAUSS: You know, there's been so much said about the State of Israel and its development and its success in the Six-Day War. You were both there. What kind of society existed in Israel, regarding the people, the way they live and their spirit?

LITTELL: I think it's a most exciting, vital society.



FLANNERY: The word vibrant comes to my mind.

LITTELL: I was impressed, of course, since I was a college president when I went over there, although I had no untoward defense; nevertheless, some did. There's no sense of alienation among the youths and the students, such as you get in the universities. The communist areas have revolts and in the fascist areas, American and West European, they're all having trouble with their young people, and you don't have that sense in Israel. The young people are filled in and they feel that their studies and their work are worthwhile.

KRAUSS: A common purpose.

FLANNERY: It's an extraordinary state, and to believe that some fifty years ago, certainly even much less, it did not exist -- it's almost as I've said, a creation out of nothing, practically. I've seen what the swamps were and the desert, too, and where the stones were on the hill and where the forests had been deforested and so on, and to see it now and to think that this was just a sort of mad dream of one man some fifty years ago makes one think in terms of the semi-miraculous.

KRAUSS: Well, I was going to suggest that perhaps we close our dialogue on that question. You mentioned the Messiah and messianic feeling earlier in our discussion. What do you see of the creation of this state for fulfillment of this ancient dream in religious and theological terms, as you look at it with some perspective?

LITTELL: Well, the triumph of justice, of righteousness, of mercy and peace and of right human relations is the picture of the Messianic Age.

FLANNERY: I'd like Christian theologians to look into the following question. If we maintain our Biblical faith we believe that God had a covenant with Israel and that it was a landed one. If the Christian believes that Israel still has the covenant, on what grounds -- especially in the light of the present re-possession -- would we see this covenant now as a landless one? I think that Christian theologians and Biblical scholars have to take this up.

LITTELL: There's a fascinating Christian kibbutz near Haifa where a group is being led by a Dutchman who had been through the holocaust and the struggle with Nazism and is investing his life and those that he can bring, as a Christian, to help build the new nation of justice and righteousness and peace.

KRAUSS: Thank you, Dr. Littell and Father Flannery.

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April 7, 1970

Bertram Gold

Milton Himmelfarb

Social Indicators and Social Reports

The attached report on Social Indicators, by Steven  
Frieder, is closely related to the discussions we have had  
about an antisemitism index.

A meeting on further steps will be called soon.

MHG

cc: Hyman Bookbinder  
Hiltes Eileria  
Morris Fine  
Selma Hirsch  
Samuel Katz  
Irving Levine  
Samuel Lubin  
Yehuda Rosenman  
Marc Tannenbaum  
Mort Yanson



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Date: September 12, 1967  
To: Staff Committee on AJC Scope and Functions  
From: Lucy S. Dawidowicz  
Subject: Antisemitism today and tomorrow

1. Antisemitism today

Antisemitism has been AJC's primary concern since its founding. For over sixty years our program was designed to protect Jews from antisemitism or alleviate their sufferings as a consequence of antisemitism. In the course of these sixty-odd years of our existence, the nature of antisemitism kept changing, veering from the predictable and "normal," made familiar by centuries of experience, to the totally unprecedented, when, during World War II, the German rulers of the European continent murdered six million Jews. Antisemitism rose and fell, alternately deadly or harmless. Today, two decades after the Holocaust, attitudes towards Jews and treatment of them appear relatively benign. The condition of Jews themselves has radically altered.

The European continent, which about fifty years ago was the demographic and cultural center of the Jewish people, is today the seat of small, declining Jewish communities, where antisemitism too seems to be declining and its lingering existence is but a shadow. The real problem is group survival, the reinforcement of Judaism and Jewish culture. The individual Jew seems more secure than the group. So, too, in the

English-speaking Diaspora: the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, even (but not quite) South Africa. Above all, this applies to the United States, where nearly half of the world's Jews live, in security and prosperity. In Latin America also Jews have prospered but they are less secure from physical, political, and religious antisemitism in these unstable pre-industrial, prerevolutionary countries. Yet, we are told, Jews have fewer worries in combatting antisemitism than in ensuring group continuity. (But is this only today's phenomenon? Will an uprising from below make refugees of tomorrow's Jews?)

About 20 per cent of today's Jews live in Israel, liberated from the stresses of classic antisemitism but constantly anxious for their very survival. The ancient Jewish communities of North Africa and the Arab Middle East have nearly disappeared in the years since Israel was established, victims of new postwar antisemitism: anti-Israeli antisemitism. The remaining Jews in these areas continue to face a precarious existence.

The Jews of Russia, about 20 per cent of all Jews, live in the psychic insecurity engendered by the government's arbitrary anti-Jewish policies, helpless pawns of the Soviet dictatorship, subject to the vagaries of power conflicts inside and to imperialist ambitions outside. Yet their disabilities as a religious or cultural group, the prohibitions against their being really Jewish, are harsher even than the discrimination and prejudice which they suffer.



At a glance it appears that antisemitism as we have known it in Nazi Germany, Imperial Germany, Hapsburg Austria, and Tsarist Russia, is largely a phenomenon of the past, except for the Jews in Russia and the Arab countries. These, some three million out of thirteen, find themselves in a situation of active, acute, and even violent antisemitism. But about ten million Jews enjoy prosperity and security, in countries where antisemitism is at the lowest levels we have known it in the last sixty years.

Can we then say that antisemitism is disappearing, that its sources are drying up? Can we anticipate, or predict, that antisemitism in the many forms that we have experienced it in the past is a thing of the past? Can we confidently say that we are at the great watershed, that henceforth relations between Jews and gentiles will be based on mutual respect and tolerance?

## 2. Assessing antisemitism

In 1964 the AJC held a conference to discuss public-opinion data showing a decline in antisemitism in the United States over a span of twenty-five years.\* The conferees, eminent scholars in their fields, disagreed about the meaning of the data and disputed the data's usefulness in anticipating the future of antisemitism. The disparity of opinion among sophisticated scholars on this subject suggested that studying the entrails of a chicken might have been as scientifically

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\* Charles Herbert Stember and others, Jews in the Mind of America, New York, 1966.

rewarding. The differences among the conferees about the meaning of the data may be explained by factors, objective and subjective, which determine whether we are optimists or pessimists about Jews and antisemitism in the future.

(a) Objective

We simply do not know enough about the dynamics of society to anticipate the causes of antisemitic conflict or to predict the eruption of dormant or quiescent anti-Jewish attitudes into violence. We simply do not know enough about the sources of group tension and we fail to take account of some factors, while we underestimate or exaggerate others. We believe religiously in monistic theories of antisemitism: authoritarianism, alienation, Christian teachings, economic competition, status frustration. Often we fail to see ourselves as we are and overlook the possibility of autogenetic antisemitism. Most of all we confuse cause and effect. We can usually describe a situation involving Jews and antisemitism, but we can seldom fully or satisfactorily explain it.

Example: Did job discrimination against Jews decline because public morality improved and discrimination was considered unseemly and unsporting? And if so, did that happen as a result of our public education and propaganda against antisemitism? Or did the expanding economy and its changing character in the last three decades demand the very talents that Jews had in readiness when the opportunity came? Today Jews occupy a conspicuous position in book publishing.

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See p. 16 for definition.



Twenty-five years ago this would have seemed impossible. This is an achievement for Jews and an asset to the economy, congratulations to society.

This same fact about Jews in publishing has another face. Let us look at it this way. Jews today are in the hot center of book publishing. They determine which books are published; they shape the reading tastes of the American public. How do we assess that? Is it still a plus? Maybe, but it can become also a minus. It is a fact loaded with historic analogies and comparisons that frighten rather than comfort. How do we understand it? How do we clothe it in meaning? Do we read forward or back?

(b) Subjective

The lack of data and the lack of a meaningful framework to interpret data are stumbling blocks enough in our understanding antisemitism. But we must add also the subjective factor. Apperception of antisemitism depends on what kind of Jew one is and how one sees the place of Jews in gentile society. Survivalist Jews, who wish to retain their distinctiveness, differ from assimilationist Jews in their expectations of non-Jews and non-Jewish society. Survivalists are more likely to notice that Jews are different from Christians and to be more sensitive to Jewish minorityness in Christian society. (There are relatively few Christian states -- United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries; but these are scarcely different from secular states with Christian cultures -- the United States, Mexico, even Russia.) Assimilationists are more likely to view

society as atomistic, composed of individual particles; they believe that individual Jewish particles can coexist equally with individual Christian particles in such an atomistic society. The assimilationist tends to obscure group differences and blur the diversity of group values, preferring to dwell on what he believes to be the common and universal qualities among different groups. The survivalist perceives elements in gentile society inimical to Jews and Judaism; he is on guard and in an autonomous, visceral way suspicious of the hospitality of gentile society. He is therefore less susceptible of disappointment when non-Jews fail to accept Jews on Jewish terms. A case in point was the incident in Wayne, N.J., last February. The brouhaha took most Jews by surprise. But should it have? The survivalist also more likely knows better who his friends and enemies are, since he has fewer illusions about gentiles and gentile society.

Many subsequent analyses ferreted out Wayne's particular and special characteristics, its past history of bigotry, as if to say, Wayne was different, exceptional. Thus, the assimilationist's error of particularism. (Every community has no doubt its own record of bigotry and skeletons in the closet.) By particularizing Wayne were we not denying the possibility that the experience in Wayne could, but for this or that specific factor, have been the experience in suburbs all over America?



### 3. An antisemitism-accounting system

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*pp. 9*  
/ To plan ahead and formulate programs to reach our basic goal of protecting Jews and to budget our financial and human resources rationally for such programs, we ought to have better information than we now have. We need an inventory of anti-semitism in all its past, present, and possible manifestations. ~~We~~ need better to relate our program to the realities and needs of the Jews here and abroad and we need to be able to measure the effectiveness of what we do. We tend to live from crisis to crisis, on a sort of hand-to-mouth basis. Today's emergencies often lead us to neglect a view of tomorrow's eventualities; we are seldom prepared to cope with brand-new problems that emerge from a rapidly changing society. Though we give lip-service to the acceleration of change, we do not know how to prepare for change. The fault is by no means ours alone. No one really knows how to cope with social and economic change and provide stability at the same time. Recently academicians and government analysts have begun to turn their attention to this very problem.

In 1966 President Johnson ordered each cabinet agency in the federal government to introduce a new form of decision making, called Planning-Programming-Budgeting System (PPBS). PPBS provides a framework for planning -- collecting and organizing information, analyzing it in a systematic fashion so that it is possible to learn what is being accomplished at what cost, to measure how effective the achievements are as

compared to other alternatives, and how successfully they approach the original goals. The operation of PPBS requires the development of a wide variety of social statistics and indicators, parallel and supplementary to the economic indicators on which the President's annual "State of the Union" message is based. That annual message is intended to answer major questions about how well we are doing as a nation, where we are moving ahead, where falling behind. Until it has recently been based almost wholly upon economic data -- the Budget Message and the Economic Report. But however refined and sophisticated these data and predictively reliable in economic and financial areas, they do not help us understand where we stand nationally in our social programs -- for example, health, education, civil rights, housing, crime and delinquency, divorce and illegitimacy, group tensions, art and culture. The development of accurate social statistics and indicators will, it is hoped, serve as a reliable guide regarding progress in such and other social programs.

Hearings have begun in the Senate on a bill, "Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act," to establish a President's Council of Social Advisers, similar to the President's Council of Economic Advisers. A top-level committee of economists, sociologists, and various government specialists, headed by HEW Assistant Secretary William Gorham and sociologist Daniel Bell of Columbia University, is surveying what each federal agency can do to develop data to fill information gaps, to measure quality as well as quantity, to relate cause and effect, and in a regular and systematic way to chart progress toward established goals.



Also in major universities and think-tanks, academicians, administrators, and men of action are devising ways to develop meaningful information and measurements of our social problems and scientific methods of anticipating future trends. Articles and books on the subject are rapidly multiplying. Daedalus, The Public Interest, The Annals have lately devoted entire issues to discussions of PPBS, social indicators, and social-accounting systems.

I propose we give serious consideration to instituting an "antisemitism-accounting" system. We need better data than we have and new kinds of data; we need better ways of organizing and systematizing those data; we need analytic methods to study them (and find ways of immunizing ourselves from our own subjective biases). We need also to bring into this antisemitism-accounting system knowledge of our European past, to build up a significant data bank based on our history to use in planning our future. (A distinguished Jewish scholar, born and bred in Central Europe, on a visit here, found the eminence and prominence of Jews in American culture alarming. The similarities and dissimilarities between New York and Berlin, Vienna, or Budapest are not without relevance to our concerns. Perhaps we ought to find out whether the likenesses or the differences are more significant.)

We need to develop data that can help us learn if things are getting better or worse for Jews, where, how and how much; data that can indicate where and why the stresses come; and

data to help us plan counteraction. We need also to develop a multidimensional approach to our problems, to learn to deal with them not only as discrete incidents and not only in the light of a monistic theory, e.g., authoritarianism produces prejudice; Christian teachings breed antisemitism; economic depressions encourage discrimination. The search for social indicators of antisemitism is not just an academic interest, but a practical matter for a practical program that will have practical results.

Of course, we have lots of information, more now than in the past, but we need to find ways to make the data meaningful. For example, we have no time-series data on antisemitic and extremist organizations. We cannot chart a rise or decline, or change in locale, in the number of such organizations, their membership, their regional distribution over an extended period. We have no time-series data on the rise and fall, or transformation, of extremist political parties, their size, the participation of their following in elections. These are relatively simple data, yet we lack them. What about data elucidating more complex relationships? What bearing do economic conditions have on antisemitism? Are factors like unemployment, a tight-money market, and the concentration of Jews in certain occupations related to a rise in antisemitism? What is the relation of education to antisemitism? We have some inconclusive data suggesting that the more education people have the less likely are they to be antisemitic. Should we then engage in a program to give more people more education? Or are there other possible



consequences of such a program that would generate new anti-semitism instead of discouraging it?

I am probably exposing myself to the charge of self-interest and special pleading in advocating more research. Still, I believe the proposal is intrinsically valid and institutionally justified. The establishment of an antisemitism-accounting system would require enlargement of our present research staff and an increase in our financial resources.

#### 4. Some suggested inputs

I would like here to suggest some inputs in an anti-semitism-accounting system. Once I "entertained" the staff with a sort of science-fiction version of antisemitism in the future. Its augury was catastrophic. It fell just short of recommending that we charter spaceships someday to remove Jews to some distant star, where we could build a new haven, an interplanetary Israel. I would like to recapitulate part of that prophecy, because I believe in all seriousness in its possible, if not necessarily probable, fulfilment.

In the emerging world of science and technology, Jews will be at the top. (Jews now dominate the future-planning industry.) This world, as described in a futuristic novel by an English sociologist, will be a meritocracy, a system which rewards education and intellectual ability, both of which Jews pursue and cultivate. The Jewish rise to the top will trigger a new sort of antisemitism among less successful groups -- the stupid, the lazy, the uneducated, the uncompetitive. In the

society of the future, as a consequence of technology, these lower classes will have much leisure and insufficient intellectual resources to make humane use of that leisure. What will be the outlets for their boredom, energy, frustrations, and irrationality? Probably what they are today: sex, sadism, pornography, drugs, alcohol, aggression, and violence. And, of course, envy and suspicion of the men on top, the men who control the machines, poison (fluoridate) the water, brainwash and manipulate people, the men who are somehow uncanny, and who always have been.

All these factors are present in our society today -- the motorcycle gangs with the Nazi insignia are just one melodramatic example. The racist lower classes are another. (They see the Jews as the superegos of the Negro civil-rights militants.) There is enough in our past to warn us about the future. The cults of sadism, homosexuality, pornography, lust-murder proliferated among the Fascist and Nazi elites in France, Italy, and Germany in the Twenties and early Thirties. Is there a relationship between sexual violence and political violence?

Here is another type of input, based on a single self-evident proposition. The proposition: Soon, if not yet now, Jews as a group will have the highest educational attainment in the country. Is this good for Jews or bad? At first it looks good, but let's consider some second-look possibilities:

(a) Uneducated people do not necessarily appreciate educated people and often distrust them. (Remember McCarthy



and his supporters?) Anti-intellectualism has been a recurrent theme in American social history and has been associated with violence.

(b) Educated people usually hold high-status occupations with rewarding incomes. This arouses the envy of the less educated who hold less rewarding lower-status positions.

(c) Most Jews of college age go to college. How many Americans think, therefore, that Jews avoid (evade) the draft, that Jews do not share the common burdens of all Americans?

(d) At colleges and universities, students demonstrate, riot, become involved in radicalism, learn about drugs, and a new sexual morality (immorality). People all over the country are disturbed and worried about the young people. How much of these anxieties will be (or already are) directed against Jews? Jews are visible on the campuses; audible in the political, social, and literary movements that shock and threaten old-fashioned Americans. They comprise a substantial segment of the various Lefts on and off campus -- New and Old, Russian, Chinese, and Che Guevarists. Captain Howard B. Levy is the embodiment of Jewish unpatriotism, radicalism, treason, if you will. Allen Ginsberg is the prophet of the Hippies. Leslie Fiedler advocates the use of pot. Martin Meyerson, president of the college where Fiedler teaches, defends him. Ginsberg is a Jew, Fiedler is a Jew, Meyerson is a Jew. If Fiedler appreciates Ginsberg and Meyerson defends Fiedler (from Beat to Establishment); what are the probabilities of talk about how Jews stick together and

plot to corrupt our children? And, as a matter of fact, how much do we know of what has been happening between town and gown in Buffalo and how much antisemitism is being generated by the Fiedler incident?

Another category of inputs is conflicts over group interests and group values, which can set off new types of group tension and antisemitism. Such conflicts involving Jews seem to be increasing, if only because Jews behave with greater assurance and aggression in pressing their views and values in the general community. We have often minimized group differences and underrated the significance of different value systems and competing and/or conflicting interests, committed as we were to a liberal, universalist outlook. Believing that group hostility was irrational we felt that through education, self-discipline, and generosity of mind and spirit toward their fellows, people would reconcile their differences and live in peace and harmony. Now, we are learning that such conflicts are not resolved by brotherhood agreements but by hard bargaining in an exercise of power.

Jews are involved in many conflicts over values and interests with other groups in the society -- Negroes and Catholics, to name two primary groups. They also come into conflict with censorship groups, politically reactionary groups, anti-educationist groups. Every conflict in which Jewish values and interests collide with non-Jewish ones (WASP, Catholic, Negro, for instance) can erupt into antisemitism, because of the



persistently imminent character of antisemitism in our culture. (Similarly, any group conflict involving Negroes can spark racism, though none may have been present at the start.) It is unrealistic to expect that, in a conflict over basic values and interests, the opposition will abide by a Marquess of Queensberry code.

Another class of inputs should consist of our techniques and strategies in combatting antisemitism and defending Jews. Do we help or hinder? One example: The federal government issued guidelines last year stating that an employer could not be considered to be discriminating if he refused to hire, or discharged, a worker who observed the Sabbath. We did not object. Orthodox Jewish organizations did, and succeeded in having the federal guidelines revised to favor observant workers. Do we distinguish between the rights of very observant Jews and the rights of less or nonobservant ones? Do we ally ourselves with secular Christians against religious Jews? Do we defend the right of a Jewish child to wear a headcovering in public school? And what does it mean (for us, for observing Jews, and for Christians) if we do not? Are we letting everyone know that we choose to separate ourselves from the observant community? Does our inaction inform those who prohibit skullcaps that we are not in sympathy with skullcap-wearers and that we do not regard their rights as equal to ours? (I have come full circle back to my earlier thesis. The kind of Jew you are determines your attitude toward antisemitism and what it is.)

The case of Wayne is another illustration of the impact of our tactics to fight antisemitism on the actual spread of antisemitism, what I define as autogenetic (self-creating) antisemitism. To what extent were the tactics of the Jewish defense agencies responsible for aggravating and intensifying the conflict? Would different handling have changed the outcome of the voting for members of the board of education? Or, we might consider, in addition to our tactics, also our cherished principles. Do our aggressively separatist church-state activities impair our relations with Catholics (over public funds to sectarian institutions) and with Protestants (over Bible reading in the public schools)?

