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

Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 98, Folder 4, General correspondence, memos & working papers, July-December 1981.

July 1, 1981

Mr. Doug Krieger
TAV Evangelical Ministries
P.O. BOX 281
Everta, California 95626

Dear Mr. Krieger,

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 23 to Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is currently on an extended lecture and meetings tour overseas. Your schedule will be brought to his attention as soon as he returns to our offices on or about July 13. I am certain he will be in touch with you at that time.

Very truly yours,

Rita P. Reznik
Secretary to Rabbi Tanenbaum

R

TAV
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June 23, 1981

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Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Executive Director, Interreligious Affairs
The American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th St.
New York, N.Y. 10022

RE: Coming Schedule

Dear Marc,

It is now confirmed that Doug Shearer and myself will be in the Northeast between July 16 and July 21.

We will arrive in Boston on Thursday evening on July 16. Professor Marvin Wilson requested that we meet with him at that time. We will be with Prof. Wilson the evening of July 16 and the morning of July 17 in Wenham, Mass. We will discuss, among other items, the previous experiences that he has had in planning for joint evangelical/Jewish dialogues and how that experience could assist us in a would-be regional gathering in Portland sometime next year. Simultaneously, we will meet with Northeast TAV staff members in Boston (about 10 in all) to brief them on what has been happening here on the West Coast.

We have informed Ed McAteer (Religious Round Table) of your desire to meet with him prior to the Monday, July 20 meeting with Terry Dolan and others. He will meet you privately on Sunday evening, July 19 in New York. We will simply pick Ed up at the airport and rendezvous with you at a desired location for evening dinner. The four of us will then have ample opportunity to discuss items of pressing concern. I believe that this meeting will assist us greatly for the July 20 meeting the following day.

In order to enhance our discussion with McAteer we felt that it would also be profitable to meet with you (and any other member of your staff that you might want to bring along) prior to meeting with McAteer. This would mean that, if at all possible, we could sit down either Saturday nite or Sunday morning.

HABAKKUK 3:17-18

Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; though the labour of the olive shall fail and the fields shall yield no meat; though the flock shall be cut off from the fold and there shall be no herd in the stalls: yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation.

Our desire to meet privately with you prior to our meeting together with McAteer would enable us to:

- (1) Work more closely together in presenting the concerns of the American Jewish community to the leadership of the Religious Right.
- (2) Discuss a compatible agenda that will continue to build bridges between the two communities.
- (3) Give us time to share with you what we have discovered during the last months of various expressions of support throughout the evangelical world on behalf of Israel and the Jewish community.

San Francisco:

Doug and I met with Ernie Weiner and Earl Raab, along with Rabbi Malcolm ? in S.F. on June 22. Plans were laid for an informal gathering (15 from each community) to be held at Rabbi M's home - it will be held the first week of August. Our liaison with the evangelicals will be SOS Ministries which has now surfaced as probably the most cooperative effort in evangelism in Northern California history (accomplished without a major evangelist like Roberts or Graham). The meeting will be designed to build some more bridges and it will reach out into the more aggressive elements of evangelicalism. We will assist in moderating the gathering - all antagonists, Lord willing, will be subdued. Richard Paradise, TAV rep. in S.F. knows what we're looking for. Raab and Weiner were very helpful. Doug Shearer expressed our current feelings on how anti-Semitism is being replaced by anti-Zionism. Rabbi M. was convinced that evangelicals were into anti-Judaism and that anti-Judaism was the real problem. We disagreed in friendly fashion and attempted to prove our thesis.

San Diego:

Bonnie Feinman has been reassured that we are moving ahead with sympathetic elements in her area who will also sit down with Jewish leadership for informal dialogue. In all probability, we will moderate that meeting too. Calvary Chapel of San Diego (4,000 members) and perhaps Christian activist Tim LaHay (vehement on opposing the evil secular humanists) might be candidates for such a meeting - no matter, we'll do the foot work and assure that the right people attend (probably pull this off in September).

Vancouver B.C.:

We've scheduled a meeting in Sacramento with Rev. Jacoby Hurst and a Col. Levy (Israeli military) this Sunday in Yuba City, CA. They are connected with Glad Tidings Temple in Vancouver B.C. (the church is pentecostal and has given 1/4 million to the Jewish National Fund and pledged another 3/4 million for a kibbutz in the Galilee). Pentecostals are a very warm bunch (somewhat wild) but

can make great allies. They differ from the pentecostal charismatics (i.e., pentecostal fundamentalists) in that they are very strict regarding "holiness" matters. Somehow, the charismatics and old-line pentecostals (like Glad Tidings) cannot be overlooked in the coming days of bridge building; however, they certainly would scare most American Jews - so great care must be exercised.

Denver:

We are now in touch with Faith Bible Chapel in Arvada, Colo. (near Denver). Apparently, they have staged 2 or 3 Israel Independence Day celebrations with local Rabbis and Israeli officials. To our knowledge there are at least 3 or 4 Israeli/Evangelical teams racing around the country from church to church raising support for Israel among the evangelicals - we need to find out more about this and perhaps through Col. Levy we can.

In the mean time - we will call your office around July 12 or so. It is our precise hope that a coordinated effort can be reached between evangelical and Jewish communities here in this country that will enable us to enlarge upon our theological compatibilities and examine our differences (objectively) and simultaneously to amass evangelical/Jewish support on behalf of the State of Israel. Also, evangelicals must be insulated against all virulent forms of racism, in particular, anti-Semitism. Both communities need to be insulated against the more subtle forms of anti-Semitism expressed as anti-Zionism.

The liberal American religious community has been able to work with the American Jewish community along social lines (i.e., opposition to racism, support of human rights, etc.). Evangelicals can, in fact, find common grounds for working with the Jewish community along similar lines (i.e., assisting on the refugee problems of the world); however, amassing evangelical support for these exceedingly worthwhile projects which deserve a cooperative effort (i.e., Jewish/Evangelical) will not come about unless a solid foundation be laid - that foundation is being laid today. The areas of compatibility must be discovered. We need positive projects (world refugee assistance and support for Israel) and "negative" projects (combating racism, hatred, anti-Semitism, etc.).

We are in a great struggle (carefully examine the "Salt Shaker" letter related to conspiratorial matters) that increasingly has taken definitive battle lines. Israel's isolation from the world community continues at an accelerated pace. An American Evangelical/Jewish alarm system must be developed that brings effective pressure upon our government to stand on behalf of Israel, not against her. Begin's election seems almost assured - how this will impact upon the current alignment of evangelical/Jewish interests in this country is not altogether unknown - it probably means we will be moving even closer together, again, Lord willing.

Our prayers are with you and your staff (we mean it) - TAV - Doug Krieger

TAV EVANGELICAL MINISTRIES • P.O. BOX 281 • ELVERTA, CA 95626 • (1) (916) 991-0136

Also: Doug Shearer

Doug Shearer Doug Krieger



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL COUNCIL • 1809 Tower Building • Dallas, Texas 75201 • (214) 747-3531

DATE: July 8, 1981
TO: Marc Tannenbaum
FROM: Milton Tobian
RE: A position on proselytization by the Texas Conference of Churches

cc: Jim Rudin
Judy Banki
Inge Gibel
Harold Applebaum
Dr. Arnold Kassanoff

As you know, the Board of the Texas Conference of Churches and its Special Commission on Jewish-Christian Relations are in conversation about the Texas Conference taking a position opposing proselytization efforts directed at Jews. On the afternoon and evening of June 8, the Board of Directors of the Texas Conference devoted part of its agenda to studying a draft of a working document titled "Our Eldër Brothers" which sets out some of the Biblical and/or theological references which would legitimize this action.

There will be a similar critiquing of the document by a Jewish group. After the findings of the two constituencies are incorporated into a final version, it will be presented to the full body of the Conference of Churches at its Annual Meeting in February.

I am not aware that this activity has ever been undertaken by such a broad spectrum of faith communities, namely, all of the mainline Protestant and Catholic judicatories in the state. I am told that our chances of passage are good but this desired outcome is in the lap of the God or gods according to where you're coming from. I am enclosing a copy of the minutes of that portion of the board meeting that describes the above process. You will note that Rabbi Elijah Palnick of Little Rock came down to observe and participate because he is most desirous of trying out the same thing on the Arkansas Council of Churches if it goes well in Texas. Any recommendations or suggestions you have for me or us in the Southwest, will be gratefully received.

Best regards,

MT:lrg

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BEN SOLNICK, SAM STRAUSS, JR., ROBERT WASSERMAN.

MILTON I. TOBIAN, Southwest Regional Director ■ MILES ZITMORE, Assistant Area Director ■ SANFORD KANTER, Houston Area Director

Proselytization 18. Following up on action taken by the Board of Directors in its December 1980 meeting requesting that the Special Commission for Jewish-Christian Relations withhold its intended policy statement on proselytization for some future dialogue with the board, a portion of the agenda for the June 1981 meeting was set aside for such a dialogue.

The commission felt this offered an opportune and needed occasion for the commission to hear the views of the board and to engage in some dialogue around an emerging document.

The working document, "Our Elder Brothers," collated and authored by Msgr. Steele and an attached resource paper were provided with the board materials for advance study.

In the Monday evening session, following Dr. Fogleman's introductory remarks and Msgr. Steele's overview of the document, board members met in five small groups for dialogue. Members of the commission, Msgr. Rehkemper, Mr. Cirone, Msgr. Steele, Mr. Tobian and Dr. Fogleman, served as conveners. Rev. Tomasek, Ms. Smith, Ms. Hill, Ms. Team, and Dr. Suggs served as recorders.

Rabbi Palnick of Temple B'nai Israel in Little Rock, Arkansas, present because of the interest of the Arkansas Council of Churches and religious leaders, was introduced, welcomed and invited to participate in a dialogue group.

Instructions for small groups were to address the text and to suggest deletions, additions and alternative wording. The commission was interested in getting insight of board members to aid in modifying and shaping the document. Recorded comments and suggestions from the five groups will be compiled by TCC staff and sent back to the commission for its use in drafting the next version of the paper which will be brought to the next meeting of the Board of Directors.

Dr. Fogleman asked Mr. Tobian to explain the Jewish perspective on this process. "It is awesome and wonderful that the Texas Conference of Churches should have chosen today to consider this subject. It is the Jewish holiday of Shavout, the commemoration of the giving of the original Sinai covenant, the Commandments," Mr. Tobian said.

Within a matter of weeks a group of thoughtful, knowledgeable, committed Jews will read and critique the same working paper, and that work product will be incorporated with the work product from efforts of the TCC board. At that point, the commission will take both under consideration and devise a final document for the consideration of the Board of Directors.

Mr. Tobian said: "What we do is vitally important because it gives a higher quality of relationship, something reached for in the creation of the special commission. That group was commissioned to explore those ways which will bring us closer together and make our shared witness a more powerful one to the world. Those of us who are around two or three decades from now may well look back on this as an evening in which we set about doing some work which led to very significant outcomes. We should feel good about the fact that we are working to bring a new day. I am moved that people of your caliber and of your intellect and of your spirit are hard at work seeing that the day actually comes."

Rabbi Palnick offered a benediction and the meeting was closed for the evening.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 15, 1981
to Bert Gold and Bob Jacobs
from Marc H. Tanenbaum
subject REPORT ON THREE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OF MAJOR INTERRELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

This is a summary of the highlights of three major interreligious conferences concerned with Jewish-Christian relations at which I represented AJC from June 22- July 8. Two of them were "blockbuster" meetings of potentially very great importance for the future of Jewish-Christian relations throughout the world during the coming decade, as well as for the future of AJC's interreligious program on many levels. I wanted you to have this "sense" of these major developments, since it will be a matter of weeks before fuller reports become available.