It is not possible in this paper to make an inventory of all the inputs for an antisemitism-accounting system. Nor is it likely, even in a more advanced stage of our thinking, that we will know all the variables related to antisemitism. Nevertheless, the more systematic and analytic our approach, the greater the probability of our understanding this phenomenon and the better the chances of our effecting an anticipated course of events.

##### 5. The catastrophic perspective

A social-accounting system can anticipate social and political change and serve as a warning system for trouble spots and potential danger. But it is automatically surprise-free. We are aware of the potential range of every input and may be able to project any series of moves in the direction of utopia



or disaster. But only a catastrophic perspective on Jewish fate can prepare us for dread eventualities, however unlikely they may seem at any given time. In 1855 Alexander II ascended the Russian throne and instituted, for Tserist Russia, a moderately liberal course. For the next quarter of a century the situation of the Russian Jews improved constantly. Severe disabilities gradually began to be lightened or lifted; opportunities for education, business, and professionalization increased enormously. In the 1860s and 70s Jews enjoyed possibilities for advancement they had never dreamed of before. But Alexander II was assassinated in 1881. His second son, Alexander III, succeeded him and set Russia on a reactionary and brutal course. The Jews became the Tsar's chief victims. They could not have anticipated the abrupt and violent alteration of their fate. Nor could anyone in Germany on the eve of World War I likely have anticipated that Hitler would come to power twenty years later. Antisemitism had kept declining in Germany, as German aggression was directed outward in imperial ambition. For Jews, things were getting better, not worse. And who could have predicted in 1933 that in just one decade the Germans would murder six million European Jews?

What had seemed impossible turned out to be not only possible, but easy. It was accomplished with little reluctance on the part of the murderers and their accessories, with few objections on the part of the "civilized" world, and with small resistance on the part of the victims. Was the murder of six

million Jews facilitated because we were committed to a rational perspective and disbelieved in the brotherlessness of Jews in human society? Could we have saved more Jews had we lived with a catastrophic perspective?

#### 6. Recapitulation

(a) If our purpose is to defend Jews, we need people on staff who prefer to defend them, rather than offend them.

(b) If our purpose is to fight antisemitism, we shouldn't create it.

(c) We should integrate our program so that the right hand knows what the left is doing. If the lawyers are fighting the Catholics, it makes it harder for the rabbis to cooperate with Catholics. We must know what we want to do. Can we sensibly advise Jewish merchants to return and rebuild their destroyed businesses in Negro slums and at the same time try to help them to liquidate and sell out to Negroes?

(d) Let us learn to look at the forest as well as the trees. We need a broader and sounder view of our society and its potential for antisemitism. We have to understand what it is we are to counteract.

(e) We ought to relate our programs with our goals. We should have annual reviews to see what we did, what we accomplished, where we stand, and in what direction we should go.

(f) Research is a useful tool to guide policy. It should not be isolated, only as an end in itself. We should learn to apply the lessons of our research to our programs and policies.



Wilmington  
April 7, 1970

THROUGH  
THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AS SEEN WITH THE EYES OF A CHURCH MAN

(Abbot) Leo A. Rudloff, O.S.B.

A distant uncle of mine, who had lived almost all his life in Africa, was once approached by an acquaintance of his, who said: "Bill, you ought to write a book on that particular section of Africa which you know so well." "O no, he replied, I leave that to the people who come for a visit of two weeks. They know everything so much better." Well, here it is: I have lived in the Holy Land during twenty years. It was in 1949 that I first went there. In 1950 I established my residence in Jerusalem as the abbot of the Dormition Abbey on Mount Zion. I retired from that office (for reasons which have nothing to do with the political developments there) a little over a year ago, leaving Israel in November 1968. So there are a few months missing to make the twenty years full. And, believe me, I am often non-plussed about statements made on the Middle East by people who e.g. took part in a study tour, or spent a few days, or weeks at best, in that region. "They know everything so much better".

Now I am fully aware that I am broaching a very delicate subject. It has become even more complicated recently. While until a few years ago the Middle East situation was simply a struggle between Jews and Arabs, things have become much more subtle through the emergence of Al-Fatah, the guerilla organization, spearheading the "Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)". I shall, therefore, in the second part of my talk tonight, pay special attention to that situation created by Al-Fatah.

Now you will soon notice that in my twenty years of residence, I conceived a great love for Israel and the Jewish people in general. I say

that unashamedly. But mind you: Love is not fanaticism. It excludes neither criticism of the beloved, not - and that I want to emphasize especially - love of others. Love does not lead to hatred. Where there is hatred of one, I am very much in doubt that there could be true love of another. Fanaticism, yes, but no love. (And let me say that incidentally, I never found hatred of the enemy in Israel).

Under these circumstances, I feel I should make some preliminary remarks touching on my personal background. This would be an unforgivable indiscretion, entirely out of place, under different circumstances. But here the background is often of importance. May I, therefore, say that my background was the indifferent one you find so frequently among people who are well meaning but complacent. I am aware of that subtle, almost unconscious, mild it is true, but still noticeable anti-semitic sentiment, which showed itself in such expressions as e.g.: "Mr. so-and-so is a Jew, but he is a very nice man." We all know the people who say: "Some of my best friends are Jews."

But I lived the first five years of the Hitler regime in Germany, before my emigration to the United States in 1938. And I was shaken out of any complacency I may have entertained towards Jews and Israel by witnessing some of the unspeakable horrors and humiliations inflicted upon the Jews; and I can truly say, witnessing also much of the greatness and dignity of the Jewish soul where humiliation and indignity were intended by their torturers. It so happened that for some reason or other, several Jews approached me for help and advice in those days. My life in Germany during those years made me sensitive to the genesis and anatomy of virulent anti-semitism. It also opened my eyes to some of the methods employed by the Nazis, e.g. to attach a hateful label to your adversary, imputing to him what you yourself are



guilty of. So when you are yourself influenced by Nazi philosophy and methods, call your adversary a "Nazi".

But there is another thing I like to mention in a preliminary way. When I first arrived in the Holy Land, to revive the community of the Dormition Abbey (almost extinct after years of war and trouble), the general feeling of the Christian population, and of the clergy in particular, was decidedly anti-Israel and pro-Arab. I was affected by that general mood. The plight of the refugees spoke vividly to my heart and conscience. The feeling of hurt in the souls of our Arab friends, who felt like strangers in their own country, impressed me deeply. To this came the fact that when I first arrived to take charge of that Abbey on Mount Zion, we had real grievances. The Abbey had been completely plundered and desecrated by the military. So I started out with a feeling of bitterness. There was antagonism rather than sympathy. I must confess that in those days I always wished my Abbey was located in the Arab section of Jerusalem rather than in that under the control of the State of Israel, just one year old at that time (in 1949).

How then did it happen that in the course of time my attitude changed to that of true friendship, even love, as I have said before? Let me make one thing clear, that my friendship for Israel does not mean that I have lost my sympathies for the Arab people. Even when Jerusalem was still divided, I had always the possibility, of which I often availed myself, to cross over to the Arab sector of Jerusalem via Mandelbaum Gate, and even to go to Transjordan, e.g. Amman. And when Jerusalem was reunited, one of the first things which happened was that old Arab friends came again to us at the Abbey and renewed old friendships. We were happy to be able to help many of them in their real needs which, through the war and its aftermath, were great. So as a man of the Church, I sincerely wish for nothing more fervently than

peace. I am also convinced that peace is possible, provided both parties come together and sit at the peace table to talk things over. But as a man of the Church, I am also "fanatically" for truth. And truth is based on facts. And here we come to the crux of the matter.

The first thing that struck me with regard to the Israelis was, that once you decided to talk to them man to man, you found them most understand. I always found them cooperative, once they discovered an open and receptive attitude in me. Where there were true grievances, they were readily admitted, and amends were made whenever, and as far as, possible. The authorities and the people at large regretted deeply the desecrations which actually had been committed. We must consider that the State of Israel was still in its infancy. The 1948 war was fought mostly by irregular troops. The "Hagana" was the more disciplined one and became the Israel Defence Forces soon. But there had been also more radical elements, such as the "Stern-Gang" which at that time could not yet be effectively controlled. It should also be taken into account that most of them, not without reason, considered the Dormition Abbey as a German institution. (To this general set-up of "national shrines" I shall come back soon). And one can hardly blame the Jews that at that time they had, to put it mildly, antipathies against everything German. But there again: They remained un-fanatical and realists, as everyone is free to see. As to my person, who had left Germany under pressure of the Hitler regime and had become an American, I was immediately well received.

I have said above that as a priest I must bear witness to truth. Hence I feel obliged to expose calumnies and lies. Now in a recent issue (December 17, 1969) of the NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER (NCR) I read the following



conspicuously displayed in a letter to the editor by a Rev. Michael D. Guinan of Washington, D.C.: "On the military level, Israel's aggressive terrorism against Palestinian Arabs is too broad and too well-documented to bear much comment (one example: the complete massacre of Deir Yassin village, 250 men, women and children, in April of 1948)". Now here I really had trouble to keep my temper. But let's keep the temper. Let me say this: That the case of Deir Yassin is referred to again and again by Israel's enemies is really a very great compliment to Israel. It seems that no other "documented" case of atrocity can be found (which is not to say that as in every war, also in the war of 1948 and 1967, individual soldiers may have committed isolated acts of cruelty). Now let us have a good look at the case of Deir Yassin. Deir Yassin, together with the strategic and strongly fortified hill village of Castel, was one of the vantage points which dominated the access to Jerusalem, where 150,000 Jewish civilians were in a stage of siege, fighting for their lives. Units of the (British controlled) Arab League attempted to cut the only highway linking Jerusalem to the outside world. The pipeline was cut upon which the defenders and the people of Jerusalem depended for their water supply. Deir Yassin and Castel were interconnected militarily. The "Hagana" took Castel after fierce fighting. Deir Yassin had been similarly fortified, its stone dwellings transformed into bastions. The para-military force, known as Irgun or Etzel (Itzl) ("Irgun Zvai Leumi") decided to assault Deir Yassin. It detailed a hundred men for that purpose. They were poorly equipped with only light weapons, one light machine gun and some hand-grenades. For many of those men it was their first experience under fire. A small open truck, fitted out with a loud speaker, was driven close to the village entrance and a warning was broadcast in Arabic admonishing the non-combatants to withdraw from the danger zone. Some 200

villagers took advantage of that offer. None of these was molested and all were afterwards brought to safety. When the battle began, the garrison, consisting of Palestinian Arabs and Iraqi regular army men used as a ruse, which unfortunately has been used also elsewhere: They hung out white flags from houses nearest the village entrance. When the Irgun advanced, they were met by a hail of fire. One of the first to be hit was the commander. A fierce house-to-house fighting followed. When all was over, it was discovered that the bodies of many women and children were found next to those of the fighting men. It was an Arab, Yunes Ahmed Assad, a prominent inhabitant of Deir Yassin, who wrote in the Jordanian daily "Al Urdun" on April 9, 1955: "The Jews never intended to hurt the population of the village, but were forced to do so after they met enemy fire from the population which killed the Irgun commander." This is an interesting document. Its only inaccuracy is that the Irgun commander actually survived. But it shows that Assad evidently was an eye witness who saw him fall.

But on the other hand, around the same time, a convoy of seventy-one Jewish doctors and nurses - a convoy clearly marked with the medical insignia - was ambushed on its way to the Mount Scopus Hospital, and either all of them or almost all of them unarmed personnel, were killed. It is a fact to which I can testify, that in the "Six-Day-War" of 1967, the Israeli Defence Forces were strictly enjoined, and carried it out, to spare the Holy Places, often with the loss of life of their own troops, while I know that Arab artillery was often placed directly behind a Holy Place, as e.g. the basilica of St. Anne. Who now says that access to the Holy Places or the freedom of the Churches is impaired in Israel, is either ignorant or he is a liar.



Speaking now of the Church in Israel, I should like to make the following personal observations which - it seems to me - will explain much of the attitude of many clergymen in the Holy Land. I feel fully unanimous here with a nucleus of dedicated clergymen of all denominations who, looking courageously into the future, have assumed a very positive attitude towards Israel. There are others who feel differently. In order to understand the attitude of many missionaries who have been of long residence in the Holy Land, let us visualize the situation in which the Church found itself in the Holy Land until recently. The situation can truthfully be characterized as paternalistic and colonial. That attitude is still deeply ingrained in many of those clergymen and religious who have spent most of their lives among the Arab population in Palestine. Politically there was the Ottoman Turkish Empire and then the British Mandate. (I shall come back to that later on). To neither of those potentates the Churchmen as well as the people developed any closer relationship (perhaps with the exception of a few Englishmen during the Mandate). The Arab population never succeeded in establishing their own commonwealth. So they leaned heavily, especially but not exclusively in their Christian sector, on the Church. Now "The Church" here means Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic (Melkite) and Latin (Roman) Catholic. The Melkite Church was the only one which was entirely indigenous, from Archbishop to people Arab. But the others were predominantly governed by foreigners: Greek, Italian, French, etc. The people were kept in an almost infantile position. They expected everything from the friars, or by whatever name you want to call them. Naturally they looked up to them, Christians as well as Moslems. The Turkish government, though Moslem, was utterly unpopular and mistrusted. So the people were not trained to contribute anything themselves. True they were - and are -

poor; they needed help. But it is my conviction that they were not properly helped to help themselves. One visible sign of that situation is the presence of all those national shrines: That one is Greek, the other one Italian, the next French or German or Spanish and so on. Even where an attempt was made towards an international representation, it was immediately so strangled by all kinds of stipulations as to make it unconvincing. E.g. the superior must be Italian, his vicar French, the procurator Spanish, and so on. The colonial streak went through everything. Certainly the Churchmen felt like the over-lords. When then Transjordan annexed (and I use that word deliberately) the West Bank including the Old City of Jerusalem, the Jordanian government was careful not to rock the boat. It must also be admitted that Jordan had in its king a noble minded ruler. In other Arab countries it is not so \*).

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\*) Christian Schools are severely restricted in Syria. Pope Paul sent a note of concern to the Syrian government on November 27th 1957. But the restrictive decrees remained in force. So 10,000 Syrian pupils were registered in schools in Lebanon and many Christian parents moved to Lebanon. In Jordan even, laws were past, preventing new churches to be built. The number of Christians in Jordan is dwindling steadily. In Egypt it is especially - but not solely - the four to five million Copts who feel the brunt of discrimination. They were thrown out of their jobs in public employment. Coptic churches are being closed down. It is hardly necessary to remind anyone - I hope - of the real persecution of Christians in the Sudan. Even in Lebanon, traditionally half Christian, the Maronites are feeling the pressure from their Moslem neighbors.

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This whole situation was now suddenly changed with the establishment of the State of Israel. Jews do not easily submit to a paternalistic authority. The Israelis took social welfare as well as archeological research and similar enterprises into their own hands (which, of course, does not



mean that e.g. foreign archeologists are excluded). Naturally that downgrades the position of many non-Israeli endeavors. The Church must resolutely find herself in the position of a minority (which she always was but tried to ignore). Domination of the people by "charitable" help, etc. has come to an end. Churchmen must resolutely reconcile themselves to the fact that they live in a Jewish State, in which the rights of the minorities are guaranteed, but cannot dominate. Some of them find this difficult.

May I repeat what I have said above: The Jewish people are really a very warm hearted people, responding easily to a truly sincere friendly approach in the partner. But they are also a people who have been hurt, and hurt deeply. They had traumatic experiences, which should not be quickly forgotten by non-Jews. It will take time and patience and tact to come to a true mutual trust and understanding. It is unfortunately true that Father Edward R. Flannery says in his book: "The Anguish of the Jews": "The pages (of past history) which Jews have memorized have been torn from the histories of the Christian era" (p. XI). And of the Nazi genocide he rightly says: "The inclination to regard Hitler as a latter-day aberration with little or no roots in the past or connection with the present is still widespread, and thus the problem is not faced" (p. XII). No nation raised a very decisive voice of protest against the murder of our Jewish brothers (as also now, the protest against actions against Israel are quite subdued, while any action of Israel, which some people think unwarranted, are most severely criticized.

Let us get one thing clear almost from the outset: The Israeli-Arab question is not a conflict of an ordinary character, which could be solved by "even-handed" arbitration. I do not say that there are not also such questions involved. It tragically often happens in human affairs that the

historic justice for one people somehow involves an injustice to others. But such claims and counter-claims could be settled once the partners recognize each other and are willing to talk things over. And here lies the crux of the matter. The Arab-Israel conflict is one of existence for Israel, a question of "to be and not to be". Israel is not prepared to commit suicide. Allow me to put this into stark relief, by quoting some of the statements of Arab leaders in the course of time. You will find a consistent "motif" in all such statements. Already on May 15, 1948, the Secretary General of the Arab League, Azam Pasha, came out with the following statement: "This will be a momentous war of extermination, which will be spoken of in history like the Mongolian massacre." In 1956 Ibrahim Fahmy, Assistant Secretary of the "Liberation Rally" wrote in the Cairo daily AL-AHRAM of September 6, 1956: "God has gathered the Zionists together from the corners of the world so that the Arabs can kill them all at one stroke. This was impossible before, owing to their dispersion."

And so it goes on and on. Before the Six-Day-War of 1967, we have the following public statements. Hureddin al-Atzari, Syria's Chief of State, on May 22, 1966: "We want total war with no limits, a war that will destroy the Zionist base", and the same on May 25, 1967: "Every Jew in Israel shall be put to death." Gamal Abdel Nasser on the same day: "We are going to choke the breath out of Israel and throw the Israelis into the sea .. Our basic aim is to destroy Israel. The Arab People are firmly resolved to wipe Israel off the map." I will not tire you with many more of such quotations. Just an interesting recent one. The well known editor-in-chief of AL-AHRAM, Mohammed Hassanein Haykel, often the mouth piece of Nasser, wrote in his paper on February 2, 1969: "Israel's secure and recognized boundaries, in our opinion, are a Jewish synagogue in Tel-Aviv and ten metres around it."



Now I hear already someone say: One should not take such emotional statements too seriously. But that reminds me too vividly of the voices I have heard in 1933/4 who said, one should not take Hitler seriously when he announced the "final solution of the Jewish question". Commentary superfluous.

But this exactly brings me to another point in this my talk. I have recently made quite a study of how such an attitude of hatred could develop, while Sharif Hussein of Hejaz said on March 23, 1916: "We saw Jews .. streaming to Palestine from Russia, Germany, Austria, Spain, America .. The cause of causes could not escape those who had the gift of deeper insight; they knew that the country was for its original sons. For all their differences, a sacred and beloved homeland" (Al Qibla, Mecca. No 183, 23). And in a similar vein, the Emir Feisal (son of Hussein), the leader of the Arab peoples at the Peace Conference following World War I, on March 3, 1919: "We Arabs .. look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, insofar as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home .. I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their places in the community of civilized peoples of the world".

The person more responsible than anyone else for the reversal of attitude, the man who constantly instigated anti-Jewish riots and fostered hatred of the Jews, was that personality whom I do not hesitate to characterize as sinister, the Mufti of Jerusalem, made Grand Mufti of Palestine by the

British (according to the principle "Divide and Conquer"), Haj Amin al-Husseini. It is most enlightening to trace this man's steps from Palestine, where finally the soil became too hot for him, to Iraq, from where he started a lively correspondence with the Nazis of Germany. After expressing his warmest sympathies for the Nazis, he received an answer from Hitler through the German Foreign Ministry, in which we find among others the following sentence: "Germans and Arabs have common enemies in the English and in the Jews, and are united in the struggle against them."<sup>13</sup> When then the revolt against the British broke down in Iraq, al-Husseini went to Berlin. We see him in photographs in intimate friendly conversation with Hitler and with SS generals. According to depositions at the Nuremberg trials, the Mufti was largely responsible for the "liquidation" of Jews, especially in Bosnia. According to a book to be published by Robert M. W. Kempner, the former deputy prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials ("The Third Reich Under Cross Examination"), the Mufti received 90,000.- Mark from Hitler every month. After the collapse of the Nazi regime in Germany, al-Husseini went to Egypt, where, as far as I know, he now lives. He attracted to Egypt such top Nazis as Franz Rademacher, General Dietrichinger and Johann von Leers. Many of them changed their names to Arabic ones. Von Leers was known in Cairo as Omar Amin. He died in 1965. He had been political adviser to the Information Department, at the recommendation of the Mufti.

It was in Arab countries that Hitler's "Mein Kampf" was translated and republished. The infamous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion", recognized everywhere but in Arab countries as forgery, were reprinted in Arabic. (A luxury edition Beirut 1967).

This all explains, at least to some extent, the blatant anti-semitism of the Arabs.



You will remember that I said before that the emergence of AL-FATAH brought a new element into the struggle of Israel for its survival. AL-FATAH was organized in 1965, i.e. before the Six-Day-War. It was responsible for the stepped up terrorist activity which preceded that war. The new element Al-Fatah brings to the struggle against Israel concerns two points. First, it gives itself no longer as a Pan-Arab movement but as The Palestinian one. And secondly, it is more subtle and sophisticated. It gives itself as a humanitarian, revolutionary movement against imperialism, capitalism, colonialism. It advocates de-Zionization of Israel. It proclaims not to be against the Jews, not to be "anti-semitic", not to be even against a Jewish presence in Palestine. But it contends to be against Zionism, against the present State of Israel, as an instrument and an agent of Imperialism, Capitalism and Colonialism. This way Al-Fatah makes deep inroads even in U.S. University campuses, first among the rather numerous Arab students, then also among other students, even some Jewish ones.

Now, first of all, Al-Fatah has still to give the proof of its distancing itself from the anti-semitism professed generally by the rest of the Arabs. True, it criticizes the Mufti for some of his actions, e.g. for not having established a political entity on the "West Bank" or in the Gaza strip. But I have not found one word of criticism of the Mufti's actions against the Jews and his incitement to Jew-baiting. On the contrary, when the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" were published in Beirut in 1967, a thousand copies were immediately bought by the PLO, spearheaded by Al-Fatah. Al-Fatah inspired demonstrations e.g. in Nanterre, France, shouted: "Down with the Jews!". According to a report in the CHRONICLE of March 7, 1969, Al-Fatah inspired actions were definitely against the Jews as such. I cannot help thinking that it is only for tactical reasons that Yassir Arafat,

alias Abu Ammar distinguishes between anti-semitism and anti-zionism. Anti-semitism has a sour taste in the world. He knows that he can muster support from the young-left by directing his attacks against the "Imperialists, the Capitalists and the Colonialists". But let us tackle these accusations.

First, I should like to know where true socialism can point to better and greater results than in Israel. Israeli socialism is a real and genuine thing. It is the result of a fusion of ancient traditions, historic experience and several contemporary ideologies. The Bible, the Talmud and the literature of rabbinical response which directed Jewish life to the threshold of the 20th century brought into being communal institutions that reflected a profound sense of social responsibility. The Qibutz and the Moshav are very successful experiences in socialism, without fanaticism. There is practically no unemployment in Israel, neither is there real poverty. The contrast between the wealthy and the poor which we do find in many Arab countries does not exist in Israel.

Furthermore, to consider the Jews as (Western) intruders betrays an abysmal ignorance. Now, there have been Jews who are anti-Zionist. I refer especially to the "American Council for Judaism". This movement had at the time of its climax perhaps 5000 members. As far as I am informed, membership has gone down since. But let us take those 5000. They constitute less than 1/100% of American Jewry, let alone world Jewry. I am unable to give any idea about the number of young Jewish students who would advocate the cause of Al-Fatah. I can only say that they must be people who have lost the roots of their Jewishness. To consider Judaism just as one of the world religions is taking the real life nerve out of Judaism. De-Zionization means de-Judaization. It certainly means the end of Israel as it exists today, i.e. as the spiritual homeland of all the Jews. According to Al-Fatah, the Jews



who lived in Palestine before "the Zionist invasion" could remain in Palestine. All the others would have to return to the countries from which they came (so for instance to Iraq, to be hanged as spies). Such was "decreed" by the "Palestinian National Covenant" of July 1968. And that Congress set the date of the beginning of that "invasion" explicitly as 1917 (the Balfour Declaration), while others graciously set the year 1948 as the date. That would mean that 2½ million would have to be eliminated.

But things are lying really much deeper than all that. I was happy and proud to have, last November, cooperated in Rome on the draft of a new statement on Jewish-Christian relations. A "working paper" was approved by the plenary session of the Secretariate for Promoting Christian Unity (to which the "Vatican Office for Catholic-Jewish relations" is attached). Unfortunately, not that version but the second-last was leaked to the press. The last version had some not very great changes of the text. So I am quoting here from the press: "Fidelity to the covenant (which the living and true God has established with the Jewish people) was linked to the gift of a land, which in the Jewish soul has endured as an object of an aspiration that Christians should strive to understand. In the wake of long generations of painful exile, all too often aggravated by persecutions and moral pressures, for which Christians ask pardon of their Jewish brothers, Jews have indicated in a thousand ways their attachment to the land promised to their ancestors from the days of Abraham's calling. It should seem that Christians, whatever difficulties they may experience, must attempt to understand and respect the religious significance of this link between the people and the land".

It is a fact that the Jewish people have never ceased to assert its title to the land. Israel and Jerusalem were ever in the memory and in the yearning of the Jewish people. In the blessing of grace, they say: "Blessed

be you, who are building Jerusalem". No meal was ever concluded without praying: "Build Jerusalem, speedily, in our days". No Pesach Seder, no feast of the atonement (Yom Kippur) was ever celebrated without saying: "Next year in Jerusalem". There is no such attachment to any land anywhere else in the world, as the attachment of the Jewish people to the land of Israel. "The merit of living in the land of Israel equals the merit of observing all the commandments of the Torah" is a traditional saying. The mystical bond between the land and the people of Israel is a simple fact, which is deeply burned into the heart of every Jew, and I think should be burned into the heart of every Christian as well. Biblical eschatology is mysteriously centered in the Holy Land. According to biblical faith, the promise of full redemption and the consummation of history, the full redemption of all peoples involves the presence of the Jewish people in this land. Christian theology has often gone wrong in the too radical use of the method of allegorization of the Hebrew Bible. In order to spiritualize its meaning, many theologians have minimized the plain historical sense of the Bible. And thus many Christians have become incapable of understanding what the Holy Land means to the Jewish people, and through the Jewish people to the world at large - in its consummation! The people Israel in the flesh has been disregarded, and has been made just a symbol of Christian values. Much as we Christians reserve our right to see the relation between God's covenant with Israel and the Gospel in a different light, than a Jew can see it, "the extreme anti-literal interpretation which considers the names Zion, Jerusalem, Israel and the like to be names of the Christian Church, without reference to the people of Israel (emphasis mine) does no justice either to the spirit of the Old Testament and its principle, or the principles on which the New Testament (Quotation says: "Apostle")



reasons" "That Israel has a great future is clear from Scripture as a whole. There is a large unfulfilled element in the Old Testament which demands it, unless we spiritualize it away" (B. Ramm, Protestant Biblical Interpretation, Boston, W. A. Wilde 1956, pp. 234 f, 236: cf. Heschel p. 141 and 144).

Let us also look at the land in the almost 2000 years between the end of the second commonwealth, as it is called, in the year 70, when the temple in Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans, and the establishment of the State of Israel in the year 1948. There are two striking features for anyone to see who dispassionately considers the history of Palestine in those 2000 years. The first is the continuous presence of the Jews in that land, without merging into any of the racial and religious communities which held sway there. First there were continuous revolts against the Roman conquerors. True, they were finally crushed by the violence of superior force, but the people clung tenaciously to the land. Just a few examples: At the time of the crusades, there existed still a fair sized agricultural Jewish population, especially in Galilee. There were important Jewish communities in Jerusalem, Acco, Haifa, Jaffa, Ashkelon, Tiberias, Ramlah, Gaza. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, there arose the Talmudic center in Safad. In the 16th century Tiberias became a great center. Pekiin in Galilee had been continuously settled by Jews, of which fact the ancient synagogue in that village in the lovely Galilean hills is still a witness.

On the other hand - and that is the second striking feature - all attempts to establish other civilizations in the land ended in failure. Father Flannery, in his article "Foundations of the State of Israel" (in THE LAMP, June 1969) summarizes the history of Palestine in the following manner: "A crossroad between Asia, Europe, and Africa, Palestine has remained (from the destruction of Jerusalem until today) the neglected province

of absent rulers and the runaway of fluctuating populations. First a Roman province, then Byzantine, it came under Arab rule in 637 A.D. The Arabs ruled it as foreign conquerors for 400 years to lose it 1071 to the Seljuk Turks (1071-1099). Christian Crusaders occupied it for nearly two centuries, after which it was ruled by Tartars, Mongols (1244-1260), Mameluks of Egypt (1260-1517), and Ottoman Turks, who held it until it was mandated by the Allies to Great Britain at the close of World War I. Thus it remained an amorphous geopolitical entity without clear boundaries, a thankless host to Jews, Arabs, Christian pilgrims, Bedouin, and the various agents of its conquerors. In the last thirteen centuries, it has changed hands fourteen times and has at no time been an independent country. No national claim to it was made by any group within it (emphasis mine) from the first to the twentieth century". (p. 5f). For none of those powers it was a beloved and cared for homeland. It is as if the land did not respond. That is, in fact, the rabbinic traditional interpretation of Lev. 26, 38: "I will make such a desolation of the land, that your enemies who come to live there will be appalled by it" (cf. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, Israel et Eretz Israel, "Les Temps Modernes" 1967, n. 253 bis, p. 384). None of them built a civilization there with its own literature. But Maimonides (Ben Maimon) lived there. Not only the Bible, but also the Mishna, the Palestinian Talmud, the Midrashim, the Shulhan Arukh, works of mysticism originated in the Jewish settlements in Palestine.

And so we come to more modern times. The juridical basis for the State of Israel is beyond doubt. It has a pre-history. In the year 1840 the Earl of Shaftesbury addressed a memorandum to Lord Palmerston (soon to become Prime Minister). The London TIMES wrote at that time: "The proposition to plant the Jewish people in the land of their fathers, under the



protection of the five (Western) powers, is no longer a mere matter of speculation but of serious political consideration". A few days later, the same newspaper said that the colonization of Palestine by the Jews would be a remedy for contemporary conflicts, and "it should be a crowning point in the glory of England to bring it about". All ideas to settle the Jews elsewhere (Uganda, Argentine) were simply preposterous and doomed to failure from the outset.

Jewish immigration to Palestine (the Yishuv) began in the late 19th century. In 1850, there were 20,000 Jews in Palestine. In 1880, there were 25,000. In 1914, 100,000. They lived on the land that was legally purchased from the Arabs (not seldom absentee owners) and paid for, often at exorbitant prices. The Jews bought it dunam for dunam, and not a single Arab was displaced. On the contrary, the Arab population doubled in that same period of time. The Arabs participated in the progress which the land saw in those years. The Jews were in the majority in those areas of Palestine which were allotted to them by the partition resolution of the United Nations. Many thousands of Arabs came from neighboring countries to find work, opportunity and education in Palestine, which was undergoing a rapid development because of the Zionist settlement. Prior to 1922, Arabs were leaving the country, after 1922 they began to come from Zyría, Iraq, Lebanon, Transjordan and Egypt. Between the two world wars, the Jewish population in Palestine rose by 375,000, the non-Jewish one rose by 380,000.

With regard to land ownership, according to British Government statistics, prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, 8.6% of the land, now known as Israel, was owned by Jews, 3.35 by Arabs who remained, 16.5% by Arabs who left the country. More than 70% of the land was owned by the government. It passed to the ownership of Israel.

The events of modern times are too well known to be repeated here in detail. November 2, 1917 saw the Balfour Declaration. True the Balfour Declaration in itself was not a legal document. But it was accepted by the world community. I mention briefly the San Remo Conference of April 1920, the League of Nations decision of July 24, 1922 (art. 4) in which Great Britain was charged "to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine". The interpretation of "National Home" as a State was accepted by the various political authorities. The Mandate in its preamble speaks of "reconstituting their national home in that country". Came finally the vote of the General Assembly of the United Nations of November 29, 1948, which was followed by the proclamation of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948.

In its resolution the General Assembly of the U.N. affirmed the creation of "A Jewish State in the land of Israel". It required "the inhabitants themselves to take all measures on their part to carry out the resolution. The recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their own state is irrevocable. It is the natural right of the Jewish people, like any other people, to control their own destiny in their sovereign state".

Eleven minutes after the State was proclaimed, it was recognized by the United States. That was followed shortly after by the Soviet Union and most Western powers. Today Israel is recognized by about 100 countries.

On May 11, 1949 Israel was voted by the General Assembly as a member of the United Nations.

But as the British withdrew and Israel was proclaimed, the armies of Egypt, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq marched against her. The par-



tion lines were lost, the Palestinian Arab State disappeared, annexed by Transjordan, and the refugee problem was born.

The Jews had accepted the partition plan, although it fell short of their hopes, but the Arabs did not. There is not the slightest doubt that the Arabs started the war of 1948. It was aggression against the legitimately established State of Israel.

It may be well here to say a word about the Arab refugees. I will give you only a few quotations, all from Arab sources, which may speak for themselves:

Bishop George Hakim, the Egypt born Greek Catholic Archbishop of Galilee (now Melkite Patriarch Marimus V.) said in an interview with the Lebanese newspaper SAHA AL-JANUB on August 16, 1948: "The refugees had been confident that their absence from Palestine would not last long, that they would return within a few days, within a week or two. Their leaders had promised them that the Arab armies would crush the 'Zionist Gang' very quickly and that there was no need for panic or fear of a long exile".

Mahmoud Saif ad-Din Irani, a refugee from Jaffa, in his book WITH THE PEOPLE (Amman 1956): "We left the country of our own free will believing we were on a short visit".

Nisar Al-Hawari, former commander of the para-military Arab Youth Organisation in Palestine, in his book THE SECRET BEHIND THE DISASTER: "The Arabs were confused by promises and deluded by their leaders".

The Jordanian newspaper AD-DIFAA of September 6, 1954: "The Arab Government told us: 'Get out so that we can get in' - so we got out but they did not get in". (And so on.)

Only after these quotations let me finally give you one from the report of the British (!) police in Haifa to headquarters in Jerusalem of

April 26, 1948: "Every effort is being made by the Jews to persuade the Arab population to stay and carry on with their normal lives, to get their shops and businesses open and to be assured that their lives and interest will be safe" (cf. Hachel, p. 179).

It could also be argued that with the about half million Jewish refugees from Arab countries (among the millions from other countries, fully absorbed in the life of Israel) you could almost speak of a population exchange. A population exchange is not a nice thing, but the many Jewish refugees from Arab countries should not be forgotten.

I have mentioned above that there is not the slightest doubt that the war of 1948 was started by the Arabs. The question of who actually fired the first shot in the "Six-Day-War" of 1967 will probably be forever disputed. According to my opinion, it matters very little. The Egyptians and the Syrians had actually fired many a shot across the border. And there is no doubt that the Arabs wanted war. On May 26, 1967, Nasser said: "I know that by concentrating troops and by blockading Israel, I invite war. I am ready for it. The end will be Israel's destruction. If they want war, welcome to war". The closing of the straits of Tiran was in fact an act of aggression. Radio Cairo expressed it quite clearly when, on May 30, 1967 it gave the following broadcast: "Following the closing of the Gulf of Aqaba there are now two courses open to Israel - either of which is drenched in its own blood: Either it will die of strangulation under the Arab military and economic siege, or else it will perish under the fire of the Arab forces encompassing it on the north, the south and the east". And Nasser knew it. What other reason did he have to want the U.N. security forces removed from Sharm-el-Sheikh and the Gaza strip? But there again, no protest except a v e r y mild one from the great powers.



Allow me to quote from the book of Randolph and Winston Churchill (Jr.) on the Six-Day-War: "It all started with a lie - a Russian lie. In early May the Soviet Government passed to Cairo the story of large Israel troop concentrations on the Syrian border. Over the following two weeks, Cairo received further and more detailed information indicating that an Israeli force of up to eleven brigades was involved. However, at the time the Israelis had no more than a company (120 men) in this particular area, waiting in ambush for Syrian saboteurs. The United Nations, which had observation posts along the Israeli-Syrian border, confirmed on May 19 that they had no evidence of these alleged troop movements (Note: See Secretary General's report to the Security Council May 29, S7879, para 9: 'Reports from UNRWO observers have confirmed the absence of troop concentrations and significant troop movements on both sides of the line'). It seems that the Russians, alarmed by the possibility that Israel might carry out a punitive raid on Syria, wanted Nasser to commit his forces in Sinai in order to deter the Israelis from attacking. The allegations were in fact completely fabricated" (p. 28).

A look at the present situation is certainly liable to make one worry. In February last year there convened in Cairo the "Palestinian Congress", in which the leader of Al-Fatah, Yasir Arafat, was elected president of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)" (which had been compromised under the leadership of Ahmed Shukeiri). Arafat, whom we know already as the most implacable and violent defender of the idea that Israel must be wiped off the map, swears he will not rest before "the homeland" is completely "liberated". Having had, after his election, a two hour conference with President Nasser, the latter pledged that all 7000 Palestinian troops attached to the Egyptian army would be released to fight with the con-

mandates of the PLO. Furthermore, Nassar, in one of his speeches of last year, emphasized the freedom of political behavior for the Palestinian organizations. Egypt, he said, agreed to the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, but the Palestinians should continue unabated until the liberation of every inch of the "occupied homeland". The Security Council resolution thus does not exist for the PLO and all Palestinian organizations.

Take furthermore the entrenchment of the Russians and their influence in the Middle East, with the only aim of having almost complete sway in that region \*), and there is doubtlessly much reason for worry.

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\*) "Whatever may be the Soviet Union's intentions elsewhere, it obviously intends to play a strictly opportunistic, irresponsible and power-grabbing role in the Middle East". (Sen. Jacob K. Javits on December 15, 1969 in the Senate Congress. Record vol. 115, #208 of Dec. 15, 1969).

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What I call the betrayal of France is another element. May I quote from a letter "to the editor" of *NEWSWEEK* (Feb. 17, 1969), written interestingly by an Indian: "By treating the \$160 million contract with Israel as a scrap of paper General de Gaulle has shaken the confidence of buyers of French arms, particularly in Afro-Asia (including India). France not merely dishonored her arms supply contract; she has committed a breach of trust in refusing to refund the \$160 million paid in advance for French arms. It is tragic that de Gaulle, who saved the franc from devaluation, had himself devaluated (by at least 50% per cent) France's international honor and prestige" (K. Ramaswamy, Bombay, India). Another writer calls the act "a daylight robbery for all the world to see" (Louis Rudolph, Norwich, Conn. )ib.



Let us hope and pray that reason may prevail, and let us continue to work for mutual understanding. But an understanding of the situation includes also to stand up for truth. And truth is based on facts. For the rest, it is my prediction that Israel is here to stay. She will survive. She has always been placed in predicaments. Biblical times seem almost to have returned. That is part of her burden and destiny, so that she will not relax and become complacent, but face tasks and live by the challenge.

Let us, and this will be my final thought, also hope that the soul of Israel may be kept free from poison and not be corrupted by that challenge of force. May the spirit of the Mishna (Megillah 10b) be alive: "The ministering angels wanted to sing a hymn at the destruction of the Egyptians (at the exodus through the Red Sea), but God said: 'My children lie drowned in the sea, and you would sing?'" (This text had a great influence on the Jewish liturgy). It sounds almost as an echo of that theme, and it shows that that spirit is still alive, when General Yitzhak Rabin, the Chief-of-Staff said a few days after the Six-Day War; that the Israeli soldiers were reluctant to "celebrate". "The joy of our soldiers, he said, is incomplete and their celebrations are marred by sorrow and shock. There are some who abstain from all celebrations. The men in the front lines were witness not only to the glory of victory, but the price of victory: "The terrible price which our enemies paid touched the hearts of many of our men as well. It may be that the Jewish people never learned and never accustomed itself to feel triumph of conquest and victory, and we receive it with mixed feelings". .. This is borne out by transcripts of recorded conversations with young men who fought that war, collected in "Siach Lohamim" (Soldiers Talk), e.g. "I believe that one of the things characteristic of us is the sense of tragedy of conquerors. We are just not used to it. And

it is also part of our education... I am glad that I could stand on the ruins of the Egyptian armor and that no Egyptian was soon anywhere between Beersheva and Yeruham. But all the same, when you watch it all, it is destruction and it is depressing".

And it is on this note that I should like to conclude this my talk.





## H I S T O R Y of Palestine

The Romans occupied the land in the first century and it became just another Roman province.