The two "turning point" meetings were those of the World Council of Churches (WCC), held June 22-25, at a former Anglican convent outside London; and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), held July 6-8, at the Jewish Community House in Copenhagen, Denmark. The third meeting was that of the International Council of Christians and Jews (ICCJ), held June 29-July 1 at Heppenheim, Germany, the former home of Martin Buber. Judy Banki, who presented an excellent paper, and Zachariah Shuster also attended the ICCJ conference.

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES - June 22-25, London

This was a meeting of the full membership - about 75 people of the WCC's Committee on the Church and the Jewish People (CCJP). The sole purpose of the consultation was to review and revise a set of Guidelines on Jewish-Christian Relations which, in effect, is to become the WCC's parallel document to the Vatican Declaration on Non-Christian Religions (Nostra Aetate). The WCC document assumes especial significance because a large part of its membership is drawn from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, as well as from Western Europe, the USA, and Eastern European countries.

In addition to having representatives from most of the Western countries, there were present Arab Christians (including two from Israel), an Indian Christian, a Russian Orthodox official, and several Latin Americans.

The meeting and the entire consultative process was chaired masterfully, even with brilliance, by Prof. Krister Stendahl, chairman of the WCC's CCJP, ably aided by Dr. Allan Brockway (who, you will recall, addressed our 1980 NEC meeting in Cleveland - which didn't hurt at all!)

Every line and each word of the document was discussed in scrupulous detail and sections of it were revised two or three times. Through the IJCIC (International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations) relationship with WCC, Rabbi Bernard Mandelbaum of the Synagogue Council and I were invited as official observers. Except for Prof. David Hartman of Jerusalem, who made a powerful, positive impact through his learned presentation, Mandelbaum and I were the only Jews present. We were invited to participate fully in the discussions and we did in an atmosphere that both welcomed and encouraged our contributions. No other Jewish organizations were as directly involved in the revision process as we were.

The bottom line is that the WCC has produced a first-rate, even an historic document on Jewish-Christian relations. In many ways, it is far superior to the Vatican Council documents.

It deals forthrightly and at length with every major issue of the Jewish-Christian agenda - the need for a more adequate Christian theology that respects the living reality of Judaism and the Jewish people; recognizing Christian responsibility for anti-Semitism and its contribution to the hostile culture that made possible the Nazi holocaust; a determination to stand against all forms of anti-Semitism and to uproot its poisonous influences that still reside in Christian teachings, liturgy, and preaching; a recognition of the importance of Israel to the Jewish people; opposition to proselytism (but a soft line on Messianic Jews); a call for collaboration with Jews on social justice issues; support of pluralism.

The revision of the text was mainly written by Dr. Paul van Buren of Temple University; Dr. J. Coos Schoneveld; formerly of Jerusalem and now ICCJ director; Alice and Roy Eckardt; and Krister Stendahl - a better and more informed group of friends one could not find. And the spirit and language of the text shows it!

I have no hesitation in stating that this is probably one of the best statements on Jewish-Christian relations that has yet been written.

The concern of Stendahl and others now is how to protect the statement from being tinkered with by the WCC Central Committee. At a small WCC-IJCIC Liaison Committee meeting (with Dr. Gerhardt Riegner of the World Jewish Congress; Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder of the Israel Interfaith Committee; Mandelbaum; which was held in London on Sunday after the WCC meeting was concluded), we discussed a strategy with Stendahl who indicated he will by-pass the Central Committee and simply have it considered for adoption by the WCC Executive Committee.

It should be noted that during the deliberation on the text, the Arab Christians first proposed that "the WCC support the establishment of a Palestinian State." Through what I have to say was our subtle and skillful interventions, we persuaded the group to remove that language and insert instead language taken from the Camp David agreement supporting vaguely "Palestinian self-determination." We managed to win the sympathy of the majority of the group on this and on the proselytizing issue.

As it stands now, the present text remains the official position of the CCJP, and Stendahl and others expect that it will be little altered in the WCC Executive Committee.

During our Sunday WCC-IJCIC Liaison meeting, we were joined by Dr. Leopold Nyilus, director of the WCC's International Affairs Committee. He had recently drafted and issued a miserable resolution on Lebanon attributing the entire turmoil there to Israel's intransigence on the Palestinian issue. I made a decision to let him have both barrels, and told him that if he continues to scapegoat Israel for all the ills of the world, he personally will establish the image of the WCC as "the enemy of the Jews," and will help drive the Jewish community into the waiting embrace of the Moral Majority types. The WCC should not therefore be surprised if one day a coalition of Conservative Evangelicals, Catholics, and Jews join in influencing an American foreign policy that is opposed to everything the WCC stands for.

I also said that his pattern of anti-Israel statements on Jerusalem, PLO, etc. will undermine whatever good Stendahl and his committee are trying to do with their new excellent statement. Stendahl and his small group were visibly shaken by the force of my statements and later huddled. I overheard Stendahl say to two of his CCJP colleagues, "Tanenbaum is absolutely right. This is very serious. We had better do something about this." It turns out that this is Nyilus' last year before retirement, so maybe something finally can be done to achieve a better balance on Middle East positions.

As soon as the full text of the WCC Guidelines become available, I will send them to you.

LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION - July 6-8, Copenhagen

This was a joint meeting of LWF and IJCIC. The attached press release contains the particulars about themes, participants and papers, etc.

It was a superb meeting in every way. The LWF group was of exceptionally high quality of scholarship and leadership, and the atmosphere could not have been more sympathetic on virtually every single Jewish and Israeli concern. The press release reflects that.

The important thing is that we agreed to set up a permanent committee to promote joint Lutheran-Jewish understanding in many parts of the world.

Important for AJC's programming in America is the fact that 1983 will be the 300th birthday of Martin Luther. That will afford us an opportunity to schedule a number of seminars on "Martin Luther and the Jews" in the U.S.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS - June 29 - July 1, Germany

This was a well-attended meeting, probably one of the better ones of ICCJ. Judy Banki presented a first-rate paper on "The Image of Christians and Christianity in Jewish Textbooks." She was extremely well received. Her information was completely new to most of the participants. It seems that many of the Christian participants were both startled and reassured to know that Jews were also

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examining and revising their teachings about Christianity. Many asked for copies of Judy's paper and we plan to reprint it.

Along the way, Judy managed to establish our primacy in the entire textbook field.

An important fringe benefit was the presence of Archbishop Lustiger of Paris. The week before, Zach had an important private audience with Lustiger in Paris, arranged by Rev. DuPuy. Then I had a chance to meet him and talk at some length both at dinner and at a luncheon. DuPuy told us privately that Lustiger has a direct line to the Pope who personally chose him as archbishop. Lustiger invited both Zach and me to visit with him in Paris for a long conversation. AJC should plan to do so.

MHT:RPR

81-700-44



PRESS RELEASE

Copenhagen, July 8, 1981

A proposal to establish an international liaison committee between Jews and Lutherans was agreed upon at the conclusion of the first joint meeting held under the auspices of the Lutheran World Federation and the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC) which concluded in Copenhagen today. The consultation was held from July 6 - 8.

It was agreed to hold a second consultation during the year of the celebration of the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth in 1983.

The program for continuing consultation will include the publication of a progress report on corrections of anti-Jewish references in Lutheran textbooks and worship materials.

The participants expressed their deep concern at the resurgence of anti-Semitism in many parts of the world and underscored the need for undertaking effective action against all expressions of anti-Semitism and other forms of prejudice.

The theme of the consultation was "The concept of the human being in the Lutheran and Jewish traditions." Rabbi Bernard Mandelbaum of the Synagogue Council of America, New York, and Dr. Ekkehard Stegemann of Heidelberg, Germany, gave papers on the understanding of the human being in Jewish and Lutheran traditions. Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee, New York, and Professor George W. Forell of Iowa spoke on the ethical consequences of these theological positions.

The participants discussed the growing threat to the value of human life posed by increasing terrorism, violence, nuclear proliferation, hunger and callousness toward human suffering. Special stress was laid on the violence done to language which misuses terms like "human rights" and "democracy" for self-serving ends. Acknowledgment was made of the constructive role played by Christian and Jewish leadership in upholding human dignity through major world refugee relief programs, combatting hunger and poverty and defending human rights in many parts of the world.

The participants pledged to enlarge their support in these vital areas which translate into reality the shared Biblical values affirming the sacredness of every human being.

While recognizing the tension between the positive and negative aspects of human behavior, the participants agreed that the human being, created in God's image, is responsible for the future of humankind.

A review of recent anti-Semitic developments was given by Dr. Gerhart M. Riegner of the World Jewish Congress, Geneva. He warned that while recent anti-Semitic incidents are due to small groups using violence and terrorist methods, they represent a serious danger in the context of a restless society characterized by increasing unemployment and growing economic problems.

The participants expressed concern over the continuing turmoil in the Middle East. The Lutheran and Jewish representatives affirmed their support of the right to existence of the State of Israel and agreed to seek to find opportunities to advance dialogue leading to reconciliation, mutual respect and peace among Jews, Christians and Moslems in the Middle East and elsewhere.

The consultation was attended by 24 participants from 9 different countries. They were welcomed by the Dean of Copenhagen Arne Bugge and Chief Rabbi Bent Melchior of Denmark.

As a tribute to the people of Denmark for rescuing their country's Jews during the Nazi holocaust, the participants visited the Museum of the Danish Resistance.

The meetings were co-chaired by Professor Magne Saebø of Oslo and Professor Shemaryahu Talmon of Jerusalem and took place in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

The International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC) is composed of the World Jewish Congress, the Synagogue Council of America, the American Jewish Committee, the B'nai B'rith -Anti-Defamation League, and the Jewish Council in Israel for Inter-religious Consultations.

July 15, 1981

"WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES SPEAKS
ON JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS"

RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

(Rabbi Tanenbaum was one of two official Jewish observers at the WCC meeting in London, June 22-25.)

It will come as a surprise--a welcome one, indeed - that the World Council of Churches' Committee on the Church and the Jewish People has adopted a far-reaching set of "Guidelines on Jewish-Christian Relations" that could well become a turning point in the troubled history between the WCC and the world Jewish community.

As a result of pressures and threats from the PLO and some Third World nations, the World Council has generally supported extreme, one-sided, anti-Israel positions.

Thanks to the brilliant leadership of Prof. Krister Stendahl of Harvard University, and committed friends of the Jewish people such as Prof. Paul van Buren of Temple University and Dr. J. Coos Schoneveld of Holland, the WCC commission adopted a comprehensive statement that deals sympathetically with virtually every aspect of Jewish-Christian relations.

Thus, the Guidelines reject "the false perception that Judaism dried up when Christianity emerged;" it acknowledges that Judaism today "constitutes one of the major resources for religious life and thought in the world;" it repudiates "the negative images of the Pharisees" as a grave distortion; it condemns anti-Semitism and calls on "Christians to fight anti-Semitism with all their resources;" it repudiates proselytizing; and, most significantly, calls upon world Christendom to understand "the indissoluble bond between the Land of Israel and the Jewish People."

If this extraordinary document can be preserved from tampering by anti-Jewish forces, the WCC Guidelines may well have as historic an impact as did the Vatican Declaration on Catholic Jewish Relations.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum is national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Statement on U.S. Energy Policy and National Security

The American Jewish Committee is deeply concerned that our government's commitment to reducing U.S. energy dependence has slipped dangerously, posing threats to our nation's security and economic well-being. In a break with the policies of the past four Administrations, this Administration no longer views reduction of oil imports as the primary goal of U.S. energy policy. Its reliance on market forces alone will not be sufficient to resolve the complex energy problem.

We are concerned that this country may be lulling itself into a false sense of security as a result of the present international oil glut. It is vital, therefore, that this Administration provide leadership and a sense of urgency to the American public if we are to succeed in minimizing our exposure to cutoffs of oil supplies and to ruinous cartel prices. The proposed dissolution of the Department of Energy is another signal to the American public and to other oil-consuming nations that U.S. energy security is no longer a top national priority.

To the extent that the U.S. reduces its oil imports, it clearly provides additional availability of oil to other nations. If the U.S. develops and makes available alternative energy supplies such as synthetic fuels, coal, nuclear and non-depletive energy sources, it provides an alternative to the importation of oil by all countries and provides broader supply choices worldwide.

To achieve this aim, the American Jewish Committee believes, requires multifaceted and consistent policies. Although market forces can increase energy production and conservation, we do not believe that market forces alone can resolve the complex U.S. energy problem. Sound national energy policy is a key element in national security. It can be aided by the marketplace, but the market place does not put a value on the investment needed for national security. That is government's role.

The Administration's report to Congress -- National Energy Plan (July 1981) -- breaks sharply with past policy by suggesting that cuts in oil imports may

not be in the best interest of our country. The report seems to ignore the real cost of dependence in terms of national security, U.S. foreign policy independence and the economy. It ignores the cost in U.S. dollars flowing overseas and U.S. jobs lost to foreign markets.

The American Jewish Committee believes that certain elements of the plan should be modified and some other initiatives, not provided for, should be pursued.

Conservation

The Administration should take the lead in recognition of conservation as a legitimate and complementary approach for reducing the oil vulnerability of the United States. The American Jewish Committee believes that there must be an active government role in conservation programs. We believe that increased conservation of energy will have multiple payoffs and an anti-inflationary impact. We believe that the use of market forces will be beneficial in reducing energy use, but we also believe that there must be government assistance where the private sector and market forces cannot do the job and that, moreover, market enhancing mechanisms such as requiring individual metering in new construction and limiting the ability to pass on energy charges to tenants may accelerate conservation and the switch from oil to alternative sources. Furthermore, utilities may be able to aggregate the home conservation market more effectively than individual home owners and should be encouraged to become a major force for conservation. The American Jewish Committee also believes that tax credits and tax incentives for conservation retrofitting will result in increased energy savings and will be deflationary in the long run.

Liquid Synfuels Demonstration Projects

In testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives, Edward Noble, Chairman of the U.S. Synthetic Fuels Corporation, said that the Administration will require only 13 billion dollars of the 66 billion dollars envisioned by the Congress for synthetic fuels development. We believe that the development of synthetic fuels will require a much deeper government commitment than that proposed by the Administration and that it would be very short-sighted to allow current budgetary consideration to jeopardize long-range U.S. national security.

While some synthetic fuels and other alternatives may be more costly to produce now, over time and with improved technology, many alternatives are likely to be less expensive than imported oil. It is vital, we believe, to look at the energy problem from the long-range and not only in terms of short-range economic interest. Lead times for development of liquid synfuel demonstration projects and non-depletive alternatives such as solar and geothermal are long and the economic feasibilities are uncertain. The private sector considers these projects as potential responses to a national energy emergency and therefore a public responsibility.

The shale and methanol programs should continue to be supported by the Synthetic Fuels Corporation which must be properly staffed and supported so that it can accomplish its important purpose.

Natural Gas Deregulation

AJC believes that there should be immediate removal of restrictions on end uses of gas but that we should limit more rapid deregulation of gas prices at the wellhead. The inflationary burden of the current schedule for deregulation is already substantial. There is gas available which should be utilized to minimize oil consumption. The price differential

between oil and gas helps to encourage switches from oil to gas. If gas supplies appear to be adequate future deregulation of wellhead gas found at lesser depths than 15,000 feet should be considered.

Nuclear

Higher priority should be given to the expeditious completion and licensing of new nuclear plants, subject to a regulatory process that provides for safe nuclear power and control of nuclear waste.

Western Hemispheric Energy Development and Development in LDCs

The American Jewish Committee recommends international energy policies aimed at encouraging Western Hemispheric energy development and production in other parts of the world that serve the strategic and social purposes of the U.S. We need to re-examine with the energy-producing countries in the Western Hemisphere the impact of their energy policies on the economic health of the OECD. We are encouraged by the Administration's recent negotiations with Mexico.

The American Jewish Committee recommends the removal of the inhibitions on the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Company (OPIC) that prevent it from being effective in accelerating energy production in Argentina, Venezuela, and the Andean countries; support of expanded lending capabilities of multilateral institutions for energy production in the Lesser Developed Countries (LDCs); and renewed efforts to negotiate with the Canadians a mutually beneficial agreement on energy.

Strategic Petroleum Reserve

The American Jewish Committee is also encouraged by the Administration's increased rate of fill for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve and believes that

it is essential that there be no interruption in maximum filling of the reserve. We believe that the SPR must receive continued funding and, if need be, that it be a top item in the defense budget -- where it belongs.

Maynard I. Wishner, President

Harris L. Kempner, Jr.
Chairman of the Energy Committee

October 23, 1981

Approved in principle by the
Executive Committee (7/21/81)



DAVID GELLER



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 23, 1981

to Area Directors

from David Geller

subject Background Notes on the Situation in Lebanon

As we sweat out this very difficult period involving the situation in Lebanon and Israel-U. S. relations, we thought it would be helpful to share with you some materials and some background notes.

In general, we are maintaining a low profile, that is, AJC is not issuing any official statements. Bert Gold, who was approached by the press, confined his remarks to an expression of anguish over the deaths of innocent civilians; the callousness of the PLO in placing their headquarters and training centers in civilian areas; the importation by the PLO of new and sophisticated equipment which has helped them augment their terror campaign against the northern settlements in Israel; a hope for the success of the U. S. attempt to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The following background notes were prepared by Lois Gottesman, a research analyst in the Middle East division of our Foreign Affairs Department:

1. While any civilian casualties are deplorable, the fact is that the PLO's policy has been to attack civilians only, while Israel has struck at military targets.

2. The Lebanese casualties are the result of the fact that the PLO deliberately locates its operations and headquarters in civilian areas.

(c. 8,000)

3. Many more Lebanese civilians have been killed by Syrians and Palestinians (in Zahle, for example) than by Israel military action. Yet there has been no UN action and little outcry.

4. The July 17 raid was motivated in large part by the news that the PLO has been receiving huge amounts of new, highly sophisticated and very deadly weapons: cluster Katyushas,

/...over/

130 mm cannons, modern tanks, from the USSR, Libya and Syria. With these weapons the PLO are able to hit Israeli targets from behind (i. e. north of) the Litani River.

5. Almost 1,000 shells and rockets have been fired at 25 settlements and towns in northern Galilee since July 15. The towns of Nahariya, Kiryat Shmona and Metullah were each hit by more than one hundred shells.

6. There has been much opposition to the presence of the PLO in South Lebanon expressed by many Lebanese and individuals both inside Lebanon and in the U. S.

7. The Soviet Union is at least indirectly, if not directly, involved through its support for its client Syria (both military and political) and the large-scale arming of the PLO. U. S. pleas to Moscow to restrain Syria on the issue of the missiles have been ignored.

8. So-called "moderate" Arab states such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait support both Syria and the PLO with funds and also with weapons. The Saudis recently announced a new donation to the PLO of \$20 million, this in addition to their regular contribution to the Palestinians, as well as their support of the Arab Deterrent Force -- the term for the Syrian army of occupation in Lebanon.

9. Statements of support for the PLO by government leaders in the West and the refusal to condemn them explicitly for their actions have led to the feeling among the PLO that they are free to carry out their campaign with impunity.

DG/e1

#81-560-6

July 21, 1981

Bertram H. Gold

David Geller

Beirut Bombing

Al Chernin, Phil Baum, Ken Jacobson and I met today with Uri Bar-Ner who shared with us the following information.

During the last several weeks of Habib's mission, the PLO's announced strategy of changing their emphasis from diplomatic to military activity was being implemented. After failing to penetrate into the Israeli borders, since the April 7th attack on Misgav Am, they began a policy of increased massive bombing across the border into the northern communities in Israel. These bombings were evidence that new equipment in large quantities were being sent to the PLO from the USSR through certain Eastern European countries and from Syria and Libya. These new weapons included "cluster-Katyushas," 130 mm long-range cannon and 80 modern tanks (T54s and T55s). This new equipment enabled the PLO to engage in accurate bombing from behind the Litani River. Israeli Intelligence determined further that the tanks were being readied to be used further south in the area patrolled by UNIFIL and the area controlled by Hadad. By moving in this new artillery the PLO had gained control of an area from Damur, north of the Zaharani, down to the Litani River. They also strengthened their positions in the area patrolled by UNIFIL.

In January 1981 at the Arab Conference the new strategy of reliance on military activity was affirmed, and on July 12th Farrouk Kaddouni, in an interview in the Lebanon, repeated the call for increased military action. This action consisted primarily of massive bombings in the northern Israeli settlements in an attempt to undermine daily normal life. All of these operations were controlled and directed from the section of Beirut which had been taken over by the PLO. (Even Lebanese soliders are not allowed in that area.)

The Israelis hit three targets in the PLO-controlled area. These were (1) the headquarters of the PLO, (2) the headquarters of PFLP, and (3) the PLO intelligence school. There were several reasons for the decision to bomb these headquarters. One of them was based on the experiences in Tyre and Sidon. When those headquarters had been hit, the civilians in the area had forced the PLO to leave. The most recent intelligence seems to indicate that there have been similar demands made after the strike in Beirut, especially after the report that the PLO had forcibly taken over several apartment buildings in Western Beirut to

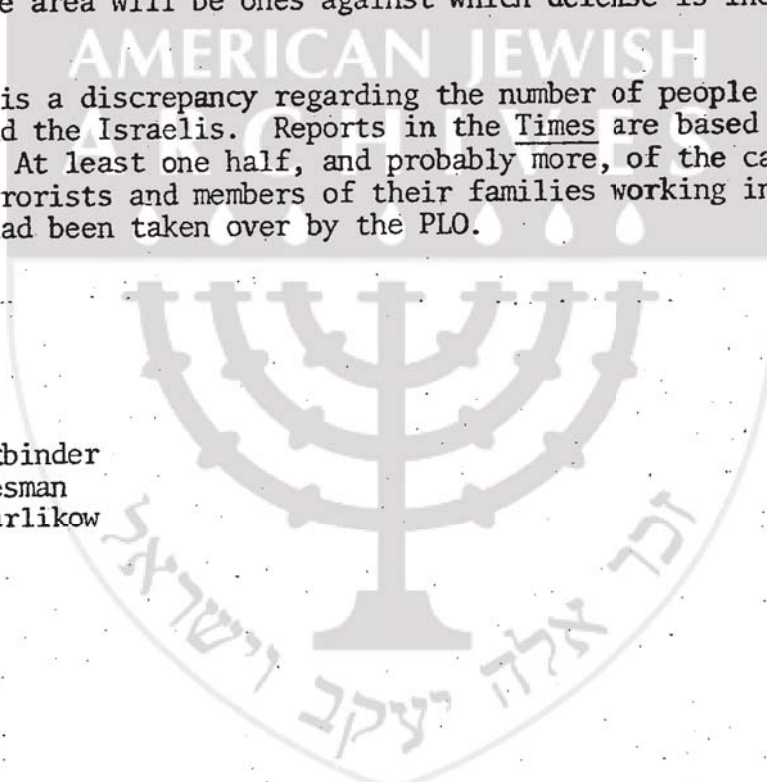
serve as their new headquarters. (This action was condemned by Selim al Hoss, a previous prime minister of Lebanon.) A second reason was to send a sure message that the PLO would not be allowed to bring their newer weapons into play in southern Lebanon with immunity. Thirdly, the raid has hit the morale of the PLO and there are reports that Arafat has had to send special messages to his men in the south, urging them not to desert.