When Rome fell apart, it became a province of the Christian Byzantine Empire and so remained until the seventh century.

In 614, it was conquered by the Persians and became a province of their empire.

In 640, the warriors of Mohammed took it, and it became a province of Mohammedan dynasties.

For one hundred years, it was administratively part of Egypt under the Ummayyad Caliphs.

For the next three hundred years, it was a subordinate province of the Abbasside Caliphs ruling out of Bagdad.

About 1100, the Christian Crusaders came out of Europe and created the Latin Kingdom which lasted for about two hundred years.

In 1300, it reverted to being a province of the Mameluke rulers from their capital in Egypt.

In 1517, the Turks, who were not Arabs, made Palestine a province of the Turkish Empire.

In about 1800 Napoleon briefly interrupted this situation when his armies crossed its soil.

The land reverted to Turkish rule which was maintained until 1918, when the Allies broke up the Turkish Empire and carved out of that empire a number of political units which were to become the states of Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Israel, Transjordan and so forth. These states had not existed before. They all were Turkish provinces.

During the days of Jesus some 20,000,000 people had lived in the Tigris-Euphrates valley and approximately 4,000,000 in Palestine and a relatively good standard of living.

At the turn of the 20th century, about 5,000,000 lived in Mesopotamia and less than 600,000 in Palestine, victims of malaria and many other debilitating diseases (i.e. under the Turks. Hence "foreigners" hated).

"In demanding the restoration of the refugees to Palestine, the Arabs intend that they shall return as the masters of the homeland and not as slaves. More explicitly, they intend to annihilate the State of Israel".

Dr. Mohammed Salah ed-Din, Egypt. Minister of Foreign Affairs in AL MISRI, October 11, 1949.

"If the Arabs return to Israel, Israel will cease to exist".

Pres. Nasser to the ZUERCHER WOCHEN, Sept. 1, 1961.

"The day of the realization of the Arab hope for the return of the refugees to Palestine means the liquidation of Israel".

Abdulla al-Yafi, Prime Minister of Lebanon, in the Lebanese Parliament as reported in AL HAYAT, Lebanon, April 29, 1966.



Compared with the half million Jewish refugees from Arab countries, you may almost speak of a population exchange.

The statistics of Jewish refugees, completely absorbed in the life of Israel 1948-1961, give 872,000 - meanwhile easily grown to 1 million and a quarter. Nearly 500,000 of these came from Arab countries. Here is the exact breakdown:

from Egypt	36,000
Syria & Lebanon	8,000
Aden	46,000
Yemen	60,000
Iraq	130,000
North Africa	<u>150,000</u>
Exact sum total	- 430,000



**April 23, 1970**

**Mr. Ira Langer**

**Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum**

**BASIC DATA FOR THE IRS**

**In response to your request, I am submitting the following information:**

**1) Colleges, universities, seminaries and degrees:**

**My elementary and secondary religious and secular training were taken at the Talmudical Academy (Yeshivas Chafetz Chayim), Baltimore, Md.**

**Bachelor's degree - Yeshiva University, New York, N. Y.**

**And advanced Talmudic and Rabbinic studies at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of Yeshiva University, B.S. degree in 1945.**

**Rabbinic ordination (officially ordained as "Rabbi, Teacher, and Preacher in the House of Israel") conferred by the Jewish Theological Seminary, 1950.**

**Master of Hebrew Literature degree conferred by Jewish Theological Seminary, 1950.**

**Advanced graduate studies in religious history, philosophy and sociology of religion at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and New School for Social Research, 1950-1960.**

**2) Religious Affiliations:**

**Member Rabbinical Assembly of America, 1950 to present.**

**Member New York Board of Rabbis, membership group of Orthodox, Conservative and Reform rabbis in the metropolitan New York area.**

**Member Synagogue Council of America, national coordinating agency for Orthodox, Conservative and Reform rabbinic and congregational bodies of Judaism.**



**Member of Steering Committee of Religious Education Association.  
Chairman of Interpretation Committee, Religion in American Life,  
coalition of Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical and Jewish religious  
groups promoting attendance at churches and synagogues.**

**Member of the American Academy of Religion.**

**Member of Society for the Scientific Study of Religion.**

**Member American Academy of Religion and Mental Health.**

**Member American Association of Church Historians.**

**The membership of the above religious associations are overwhelmingly clergy from the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish communities who serve together to advance common objectives in the interests of their religious communities in this country. Over the years, I have been elected by my rabbinic colleagues and Christian associates to positions of leadership in many of these religious groups.**

### **3) Religious Publications:**

**The following is a representative list of books, pamphlets and essays, and other articles that I have written in recent years. In each case my intention has been to view contemporary issues and problems from the perspective of classical rabbinic Judaism and to relate the spiritual ideals and values of Judaism to contemporary community and individual needs:**

**A Guide to Jewish Traditions and Holy Days (see attached New York Times article, April 19, 1970).**

**Jewish-Christian Dialogue: An Introduction to Major Theological Issues in Relations Between Judaism and Christianity (published by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops Commission on Ecumenism and Interreligious Affairs).**

**Judaism and the Modern World: An anthology of religious commentaries delivered over WINS, Westinghouse Broadcasting System, together with Father Ramon Valenti of the Catholic Church and Rev. Donald Roper of the Council of Churches. I have been selected to serve as the spokesman for Judaism in this weekly panel.**

**Our Moral and Spiritual Resources for International Cooperation.**

**Torah and Gospel: A series of essays by leading Catholic and Jewish scholars on Judaism and Christianity. Father John Gronin and I wrote the chapters on "Church and Synagogue in Social Justice."**

**The Star and The Cross- edited by Mother Kathryn Hargrove: my essay on Theological and Historical Issues in Relations between Judaism and Christianity.**



**Catholic Theological Society Proceedings: Judaism Views  
Vatican Council II.**

**Conservative Judaism: "Israel's Hour of Need and the Jewish-Christian Dialogue."**

**Sister Formation Bulletin: "An Ecumenical Re-Examination of Christian-Jewish Relations."**

**Worldview: Judaism and Pope John's Encyclical, Pacem In Terris.**

(A few <sup>representative</sup> copies of these writings are attached. Copies of all of them are available on request.)

#### 4) Occupation:

My present occupation is that of National Director of Interreligious Affairs (my counterpart is Father Edward Flannery who is executive secretary of the U. S. Catholic Bishops Commission on Ecumenism and Interreligious Affairs dealing with Catholic-Jewish Relations; and the Rev. Dr. Robert Dodds, director of the Division of Christian Unity and Jewish-Christian Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.).

I have served in this position for ten years. Prior to that I served from 1952-1960 as National Executive Vice-President of the Synagogue Council of America, representing the rabbinic and congregational branches of Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Judaism. My primary responsibilities with the Synagogue Council involved representing the interests of Judaism and the Jewish community in their relationships with the Roman Catholic and Protestant communities on an ecumenical and interreligious basis. Apparently because of my reputation and effectiveness with the Synagogue Council I was invited to come to the American Jewish Committee and to carry out the identical program, cooperating with the same Christian institutions and personalities as before. The major difference in my present position is that I devote less time to administrative responsibilities and more to academic study, writing and lecturing than I did at Synagogue Council. This shift to more religious academic pursuits was a primary reason for changing my position.

#### 5) "Job Description"

(a) My primary responsibilities that are assigned to me by the American Jewish Committee involve

(1) Interpreting the basic traditions, ideals and values of Judaism to the Christian and Jewish communities. This includes extensive lecturing on Judaism before seminaries, universities, clergy



retreats and institutes, churches and synagogues in various parts of the country. (Commentary magazine last year characterized this writer as "the leading figure among Jewish ecumenists in inter-religious relations and social justice concerns".)

(2) Performing the traditional and classical functions of the Rabbi in giving religious advice on the basis of Halachah (Jewish religious law, as well as religious counselling and performing religious rites and ceremonials such as weddings, funerals, personal religious counselling as requested by members of the American Jewish Committee and its staff.

Among the representative persons whom I have served in one or another of these religious capacities in recent months are Mr. Ralph Bass (counselling on a religious and psychological family problem of some duration); the funeral of Mrs. Dessie Cohen; such weddings as those of the daughter of Mrs. Adeline Singerman, AJC secretary and Mrs. Judith Banki, staff professional; counselling on mixed marriages, such as that of Mr. and Mrs. G. Szabad's daughter; counselling on funeral and unveiling ceremonies of Miss Jean Kern, Accounting Office and numerous other similar situations. I am regularly consulted by rabbinic associations in this country and abroad for religious guidance, counsel and opinion on questions in which I am regarded to have special religious competence. For example, the Chief Rabbi of Sao Paulo, Brazil, has recently written to me for a religious opinion regarding joint liturgical ceremonies with Christians there. I have received similar questions for religious opinions of this kind from many parts of the world.

A review of my various religious functions would demonstrate that I am presently carrying out as much religious ceremonial functions as a number of rabbis in modest-sized local congregations normally perform. The counterpoint is also true, namely, that the average rabbi in middle to large size Jewish congregations is engaged in general communal functions involving ecumenical and interreligious activities identical to those which I carry out on a national level in behalf of the Jewish community.

(b) As other documents from the American Jewish Committee have attested in the past, since 1930 the position of National Director of Interreligious Affairs has been held only by a rabbi since the intellectual and spiritual responsibilities of this office can be filled only by one who has been fully trained in Judaism and who has been ordained by an established seminary and its highest religious authorities. As testimony to this fact, no layman has ever held this

position. Since a substantial part of the role of the National Interreligious Affairs Director involves the performance of religious ceremonies, the presence of a rabbi is mandatory.

MHT:MSB  
Encls.





The American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022  
PLaza 1-4000

Date 6/16/70

TO: Marc Tanenbaum  
FROM: Yehuda Rosenman

- For approval
- For your information
- Please handle
- Please talk to me about this
- Read and file
- Returned as requested
- Your comments please

Remarks:

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
Jewish Communal Affairs Department

THE TREATMENT OF JEWS IN  
HISTORY AND SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS IN USE IN AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOLS

Report on A Preliminary Study

The portrayal of racial and religious minorities in social-studies textbooks used in American schools has frequently been the focus of sharp and widespread criticism. The charge is that these texts are written almost entirely from the viewpoint of the majority culture, failing to do justice to the historical experience of millions of citizens and ignoring the unique pluralism of American ethnic groups who helped build the country.

In recent years, a number of historians, textbooks writers and publishers have begun to document the history of black Americans, both in terms of their African past and in terms of their 400-year experience in this country. Unfortunately, however, Jewish history and experience have not yet enjoyed such recognition; in most American social-studies textbooks, the Jewish role in Western civilization as well as the contributions of Jews to American life still receive scant mention.

Professor Gavin I. Langmuir, Professor of History at Stanford University, explains that in the traditions of majority historiography Jews have always been portrayed as a "faceless collectivity." For the most part, Professor Langmuir points out, historians have either ignored or been ignorant of the history of Jews and Judaism between the dawn of Christianity and the modern era. "After the emergence of Christianity," he declares, "a reprobation falls on the Jews, and the dark night of ignorance conceals their activities from the historical consciousness of most of western society until Dreyfus, the Balfour Declaration, or Hitler once more draws historical attention to the Jews."<sup>1</sup>

Characteristic of Jewish portrayal, explains Professor Langmuir, is an erroneous and derogatory stereotypy, the perpetuation of which receives "tacit authorization" from "the silence of the official

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1. Langmuir, Gavin I. "Majority History and Post-Biblical Jews," Journal of the History of Ideas, 27: 362-63, New York: City University, January 1966, 27: 343.



guardians of social memory... . The basic pattern of majority historiography," he asserts, is "an emphasis on biblical Judaism in antiquity, on Jewish moneylending in the Middle Ages, and on antisemitism and Zionism in the XIX and XXth centuries, accompanied by a thoroughly inadequate explanation of the characteristics of and forces acting upon the Jews in any period after the biblical."<sup>2</sup>

While Dr. Langmuir's criticisms are directed primarily at college-level history textbooks, they are obviously even more applicable to materials in use in the nation's elementary and high schools. For the textbooks prepared for such social-studies curricula are usually dilutions and simplifications of the more scholarly texts. And omissions and distortions in such texts are in many ways even more serious than in the college textbooks. They affect a far larger student body than are reached by the college texts. And their biased or inaccurate recording of minority-group history deprives young Americans of different religious, ethnic and racial backgrounds of the knowledge and understanding essential to mutual respect and cooperation in a pluralistic society.

It is not surprising, therefore, that repeated complaints about the meager and inaccurate treatment of Jews and Judaism in high school social-studies texts have come to the American Jewish Committee, not only from its own chapters and other Jewish organizations, but also from teachers and other educational leaders eager to assure for young history students a balanced and authentic view of human experience. As an agency deeply concerned with intergroup relations, the Committee found these reports persuasive enough to warrant a preliminary study of what American social studies textbooks tell young readers about Jews, both in this country and elsewhere.

To conduct this preliminary investigation, the American Jewish Committee commissioned Mrs. Laurie S. Szubin, a teacher of history and social studies, to review 43 history textbooks (24 on world history and 19 on American history) widely used in public high schools around the country. (For a list of the books examined, see Appendix A attached) The books were studied for the extent of mention Jews and Judaism received and for the historical accuracy of these references. On both counts, the majority of the textbooks were found wanting. In most instances, Jews after the biblical period are most conspicuous by their absence from the social-studies textbooks. And when they do appear, their portrayal is, for the most part, bland and inadequate.

Students are unlikely to learn from their assigned readings in these texts that Jewish history reaches back 4,000 years, and spans numerous

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2. Langmuir, op. cit., pp. 362-363.



epochs and civilizations; that out of Jewish religious thought and experience the two other great religions, Christianity and Islam, were born; or that these two religions had a profound effect on Jewish history. There is no mention of the profound influence of Jewish thought and ethics on the social and intellectual fabric of Western civilization. Nor is there any effort, in these texts, to trace the origin of America's Jews or to record the early growth and development of today's thriving American Jewish community.

## WORLD HISTORY

With alarming frequency, the preliminary study found, the part played by the Jews is minimized and de-emphasized in our history textbooks, even when the mere existence of the Jews is not totally overlooked and ignored. Most authors end the discussion of "Jewish History" with the biblical period; attempts to fill the gaps between then and now are rare.

Jewish influence on the beginnings of Christianity is largely omitted from most texts, as is the Jewish influence on Islam.

Except for the stereotyped references to Jewish money lenders, Jews are totally ignored in the history of the Middle Ages. There is no mention whatever of the Jewish "Golden Age" in 11th-century Spain, and not a single one of the texts examined discusses any aspect of Jewish life during this period, in either Eastern or Western Europe. The harsh persecutions of Jews in Western Europe from the 13th through the 15th centuries, as well as the anti-Semitism and pogroms in Eastern Europe from the 17th century onward, are also passed over without mention.

The profound changes in the political and social status of Jews in Europe during and after the Enlightenment, their relationships with non-Jews and their role in the European culture, are almost totally ignored. Although the Dreyfus case is discussed in most of the World History texts, its anti-Semitic components are generally either ignored or de-emphasized.

Even the Nazi holocaust, the darkest tragedy in Jewish history, is, with certain notable exceptions, treated sparsely and superficially. While mention is made of the Nazi preachments against Jews, there is little effort to depict the full enormity of Nazi crimes or to document the planned genocide of six million Jews.

Also with a few notable exceptions, the textbooks offered simplistic accounts of the emergence of the State of Israel, omitting any discussion of the development of Zionism, the Balfour Declaration, and Israeli leaders and statemen.



## AMERICAN HISTORY

In the 19 American history textbooks examined, Jews are, except in one extraordinarily fine volume, "invisible citizens." A recounting of their past and of their contributions to American society is almost entirely omitted.

There is virtually no descriptive or interpretive history of early Jewish settlers who established their roots in America during the colonial period, and prepared the way for the millions of immigrants who followed later.

The exciting saga of two million East European Jews who emigrated to this country between 1870 and 1914 is summarized briefly, with a few passing references to several prominent American Jewish citizens. The talent and energy these new Americans brought to their new homeland as well as their unprecedented contributions to the cultural, economic, political and intellectual growth of the nation are, for the most part, ignored, and the unique Jewish philanthropic, cultural and communal life they organized here is almost never mentioned.

Virtually nothing in the texts touches on the special situation of American Jews in the face of Hitler's threat to world Jewry before and during World War II, or to the reactions of the American people and the U.S. Government to Nazism.

The American Jewish Committee's preliminary study of social studies textbooks reveals widespread evidence of neglect and omission in their treatment of Jews and Judaism on both the American and the world scene. The Committee believes these findings indicate clearly the need for more detailed studies and analyses which will serve to sensitize historians, textbooks writers and publishers to the nature of the problem and the need to deal with it.

In the meantime, AJC will encourage history and social-studies teachers to utilize and assign supplementary readings in Jewish history that can make up, in part, for the deficiencies in existing textbooks. A new annotated, graded AJC bibliography, Writings in Jewish History, has just been prepared and will be distributed widely around the country.

Appendix A

LIST OF TEXTBOOKS EXAMINED IN PRELIMINARY AJC STUDY

World History

Becker, Carl L. MODERN HISTORY. Morristown, New Jersey: Silver Burdett Company, 1958

Becker, Carl L.; Cooper, Kenneth S. MODERN HISTORY - EUROPE SINCE 1600. Morristown, New Jersey: Silver Burdett Company, 1964

Becker, Carl L.; Painter, Sidney; Han, Yu Shan. THE PAST THAT LIVES TODAY. Morristown, New Jersey: Silver Burdett Company, 1961

Black, Cyril E. OUR WORLD HISTORY. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1965

Boak, Arthur E. R.; Slosson, Preston W.; Anderson, Howard R.; Bartlett, Hall; Chapin, Robert M., Jr. THE HISTORY OF OUR WORLD. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963

Brunn, Geoffrey; Haines, Millicent. THE WORLD STORY. Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1963

Ewing, Ethel E. OUR WIDENING WORLD. New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1960

Habberton, William; Roth, Lawrence V.; Spears, William R. WORLD HISTORY - THE STORY OF MAN'S ACHIEVEMENTS. Forest River, Illinois: Laidlaw Brothers, 1962

Hughes, Ray O. THE MAKING OF TODAY'S WORLD. (Revised by James H. McCrocklin) Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1966

Leinwand, Gerald. THE PAGEANT OF WORLD HISTORY. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1962

Magenis, Alice; Appel, John C. A HISTORY OF THE WORLD. New York: American Book Company, 1963

Magoffin, Ralph V. C.; Duncalf, Frederick. ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY. Morristown, New Jersey: Silver Burdett Company, 1959

Mazour, Anatole G.; Peoples, John M. MEN AND NATIONS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968.