The recent call for a cease-fire confronts Israelis with a great dilemma. In all previous cease-fires the PLO has used the time to re-group and re-arm, and it is feared that they will do so again. Furthermore, the Israelis recall that the agreement under which they removed their troops from southern Lebanon (1978) was quickly broken by the re-introduction of terrorist units, often with the connivance of some members of UNIFIL. Also, the weapons that will now be brought into the area will be ones against which defense is increasingly difficult.

Finally, there is a discrepancy regarding the number of people killed between the Lebanese and the Israelis. Reports in the Times are based solely on Lebanese sources. At least one half, and probably more, of the casualties were Palestinian terrorists and members of their families working in the West Beirut enclave which had been taken over by the PLO.

DG/es

cc: Hyman Bookbinder
Lois Gottesman
Abraham Karlikow



July 19, 1981

"ISRAEL STRIKES IN LEBANON"

WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

- - - - -

No Jewish leader with whom I have spoken over this weekend has reacted with anything but anguish and unhappiness over the televised reports showing Palestinian children and civilians suffering in the wake of Israeli military strikes into Lebanon. The lives of Palestinian children are no less precious than the lives of Jewish children and those of other members of God's human family.

But Jewish leaders are equally distressed over the brutal callousness to the value of Palestinian lives demonstrated by Yasir Arafat and the PLO who have consciously, cynically installed guerilla training centers and ammunition depots in the very center of Palestinian refugee camps. The PLO has cruelly made Palestinian civilians into hostages for their terrorist campaign to destroy Israel.

Last year, the former President of Lebanon, Dr. Charles Malik, told me with tears in his eyes, "Lebanon invited the Palestinians as guests, and the PLO has repaid our kindness by destroying our country, especially the Christian population. We want the PLO out of Lebanon."

It is clear to any concerned person that this cycle of destruction must come to an end before more innocent children - Jewish and Palestinian - are needlessly wasted. But only the PLO can break that cycle, and it can and must do so by giving up its declared pogroms of terrorism and campaign to destroy Israel. Then the peace process can replace the killing madness.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

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Beyond Beirut

It would have been hard for the Reagan administration not to reach the decision it did on delaying shipment of F-16 fighters to Israel in the wake of the Beirut raid. Clearly the latest raid, with its large number of presumably civilian casualties, is far more troublesome than the surgical destruction of Iraq's atom bomb facilities, over which the administration had already once suspended the fighter shipment. But at least the administration's explanation was explicitly not tied to one raid but to the deteriorating situation in the Middle East, which reflects a growing sensitivity to what actually is going on.

There is a war going on, after all, or perhaps more accurately several of them. The PLO is fighting Israel. The Syrians are fighting the Lebanese Christians. The Soviet Union is, if not fighting, maneuvering to undercut the strategic position of the U.S. Nothing that hasn't been going on for more than a generation. But the last phase of fighting had been ended with the Syrian invasion of Lebanon and a *modus vivendi* with the Israelis, who refused to accept any PLO or Syrian forces in the southern part of that unhappy nation. The Middle East is back in the headlines because over the past few months that understanding has gradually been breaking down.

Exactly how it began to unravel is sort of a chicken-and-egg question. The Syrians will claim the Israelis started it all by shooting down two Syrian helicopters in late April (the Israelis did this to support besieged Christian forces). The Israelis will claim the Syrians started it when the Syrians moved SAM-6 missiles into central Lebanon's Bekaa valley. In any event, the spiral of war was soon spinning, with the Syrians moving troops south of the so-called "red line" and Israel flying strikes deeper into Lebanon and threatening to attack the missiles directly unless Damascus removed them.

It was along about here that President Reagan launched the Habib mission. The idea was to try to solve the "missile crisis"—as the newspapers were by then calling it—by diplomatic means. To the degree that this was the purpose of the Habib mission it was probably folly. We would most likely be in less trouble today if Mr. Reagan had tapped Mr. Begin on the shoulder

and offered support for whatever he decided to do about the missiles, including taking them out by air strikes. But after the American diplomatic effort was under way, a failure to find a diplomatic solution would look like Israeli disregard for Washington's call for restraint.

One party from whom the U.S. is seeking restraint, meanwhile, is the Soviet Union, and none is forthcoming. On the contrary, the Israelis claim Moscow has been underwriting a major weapons buildup in Lebanon throughout the crisis, a buildup that was probably launched in the early weeks of the Reagan administration, if not before. Incoming to PLO forces in Lebanon: 130mm. howitzers, T-54 and T-55 tanks, BM-21 portable launchers that can fire salvos of 40 rockets at a time more than 15 miles and a highly mobile missile called the SAM-9.

These kinds of weapons are going to the same organization that slaughtered Israeli women and children at Ma'alot and Israeli athletes at Munich. They are arriving at a time of increased PLO attacks against northern Israeli settlements. In this contest, Mr. Begin decided to go after the PLO operations center in the hopes of disrupting its command and demonstrating that the PLO shelling will continue to have a cost. This may very well have been a mistake, especially given Israel's sensitivity over attacks on its own civilians. But considering the continuing war, and considering the PLO tactic of protecting its headquarters with a shield of civilians, it strikes us as a decision any Israeli leader might make.

This doesn't mean there isn't a moral question that derives from the Israeli attack on a heavily populated neighborhood. Such questions always exist, even in wars, as the continuing discussion of the bombings of Coventry by the Germans or Dresden by the Allies many years ago makes clear.

But in a struggle of the type that is occurring in Lebanon, where even the most wholehearted efforts at bringing about peace are often thwarted by forces that are more interested in, and feel they have more to gain by, perpetuating war, it is important for any U.S. administration to keep its balance as the level of emotion rises.

NEW YORK POST

RUPERT MURDOCH Publisher and Editor-in-Chief
ROGER WOOD Executive Editor
KEN CHANDLER, JOHN CANNING Managing Editors
BRUCE ROTHWELL Editorial Page Editor
STEVE DUNLEAVY Metropolitan Editor

It takes two to make a ceasefire

7/22/81

Once again it appears as if Secretary of State Haig and some of President Reagan's advisers believe that a Middle East peace is entirely up to Israel. They seem to overlook that it takes two to make a ceasefire.

In announcing indefinite suspension of delivery of U.S. jet fighter bombers, Haig and presidential counselor Edwin Meese both sought to mute any tone of ultimatum or threat. And both emphasized our historic relationship with Israel.

But — and what a but — in Haig's words, "the situation has escalated to such a degree the President felt it would have been highly inappropriate to send armaments into the area."

For good measure, he added: "Clearly the future level of violence will have a very special impact" on Reagan's eventual decision.

Both Haig and Meese explicitly avoided any one-sided anti-Israel rhetoric.

But the message was clear enough despite the guarded language: the jet shipments are being made conditional on a halt in Israeli military activity — especially on the scale of the Beirut bombing.

But what message was being sent to the other side of the coin: the PLO and its overt and clandestine backers in the Arab world?

Come to that, what message was being sent to Russia whose arms have played not a small part in this continuing and much to-be-lamented

Middle East conflict? Even Israel's harshest critics in the West have never denied that the major instigators of Mideast violence are the PLO terrorists fanatically committed to Israel's destruction.

③ WILL suspension of U.S. shipments to Jerusalem reduce PLO intransigence?

③ WILL it bring the PLO terrorists any closer to acknowledging Israel's right of survival?

③ OR WILL it increase their arrogant defiance and even embolden them to believe — despite all disclaimers — that Washington's ties with Israel are unravelling?

When did aggressors respond to appeasement in any other way?

No wonder Prime Minister Begin told Reagan's peripatetic envoy Philip Habib yesterday that he could not guarantee immunity to the PLO bases in the Lebanon but that of course Mr. Habib was free to seek a ceasefire there.

A crucial key to any hope of a durable Mideast peace is a quarantine of the PLO and the emergence of responsible voices.

Only then can Israel be plausibly expected to take seriously admonitions for restraint and responsiveness.

As long as Arafat and his gunmen receive open or furtive encouragement from Western as well as Arab places, they will cling to dreams of total victory. And there will be no peace.

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RUPERT MURDOCH Publisher and Editor-in-Chief
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7-21-81

Israel delivers a sad but necessary message

Amid all the foreseeable rhetoric that has followed the Israeli raid on Beirut, PLO leader Yassir Arafat's words may be the most revealing. "We are in a state of war with Israel," he declared.

There is indeed — and long has been — such a state of war, affirmed time and again by the PLO leader who refuses to recognize Israel's right to exist and has dedicated his legions to its destruction.

It is a war in which Lebanon continues to serve as a sanctuary for the PLO terrorists, armed by a rising flow of weapons from the Soviet bloc and Libya, with Syrian collusion.

None of these circumstances diminishes the tragedy of lost civilian life in Beirut. The victims are classically innocent casualties of a conflict in which their country has been entrapped — by geography and the irresolution of its own leadership in dealing with the PLO bandits.

But a world that mourns these latest additions to the melancholy chronicle of suffering in the Middle East cannot, and should not, try to find easy answers in a new surge of anti-Israel self-righteousness.

History did not begin with the raid on Beirut.

For a long time it has been PLO strategy to locate key bases in civilian areas, in effect using the Lebanese as cover for their vicious terrorist campaign against Israel.

Now the Begin government has unleashed a major counter-offensive. Grim as the consequences are, the method has proved an effective last resort in the past.

In 1975 — four years before Camp David — Egypt took steps to curb PLO operations on its territory.

Early in the 1970s, Jordan ousted the guerrillas.

Syria, still fiercely hostile to Israel, prohibits the use of its own land as a base for PLO raids, but aids and abets the flagrant use of Lebanese territory.

The Israelis contend that the Beirut action was dictated by intelligence indicating PLO plans for "stepped-up operations" from their Lebanese citadels. There is nothing in the PLO's record of systematic violence to question that claim — and everything to justify it.

Nevertheless, the air is full of questions. Why did the Israelis choose this moment to escalate their pre-emptive moves? Why not wait until the delayed U.S. F-16s had been delivered, and avoid a new dilemma for the Reagan Administration? Why provoke fresh problems for the harassed Habib mission?

The questions are asked not only by Israel's long-time detractors but by deeply troubled citizens within and beyond Israel.

They cannot be lightly thrust aside. But neither can they be made an excuse for the quick and easy adversary judgment by some politicians and editorial pages, here and in other countries, including, of course, the *New York Times*, now continuously hostile to Israel's cause.

Take the U.S. plane shipments. . . would those who attack the timing of the Israeli counter-attack have been more — or less — understanding if it had occurred a week later? Would not the same voices be even more indignant, accusing Israel of deliberately masking its intentions until the new planes were in hand?

As to the other uncertainties, much remains to be known. What really happened in last week's meetings between Robert G. McFarlane the State Dept. counselor, and Prime Minister Begin?

McFarlane, it will be recalled, was the official who spoke out with unequivocal wrath after the Israelis destroyed the Iraq reactor — and whose intemperate tones were quickly modified by President Reagan himself. He is generally known as a leading State Dept. advocate of a hard line toward Israel.

Was McFarlane the right man for this sensitive mission to Jerusalem? Or did his demeanor aggravate Israeli fears of an unfavorable tilt in Washington?

Meanwhile, another spasm of anti-Israel frenzy can be heard in the halls of the United Nations. But such oratorical exercises can scarcely mean much — neither here nor there and certainly not in Jerusalem, where the UN's anti-Israel double standard long ago deprived it of any moral impact.

The anguish of Beirut is another heartbreaking chapter in the unending agony of the Middle East.

But as long as the PLO vows its crusade of extermination against Israel, no country that harbors its terrorist bands can be immune from reprisal.

It is being said that Israel's action has undermined the "moderates" in the Arab domain. But where are these moderates? Since Egyptian President Sadat undertook his momentous initiative, he has been an isolated figure, a target of continuing attack from most Arab leaders. If there are those who share his vision, they still choose to stand silent and let him voice, alone, the courage of their convictions.

There can be no quarrel with the Administration's effort to achieve a cease-fire before the violence reaches unpredictable dimensions. What has happened imparts even greater urgency to the Habib quest for renewal of the Camp David initiative.

It may well be that this process will require new flexibility and responsiveness from the Begin government to fortify Sadat.

As long as the rampages of the PLO go on, however, without any joint reaction from the international community, Israel cannot be expected to live by special rules of order.

It cannot survive on "moral victory" while terrorists' rockets rain on its soil.

If that is the message it has transmitted, that may be more meaningful in the long run than the latest wave of high-minded piety it must now endure.

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CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

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Vol. 8 No. 3

MIDDLE EAST MEMO

THE WAR IN THE NORTH

Operating from bases in Canada, a band of terrorists sets out to destroy the United States. They pour hundreds of Soviet-made rockets into the Northern U.S., raining death and destruction on Ithaca, Buffalo and Rochester. Washington decides to remove this threat to the safety of its citizens and orders aerial attacks on the terrorist headquarters in Ottawa and outposts in Toronto and Montreal. Because the terrorists issue their orders not from military camps but from apartment houses and other places where women and children congregate, the civilian toll of dead and wounded is regrettably high. The terrorists cry foul, accuse the United States of waging an "inhumanitarian war" and insist on the right to continue their struggle. One of their commanders, in an interview, boasts of "hundreds of millions of dollars" worth of SAM-7 and SAM-9 antiaircraft missiles, heavy artillery with a range of 20 miles and rockets capable of firing 15 miles.

Only the names have been changed in this description of the latest outbreak of hostilities between Israel and the terrorist PLO. The fundamental facts of the situation remain:

1. There is only one cause of the fighting: The PLO vow to "purge the Zionist presence from Palestine" (Article 15, Palestine National Covenant). The destruction and the casualties would cease in a minute if the PLO abandoned its plan for wiping Israel off the map.
2. The PLO serves Moscow's purposes in keeping the Middle East in constant turmoil. In return, the Soviets and their allies offer lethal weapons, military training and political support. The latest PLO attacks used arms supplied by Syria, Libya and the USSR. These countries, along with the Arab oil producing states that provide financial sustenance to the PLO, must share responsibility for the PLO's actions.
3. The PLO is neither a government nor an army, but a collection of terrorist gangs that have despoiled the peaceful land of Lebanon by turning it into a base from which to carry out their war against Israel. Earlier this year, President Elias Sarkis of Lebanon appealed to Islamic leaders to halt PLO military activity in his country. His plea was ignored.
4. Two strategies characterize the operations of the PLO: the mingling of military forces in civilian populations and the unhesitating use of terror not only against "Zionists", but

...OVER

against Palestinians who differ with them. In February, 1978, following Anwar Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem, there was a series of PLO murders in the Ramallah area; the most notable victim was Abdul-Nur Janho, killed one day after he announced his willingness to go to Egypt at the head of a delegation supporting the peace initiative. In June, 1979, Shiekh Hashem Huzendur was assassinated by the PLO in Gaza after he indicated support of the Camp David Accords. Late last year the deputy head of the Jabalya council, Mohammed Abu Warda, was murdered when he challenged PLO tactics. This is how the PLO achieves "popular identification" with the Palestinian refugees.

5. The "moderate" Yasser Arafat, chief of the PLO, also heads Al Fatah, the largest component of the PLO which, at its meeting in Damascus last year, declared its purpose in these words: "Fatah is an independent national revolutionary movement whose aim is to liberate Palestine completely and to liquidate the Zionist entity politically, economically, militarily, culturally and ideologically." This is the enemy against whom Israel now defends itself.

All those who yearn for the day when Arab and Jew alike may live in peace, in dignity and in security deeply deplore the loss of civilian lives on both sides of the border. Israeli officials have publicly expressed regret at casualties resulting from the Beirut bombing. (The PLO, by contrast, regularly boasts of its killings of Israeli women and children.) For the Jewish people, whose faith holds that even one life is as precious as the entire world, the escalation of violence in recent days is particularly troubling. That is why it is important to understand the root causes of the conflict -- and to identify those responsible for its continuation.

7/23/81

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 12, 1981
to All Concerned
from Marc Tanenbaum
subject LISTING OF SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS AND MEETINGS FOR BALANCE 1981 AND IN 1982

<u>DATES</u>	<u>PLACE AND SUBJECT</u>
9/13-15/81	Los Angeles, National Conference of Religious Leaders on Crime and Delinquency
9/20	New York, IIA Commission Meeting
9/21	New York, AJC Board of Governors
10/6	Washington, D.C., Meetings and Broadcasts with Jimmy Allen, Senator Hatfield, James Dunn
10/11-12	Norfolk, Va., AJC Meeting on New Christian Right with Inter-religious Community, Meeting with Rev. Pat Robertson of Christian Broadcasting Network
10/15	St. Louis, AJC Fund-raising
10/22-25	Houston, NEC
10/26-29	Milwaukee, AJC & National Workshop on Jewish-Christian Relations.
(10/27)	(Meeting with Vatican Secretariat of State, Rome???)
10/29-11/1	Princeton, NBC Meetings and Seminars on: MORAL VALUES AND MASS MEDIA
11/3	Montreal, Rabbi Sternberg (psnl)
11/4-6	Philadelphia, Council on Holocaust Meeting
11/6-8	Cleveland, National Council of Churches Board Meeting
11/9	Syosset, (psnl)
11/22	Chattanooga, (psnl)
11/23	Chicago, AJC fund-raiser Young Leadership Luncheon

more....

LISTING OF SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS AND MEETINGS FOR BALANCE
1981 AND IN 1982

<u>DATES</u>	<u>PLACE AND SUBJECT</u>
12/1/81	Bergen County, NJ, AJC Chapter
12/2-9	Arnoldshain, German Education Conference (Vatican-IJCIC Geneva, 12/3??)
Jan '82	Stony Point, Methodist-Jewish mtg?
1/26-29	Kentucky, Methodist-Jewish mtg???
2/4-6	Fort Ord, CA, Address Chaplains Corp.
2/16-18	San Francisco, Mtg. with Southern Baptists
2/19	Youngstown, Ohio, Psnl
2/22	Louisville, JCRC????
2/28	Orange City, CA, Psnl.
3/22	New York, AJC Bd of Govs.
3/23	Detroit, Shaare Zedek, Psnl.
4/23	Providence, psnl.
6/17-24	Jeusalem, Holocaust and Genocide Conference.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 1, 1981
to Area Directors
from Seymour Samet
subject Hispanic - Jewish Relations

At a Chicano-Jewish dialogue which was held in Colorado in August we were once again impressed with the positive potentials of this developing relationship. As anticipated, we do not agree with them on all issues and on some they seem to have internal disagreements or have not yet developed policy.

It is apparent that the Hispanic leaders are increasingly focussing on political organizations and strengthening or creating their own Hispanic coalitions. One such is the Forum of National Hispanic Organizations. This is the largest and most influential of these groups and is currently chaired by Manuel A. Bustelo, president of the National Puerto Rican Forum, a social service organization based in New York. A roster of the constituent organizations is enclosed for your information.

Founded in 1975, the Forum of National Hispanic Organizations is a united front of organizations representing nationwide constituencies. Its goals include creating a national focal point for the unified expression of Hispanic concerns, increasing cooperation and communication among Hispanic organizations, ending discrimination against Hispanics and encouraging the development of national leadership among its membership.

Also enclosed is a copy of a memorandum from Haskell Lazere in which he describes some of his activities with the large Puerto Rican population in New York. I would appreciate any similar reports on your own activities or Hispanic developments in your area.

SS/ea

enclos. 1) Roster of constituent organizations
2) Memo from Haskell Lazere

cc: SAC
DAD
J. Kovadloff
G. Rubin

81-800-66

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

date June 19, 1981
to Ira Silverman
from Haskell L. Lazere
subject Activities with the Hispanic community

For several years I have maintained a network with the Puerto Rican organizations in New York City, meeting with them either in coalitions or individually as issues arose. In December of 1978, we attempted to strengthen the relationship through informal meetings at my home of seven or so Hispanic "leaders" and an equal number of people from my Executive Board. We spent a sociable evening talking about how the Jewish and Hispanic groups could work more closely together on issues of common concern. One of the things we agreed to was that the Chapter should put together a study mission of a week's duration to visit Puerto Rico where the Puerto Rican Forum would arrange for us to meet with various government officials, including the Governor, so that our folks could get a better understanding of the problems of the Island and, as a consequence, perhaps have a better understanding of the Puerto Rican community in New York. Repeatedly the Puerto Ricans told us that Puerto Rico was "our Israel."

We also decided that following that mission, we would put together a similar mission for Puerto Ricans to go to Israel. The mission never got off the ground despite our pushing and there were a variety of reasons for it.

Some months after the initial meeting, we wrote a stinging letter to the New York Post complaining about an editorial in which the Post had defamed Puerto Ricans. The letter was reproduced in El Diario and other Spanish-language publications and resulted in Jacobo making a good connection with the editor of El Diario where he had been unsuccessful in the past.

The next activity was in conjunction with David Ochoa who was then with Channel 4 and led to Jacobo being introduced by Ochoa to "Latinos In Comunicacion." Interestingly enough, we were the bridge that put Ochoa, who is Chicano, together with Manuel Bustelo, Director of the National Puerto Rican Forum and now the Chairman of the Hispanic National Council.

Luis Alvarez, who is the Director of the National Urban Fellows, and I have met several times, again for the purpose of putting together a working coalition on common problems. One outcome of that was, again, a dinner meeting at my home for some twelve of us (and a different cast of Hispanics, this time including Cesar Perales and Victor Marrero). Issues agreed upon as common ground involved extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and joint action re: the Reagan budget cuts. Alvarez at a subsequent meeting also tried to push us into voter registration and politics (New York City).