Peck, Joseph; Lippe, Paul. THE WORLD IN OUR DAY. New York: Oxford Book Company, Inc., 1966

Petrovitch, Michael B.; Curtin, Philip D. THE HUMAN ACHIEVEMENT. Morristown, New Jersey: Silver Burdett Company, 1967



Roehm, A. Wesley; Buske, Morris R.; Webster, Hutton; Wesley, Edgar B. THE RECORD OF MANKIND. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1965

Rogers, Lester B.; Adams, Fay; Brown, Walker. STORY OF NATIONS. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965

Roselle, Daniel. A WORLD HISTORY. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1963

Smith, Emma Peters; Muzzey, David S.; Lloyd, Minnie. WORLD HISTORY - THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVILIZATION. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1955

Stavrianos, Leften S. A GLOBAL HISTORY OF MAN. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1962

Wallbank, T. Walter. MAN'S STORY. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1964

Wallbank, T. Walter; Schrier, Arnold. LIVING WORLD HISTORY. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1964

Welty, Paul Thomas. MAN'S CULTURAL HERITAGE. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1965

Zebel, Sidney H.; Schwartz, Sidney. PAST TO PRESENT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963

### American History

Alden, John R.; Magenis, Alice. A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. New York: American Book Company, 1960

Allen, Jack; Betts, John L. HISTORY: USA. New York: American Book Company, 1967

Bragdon, Henry W.; McCutchen, Samuel P. HISTORY OF A FREE PEOPLE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967

Brown, Richard C.; Lang, W.; Wheeler, M.; Knowlton, R. THE AMERICAN ACHIEVEMENT. Morristown, New Jersey: Silver Burdett Company, 1966

Canfield, Leon H.; Wilder, Howard B. THE MAKING OF MODERN AMERICA. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966

Current, Richard Nelson; De Conde, A.; Dante, Harris. UNITED STATES HISTORY. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1967

Eagleton Institute. THE PROBLEMS AND PROMISE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. St. Louis: Webster, 1964

Gavian, Ruth W.; Hamm, William A. THE AMERICAN STORY. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1959

Graff, Henry F. THE FREE AND THE BRAVE. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1967

Graff, Henry F.; Krout, John A. THE ADVENTURE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1966

Harlow, Ralph V.; Noyes, H. M. STORY OF AMERICA. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964

Johnson, Walter. THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1965

Muzzey, David S. OUR COUNTRY'S HISTORY. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1961

Muzzey, David S.; Link, Arthur S. OUR AMERICAN REPUBLIC. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1963

Platt, Nathaniel; Drummond, Muriel J. OUR NATION FROM ITS CREATION. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967

Shafer, Boyd C.; McLemore, Richard; Augspurger, Everett. UNITED STATES HISTORY FOR HIGH SCHOOLS. River Forest, Illinois: Laidlaw Brothers, 1966

Steinberg, Samuel. THE UNITED STATES - STORY OF A FREE PEOPLE. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1964

Todd, Lewis P.; Curti, Merle. RISE OF THE AMERICAN NATION. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966

Wade, Richard C.; Wilder, Howard B.; Wadke, Louis B. A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966



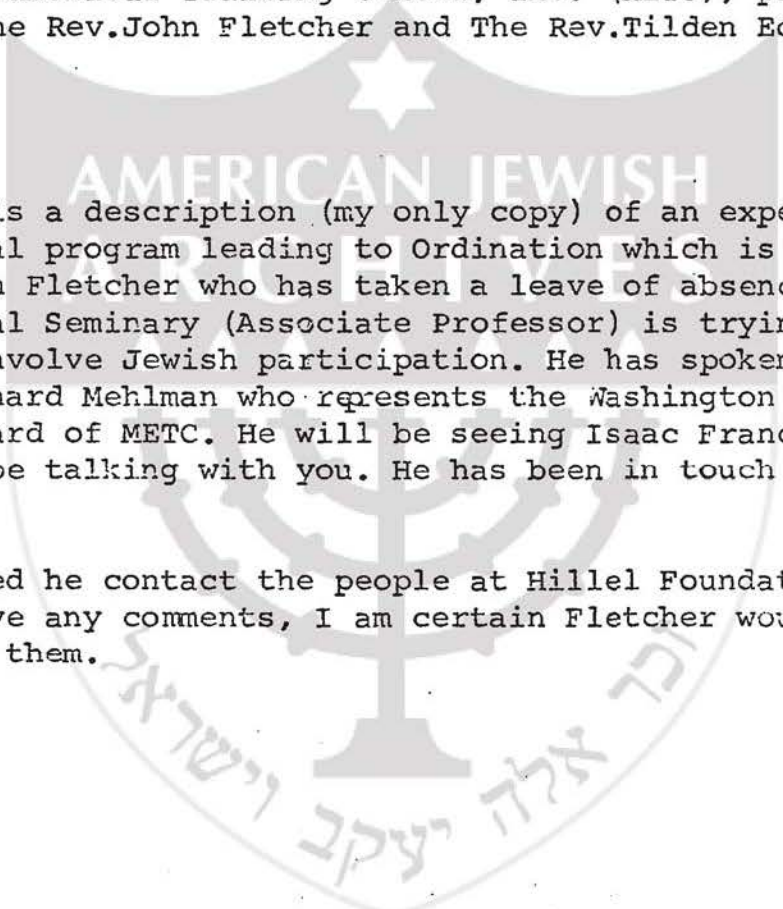
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FO-CA  
 date July 17, 1970  
 to Mark Tannenbaum and Isaiah Terman  
 from Brant Coopersmith *B.C.*  
 subject "A PROPOSAL FOR A DEMONSTRATION PROJECT IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION" sponsored by the Board of The Metropolitan Ecumenical Training Center, Inc. (METC), prepared by the Rev. John Fletcher and The Rev. Tilden Edwards, Jr.

Attached is a description (my only copy) of an experimental educational program leading to Ordination which is being developed here. John Fletcher who has taken a leave of absence from Virginia Theological Seminary (Associate Professor) is trying to think of ways to involve Jewish participation. He has spoken to me and Rabbi Bernard Mehlman who represents the Washington Chapter of AC on the board of METC. He will be seeing Isaac Franck and will probably be talking with you. He has been in touch with Arthur Gilbert.

I suggested he contact the people at Hillel Foundation as well. If you have any comments, I am certain Fletcher would appreciate receiving them.

BC/em



*88*

A PROPOSAL FOR A DEMONSTRATION PROJECT IN  
THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

AMERICAN JEWISH  
SPONSORED BY THE BOARD OF  
THE METROPOLITAN ECUMENICAL TRAINING CENTER, INC.

Prepared by

The Rev. John Fletcher  
and  
The Rev. Tilden Edwards, Jr.

METC  
1419 V Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 234-6300



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## A. Introduction

One of the greatest needs in churches of all denominations is the development of a pattern of theological education which truly equips church leaders with the experience and skills to work at the complex tasks of ministry. For the past two decades a large effort has been put into analyzing the problem of denominational seminaries. A huge literature has resulted, but precious few experiments have emerged to search for the new social arrangement which can provide the forms which overcome the problems of seminaries.

These problems have been amply identified in scores of researches, and they have been re-identified in an intensive consultation of the staff of the Washington Urban Training Program (WUTP):

- 1) Seminaries in which students occupy the role of academic learner for three or more years do not provide arrangements which serve to integrate the four modes of ministry: proclaiming the Gospel, caring for individuals, prophetic inquiry, and governing a congregation. The roles of proclamation and caring are divorced in education from the latter two.
- 2) Because seminaries are denominationally oriented, there are only minor moments of ecumenical encounter in theological education.
- 3) There is a lack of accountability between teacher, students, laity, and ministers-in-practice. An example of this is the irrelevance of the seminary transcript: if a student were applying for a job as curate in a church, hardly any vestry would ask for the transcript of the student as reference. If he were going to graduate school, the transcript would have a direct relation to his chances and fellowship.
- 4) There is a very real problem for seminary graduates in relating the heritage of the church to current problems. Many persons have "dropped out" of the ministry out of a spiritual crisis, as well as a job crisis.
- 5) Seminary teachers have not moved enough between their inherited academic studies and the pressures of contemporary existence. Hence, there is a real distance between theory and practice in the ministry today.
- 6) Very little practical experience is available to students in traditional seminaries for developing ability to guide the churches' spiritual heritage, material resources, and human potential towards significant ministries at points of alienation and hope in our society.
- 7) Students receive little or no training to be leaders in a voluntary association in a democratic society.

Too much effort has been spent in re-analyzing problems and too little in mounting significant efforts to find effective ways to maintain the best from the seminary of the past and find the new relationships which will work for the seminary of the future.



In June, 1969, the Danforth Foundation granted the Washington Urban Training Program \$10,000 to plan and implement a new role for itself in integrating urban studies and theological education. WUTP is a part-time field education program, supported by seven area seminaries, Catholic and Protestant. It has had six years' experience in orienting some 75 students to metropolitan problems and ministries, and it has been sponsored under the auspices of the Metropolitan Ecumenical Training Center (METC).

After five months' intensive consultation within the staff of WUTP and with persons who intend new starts in professional education, a decision was made that WUTP be transformed into a demonstration project to test the value of a new social arrangement for metropolitan theological education. Many of the findings of the staff of WUTP agree with those of the recent Danforth study of the ministry completed by Dr. Kenneth Underwood, (The Church, the University, and Social Policy, Wesleyan Press, 1969).

#### B. Purpose

The purpose of mounting a demonstration project in theological education in the Washington Metropolitan area is to search for those forms and that social arrangement which will tend towards overcoming the typical problems of the denominational seminary, and to provide services for the whole church: clergy, laity, and ordinands. Those who would argue that it should not be done and that further reform of the seminary is the answer ignore the massive evidence to the contrary and fall into their own form of utopianism, expecting that the present seminary arrangements can provide solutions of which they are incapable. Structurally, in-residence seminaries are incapable of providing the means to integrate a practical theological education and the complex intellectual tasks of the ministry. When students spend 90% of their time in class and 10% in field work, the result is an academic dominance and practical inexperience.

Within the purposes of the Missionary Development Fund, this proposal falls clearly within objective #5, "to provide for more effective recruitment, training, personal and professional development and deployment of clergy." In addition, it will touch on each of the other five objectives of the MDF in tangible ways.

#### C. Specific Objectives

The demonstration project in theological education has three major objectives:

- 1) To develop a metropolitan-wide system of theological education which integrates preparation for ministry into a career-long pattern of continuing education. A network of ecumenical and racially diverse churches, organizations, and schools will be drawn into a cooperative plan for a regional pattern of theological education, both for those planning for ordination, and for clergy and lay leaders in the area who participate in the supervision of these ordinands.

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2) To test the feasibility of the "job" as the primary site for theological education, and "in-the-problem training" as the basis for theological education. These two terms indicate the basis for a new social arrangement in which teachers and educational resources will be deployed between the seminary and the situation, rather than between the library and the classroom. It is our hypothesis that theological students are more highly motivated to learn when they are accountable in jobs in churches and other organizations. In addition, we envision biblical, historical, and liturgical studies being carried on within the real problems faced by the churches today rather than agendas set entirely by the requirements of scholarly research. Each student in the project will have an individually tailored educational plan, worded in the form of a contract with the staff, for which he shall pay from salary earned from his job. It is our conviction that all professionals in the future will have to learn how "to learn", and that securing one's education in a life-long pattern is a prerequisite for an educated ministry. In the pattern which we envision, many persons prohibited from a quality education by racial and economic discrimination could enter into long-term educational contracts, as well as those who had completed a college education.

3) To test the feasibility of a special training program for some "non-stipendiary" styles of the ministry, so that persons making a living in non-church systems and wanting to adopt the standards of the ministry for their life and thought have educational support for doing so. More persons can be predicted to want to enter vocational arrangements in which they can serve the church and society in the professions of law, medicine, public service, urban development, etc. New forms of the ministry should be developed to suit these persons, and structures of training and accountability should be worked out which definitely link them to the church. Many churches have produced rhetoric about these forms, but no one has taken seriously the task of mounting an educational program for them.

#### D. The Design of the Demonstration Project

To implement these objectives, the following steps have been taken:

1) The Rev. John Fletcher, Associate Professor of Church & Society, Virginia Theological Seminary, will enter a year's leave of absence June 1, 1970 to coordinate the planning process for the demonstration. Dr. Fletcher's job description is:

- a) To coordinate the planning process of the demonstration project for the Central Planning Committee.
- b) To find financial support for the project for five years of its life (including the next planning year).
- c) To negotiate in the name of the project with officials of seminaries, churches, accrediting sources, and prospective students.

He will be assisted in these tasks by the employment of a full time secretary to work under his direction.

2) The Board of the Metropolitan Ecumenical Training Center has agreed to be an official sponsor of the project, and Dr. Fletcher will become a staff member to direct the project in cooperation with the Rev. Tilden Edwards, Jr., Executive Director of METC. The facilities of METC and the Ecumenical Church Center, 1419 V Street, NW, will be the location of the planning process.

3) A Central Planning Committee, representing ecumenical and racial diversity, has been formed to shape the structure and educational design. The members of this committee are:

The Rev. James R. Adams, Rector, St. Mark's Church Capitol Hill; field supervisor for a variety of seminarians and Deacons.

Msgr. Geno Baroni, Director of Program Development, U.S. Catholic Conference, Task Force on Urban Problems.

Robb Burlage, Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies.

Sister Catherine Collins, Headmistress, Stone Ridge Roman Catholic High School (Sisters of the Sacred Heart).

The Rev. Tilden H. Edwards, Jr., Director, Metropolitan Ecumenical Training Center, Inc.

The Rev. Ernest Gibson, Assistant Director for Urban Program, Council of Churches of Greater Washington; former Chairman of the Board of the Black Churchmen's Ecumenical Training Facility; Pastor, Mt. Zion Baptist Church.

The Rev. John C. Harris, Director of Clergy Training for the Episcopal Dioceses of Washington and Maryland.

The Rev. Philip Newell, Assistant Director, Council of Churches of Greater Washington.

The Rev. David Robb, Assistant Director of Program for Outer City, Council of Churches of Greater Washington.

The Rev. A. Knighton Stanley, Pastor, Peoples Congregational Church.

The Rev. John L. Thompson, Pastor, Russell Temple, C.M.E. Church, Alexandria; Middler, Wesley Theological Seminary.

The time-table for planning is as follows:

June 1, 1970

Central Planning Committee Members form four task forces, assisted by consultants in curriculum and organizational development:

1. Educational design and curriculum planning; criteria development for selection of students and staffing.



2. Long-range financing and organizational development.
3. Securing denominational sanctions, accreditation, and developing clients.
4. Organizing the working relationships between the staff, churches, schools, citizens' organizations, seminary and university consortia, etc.

October 1, 1970

Central Planning Committee Members will have entered into an advanced planning process within their task forces to form policy recommendations and specify goals to be reached in each area.

December 1, 1970

Specific strategies for attaining goals will have been formulated for each task force.

February 1, 1971

Strategies will have been attempted and results assimilated. Time for adjustment and initiating final planning efforts to reach goals not attained.

May 1, 1971

Goals in each area should have been attained:

1. A staff skilled in educational design and functional theological studies will begin to be assembled. Intensive re-training for academic faculty in action-research and involvement-reflection methods will begin.
2. Enough funds to assure three years' operation of the demonstration project should be in sight. A pattern of organizational deployment of educational and financial resources to students in their jobs should be clear.
3. Thirty to forty students, participants, or ministers in training will be designated from denominations locally and nationally to enter the project in September 1971. Accreditation of the type to assure students and staff that they would not be professionally penalized by participating should be secured by this date. A continuing cooperative relationship with national accrediting and legitimating boards should be secured.
4. The internal structure of staff, churches, supervisors, and organizations should be clearly stated, and agreements for the basis of student contracts worked out. Continuing education arrangements for participating clergy and laity will have been formulated.

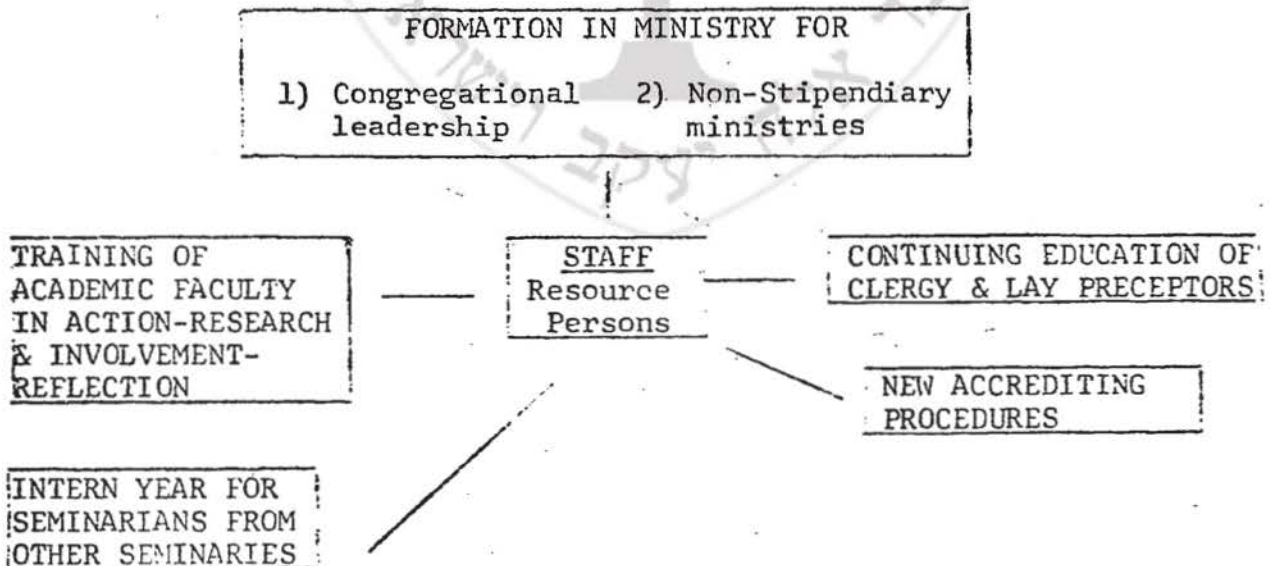
In order to implement this process of planning, an intensive work schedule for the Central Planning Committee, supported by retained consultants, will be implemented through John Fletcher and Tilden Edwards. A grant from the Danforth Foundation is being sought (\$20,000) to retain Thomas Gale and Associates to assume responsibility for long-range fund-raising and development.

We hope to show that the "on-the-job" style of education can lower costs considerably, and that much of in-residence seminary living can be dispensed with in a metropolitan theological education. With a flexible and diverse staff, many services of laity and clergy to students can be traded for quality continuing education to these groups. Resources of the existing seminaries and scholars in the area could conceivably be available to the project in return for intern-year experiences and faculty training which the staff of the project could provide for the seminaries. New ways of employing academic faculty without incurring the tremendous costs of maintaining in-residence seminaries must be found.

It is anticipated that support from the Missionary Development Fund will be required only to assist in the launching of the project. If the project were to serve seminarians, clergy, and laity from the Episcopal Diocese, other funding arrangements in more normal channels would be sought.

The organizational chart for the demonstration project at the present time appears in this form:

DEMONSTRATION PROJECT



To assist in implementing this plan of action, we request a one year grant of \$10,000 from the Missionary Development Fund.



E. Budget for the Planning Year, June 1, 1970 - June 31, 1971

1. Staff

Director of Planning:

Salary	\$9,000
Social Security	270
Pension	2,170
Car Allowance	1,500

Additional Income

Dr. Fletcher receives:

Interseminary Program  
in Church & Society-\$1200

Washington Urban Training  
Program - \$1600

Utilities, Health Insurance,  
from Virginia Seminary-\$1000

Housing at Virginia  
Seminary provided

Secretary to Director of Planning:

Salary	6,800
Social Security	235
Health Insurance	150

2. Administration

Telephone	500
Office supplies, printing	1,500
Office equipment	1,400
Office rental	2,100
Office furniture	1,500

3. Travel, Conference,  
Entertainment

2,000

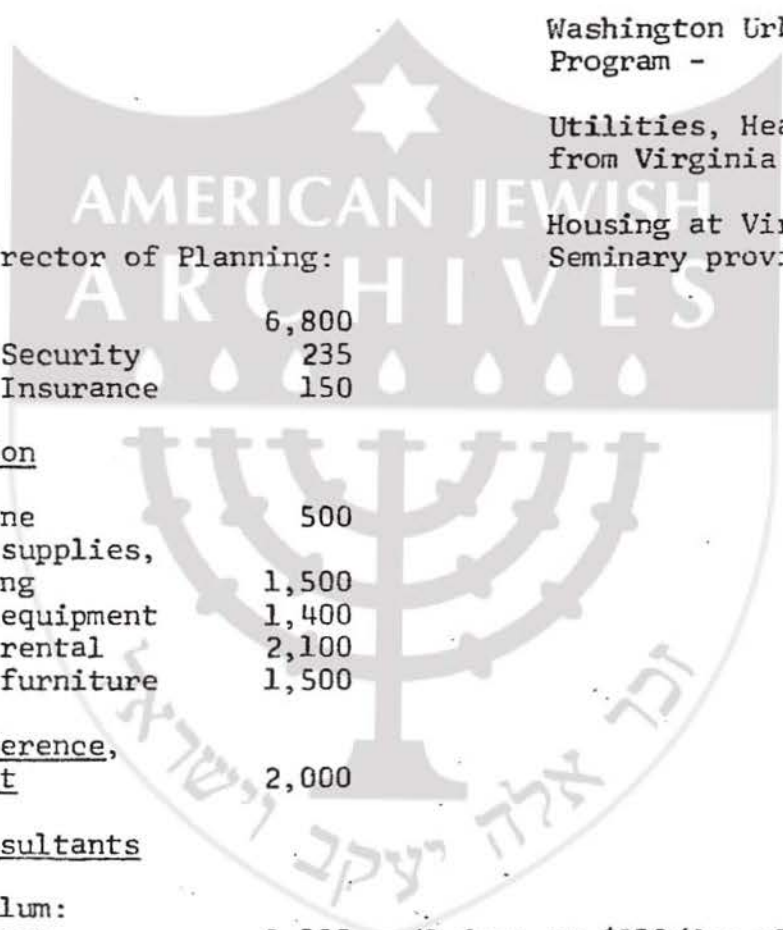
4. Fees for Consultants

Curriculum: Dr. Huebner	2,500	(8 days at \$250/day plus travel)
Organizational	2,500	(10 days at \$250/day)

5. Fees for Central  
Planning Committee

6,000	(20 meetings, 12 persons at \$25/meeting)
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TOTAL	\$40,125
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Total Income Anticipated

Remainder from Danforth Grant of June 1969	\$8,000
New Danforth Grant	5,000
Auburn Foundation for Continuing Education	5,000
Board for Theological Education of the Episcopal Church (will assist in raising)	10,000
Missionary Development Fund	10,000
Balance in personal gifts & donations from individuals	<u>3,000</u>
	\$41,000

Disbursements: The check should be written to the Metropolitan Ecumenical Training Center, Inc, 1419 V Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009. The money is needed by June 1, 1970 if possible, in total amount. The check should be mailed to the Rev. Tilden Edwards, Jr., Director of the Metropolitan Ecumenical Training Center.