While these meetings were taking place, still other meetings were being convened by the American Jewish Congress to include Cubans, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans - again to talk about building closer relationships between our communities and some kind of a continuing coalition. I must emphasize that while international issues were raised by Victor Marrero, the group at the Congress were vigorous in steering clear of those issues. At this writing, there are further meetings scheduled at the national level, as well as the local level and all of them are still seeking a workable formula for coalitional activity. At this juncture, locally we are focusing on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and particularly as it applies to the enlargement and redistricting of the New York City Council. Sam Rabinove has now been requested by us to work closely with Perales to develop a statement on which both groups can agree, possibly at a news conference in the not too distant future.

Some observations:

1. There is a strain that has run through several of the discussions which indicates that the Hispanic and Jewish coalition is either to be a substitute for the former Jewish-Black coalition or a buffer against the Blacks.
2. While that exists, in New York through the Urban Coalition, Puerto Ricans, Blacks and Chinese have put together a loose federation for voter registration and political purposes. The federation's director is Carlos Russell, a Panamanian who was bounced from the faculty of Brooklyn College and who is an apologist for Idi Amin and a real Third Worlder. Both the Blacks and the Puerto Ricans know it, but are still hopeful that he can deliver registration, etc.
3. There are several layers of Puerto Rican leadership in New York and no one organization has ties to all of them. There are individual and/or organizational spokespersons and while there is a crossover at fund raising and social events of the business, professional and organizational types, there does not appear to be any one type of a unifying force. The biggest, however, and most influential in terms of budget and direction is the National Puerto Rican Forum. Even Herman Badillo is no longer regarded as a leader of the community although he knows and is known by all. What I am saying is there doesn't appear to be one focal point and the political strains are such that doing business with one group can result in offending others.
4. The problems of the Chicanos and Cubans are not shared by the Puerto Ricans and there is jealousy which is sensitive.

I have drawn some tentative conclusions from all of this information and experiences. One conclusion is that we have to proceed with one issue and/or project at a time on an ad hoc basis. Secondly, I think we are going to have to approach the working relationship in a somewhat different fashion than in previous coalitions -- for example, try to put together some peer relations, lawyers with lawyers, doctors with doctors, etc. That will increase our outreach from the organizational relationship into other areas in the community. Third, I think we can involve some of the more prominent individuals on some advisory committees and/or consultation whether set up as a means of achieving expanded thinking by us or just for some cross fertilization. That would apply to Blacks as well. Last, but not least, I think we still have to attempt the mission operation if we can. If we expect our friends in the Hispanic communities to speak out on issues like AWACS or the PLO, we have to be prepared first to speak out supportively on their issues -- and doing so could very well offend some of our community -- depending on the issue.

Sorry for the length of this memo, but I wanted to get it all down.

HLL:eak

cc: James G. Greilsheimer
Seymour Samet





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DAD
SAC
Korad

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May, 1980

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Dr. Miguel Sandoval

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 8, 1981

to Area Directors

from Harold Applebaum

subject Arms Sale to Saudi Arabia

cc: Hyman Bookbinder
Eugene DuBow
Bert Gold
Abe Karlikow

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Congress must respond to the proposed sale of AWACS and other advanced weapons to Saudi Arabia by October 30th. Although a majority of both Houses has expressed initial opposition, the Administration is conveying its resolve to fight for Congressional approval. (Please note that the sale can be abrogated only by a vote of disapproval by both Houses.)

It appears that the critical vote will take place in the Senate, and reports of softening commitment by some Senators who had previously indicated opposition to the AWAC sale are already beginning to circulate.

Despite the possibility that a compromise may be achieved, a major effort to win a vote of disapproval is being mounted.

THE ROLE OF CHAPTERS

Appropriate action should be given priority status at the next meeting of your chapter Board. You may want to consider organizing a special Board Task Force to coordinate the chapter's activities:

We urge you to include the following suggestions in your plans:

1. The support of non-Jewish influentials is essential, and you should reach out to officials of state and municipal government, leaders of political party organizations, clergy, ethnic leaders, prominent businessmen, academics and professionals.

It may be possible to arrange a press conference announcing the formation of a community anti-AWACS coalition. Members of the coalition should be prepared to address public meetings and sign op-ed pieces and/or letters to the editor.

2. Media support should be solicited, including editorials and commentaries.
3. Needless to say, the chapter should provide full cooperation for CRC-generated anti-AWACS activities.

AVAILABLE MATERIAL

Many articles and editorials have been published making the case that the sale is contrary to American security interests. These include:

/over/

*"The Middle East: Carterism Without Carter," featured in September's Commentary.

*"Island of Instability" by Frank Gervasi, appearing in the September issue of Harper's.

*"The U.S. Military in Saudi Arabia: Investing in Stability or Disaster?," a bulletin published by the Center for Defense Information.

Published by AJC and previously distributed to Area offices:

*15 Questions and Answers on U.S. Arms for Saudi Arabia.

*The Debate on U.S. Arms for Saudi Arabia: A Summary of Arguments For and Against the Sale of AWACS and Other Equipment.

*"Why AWACS and Their Top Secret Equipment Must Remain in American Hands," a Foreign Affairs Department Background Memorandum.

Twenty-five copies of the Tucker and Gervasi articles will be mailed to you under separate cover. The CDI bulletin and the AJC-prepared material has previously been sent.

We can supply you with additional copies of all of the above-mentioned pieces except the CDI bulletin.

FINALLY

We will keep you informed as best we can about shifts in sentiment within the Congress. Any information coming to your attention should be shared promptly with both CSD and the Washington office.

Please keep us informed about chapter activities, including:

anti-AWACS coalition efforts
contacts with Members of Congress
local editorial comments and media coverage

HA/br

#81-310-74

Harold

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 14, 1981
to Area Directors
from Marc H. Tanenbaum
subject Prime Minister Begin, Rev. Falwell, and U.S. Christians

It may be of interest and some usefulness to you in your contacts with Christians to have the following information about Prime Minister Begin's visits with the Rev. Jerry Falwell and U.S. Christian leaders.

During his several recent visits to this country, Prime Minister Begin invariably singled out the Rev. Falwell as his primary or only contact with American Christians. While we share Begin's views on the importance of cultivating Evangelical-Fundamentalist support of Israel, AJC felt that it was not wise to ignore in such public ways the representative leaders of the Roman Catholic, mainline Protestant, "mainstream" Evangelical, and Eastern Orthodox Christian communities.

During weeks preceding the Prime Minister's visit to the U.S., we counseled with the Israeli Embassy in Washington about the importance of Begin's taking seriously the mainstream Christian community by meeting with some of their leaders, in addition to meeting with Falwell.

The Embassy agreed with our views and arranged for two meetings this weekend; on Friday, Begin met with Falwell, and on Sunday he met with Catholics, Protestants, and Evangelicals involved in the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel, headed by our good friend, Dr. Franklin Littell, of Temple University.

In anticipation of these two meetings, the Israeli Embassy asked us to prepare a draft statement for possible use by Prime Minister Begin as a gesture of friendship toward the entire American Christian community. A copy of that draft statement is enclosed.

The Prime Minister's aides redrafted that statement, keeping in mind internal Israeli politics, but preserved essentially the main lines of our statement. A copy of Begin's statement issued by the Embassy is also enclosed. This is believed to be the first time during the past four years that Begin has made such a gesture to the Roman Catholic, mainline Protestant, Evangelical and Eastern Orthodox leadership in America.

While the results were not as positive as we had hoped, we look upon this as a valuable first step in consciousness-raising of Israeli authorities in widening their outreach to the millions of potential supporters of Israel among America's 130 million Christians who are as important to Israel as the Moral Majority in the long-run.

over...

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

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TELEX 289876	GMR/ra			

Geneva, September 22, 1981

To: Members of IJCIC

From: Gerhart M. Riegner

I am sending you enclosed for your information copy of a declaration of the Council of Churches in the Netherlands on anti-Semitism and Christian-Jewish relations, which was adopted by the Council at the end of May of this year.

I think it is an important declaration as it tries to reply for the first time to some of the recent criticism concerning Israeli politics and Jewish attitudes in this respect.

I should add, confidentially, that I have been several times consulted in this matter.

Best regards.

Gerhart M. Riegner

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 17, 1981

to Marc Tanenbaum

from Zach Shuster

subject World Council of Churches Guidelines

This morning I spoke to Dr. Allan Brockway about our National Executive Council meeting in Houston and I told him that we are considering adopting a resolution expressing appreciation of the WCC Guidelines adopted in London. He said that it is a very good idea and would be helpful in the process of bringing the Guidelines to a successful conclusion through the various stages at the WCC.

He also informed me that he is planning to take part in the Sixth National Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations in Milwaukee and he will arrive in Washington, D.C. on October 12th.

I told him that Krister Stendahl has agreed to address the NEC in Houston and I mildly inquired whether it would be possible for him to attend the Houston meeting in case it fits in with our meeting program. He said he would be delighted to do it and asked that either you or I get in touch with him about it within the next few days.

At the same time, I asked him what the next steps are that the Guidelines have to go through before final adoption and he informed me of the following:

The text of the Guidelines will be reconsidered by the Commission on Dialogue of Living Faith which is to take place in December 1981 in Indonesia. I asked him whether it would be desirable for Jewish representation to be there. He said that he had discussed it already with Dr. Riegner and that he himself feels that it would be unnecessary for a Jewish person from Europe or North America to come for this occasion for he feels confident that the Commission on Dialogue will not make any changes in the text that was adopted at the London meeting. Afterwards the Guidelines will be discussed by the WCC Executive Committee meeting in February 1982 which will take place in Geneva. Then, there are two possibilities, either the decision of the Executive Committee will be the final act in this entire process after which the Guidelines will be distributed to all affiliated churches or it will be forwarded to the Seven-year Assembly which will be held in Vancouver in 1983. He believes that the adoption by the Executive Committee will be the final act and no further steps will be necessary.

He can be reached at his home in Geneva this week at 49-33-03.

ZS:mr

cc: Judy Banki

file

GUIDELINES FOR JEWISH-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People
World Council of Churches

Historical Note

At its meeting in Jerusalem, June 20-23, 1977 the CCJP began the drafting of Guidelines for Christian-Jewish dialogue. The Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People (CCJP) had at that time drafts and study papers from various study groups in various countries from which a joint document was prepared by a committee. This document became the basis for further work and revisions. The International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC) was invited to submit comments and did so at the Liaison and Planning Committee (LPC) meeting in Geneva in February 1979. An Ad Hoc Committee of the CCJP gave further attention to the draft in March 1980. In order to produce a more coherent document the present draft has been restructured, but incorporates the basic content of the earlier drafts.

During this process WCC Guidelines on Dialogue (1979) were commended to the member churches "for their consideration and discussion, testing and evaluation, and for their elaboration in each specific situation" (Central Committee, Kingston, Jamaica, January 1979). The following document is a Draft of Guidelines, constituting such an elaboration for the specific tasks of Jewish-Christian dialogue.

PREFACE

- 1.1 "One of the functions of dialogue is to allow participants to describe and witness to their faith in their own terms. This is of primary importance since self-serving descriptions of other peoples' faith are one of the roots and pre-judice, stereotyping, and condescension. Listening carefully to the neighbours' selfunderstanding enables Christians better to obey the commandment not to bear false witness against their neighbours ... (WCC Guidelines III:4, p.17-18).
- 1.2 This groundrule for dialogue has particular and specific implications for Jewish-Christian dialogue, due to the way in which Christianity emerged out of Judaism. Thus Christianity came to define her own identity overagainst that of Judaism. In the process the Church developed her own definitions, understandings and terms for what she had inherited from Jewish traditions. Thus the need for seeking in and through dialogues the answer to the question how the Jews understand themselves becomes more urgent.
- 1.3 Due to this process the average bible-reading and worshipping Christians often believe that they "know Judaism" since they have the Old Testament and records of Jesus' debates with Jewish teachers and the early Christian reflections on Judaism of their times.

- 1.4 Thus, no other religious tradition is as thoroughly "defined" by the Church, as is Judaism. Therein lies the special need for Jewish-Christian dialogue, i.e. the seeking and the listening to how the Jewish community "describe and witness to their faith in their own terms".
- 1.5 In Jewish-Christian dialogue it often becomes clear that, in a certain sense, an understanding and interpretation of Judaism is an integral part of Christian theology. But, from a Jewish perspective, a theological understanding of Christianity is not of essential or integral significance. This lack of congruity between these two communities of faith must be recognized in Jewish-Christian dialogue. It cannot surprise us that Jews resent Christian theologies in which they as a people are assigned to play a negative role in the schemes of Christians. The step is not long from such patterns of thought to overt acts of condensation, persecution, and worse - as history demonstrates over and over again.
- 1.6 Central to the specific relationship and the different self-definitions of Judaism and Christianity is the fact that what is the Bible to the Jews is also the Bible to Christians - but not the whole Bible. To them it is the Old Testament to which the writings of Evangelists and Apostles have been added as the New Testament. Thus the Bible of the Jews and the Old Testament of the Christians are the same and yet different. The Christian terminology came to dominate Western scholarship, also in the term "intertestamental literature", or in the term "Spätjudentum". This latter term ("Late Judaism") has the unfortunate connotation that Judaism comes to an end with Christianity and the Post-Biblical time from 150 BCE - 150 CE is the end of Judaism, as far as Christians are concerned.
- 1.7 It is important for the dialogue to aim at a terminology - scholarly and otherwise - which does not bear the marks of the interpretation of one of the partners. Toward that end - and for the purpose of consciousness - raising - we shall use in this document terms like The Hebrew Bible, the period of the Second Temple, BCE/CE.
2. ANTISEMITISM
 - 2.1 Christians cannot enter into dialogue with Jews without ashamed awareness of Christian antisemitism and its long and persistent history. The WCC, in the Assembly at which it was constituted (Amsterdam 1948) condemned antisemitism: "We call upon all the churches we represent to denounce antisemitism, no matter what its origin, as absolutely irreconcilable with the profession and practice of the Christian faith."

Antisemitism is sin against God and man". This appeal has been reiterated many times. The WCC Assembly in New Delhi (1961) stated clearly that in Christian theology the responsibilities for the Crucifixion of Jesus "must fall on all humanity, not on one race or community. Jews were the first to accept Jesus, and Jews are not the only ones who do not yet recognise him".

- 2.2 It is necessary that Christians face honestly the tragic history with regard to the Jews - a history which includes events like Crusades, Inquisition, Pogroms and Holocaust. It is only by facing this history that Christians come to understand the deep-rooted suspicion that many Jews up to today hold against Christians and Christianity while Jews remember with gratitude acts of compassion from Christians, the persistent potential of Christian antisemitism remains a threat. It is a lamentable fact that large parts of Christendom have been guilty of antisemitic attitudes and acts. Christians are called upon to fight, with all the resources at their disposal, antisemitism, especially since it shows increase in many parts of the world.
- 2.3 Christians in parts of the world that have had little Jewish presence recognize the importance of the Hebrew Bible for Christian faith and life. They do not wish to be burdened by the weight of Western history and theology, but rather want to explore in their own ways the significance of Jewish-Christian relations, from the earliest times to the present, for their life and witness. Evenso, those who live in the parts of the church which have a record of anti-semitic acts feel duty bound to make known to all Christians the history of anti-judaism and antisemitism.
- 2.4 We must be especially attentive to those traditional convictions which have furthered antisemitic stances and attitudes on the part of Christians. Attention should therefore be given to the following points: Judaism should not be presented as a kind of anachronism after the coming of Christ: the Jews are a living people, very much alive in our present time as, for instance, the establishment of the State of Israel shows. Neither should the impression be given that the Church has superseded the Israel of old. The Jewish People continues to be God's People, for God is not unfaithful to those whom he has chosen (Rom. 11:29). As long as Christians regard Israel only as preparation for Christianity, as long as Christians claim the validity of God's revelation to them by negating the validity of God's revelation to the Jewish People, Judaism is denied any theological validity, and it becomes impossible to maintain a common ground for our common hope.
- 2.5 The Christian reponse to the Holocaust must be a resolve that it will never happen again. Christian teaching of contempt for the Jews and Judaism was spawning-ground for the evil of the Nazi Holocaust. We must ask ourselves: In what specific ways can the lessons of the Holocaust be taken

seriously by Christian churches and theologians? We must learn so to preach and teach the Gospel as to make sure that it will never again be used by the enemies of the Jewish People. The Christian churches must be in the forefront of any efforts to prevent any conditions which might lead to another slaughter of the people with whom God formed the covenant.

The Holocaust must lay to rest forever the Christian fable that the sufferings of the Jewish People are a judgment of God. The time has long since come for the Church to cease passing judgments on other faiths and people by holding an absolutist tradition or theology that in any way appears to sanction persecution of others. God's love and compassion do not permit us to attribute to him the wounds of body and mind that have been inflicted on the Jews.

If the above misrepresentations and misunderstandings are to be counteracted, a constant critical review of all church teaching, preaching and liturgy is necessary. Some churches have done such reviewing, others not yet.

3. UNDERSTANDING OF JUDAISM

- 3.1 Dialogue is a meeting with "the other". There is no substitute for Christians meeting with Jews and understanding them in their distinctiveness as Jews. Such knowledge is by far the best safeguard against antisemitism, old and new.
- 3.2 Dialogue is a programme for relationships. Christians have to listen to Jews defining themselves - listening as equal partners in a conversation from which the power dimension has been removed. The disputations of mediaeval times between Christian and Jewish theologians, which were organised from time to time, were never held on a footing of equality.
- 3.3 The often total ignorance among otherwise well educated Christians about the history of the Jewish People after the fall of the Temple of Jerusalem (70 CE) has contributed to the feeling that Judaism dried up when Christianity entered the scene of history. But Christians should be aware of the vibrant and continuing development of Judaism in post-biblical times. Between the first century and today there has been an enormous output of Jewish religious and philosophical literature and commentary. European Jewry was virtually destroyed by the Nazis; it is little short of miraculous that the destruction of six million Jews should have been followed by the reconstruction of Jewish life with its special points of focus in Israel, America, and to a certain extent in Western Europe.
- 3.4 Knowledge of Jewish history and spiritual achievements together with the meeting with contemporary Jews will make us better able "to compare equal with equal". Just as Christianity has a long history of development so has

Judaism. We should not compare contemporary Christianity with our image of ancient Israel.

- 3.5 The negative image of the Pharisees found in much Christian preaching and writing remains one of the gravest distortions of Judaism prevalent in Christianity and spread by Western literature into many other parts of the world. It was from the Pharisees that Jesus learned the Golden Rule, from them comes the belief in resurrection.

Pharisaism was a dynamic religious movement that brought renewal to Judaism in the time of the Second Temple. The Pharisees were the only ones who had the religious vitality necessary for surviving the catastrophe of the fall of the Temple and to build the structures by which the Jewish People could survive 2000 years of exile.

Jesus' debate with the Pharisees is a sign that they were the ones he took seriously, to them he addressed - like the prophets of old - his critique of the foibles of any religious establishment, a critique which has many parallels within Pharisaism itself and within its heir, Rabbinic Judaism. Whatever the Pharisaic movement was - it was not an empty, legalistic system, but a dynamic and creative movement - as the later history of Judaism has shown.

- 3.6 In reading and interpreting the New Testament we must constantly remember that Jesus was a Jew. He lived and taught among the Jews. His teaching belongs to the Judaism of his time. Therefore, the conflicts and controversies reported in the New Testament must be seen as taking place within a framework which he not only shared with fellow-Jews, but by which he identified with his people. When the words of Jesus were used by Christians who did not identify with Israel but used them against "the Jews", they became weapons in anti-Jewish polemics, and thereby their original intention was distorted.
- 3.7 We must guard against tendencies to portray Jews or Jewish groups as negative models. The truth and beauty of Christianity cannot be enhanced by setting up Jews or Judaism as false and ugly. Likewise the witness of the Hebrew Bible should not be portrayed as less authoritative or normative than the New Testament. It is central to the tradition which our Lord accepted as his own and which he reaffirmed as He interpreted it in his life, work and thought. The judgment and the redeeming love of God should be presented as existing from Genesis to Revelation.
- 3.8 We both believe in the one God, Creator of all that is, bound to humankind in grace and love. We both believe in the one God who has made his will for us known to us and who wants that all turn to God, know God and worship God.

We both believe that God has created men and women as crown of creation, that as such they are called to be holy, are

given stewardship in God's name over the creation and are accountable to God for the way they exercise this stewardship.

As Christians and Jews we are taught by our scriptures to know ourselves responsible for our neighbours, especially for those who are weak, poor, persecuted.

Christians and Jews have a common hope, looking forward to the fulfilment when this earth will be renewed, all suffering be done away with and God's will shall be victorious in all realms and respects. In this ultimate hope they work here for greater righteousness, trusting that all deeds of justice will not be in vain.

- 3.9 For us Christians the gifts that we have received from God through the Jews include Jesus Christ our Lord. It is through him that we are linked to this common faith in God, this obedience to God's revealed will, to common hopes for a redeemed world in justice and love.

In the history of the Church as it became for all practical purposes a Gentile community, we have learned to express our gratitude to Jesus Christ in ways that strike the Jews as strange. In our dialogue with the Jews we shall attempt to understand better what we so confess, as we are equally reminded of our common faith in the one God whom both we and they call upon in daily prayers as Father.

4. AUTHENTIC CHRISTIAN WITNESS

- 4.1 Proselytism, as distinct from Mission or Witness, is rejected, in the strongest terms by the WCC: "Proselytism embraces whatever violates the right of the human person. Christian or non-Christian, to be free from external coercion in religious matters, or whatever, in the proclamation of the Gospel, does not conform to the ways God draws free men to himself in response to his calls to serve in spirit and in truth." (Ecumenical Review 1/1971, a study document of the Joint Working Group between the R.C. Church and the WCC, p. 11).

We now realise more than ever before that the world in which we live is a world of religious pluralism. This demands from us that we treat those who differ from us with respect and that we strongly support the religious liberty of all.

- 4.2 This rejection of proselytism and our advocacy of respect for the integrity and the identity of all peoples and faith communities is the more urgent where Jews are concerned. For, as stated above, our relationship to the Jews is of a unique and very close character. Moreover, the history of antisemitism among Christians and forced baptisms of Jews in the past makes it understandable that Jews are rightly sensitive towards all religious pressures from outside and all attempts at proselytising.