Evaluation: Evaluation of the project will be carried out in part by the Department of Ministries of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. Dr. Theodore Mills, 1717 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC, Staff Director and Editor of Ministries Studies will carry out an evaluation of the continuing education component of the program. Arrangements for evaluation for the other components are presently being negotiated.

John Fletcher and Tilden Edwards will be happy to appear before the appropriate committee to clarify and further the screening process.



Synagogue Council of America  
432 Park Avenue South  
New York, N. Y. 10016

ANALYSIS #1

AFTER MASSER - WHAT?

Current events background papers, of which this is the first, will be circulated by the Synagogue Council periodically, as the occasion requires. For filing convenience, they will be labeled ANALYSIS and numbered consecutively.

NASSER'S LEGACY

The late President Nasser's most remarkable achievement was that he endured in power for eighteen years, and during that time, against all contenders, established Egypt's reputation as the foremost Arab power, and his own as the ranking Arab leader. Yet, notwithstanding the outpouring of grief at his passing, his stature in the Arab world had considerably diminished in the past several years. New figures had arisen to challenge, however obliquely, his supremacy -- Algeria's Boumedienne and Libya's al-Qaddafi. Like Nasser, both aspire to a double role as African and as Arab leaders, and their countries possess oil (Libya more than it can cope with at this time), which Egypt does not.

The main reasons for Nasser's decline were his hapless foreign military and political adventures undertaken at the expense of domestic social reform. Most notable of his failures were the costly war in Yemen, the humiliating defeat by Israel in the Six Day War, and his resultant reversal from a policy of nonalignment to virtual total dependence on Moscow. His concentration on foreign instead of domestic affairs deeply disappointed the peasants and industrial proletariat who have no voice in Egyptian affairs but who had pinned their hopes on him as their redeemer. More recently, however, even the Egyptian bourgeoisie, whose growth was accelerated by the Nasser revolution, had begun to grumble. This discontentment gave rise to anti-Palestine feeling, which apparently was so intense that the government considered it advisable to permit its public expression.

Ahmed Hashem Sharif, a leading young Egyptian writer, replying to allegations that his peers were "decadent" and uncommitted, alleged in turn that Cairo's publishers, government-beholden, discriminated against indigenous writers and favored Palestinians of lesser merit only because of their "jingoism". Speaking of his own generation, he said: "We did not know the Turkish pasha and the feudal Egyptians and we did not participate in anti-British demonstrations. Our reality has begun after the revolution and it is grim. The older generation does not bother to consider the conditions in which we are born and raised."

It may be that the government permitted publication of this veiled dissent as a warning to pan-Arab radicals who, according to the April issue of The New Middle East, an authoritative London-based periodical, were "offering the 'Palestine revolution' as an alternative to the Nasser revolution, which Cairo will not countenance. So far the confrontation has not come quite into the



open, but the signs are unmistakable." These pan-Arab radicals were said to include junior army officers. When he engineered the coup d'etat against King Farouk, Nasser was the age they are now. Even preceding the recent civil war in Jordan, Cairo newspapers published stern criticism of Palestinian extremists, and when hostilities erupted between the guerillas and the Jordanese army, the guerilla's Cairo-based radio was ordered shut down. Then, perhaps bowing to his junior officers, or believing Hussein's cause lost, Nasser turned in midstream and attacked Hussein.

#### PRETENDERS TO THE SUCCESSION

The struggle for the succession in Egypt will not end with the election of a President in November. It no doubt will diminish Egypt's stature in Arab affairs, immobilize her initiatives abroad and her effective intrusions in the policies of other Arab states.

Nasser had made no serious effort to groom a successor. In fact, he removed all rivals by banishing from public office, one by one, nearly all of the revolution's "Old Bolsheviks," the officers who helped him plan and execute the deposition of Farouk. From time to time, to forestall criticism, he would designate one, then another as a heir-apparent. Three of these are now mentioned in press dispatches from Cairo as engaged in the succession contest: Anwar Sadat, the Interim President and Nasser's most recent designee; Aly Sabri, Nasser's heir apparent in his capacity as Prime Minister from September, 1962 to October, 1965, and Zakariah Mohieddinne, Sabri's successor who was inexplicably removed from that office only eleven months later. Yet on June 7, 1967 when Nasser briefly stepped down as penance for the army's catastrophic performance in the Six Day War, he named Mohieddinne to the Presidency. This designation may have resulted from a showdown between the secret police, which Modieddinne headed for fourteen years until September, 1966, and the discredited army. Secret police chiefs have been known to imperil their dictators, which may be the reason that in reshuffling the cabinet in March, 1968, Nasser dropped him altogether.

Anwar Sadat was so much Nasser's man that in seeking permanence in the Presidency he is very much alone, dependent on his capacity to assemble a last-minute alliance of foes of his two major rivals. Mohieddinne has perhaps retained powerful contacts in the police, from which he has been separated for the past four years. Sabri is secretary of the Socialist Union, Egypt's only legal party, founded but never put to much use by Nasser. He may now try to transform the Union into a base from which to stake out his claim to the Presidency.

Both Sadat and Sabri would have Soviet support. They have been among the most consistent and fervent advocates of close collaboration with the Soviets and have alternately been Nasser's liaison men with the Kremlin. Both are believers in permanent Arab revolution and had urged the hapless intervention in Yemen. Sadat unsuccessfully urged Egyptian intervention in Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich Arab lands. His record as conspirator dates back to the 1940's when he was active in pro-Nazi sabotage and espionage.

Mohieddinne and Sabri have been embattled contestants from the first days of the Nasser regime. The former is reputedly representative of the sophisticated new bourgeoisie, pro-West, an advocate of fewer economic controls and more civil liberties. In the late 1950's, a Jewish friend of his, then newly



settled in the United States, suggested to some American Jewish leaders that Mohieddinne was interested in initiating, through them, a discourse with Israel on his forthcoming visit to the United States. The visit never came off, however. No one knows with certitude whether these reported ideological differences between the two men are real, and whether, if real, they are sufficient to override personal ambitions which might require trading ideological position for powerful office.

#### SOVIET DILEMMA

Moscow's inside track in Cairo - the presence of 14,000 Soviet soldiers, sailors, fliers, and all manner of technical experts - might turn out to be only a limited advantage, unless the Krenlin chooses to resort to naked force, the kind applied in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, which would alienate the Arab world and perhaps bring about a confrontation with the United States. In the natural course of events, Soviet Russia has incurred by her physical presence animosity among the military as well as the civilian bureaucracy. She has favored some, offended others, and Arab politicians and army officers are perhaps more vain and sensitive than most, and not likely to forget hurts and slights.



If no accommodation is obtained, on different levels, with the United States and Israel, the Soviets might be compelled to compound their investment to prevent a total loss. Yet further investments in Egypt will only exacerbate resentment at home, as indicated by the Kremlin's enormous sustained propaganda effort to justify its Middle East adventurism, an effort that includes resort to anti-Semitic myth-making. Furthermore, the Soviets have an aversion for dealing with pluralistic contentious interest groups. There has been a preference for controlled blocs presided over by pro-consuls. They banked on Cairo as the eventual "capital" of the Arab world, and on Nasser as their pro-consul. Nasser's death radically reduces the prospects for Cairo hegemony. Algeria and Libya are the most obvious contestants for that role. The Kremlin will be skating on very thin ice in trying to choose or mediate among these contestants.

#### AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY

Firmness toward the Soviets at this time of Kremlin uncertainty is America's great opportunity for advancing the cause of Arab-Israel peace.

Furthermore, America might find herself courted by too many suitors on the rebound in the suddenly fluid Middle East situation, and should guard against hasty and promiscuous commitment to fickle would-be allies.

Miles Copeland, at one-time CIA contact with the Egyptian dictator, had this to say of American policy in an obituary on Nasser:

"The U.S. was... giving him (Nasser) and showing him deference to the extent to which he was influential throughout the Arab world and manifested a capability of making a nuisance of himself. When his behavior was not to our liking, we rewarded him. When he did as we wished, we forgot him."

In line with this, there is danger that America might underestimate Israel's significance for the U.S., a significance demonstrated so forcefully in the recent crisis in Jordan.

American naval movements in the Mediterranean evidently were not lost on the Russians, who reportedly communicated their significance to the Syrians and Iraqis. The latter, incorrigibly contumacious, have not always been submissive to Soviet restraints. Moreover, American moves were largely symbolic. However, the massing of Israeli tanks in the North and apparent forewarning that America might tacitly approve Israeli intervention, was compelling reason for the withdrawal of Syrian tanks and the non-activation of Iraqi units in Jordan.

While there was some grumbling in Turkey, America's NATO ally, over the use of bases there for American intervention in Jordan, it was certain that Israel would permit American overflights. Syrian and Iraqi behavior might have been different if Israel were not in control of the Golan Heights. The symbolic American movements in the Mediterranean would have been dismissed lightly by Moscow, Damascus and Baghdad if the policy recommendations last year of Washington's old Arab hands had prevailed against Israel. Nor is it precluded that some of these "area specialists" might even now become so



enmeshed in schismatic Arab politics, that they will blur the clean new line of American policy.

Nasser mediated, albeit not with complete success, the differences among the members of the revolutionary councils of Libya and the Sudan. Their dormant animosities might now erupt in the open, assisted by contentious foreign powers, and they might experience the kind of frequent government changes that are characteristic of Syria and Baghdad. This condition is to area specialists what war is to generals.

Sometime in the 1950's Abba Eban counterposed to Pan-Arabism, the concept of a Mediterranean community of nations, based on common historic-cultural roots as well as on contemporary interests and embracing states on the West as well as the East shores of the Mediterranean. Does President Nixon's recent trip abroad suggest his exploration of the prospects of some such concept? Of course, the enlistment of European powers behind American policy also means American accommodation to their pressures. The implications of this for Israel require exploration.

#### PALESTINIANS AND GUERRILLAS

The guerrillas have been gravely set back. As a result of the recent blood-letting there was no mass uprising of Palestinians in their support in Jordan and only surface turbulence on the West Bank. Guerrilla and army casualties were relatively low. The toll among the civilians, in Amman and in the refugee camps, was heavy. King Hussein and the army are blamed for the shelling, the guerrillas for having used the refugee camps as bases, thus causing the shelling. The guerrillas did not acquit themselves well militarily. They did best in Amman, where sniping was effective.

Even in American cities, individual snipers have managed to hold police at bay. They performed poorly in direct combat, except in the north where Syrian tanks assumed the brunt of the fighting. They were helped by Hussein's vacillation: a) he acted months too late; b) his formation of a military government tipped them off that he had finally determined to crush them; c) his intermittent cease-fires reduced his campaign to fitful, convulsive movements. Inter-Arab mediation, which the guerrillas accepted with ostensible reluctance, truly saved them. Significantly, they even agreed that the Prime Minister of Tunisia serve as Chairman of the inter-Arab truce team. Tunisia has long been anathema to Arab radicals. Nasser, at the peak of his pan-Arab posturing, was accused of a plot to assassinate Tunisia's President Bourghuiba.

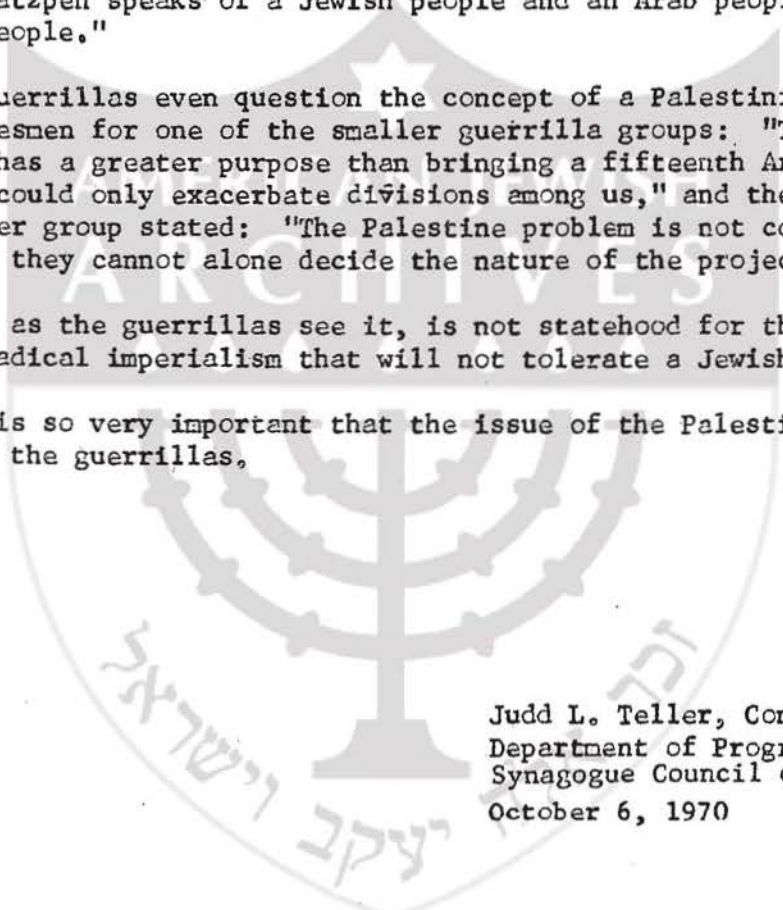
These circumstances suggest that Arab governments need no longer feel inhibited by the guerrillas from negotiating peace with Israel, and indicate moderate West Bank Arabs may soon feel bold enough to open negotiations with Israel about the West Bank's status. However, they could quickly be dissuaded from such boldness by evidence that American public opinion, or old Arab hands in Washington, are accepting the guerrillas as the Palestinians' spokesmen.

The guerrillas' position on Israel is clear and unqualified: the Jews must do what no people has ever done, dissolve their state and submerge it in a "Palestine democratic state." At a symposium in Lebanon last March in which most of the guerrilla groups participated, the spokesman for Al Fatah, touted to be the most moderate group, stated: "Although the 'Palestine democratic state' will in reality be an Arab state, perhaps part of a united Arab state, it is best to be vague at this stage." Although Matzpen, a splinter group of Israeli Jewish Communists, has justified the guerrillas' terror and endorsed their demand for the dissolution of Israel, it has failed to obtain their approval. A spokesman for the Palestine Liberation Organization curtly asserted: "Matzpen speaks of a Jewish people and an Arab people. We deny there is a Jewish people."

Some of the guerrillas even question the concept of a Palestinian people. Said the spokesman for one of the smaller guerrilla groups: "The liberation of Palestine has a greater purpose than bringing a fifteenth Arab state into being, which could only exacerbate divisions among us," and the spokesman for yet another group stated: "The Palestine problem is not confined to Palestinians; they cannot alone decide the nature of the projected state."

At issue, as the guerrillas see it, is not statehood for the Palestinians, but an Arab radical imperialism that will not tolerate a Jewish state.

Hence it is so very important that the issue of the Palestinians not be confused with the guerrillas.



Judd L. Teller, Consultant  
 Department of Program Planning  
 Synagogue Council of America  
 October 6, 1970





## "AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST"

by  
Professor Marver H. Bernstein  
Princeton University

published by  
Department of Program Planning and Research  
Synagogue Council of America  
432 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016

SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA  
ARCHIVES

October 7, 1970

### I. THE BROAD CONTEXT OF THE CRISIS

1. In order to reach an understanding of the current crisis in the Middle East, it is important not to overcomplicate its essential nature. There has been no change in the root cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East, namely, the establishment of a Zionist state whose very existence is hateful and unacceptable to the great majority of Arabs. In dealing with Middle Eastern issues, it is imperative not to underestimate the depth of Arab hatred of Israel or the passionate resolution of the Israelis never to return to the danger of vulnerability from which they emerged in the June War of 1967.

2. The present discontents in the region should be viewed not as conflicts between states or nations but rather as a clash of civilizations, between the West and Islam. Islam was dominated for a century and a half by the West. Even though its political control came to an end, monumental problems of readjustment remain. In popular myth and image in the Middle East, the West is the source of all evil, and this image of the West helps to account for Russian successes where the United States has failed. The Russians have presented themselves not as Westerners but as something different and anti-Western. For the most part, therefore, Arab attitudes toward the Russians have been emotionally neutral, although there are some indications that this may be changing. For some years, the Arab attitude toward the West has given Russia great

psychological advantages that have been reinforced by its authoritarian methods contrasted with the apparently unintelligible democratic processes of the West.

3. A popular but mistaken conception is that most moves by nations in their international relations are carefully planned, timed, and synchronized according to a carefully formulated long-range plan and strategy. As Mr. Henry Kissinger stated in a briefing session at San Clemente on June 26:

I sometimes think that one of the curses of the modern state is that the combination of its intelligence and foreign services always makes the assumption that the other side is more rational than it is. You get all this brainpower analyzing the motives and purposes of the other side and then trying to make sense of a lot of discoordinate moves.

4. Various American groups and officials have varying perspectives on Middle Eastern problems, depending on their official or private responsibilities and roles. Signs of strain in recent months between the White House and the State Department, for example, stem from the President's need to keep a firm hand on the diplomatic activities of the Department and to mesh them with military, economic, and intelligence activities. Balancing these interests is the inescapable function of the White House. It is natural that the agency engaged professionally in diplomacy should tend to



emphasize and perhaps overstate the significance and crucial contribution of diplomacy.

The State Department may be expected, therefore, to be the exponent of diplomacy, stressing the importance of preserving a conciliatory posture. For example, there may be a presumption in the thinking of foreign service officers and the senior officials of the State Department, for example, that arms shipments to Israel should be delayed in order to prevent deterioration of relations with Arab countries and to promote agreement with the Soviet Union.

On a different level, it is not at all unusual that foreign service officers who have been trained in the Arabic language and history and have served in various posts in the Arab world have a basic sympathy for the position of the Arab countries. Today such officers are assigned to cover over 20 countries that are Arab or Moslem or have large minority Moslem populations, like India. Their views tend to be similar to those of the Christian missionaries, educators, and philanthropists who have established major centers of higher education, churches, and welfare organizations in Lebanon, Egypt, Turkey and elsewhere in the region, and to the staffs of American oil corporations, which have been major financial supporters of university programs in Arabic studies and Middle Eastern affairs. We expect, as a matter of course, that the perspectives of these persons may differ sharply from those of military officers, Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, and American Jews generally.

Lastly, five levels of conflict in the Middle East can be distinguished today:

- the conflict between Israel and the Arab states over the conquered territories;
- the conflict between Israel and the Arab states, and especially the Palestinian Arabs, over the *existence of Israel*;
- the conflict between the radical Arab states and the more moderate ones, such as Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Lebanon;
- the conflict within Arab states for control, especially within Jordan between the Hussein regime and the various fedayeen groups; and now within Egypt over the successor to Nasser.
- and the global conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union on the issue of *Soviet dominion* in the Middle East.

The crisis the United States confronts today does not arise because of the spread of Palestinian Arab nationalism or the persistence of the inhumanity of the world to the refugees or questions about Israel's ability to maintain itself on the cease-fire lines against 90 million Arabs. Rather the crisis stems from the escalating intervention of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. While all of the conflicts intertwine and interact, it is the global conflict that is the most critical one today for the United States.

Some analysts and others interested in the Middle East tend to deal only with the conquered territories and the existence of Israel. As Mr. Kissinger recently noted, they may also tend to suggest that the solution of the territorial questions somehow leads to solution of the conflict over the existence of Israel. This is

partly true, to the extent that withdrawal by Israel from the conquered territories is in the context of peace, marked by reciprocal commitments of Israel and the Arab states to each other. We must therefore avoid the tendency to look at the Middle East too much in terms of the local Arab-Israel struggle. It is true generally only if one refuses to take seriously the aim of the Palestinian Arab guerrillas to destroy the Jewish state.

It is ironic that conflicts involving the Palestinian Arabs began to receive major attention precisely when the global aims of the Soviet Union began to emerge more clearly. Unfortunately settlement of the refugee issue or the establishment of the sovereignty of the Palestinian Arabs will not resolve the crisis over Soviet dominion in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East generally.

It is difficult to overstate the seriousness of the impact of the global conflict potentially and actually on American interests. And, as George Ball recently wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* of June 28, a renewed Middle Eastern war could result in the destruction of Israel, a disaster that the West could not accept. Why? Because it would establish effective Soviet dominion over most, if not all, of the Arab world. The present crisis grows out of the Sovietization of Egypt. While it threatens Israel's survival, it transcends the Arab-Israeli conflict and creates a broader set of problems for the United States.

## II. U.S. INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

U.S. policy in the Middle East has been typically vague, unclear, and ambivalent. Until the mid-1940s, the United States had only limited interest in the Middle East. In the interval between the two World Wars, the U.S. had no primary concern about the provisions of the Balfour Declaration on the Jewish homeland. And during World War II efforts to urge the American government to use its influence to secure free entry of Jews into Palestine and to work toward the establishment of a Jewish state did not succeed. Despite pledges in the Democratic and Republican platforms of 1944 to help bring about statehood, President Roosevelt made no statement in support of Zionist aspirations. He was cautious mainly because the Air Force and the Navy wanted permanent bases in the Middle East, and American oil executives hoped to increase their investments in the region after the war. Similarly in 1946, the State Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff advised President Truman to be extremely reserved toward Jewish demands for immigration certificates on the grounds that acceptance might adversely affect the climate for negotiations with the Russians, lead to involvement of American armed forces, endanger western oil interests, force the Arabs to turn to the Soviet Union for support, and inflame the situation in Palestine beyond the capacity of the British troops to handle.

If most of these elements have a pronounced contemporary ring, it is because they have remained crucial in American policy. Although regional hostilities have increased and global considerations have become paramount, they still provide the basic para-



meters for policymakers, with one critical addition: the U.S. commitment since 1948 to the survival of Israel as an independent democratic country.

The key elements in American policy today are the following:

*First*, the United States must guard against moves that endanger oil and other material interests.

*Second*, in order to win and maintain a position of influence and prestige in Arab countries, the U.S. must avoid alienating Arabs. Since any support of Israel tends to alienate the Arabs, such support should be avoided as long as possible. When no longer avoidable, support for Israel should be muted and minimized.

*Third*, American action must strive to limit Soviet influence in the region.

*Fourth*, the United States has a deep and sincere interest in the security of Israel, a commitment that far surpasses any reasonable projection of Jewish voting or other political leverage.

In other words, U.S. policy is essentially the product of the interaction of forces affecting its material interests, strategic position, and moral commitments. It emerges, therefore, not as a clear, sharply focused statement followed by purposive actions. Instead, multiple objectives of safeguarding material interests, support for Israel, reduction of Soviet influence, and avoidance of drastic damage to the standing of the United States in the Middle East have normally brought forth a restrained, conciliatory policy that has failed to achieve the mixed aims of the policy makers.

In his long report on *U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970s* in February 1970, President Nixon stated:

Our objective, in the first instance, is to support our *interests* over the long run with a sound foreign policy. The more that policy is based on a realistic assessment of our and others' interests, the more effective our role in the world can be. We are not involved because we have commitments; we have commitments because we are involved. Our interests must shape our commitments, rather than the other way around.

As the President stated further in an interview on July 1, the consequences of Russian success in its quest for dominion in the Middle East and beyond is vastly more significant than the consequences of a North Vietnam victory over Saigon precisely because the former might involve confrontation with the Soviet Union while the latter does not. The Middle East, as he and others have noted, is an economic prize of great value. It supplies 80 percent of Europe's oil and 90 percent of Japan's oil. It is an area of concentrated U.S. investment and a major source of foreign exchange earnings. Soviet dominion would place the oil supplies of the Middle East totally under its control.

Furthermore, the Middle East is important because of its strategic location. Unlike Vietnam, the Middle East is near the center of world power. Its control would have profound effect on industrially advanced countries and on Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. Under Soviet influence, the eastern Mediterranean becomes a Soviet base and the Sixth fleet

would encounter considerable difficulty in operating effectively. The region is, moreover, the gateway to Africa, and via the Suez Canal to the Indian Ocean, and the hinge of NATO. The President, Assistant Secretary of State Sisco, and Mr. Kissinger stated in July during the negotiations for acceptance of the cease-fire proposal, that the U.S. interest lies in limiting the influence of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. Therefore the U.S. interest lies also in maintaining a balance of power that maintains Israel's strength vis à vis its neighbors. The implication is that the United States should act to prevent the Soviet Union from using surrogate Arab armies to extend its dominion over the Middle East.

### III. THE SOVIET POSITION

The Soviet Union made its startling entry into the Middle East in 1955 with the Czech arms deal with Egypt. Up to 1958, its emphasis was on improving relations with and influence over the Northern Tier countries, Turkey and Iran. Since 1958, Soviet pressure has focused on the Arab heartland, and since 1964 its policy has become increasingly aggressive and radical. The Soviets entered the field late. They often misjudged situations badly, as in 1967 when they first goaded Syria into an aggressive posture and then relied on Nasser to take Syria off the hook. But they did see their main chance in Egypt.

The Soviet aim seems abundantly clear: a base in the Middle East from which it can penetrate the region in depth and move beyond to the Persian Gulf, Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Indian Ocean. The goal of dominion is to be achieved either by political moves dictating peace, or by subjugating Israel by military pressure. It has therefore engaged in recent months in a progression of escalating military steps to strengthen their political strategy. The Russians have moved from providing arms to stationing military advisers in Egypt to a greater influx of military personnel and then to direct participation in combat support. The next step is probably participation in full-scale combat. The Soviet build-up from March through June 1970 did not call forth vigorous censure from the West, although it seemed clear to most observers that in the absence of some appropriate response, the Soviets would escalate their military penetration of Egypt. It is now clear that the installation of SAM-IIIs "for defensive purposes only" opened the way for further escalation. Israel correctly insisted that the absence of a positive U.S. response in March and April to its request for aircraft would be interpreted by the Soviet Union as assurance that its support of Egypt would not be hindered by the U.S. Israel believes that the Soviet Union did not slip unintentionally or by force of circumstance into deeper involvement in Egypt; rather its present position has been years in the making, deliberate, and calculated. This stands in contrast to the position stated by Secretary Rogers as recently as July 16 that he did not think that the Soviet Union was trying to establish a permanent base in the UAR but was merely trying to bolster the position of the Arab states.



In undertaking its own peace initiative to counter that of the U.S., the Soviet Union has made an abrupt change in its thinking. For two reasons, it no longer favors continued strife on the ground that peace might eliminate the Arab need for Soviet help. They are probably entrenched in sufficient depth to hold their position even in a state of peace, and they fear the consequences and uncertainties of Palestinian guerrilla activities. They aim to keep the guerrillas from sabotaging a Moscow-dictated peace. They strive to drive a wedge between the U.S. and Israel by placing the blame for a breakdown in the stand-still cease-fire and the accompanying negotiations squarely on Israel and by provoking the U.S. into reducing its support for Israel.

#### IV. U.S. AIMS AND OPTIONS

In briefings at San Clemente in late June, Mr. Kissinger underlined the goal for the U.S. to pursue in the Middle East: to make a settlement with which both parties are equally unhappy, or — to put it a little differently — to find the line of least injustice to Israel, the Arab countries, and the Palestinian Arabs. In pursuing this goal, the U.S. is committed to maintaining Israel's relative position. Kissinger analyzed the problem this way: Israel cannot hold off 90 million Arabs unless they are militarily superior. Their survival has depended on their capacity to launch a rapid knockout blow. A military balance in conventional terms is death for Israel, because a war of attrition means mathematically that Israel will be destroyed. They will run out of men before the Arabs do. Hence Israel aims for military superiority over the cease-fire lines. Israelis are being asked, said Kissinger, to give up territory for the presumed good will of the Arab countries, which may not survive the process of settlement. The U.S., he said, is trying to reach a balance between these concerns. It hopes to create demilitarized zones around Israel "so that the Israelis don't find that by withdrawing from conquered territories they are merely moving their enemies close to their main centers of population."

In the past few weeks, four unforeseen events have drastically altered the context of the Mid East crisis:

*First:* the continuing violations of the cease-fire agreement by Egypt and the Soviet Union, which in turn produced a cabinet crisis in Israel and reduced for the moment the flexibility the Israel government had gained as a result of the departure of Gahal from the cabinet.

*Second:* the hijackings designed to break down the cease-fire on the Jordanian front and focus attention on the aims of the guerrillas to destroy the Jewish state.

*Third:* civil war in Jordan, involving the failure of the guerrillas to gain clear supremacy and the failure of the Syrian intervention.

And *Fourth:* the death of President Nasser.

Behind the stalemate on the peace front during the past three years, dynamic change has been the rule in Middle Eastern affairs. For a while, these new developments seem to make continuance of the cease-fire a necessity for Egypt, an inevitability for Jordan,

and a major advantage for Israel, which probably needs more time to redesign its strategy for retaining control of the Sinai and preventing a Canal crossing by Egyptian forces.

In this context, the United States is pressing hard for prolongation of the cease-fire and renewal of the peace talks. It is trying hard to recover the initiative on the peacemaking front. Some settlement of the problem of missile-rollback may be crucial here, even if it involves only a token pullback.

What options are open now to the United States to reduce Soviet influence and achieve a political settlement that meets the legitimate demands of both sides, protects the security of Israel, and deals responsibly with the concerns of the Palestinian Arabs?

1. Provide military assistance and economic aid now to Israel, in order to maintain the balance of military power. This was a main purpose of the recent visit of the Prime Minister to the U.S. In addition the U.S. can reaffirm its intent to keep the balance of power.

2. Develop an unequivocal policy of strength, recognizing that weakness on the part of the U.S. encourages Soviet aggression and Soviet attempts to drive a wedge between the U.S. and Israel. How?

— strengthening the Sixth Fleet by deploying additional Polaris missiles and ships;

— try to convince the western powers and especially the NATO partners to assist the U.S. in reducing or containing Soviet influence;

— try to obtain congressional support for maintaining troop strength in Europe, as long as Soviet pilots are available to fly combat missions in Egypt and other Soviet personnel are on hand to man SAM-3 batteries;

— warn the Soviets strongly against participation in combat in the Canal area and against attempting a Canal crossing.

3. Reassert the view that the only outlet from the dangerous crisis is a firm peace that involves substantial withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories to be worked out in negotiations by the immediate parties to the conflict and guarantees of Israel's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

*For the American Jewish community, I offer these modest suggestions. It is in the interest of the United States to work on the following steps with as much energy and imagination as it can muster:*

1. prolong the cease-fire;

2. create the conditions that make resumption of peace talks possible;

3. seek international action to take firm measures against air piracy;

4. maintain an arms balance in the Middle East;

5. urge Arab leaders to take a more responsible attitude toward the Palestinian Arabs;

6. continue to press the NATO partners to cooperate with the U.S. in dealing with the Middle East conflict;

7. support the efforts of the President and Congress to develop a stronger and more sustained position to counteract Soviet influence in the Middle East and gain greater credibility for a U.S. position of strength.



Telegram

Western Union

m

JTA 1021  
PARIS CATHOLICS

PARIS MARCH 10 ( JTA) -- THREE INFLUENTIAL CATHOLIC ORGANIZATIONS HAVE DECLARED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINIAN ARAB "RESISTANCE" MOVEMENT FIGHTING ISRAL BUT MAINTAINED THAT THEIR STAND DOES NOT IN ANY WAY CONSTITUTE ANTI SEMITISM. A JOINT COMMUNIQUE WAS ISSUED BY THE CATHOLIC FEDERATION "TEMOIGNANGE," THE CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY AND "LETTRE" AN ORGANIZATION OF CATHOLIC INTELLECUTALS.

THE COMMUNIQUE WAS I REPLY TO A RECENT LETTER PUBLISHED BY THE CATHOLIC EPISCOPAL COMMITTEE FOR RELATIONS WITH JUDAISM WHICH WARNED THAT ZSYSTEMATIC ANTI SEMITISM HAS BECOME TINGED WITH ANTI SEMITISM." IT ACCUSED THE LATTER GROUP OF "MIXNG POLITICAL ARGUMENTS WITH RELIGIOUS ONES" AND PROTESTED-"AGAINST ACCUSATIONS OF ANTI SEMITISM AGAINST THOSE WHO OPPOSE ZIONISM AND ISRAEL'S CURRENT POLICIES." THE COMMUNIQUE SAID THE SIGNATORIES WOULD "CONTINUE TO PROPAGTE HHE FACTS CONCERNING THE SUFFERING AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE "PALESTINIAN PEOPLE."

A SIMILR COMMUNIQUE TAKING THE CATHOLIC EPISOCPAL COMMITTEE TO TASK WAS ISSUED BY 12 77853. IT EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR THE "POOR AND MISERABLE ARAB REFUGEES IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN JUSTICE FOR THEMSELVES."  
ENDITEM

Rabbi Merv Tanenbaum,



Please return after reading

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

with

the Compliments of

J. A. S.

קונסוליה כללית  
CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL

11 EAST 70TH STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021  
TRAFALGAR 9-7600



[start]

Original documents  
faded and/or illegible





כד' אדר א' תש"ל  
2 במרץ 1970  
מס' 3964

M. Y. Avrad  
New-York

- אל: מנהל מצפ"א
- העתק: מר א. לוריא, משנה למנכ"ל
- מר א. קדרון, סמנכ"ל
- מר מ. ששון, סמנכ"ל
- מר ש. דיבון, הממונה על מערך ההסברה
- מר מ. פרגאי, הממונה על ענינים כנסיתיים
- הסברה
- מזתי"ם
- חקר
- קב"ט
- השגרירות, אוטבה
- מר י. אביעד, ניו-יורק
- מאת: הקונסול הכללי, טורונטו



הנדון: כשלון הערבים ויונייטד צ'רץ' בהתמודדות פומבית אתנו

סמינר הכמרים

במכתבי 3945 מ-27.2.70 העברתי קטעי עתונות ודו"ח ה"ועדה ליחסי-ציבור קנדה-ישראל" על סמינר הכמרים של "הכנסיה המאוחדת" ב-24 בפברואר, בהשתתפותי. במכתבי זה ברצוני למסור לכם פרטים על הסמינר.

אני הייתי ראשון המרצים. אחרי דברו 5 מרציקאנטי-ישראליים: פרופ' McCullough קנדי אנטי-ישראלי מובהק; פרופסור Marmura, קנדי ממוצא ערבי; A. C. Forrest עורך ה"יונייטד צ'רץ' אובסרבר"; פרופ' Norton Mezvinski יהודי אמריקני אנטי-ציוני; ו-Ibrahim Shukrallah מנהל מרכז ההסברה הערבי בקנדה שהוא גם נספח בשגרירות קע"ם באוטבה.

לפי התכנית הצטרפתי להרצות בסמינר מ-9 עד 10 בבוקר, אך נשארתי שם עד 11 ובמשך שעה התנהל ויכוח ער וחריף ביני לבין McCullough ו-Forrest שנכחו בעת הרצאתי. הויכוח היה בעיקר עם McCullough שנקט עמדה פרו-ערבית מובהקת.

כשעמדתי לעזוב, קם אחד הכמרים ומסר הודעה, בשם כל המשתתפים בסמינר,

שבויכוח ביני לבין הפרופסור, כל אהדתם נתונה לי וכי הם שופנעו מדברי שעמדת ישראל





- 2 -

איננה שלילית כפי שהם קוראים עליה ב"אובסרבר". שאר המשתתפים אישרו במחיא-כפים את הסכמתם לדברי חברם. הם בקשו ממני עותקים של הרצאתי כדי שתהיה לפני עיניהם בשעת ההרצאות האחרות. כעבור חצי שעה הגיעו אליהם ממשרדי 20 עותקים, וכאשר פושתי בערב, באסיפה הפומבית, את איבראיהם שוקראללה, הוא סיפר לי שהכמרים נתנו לו עותק מהרצאתי והוא "יעץ" לי לא לחזור על טענתי שאנטי-ציונות זהה עם אנטישמיות כי זה לא נכון, ו"זה אפילו גורם נזק למדינה שלך" - אמר.

כפי שראיתם מהחומר המצורף למכתבי 3945 מ-27.2.70, ציטטו הצ'תונים את דברי בסמינר. גם תחנות הרדיו והטלביזיה ציטטו אותי. עתון אחד ותחנת רדיו אחת בלבד ציטטו גם את פורסט, ואילו שוקראללה ושאר המרצים האנטי-ישראלים בסמינר לא צוטטו בכלל.

#### האסיפה הפומבית

לאחר שהוזמנתי להשתתף בסמינר הנ"ל ב-24 בפברואר ונעניתי להזמנה, הוזמנתי גם להשתתף באסיפה פומבית, בהסות ה"יונייטד צ'רץ", באותו יום בערב יחד עם המרצים האחרים המוזכרים לעיל. הודעתי למארגנים שרק ישראל והערבים הם צדדים לסכסוך במזרח התיכון ולכן רק אני ושוקראללה צריכים להיות הנואמים באסיפה, ואילו כל האחרים, כולל המרצים, יכולים לשאול שאלות.

אחרי מו"מ של כעלושה שבועות עם יוזמי האסיפה, הם קבלו את דעתי וב-21.1.70 הודיעו על כך בכתב וגם פרסמו כרוז ברוח המוסכם אתי. רצ"ב תצלומי מכתבם והכרוז וכ"כ קטעי עתונות על האסיפה. כן רצ"ב תצלום מכתבי אל מנחה האסיפה מ-16.2.70, ובו אני מפרט את המוסכם בינינו, כפי שלא יוכלו להפתיע אותי בבגוע האחרון ולהעלות על הבמה את כל המרצים האנטי-ישראלים שהשתתפו בסמינר.

רצ"ב קטעי עתונות על האסיפה הפומבית, שהתקיימה בכניסתם הכי גדולה בעיר. הנאמר בקטעים הרצ"ב אינו משקף את מה שבאמת אירע באסיפה, שעברה בסדר למופת ולא קרה דבר חוץ מאשר תקרית אחת בין יהודי וערבי לאחר שהאסיפה כבר ננעלה.

רצ"ב דו"ח על האסיפה שהופץ ע"י יו"ר "הועדה ליחסי-ציבור קנדה-ישראל", מר יוליוס היימן שנכח באסיפה.

אין צל של ספק שגם שוקראללה וגם פורסט (שדיבר באסיפה ואני השבתי לו) נחלו מפלה שלמה באסיפה הפומבית.

כל התכנית (שעתיים וחצי) הוקלטה ע"י תחנת הטלביזיה הממשלתית, פי.בי.סי, וחלקים ממנה (חצי שעה) שודרו ביום ראשון, 1.3.70, בערב כאירוע השבוע. החלקים



שודרו בטלביזיה נבחרו בצורה אובייקטיבית והוגנת למדי, והיו מועילים לענין הסרתנו.

בעקבות האסיפה הפומבית

למחרת האסיפה רואינתי ע"י תחנת בטלביזיה הפרטית, תחנה 9, שאיינה אצטג גם את נציג "הכנסיה המאוחדת", דר' Frank Brisbain. דברי שנינו שודרו באותו יום פעמיים.

בחובה להאשמותי, מסר נציג הכנסיה את ההודעה הבאה:  
"The United Church recognizes the spiritual links between the Jews and the State of Israel."

הודעו עומדת, בסתירה להודעת המזכיר הכללי של הכנסיה, דר' לונג, במכתב לשוקראללה, בו תקף את היהודים על הזדהותם עם ישראל.

יום אחרי כן קבלתי מכתבים משני כמרים של "הכנסיה המאוחדת" והנני מצרף תצלומים מהם.

אצטג רק כמה פסוקים המדברים בעד עצמם:

1. הכומר Martin Rumscheidt כותב, אלי בין השאר:  
"I am very much a novice in this area of supporting Israel via opposing the views of Dr. A. C. Forrest, but after Tuesday night at Eaton Memorial Church I feel honestly glad to join you and your country in this struggle."

2. המכתב השני הוא מהכומר John E. Hunter, שהוא יו"ר "הועדה לעניינים בינלאומיים של הכנסיה המאוחדת", הגוף שאירגן את האסיפה הפומבית ובעל השפעה רבה בקביעת הקו המדיני של הכנסיה. הוא כותב אלי, בין השאר:  
"Your contribution to the program brought information and insight to all who were present. The spirit in which you spoke will make for better feelings in the total community."





- 4 -

נזכה התקפתי החריפה על ה"יונייטד צ'רץ" אובסרבר" ועורכו, האשמותי הכבדות  
כלפיהם בנוגע לאנטי-ציונות ותמיכתם בטרוריסטים, הויכוח הפומבי החריף שהיה לי  
אתו באותו יום פעמיים, בסמינר ובאסיפה, וכל מה אספספ שהתפרסם בענין זה בעתונות,  
בבדין ובטלביזיה - נדמה לי שמותר לי לראות בדבריו הנ"ל של יו"ר הועדה המארגנת  
של האסיפה, הסתיגות מצד הועדה מעמדתו של ה"אובסרבר" ועורכו ופתח לשיפור יחס  
ה"יונייטד צ'רץ" כלפינו, על כל ההשלכות החיוביות שיכולות להיות מזה.

נראה איך יתפתחו העניינים.

אמשיך לדווח.

בברכה,

א. גפן



# YORK PINES

UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA - KETTLEBY, ONTARIO

January 21, 1970.

Dr. Aba Gefen,  
Consul General of Israel,  
200 Bay Street,  
Suite 314,  
Toronto 1, Ontario.

Dear Dr. Gefen,

Further to our telephone conversation of to-day I ask for your formal agreement to participate in the Public Meeting on the Middle East sponsored by the International Affairs Committee of the Toronto Conference of The United Church of Canada.

Mr. I. Shukrallah has agreed to participate in the meeting. The platform will be occupied by the Chairman, Mr. Shukrallah and you. You and Mr. Shukrallah will be asked to speak for between 10 and 15 minutes, and then will question one another before we open the meeting to those attending and entertain questions from the floor.

There will be T V coverage; so your statements will be going out to a very large audience. Our committee is looking forward to your personal participation in accordance with our original discussions and correspondence.

I thank you for your co-operation.

Sincerely yours,

Donald V. Stirling.



UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA  
TORONTO CONFERENCE  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

"To inform United Church people and others of the issues involved in International Aid and the Middle East."

PUBLIC MEETINGS

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1970

In the West Assembly Hall.  
Timothy Eaton Memorial Church  
230 St. Clair Ave. W., Toronto

2 p.m. until 4 p.m. PANEL ON "INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT"

Panel Members:

Prof. Ralph Campbell - Economics Dept., U. of T.  
Rev. Dr. Ernest Long - Secretary, General Council, U.C.C.  
Mr. Eugene Agard - Staff Member, University of the West Indies - at U. of T.  
Mr. H. D. Madden - Latin-American Division of C.I.D.A., Ottawa.

Moderator:

Mrs. Rylie Smith, Toronto

Open Discussion

8 p.m. until 10 p.m. THE MIDDLE EAST - ARABS AND ISRAELIS

Speakers:

Dr. Aba Gefen - Consul-General of Israel, Toronto  
Mr. Ibrahim Shukrallah - Director, Arab Information Centre, Ottawa

Moderator:

The Rev. Donald Stirling, Kettleby, Ontario

Audience Participation and Reaction

ENCOURAGE YOUR PEOPLE TO BE PRESENT!

COME PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE!

LEARN THE FACTS!

DISCOVER THE TRUTH!

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Rev. J. E. Hunter, Aurora, Chairman  
Rev. C. S. Elliott  
Rev. David Irvine  
Rev. J. D. F. Morris

Rev. J. W. Stinson  
Rev. D. V. Stirling  
Mrs. Leonard Harman

Mr. G. L. Duffin  
Mr. A. E. Hobbs  
Mr. R. H. Shilton  
Mr. F. C. Stokes

PLEASE ANNOUNCE THESE EVENTS IN YOUR CALENDAR AND FORWARD EXTR. COPY TO CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIAL ACTION REPRESENTATIVE OF U.C.W.



PERSONAL

February 16, 1970

Refer No. 3872

Rev. Donald Stirling, B.A., B.D.,  
York Pines United Church of Canada,  
Kettleby, Ontario.

Dear Rev. Stirling:

Further to your letter of January 21st and mine of January 26th, and our subsequent telephone conversations, I am writing you today in order to make sure that the public meeting can be carried out in the most quiet, peaceful, dignified and organized manner possible.

Unfortunately, on various occasions at public meetings with an Arab participant there were many disturbances and much depends on the "strong hand" of the moderator. I therefore would like to suggest, as a first step that you inform the police about the meeting and ask them to send members of the force to be present there for any eventuality.

Secondly, I would also like to suggest that in your introductory remarks you admonish the audience that if anyone try to interrupt the speakers you will be obliged to ask the police to have him removed from the meeting.

As agreed in our last telephone conversation, the program of the evening will be the following:

Opening remarks of the Chairman.

Introductory remarks of the Moderator.

Presentation by the Consul-General of Israel.

Presentation by Mr. Shukrallah.

Questions by Mr. Shukrallah.

Answers by the Consul-General of Israel

Questions by the Consul-General of Israel.

Answers by Mr. Shukrallah.

Questions from the Floor to both speakers and their answers.

.../2...



Concluding remarks by the Consul-General of Israel.

Concluding remarks by Mr. Shukrallah.

Closing remarks by the Moderator.

As it was agreed between us, and as expressed in your letter of January 21st, as well as in the circular you distributed about the public meeting entitled "Middle East -- Arabs and Israelis", the only two parties to the conflict in the Middle East are the Arabs and Israelis and therefore only Mr. Shukrallah and myself should speak on that occasion while anyone else can only ask questions from the floor. Nevertheless, I remember that you suggested that perhaps Rev. Forrest should not have to limit himself to asking questions, but would also be given the possibility of making some remarks from the floor.

I do not object at all to Rev. Forrest making some remarks and I agree that you permit anyone whom you will consider proper, not to limit himself to questions but also to make some remarks from the floor, but this can only be done under two conditions:

- 1) The person concerned should not be allotted more than 5 minutes time.
- 2) After the person's remarks, either Mr. Shukrallah or myself (whoever is addressed) will immediately be given the opportunity to react to these remarks.

I would appreciate it if you would let me know, either by telephone or letter, where and at what time we have to meet at the Church in order to proceed together to the platform.

Thanking you for your kind cooperation and looking forward to meeting you, I am

Cordially yours,

Aba Gefen  
Consul General

AG:er

## Israeli and Arab on panel

Dr. Aba Gefen, Consul-General of Israel in Toronto will participate February 24th in a discussion on the Middle East sponsored by the United Church of Canada's Committee on International Affairs.

The program entitled The Middle East - Arabs and Israelis, will be held at the Timothy Eaton Memorial Church on St. Clair Avenue West.

The other speaker will be Ibrahim Shukrallah, Director of the Arab Information Center in Ottawa.

The moderator will be Rev. Donald Stirling of Kettleby, Ontario.

### BROTHERHOOD

To coincide with Brotherhood Week an ad hoc committee of Catholics, Evangelicals and Liberal Protestants are sponsoring a meeting on February 23rd to answer the question: Israel - Is there a Christian View.

The importance of this meeting is the fact that it is a rare occasion when three such divergent Christian groups unite to exchange their views.

Sponsors of the meeting have adopted as the theme of their symposium Once again, within a generation, the Jewish people are under accusation.

The meeting, to be held at Yorkminster Park Baptist Church will have as its keynote speaker the Rev. Douglas Young, president of the American Holy Land Institute in Jerusalem.

The panelists for the dis-

ussion include the editor of the Catholic World, Father John B. Sheerin of New York City, who has just returned from a tour of the Middle East; the Rev. Hope Smith, a Pentacostal, of Evangel Temple, Toronto; the Rev. Alan Davies, a United Church Professor of the University of Toronto; and the Rev. Roland de Corneille, Anglican Director of Christian-Jewish Dialogue.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Churches Review, 13.2.70

## Church sponsors Arab-Israel forum

The Toronto conference of the Committee on International Affairs for the United Church of Canada is holding a public meeting on "The Middle East - Arabs and Israelis, Tues. Feb. 24 at 8:00 p.m. in the West Hall of the Timothy Eaton Memorial Church on St. Clair Ave. West.

Dr. Aba Gefen, Consul General of Israel in Toronto and Mr. Ibrahim Shukrallah, Director of the Arab Information Centre in Ottawa will make fifteen minute presentations of their respective points of view. The Rev. Donald Stirling will act as moderator. Audience participation and discussion has been invited following the presentations.

The purpose of the evening, according to its sponsors, is "to inform" United Church people and others of the issues involved in International Aid and the Middle East.

During Brotherhood Week an ad hoc Committee of Catholics, Evangelicals and Liberal Protestants are sponsoring a meeting to answer the question: "Israel: Is there a Christian View?" on Monday, Feb. 23rd at 8:00 p.m. at Yorkminster Park Baptist Church Hall.

The keynote speaker will be the Rev. Dr. Douglas Young, President of the American Holy Land Institute in Jerusalem.



20.2.70

**Many Torontonians -- Jews and non-Jews -- will attend a non-sectarian meeting on the Middle East.**

(Details in Seven Days feature, page 7.)

### Hearing both sides

The forthcoming confrontation between Dr. Abba Gefen and Mr. Ibrahim Shukrallah promises to be a tense encounter. News releases indicate that the Israeli consul and the head of the Arab Information Agency in Ottawa will be sharing a platform together on the evening of February 24th at the Timothy Eaton Memorial Church on St. Clair Avenue West.

If indeed the two gentlemen share the platform physically, this will be in itself an event of great significance, because official Arab representatives seldom do so. Mr. Shukrallah, the adept Arab propagandist, is the gentleman who persuaded the United Church's Dr. Long to issue a letter deploring the tendency of Jews to identify with Israel and their "regression" to Palestine.

There is little doubt that, as in the past, Arab students will come en masse to hear Mr. Shukrallah and to vilify Dr. Gefen. Audiences in North America are becoming accustomed to seeing speakers representing the Israeli point of view, jeered and shouted down with cries of "El Fatah" and other terrorist slogans.

It would be most appropriate for members of the Toronto Jewish community as well as all those who look to a peaceful resolution of the Arab - Israel conflict, to be present at the Gefen - Shukrallah debate in order to ensure that the meeting not degenerate into social-fascist hate - mongering.

THE CHRONICLE REVIEW, 20.2.70

Page 3

## Large turnout urged for Mid-East forum

A large representation of both Christians and Jews is being urged to participate in the public meeting on the Middle East called for Feb. 24 at the Timothy Eaton Memorial Church.

The meeting will permit Dr. Aba Gefen, Consul General of the State of Israel to Toronto, and Mr. Ibrahim Shukrallah, Director of the Arab Information Centre, Ottawa to make brief summations of their

positions, following which questions and audience discussion are invited.

The meeting is under the auspices of the Toronto Conference on International Affairs of the United Church of Canada. Jewish community leaders and rabbis are urging Christian and Jewish participation in large numbers in order that the audience discussion may represent as broad a cross section of opinion as possible.

## Supporters, foes of Israel swap abuse, epithets

Supporters of Israel and the Arab nations exchanged abuse and recriminations last night in the basement of Timothy Eaton Memorial Church while police stood by outside.

The hall, with a capacity of 400, was full half an hour before the discussion began. The doors were locked and hundreds of people crowded around outside. Many were still there when the meeting finished.

The idea of the discussion, organized by the Toronto conference committee on international affairs of the United Church of Canada, was to present the positions of Arabs and Israelis, and to try to reach common ground.

Representatives of the two factions were Dr. Aba Gefen, consul-general of Israel, and Ibrahim Shukrallah, director of the Arab Information Centre in Ottawa.

GLOBE MAIL

25.2.70



# Israeli consul claims United Church paper has anti-Semitic view

Israeli Consul-General Aba Gefen today accused the United Church Observer and its editor, Rev. A. C. Forrest, of anti-Semitism. Forrest denied the charge.

Gefen, in a speech to a seminar on the continuing education of ministers of the United Church of Canada, said, "We consider anti-Zionism as anti-Semitism of a new style only... Those who hold today in their hands the flag of anti-Zionism are saturated with the same ideologies which caused the genocide of 6,000,000 Jews."

He quoted an Observer editorial which called Zionism a "distressing heresy" of Judaism, accused the Observer of "presenting the Arab point of view only" in the Middle East conflict, and said the Observer "supports Arab terrorism."

The Observer is owned and operated by the United Church of Canada, the nation's largest Protestant denomination, but the magazine has an extensive degree of independence in its editorial policy.

Forrest said he is not anti-Semitic and that anti-Semitism is "an evil thing," as is any doctrine that deni-

grates people on grounds of race or color.

"That's why I am so often critical of the state of Israel—because it is so frankly racist," Forrest said. Israel admits only Jews as immigrants.

Forrest said Gefen—a full-time employee of the state of Israel's foreign ministry who works in the Israeli consulate here—was mouthing "Israeli propaganda" by deliberately confusing anti-Semitism with anti-Zionism.

"It's a political line designed to suppress criticism of Israel," Forrest said.

Forrest denied Gefen's charge he supports terrorism by the Al Fatah group, which has bombed airliners, ambushed tourists and sniped and thrown grenades in raids in Israel.

Gefen quoted Forrest as saying after Forrest visited an Arab terrorist base—that "you can't be with these commandos long without sympathizing with their cause." Forrest said today what he meant was "you can't be with them long without understanding how they feel" and this didn't mean he sympathized with terrorist methods.

# Church paper biased, says Israeli consul

TORONTO TELEGRAPH 24-2-76

Dr. Aba Gefen, consul general of Israel, today lashed out at articles and editorials in the United Church Observer, for being biased against Israel.

Speaking at a minister's seminar of the United Church of Canada, Dr. Gefen said a November, 1967, editorial in the Observer labelled Zionism a "distressing heresy."

He said the editorial meant all nations are entitled to liberty and independence, except the Jews.

Dr. Gefen said the Observer's editor, Dr. A. C. Forrest, has "confessed publicly" his identification with Arab terrorists.

"In a speech to the Canadian Arab Friendship Society of Toronto, Dr. Forrest said that during his recent visit to the Middle East he met with the terrorist commandos and he stated, 'You can't be with these commandos long without sympathizing with their cause.'"

Dr. Gefen said Dr. Forrest was against the official position of the United Church general council which said in 1968 Israel should be recognized by Arab states and allowed to live in peace.

He accused the Observer

of refusing to publish denials of alleged Israeli atrocities while giving "much distribution to material which comes from Arab sources."

He said an article printed Dec. 1 by Rev. R. H. Bennett, "called for the unmitigated support of the Arab terrorists."

"These are terrorists who throw grenades into crowded Jewish stores, who kill an innocent Greek child in Athens, hijack planes, threaten to kidnap Jewish businessmen, and carry out such murderous acts as the recent attack on a Swiss airplane."

He said the Observer only prints stories about Arab refugees and never anything about Jewish refugees from the Arab countries.

Dr. Gefen said he sent a newspaper clipping to Dr. Forrest in which Rev. Douglas Young, president of Jerusalem's American Holy Land Institute, attributed criticism of Israel to leftist churchmen in Canada and the United States.

The clipping was refused publication by the Observer editor, he said.

Toronto Star 24-2-76



MR. HAYMAN'S REPORT:

Mr. Hayman is Vice-Chairman of the Committee and has for some weeks been functioning as Acting Chairman

The fourth significant event of the week was the meeting held at the Timothy Eaton Memorial Church on February 24 under the auspices of the United Church. This meeting was clearly intended by its sponsors to provide Christian endorsement of the editorial policy of the United Church Observer. In the event, it provided a stirring reaffirmation of unequivocal Jewish support of Israel and, among the Christians present, acceptance of the pro-Israel point of view. The many Jews in the audience - perhaps even a majority - showed a remarkable spirit of *havlagah*, restraint, and fears that Jewish passions might get out of control proved entirely without foundation. The score or so of police who kept their eyes on the overflow crowd outside the Church had little to do. At the same time the atmosphere at the meeting was so overwhelmingly pro-Israel that the few Al-Fatah supporters present did not have the temerity to follow their customary tactics of vilification and abuse.

Dr. Aba Gefen, Consul General of Israel in Toronto, in his opening remarks, provided a brilliant statement of Israel's position and effectively refuted, in advance, the arguments which Shukrallah was to present. In the exchanges Dr. Gefen was far more effective than the Arab representative. The moderator, a Rev. Stirling, appeared to this observer as obviously biased in favour of the Arab position. His final remarks to the audience, consisting of a reading of the "official" position of the United Church, which he equated with Forrest's position, reflected his need to salvage something, at least, from the wreckage of the meeting's original purpose.

There will be those who will suggest that the fact that there were so many Jews in the audience meant that Dr. Gefen would be "preaching to the converted". In truth, I believe there was no intention on the part of those who arranged this meeting to provide for true "dialogue". If Dr. Gefen had not ensured that the panel be confined to him and Shukrallah (the original proposal was a panel consisting of Gefen, Shukrallah, Forrest and a non-Zionist Jew), if your committee had not made sure that there would be a large Jewish representation in the audience, what might well have come out of the meeting would have been a recorded endorsement by an important United Church group of the United Church Observer's editorial policy.

That this result was blocked, in an orderly meeting, is cause for considerable satisfaction.

I believe there is a valuable lesson to be learned from the experience of this meeting. No war can be won by withdrawing from every field of battle. Battles must be fought. But the ingredients of victory are a careful choice of battlefield, the conditions under which the battles are fought and, above all, meticulous preparation.



# DEER PARK UNITED CHURCH

129 ST. CLAIR AVENUE WEST, TORONTO 195

Dr. Aba Giften,  
Consul-General of Israel  
200 Bay Street  
Toronto, Ont.

26. II. '70

Dear Dr. Giften,

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

I am deeply grateful to you for your encouragement yesterday on the telephone. I am very much a novice in this area of supporting Israel via opposing the views of Dr. A.C. Forest, but after Tuesday night at Eaton Memorial Church and after our conversation on the 'phone I feel honestly glad to join you and your country in this struggle.

Enclosed is the letter from Mr. Mouammar. He has sent a copy of it to Dr. Forest, indicating to me at least a very dangerous liaison and yet another indication that you did not lie about Dr. Forest's links with El-Batah.

I look forward eagerly to meeting you and having a good talk about things happier than the dead-East Russian, namely your country itself.

Yours very truly

Arthur Renschel

# The United Church of Canada

Aurora, Ontario

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE  
OF THE TORONTO CONFERENCE

25th February 1970

Dr. Aba Gefen,  
2500 Bathurst Street,  
Toronto.

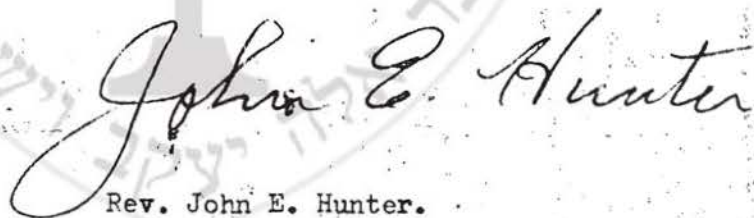
Dear Dr. Gefen,

I express the appreciation of our whole Committee for your presence at the Timothy Eaton Memorial Church last evening.

Your contribution to the program brought information and insight to all who were present. The spirit in which you spoke will make for better feelings in the total community.

You accepted a difficult role and did well.

Yours sincerely,



*John E. Hunter*

Rev. John E. Hunter.  
Chairman.

JEH/jm



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