- 4.3 We reject proselytism both in its gross and more refined forms. This implies that all triumphalism and every kind of manipulation are to be abrogated. We are called upon to minimize the power dimension in all encounters with the Jews and to speak at every level from equal to equal. We have to be conscious of the pain and the perception of the others and have to respect their right to define themselves.
- 4.4 We are called upon to witness to God's love for and claim upon the whole of humankind. The witness to Christ as Lord and Saviour, however, is challenged in special ways where Jews are concerned. It has often become discredited as a result of past behaviour on the part of Christians. We therefore are seeking authentic and proper forms of Christian relations with Jews. Some of us believe that we must bear witness also to the Jews. Some among us are convinced that the Jews' faithfulness and obedience to God do not depend on their acceptance of Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour. Some of us maintain that as a separate and specific people the Jews are an instrument of God with a specific God-given task and, as such, a sign of God's faithfulness to all humankind on the way towards ultimate redemption.
- 4.5 Through the history of the Church there have been communities of Jewish Christians/Christian Jews who see themselves called to a specific witness to Christians, to Jews and to the world. They retain their identity with Jewish Law and calendar, language and liturgy while affirming Jesus Christ as their Messiah and Saviour. Their claims have raised questions both among Jews and Christians. According to Rabbinic Law they are not accepted as Jews. Among Christians they have been accused of not recognizing fully the oneness in Christ of Jews and Gentiles.

Other Christians of Jewish origin have chosen to identify with the Church without such specific identification with Jewish tradition. Among them some consider themselves part of the Jewish people which they hold in high esteem, but give their witness to Jesus Christ without distinction from their Gentile sisters and brothers.

It is important for Jewish-Christian dialogue that both of these perspectives be recognized as part of the full Christian spectrum.

5. THE LAND / STATE OF ISRAEL

- 5.1 We are reminded again of the World Council of Churches' "Guidelines on Dialogue", which state that "one of the functions of dialogue is to allow participants to describe and witness to their faith in their own terms". We recognize that this guideline is of particular significance with reference to a feature of Jewish self-awareness which is often misunderstood by Christians: the indissoluble bond between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel, which has in the present time, after

many centuries of exile, found social, cultural, economic and political expression in the reality of the State of Israel. Failing to acknowledge the right of Jews to return to the Land prevents any fruitful dialogue with them. Christians are, therefore, called to examine their theology and history of their own faith on this point during any serious Jewish-Christian dialogue on the meaning of the State of Israel.

- 5.2 Although this Land has also special significance for Christians, as it was here that Jesus Christ was born and lived, worked and taught, suffered and died and was resurrected, and thus has a quality of holiness for them as well, they often find it difficult to fully grasp the validity of the Jewish attachment to this land. Not seldom they depreciate this attachment as "particularistic", contrasting it with the "universalistic" thrust of the Christian message. Such a view does neither justice to the particular nor to the universal elements in Jewish no less than in Christian understanding of the Holy Land. Too easily Christians, particularly of Western traditions, take their own distinctions between faith and nationality, church and state, religion and politics for granted and expect Jews to subscribe to them, thus creating a hindrance to a genuine understanding of the significance of the State of Israel for Jews both in Israel and in Diaspora. That Jews disagree among themselves as to the meaning of this significance, only emphasizes the Christian need to enter and maintain serious dialogue with representatives of all shades of opinion in contemporary Jewish life. Such dialogue may prevent Christians from falling into false stereotypes about the Jewish people, the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel.
- 5.3 We believe that the claims of the Jews to the Land of Israel can be reconciled with the claims of others, especially Arabs, who know this land as "Palestine", and that a solution can and must be found which does justice to both nations.

6. FUTURE WORK

- 6.1 We are aware that the questions dealt with in this statement do not cover the whole area of Jewish-Christian encounter. We express our hope, moreover, that contributions to work in the future will increasingly come from Christians in Africa and Asia. We are very much aware that the differences of opinion among us demand further study.
- 6.2 Our dealing with these issues will show that in our thinking about Israel and the Jews very important and vital tenets of our Christian faith are at stake. Is it too much to hope that Christians and Jews may live in creative tension, enriching and encouraging each other, despite the appalling record of the relationship between the two communities over the centuries?
- 6.3 Consultations between Jews and Christians should be encouraged

in which the basic convictions and differences of their respective faiths are discussed not merely in the hope of a better understanding of the faith of our partners and an enrichment of our own faith, but also in the hope of reaching a common understanding of the nature of divine revelation and thus healing the breach which exists between the Jewish People and the Church.

- 6.4 Christians and Jews share with other believers the conviction that all people, regardless of race, religion or nationality are equally God's children and equally precious in His sight. This conviction is based on a concept of God as Creator of the universe, who continues to care for his creation, whose mercies are over all His creatures. Such common concept of God should unite believers in trying to understand each other and in caring for God's creation, including nature and all creatures.
- 6.5 The past has all too often been a time of alienation, even bitterness. Happily today we have entered into a new stage of conversation. The present contains seeds of hope that under the same one revealing God, Jews and Christians will fulfill God's purpose of bringing justice, peace and holiness to the whole human family.



AN UPDATE ON THE FALASHAS: 1980 — 1981 (5741)

Group of American Jewish Leaders Join Jewish Agency in Forsaking the Black Jews of Ethiopia

September, 1981

Dear Concerned Friends,

Never have we witnessed such blatant callousness on the part of certain "major American Jewish leaders" to the cries of an oppressed community as we have this year in the case of the Ethiopian Jews.

In Spring, 1981, just after we saw handfuls of Falashas reach Israel until their numbers there reached 1,200, the entire immigration apparatus, little as it was, collapsed. **Since May, 1981, only 7 Falashas have arrived in Israel.** These were all relatives of one brave veteran Israeli Falasha who went to Africa himself to rescue remnants of his family.

On March 12, 1981, a Council of 6 leaders of Falasha organizations in Israel wrote a strong statement to American Jewry delivered through the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC) Committee on Ethiopian Jewry. This NJCRAC committee is charged with looking out for the interests of Ethiopian Jews for most Jewish Federation Councils and such organizations as B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Congress, Hadassah, American Jewish Committee, the major synagogue movements, etc.

The requests of the Falasha leaders were quite simple and reasonable. In essence, they were asking for a *sign* that both Israel and the American Jewish Community were making the rescue of their brethren a high priority. "The fate of our people," they wrote the NJCRAC, "now resides in your hands."

What has happened since that letter was written? American "leaders" accepted the Jewish Agency's excuses that the rescue operation could not be speeded up. Rather than be concerned about the 20,000 Falashas remaining in Ethiopia, or the 2,400 barely surviving in Africa's refugee camps where many are dying of measles, dehydration and malnutrition, these American "leaders" seem satisfied with a token Falasha immigration of less than 1,000 over the past two years. In addition, they continue to ignore the fact that even this limited rescue operation was initiated only because the concerned membership of the AAEJ employed a non-Jewish relief organization and mercenaries to start the program.

The NJCRAC "leaders" even lacked the compassion or courtesy to respond to the impassioned March 12 letter from the Falasha Council in Israel. At the same time, the international B'nai B'rith organization published a major article: (a) denying the tragedies that have befallen the Jews of Ethiopia despite the preponderance of first hand evidence; (b) ignoring the Falashas' situation in the refugee camps; and (c) recommending that we should: (1) visit Ethiopia as tourists; and (2) not encourage the Falashas to immigrate to Israel.

Most of the other organizations state that they "take their directions regarding action on the Falashas from the NJCRAC," and thereby hide behind the apron of that do-nothing organization. As of August, 1981, the AAEJ has officially withdrawn from our association with the NJCRAC.

On the other hand, a few outstanding organizations have added their voices to that of the AAEJ in making Jews aware of the plight of the Falashas. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations published a powerful issue of *Keeping Posted* on the Falashas. The American Mizrahi Women co-sponsored with the AAEJ an American tour of Israeli Falasha Elias Mati. The American Sephardi Federation remains active, as do the Community Relations Councils of Los Angeles, Boston, Seattle, New Haven and Washington D.C. If I have omitted a few active organizations, please inform me of their activities and pardon my oversight. For the most part, however, such leadership comes from dedicated editors and staff workers, and not from the "top brass."

To fill the void left by most of the Jewish establishment, chapters of Pro-Falasha groups are springing up all over the USA, and our sister organization in Canada, the Canadian Association for Ethiopian Jews, has become extremely active. In Israel, a very strong Pro-Falasha group, Aguda Leman Yehudim Yotzei Ethiopia, has formed.

Yet, to this date, virtually all the information on the status of the Falashas released to American Jewry comes from the offices of the AAEJ. When we cease publishing news releases, hardly a word appears about the Falashas in the Jewish press. When we cease sending out posters and materials to synagogues and organizations, then they receive no materials.

IN SUMMARY, our "leaders" have let us down. When it comes to rescuing the Jews of Ethiopia, their actions are no better than those of leaders of the rest of the world who are providing little help to the suffering people of Africa's refugee camps and starvation areas. In short, they are not living by those principles which we Jews have struggled for 5,000 years to preserve.

HERE IS WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. *Write to leaders of your Temple, organization, Jewish Federation, and of Israel and ask what they have done and are doing regarding the rescue of the Jews of Ethiopia.*
2. *Write to your congressman and senators and ask them to either persuade the Israeli government to have its Jewish Agency increase the immigration of the Falashas, or aid HIAS bring the Jewish refugees of Ethiopia to the USA.*
3. *Demand that your Federation and UJA offer the same aid to the Jews of Ethiopia that they have given quite properly to Soviet Jews and Cambodian refugees.*
4. **Contribute your tax-deductible dollars to the AAEJ — which still has no paid staff or rented office — so that we may continue our informational program in the USA and our \$75,000 scholarship and absorption program in Israel. The latter development has been one of the few bright spots in pro-Falasha activities during this dismal year.**

Sad as it is to state, in the USA the Falasha presently have only the 7,000 grass roots members of the AAEJ on whom they can count on. Please continue your generous support and activities. May 5742 be a good year for you, for Israel, and for the Jews of Ethiopia.

Sincerely and Shalom,



Howard M. Lenhoff
President, AAEJ, and
Professor, Univ. of California

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.

COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN JEWISH RELATIONS

COMMITTEE GUIDELINES

I. PURPOSES AND FUNCTIONS

- A. To establish and strengthen relationships between the Council and the Jewish community and to serve as a forum and meeting ground where Jews and Christians can meet and share common concerns.
- B. To assist and encourage Jews and Christians to engage in dialogue and cooperation through advocacy and by providing information and human resources to assist in these efforts.
- C. To encourage and facilitate relationships and cooperative action between representative bodies of the Jewish community and units of the NCCC and the denominations related to the NCCC.
- D. To relate to the Faith and Order Commission of the NCCC in developing theological perspectives on Christian-Jewish relations, and in exploring the implications of Christian-Jewish relations for Christian theology.
- E. To develop an overview and a long range strategy in Christian-Jewish relations that is based on explicit goals, that has assessed the available resources, and that has developed a plan and a program to reach those goals.
- F. To serve as a liaison with existing programs in Christian-Jewish relations of the denominations related to the NCCC.
- G. To coordinate communication of information about and concerns in Christian-Jewish relations; to collect and disseminate information about conversations, dialogues, consultations, seminars, persons and programs in Christian-Jewish relations.
- H. To serve as liaison and, when requested, as facilitator for working groups made up of those interested and concerned with special issues, items of strategy, theological and other research, study and action.
- I. To serve as a resource for interfaith and ecumenical councils as requested.
- J. To serve as a recourse for the General Secretary of the NCCC and for the Executive Committee and the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches.
- K. To provide a point of contact for the World Council of Churches Committee on the Church and the Jewish People.

- L. To relate to the Middle East desk and the Christian-Muslim Task Force in the NCCC for the purpose of advancing understanding among Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the U.S.A.

II. AFFILIATION

- A. The Committee on Christian Jewish Relations is an official Committee of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
- B. The Committee is administratively located in the Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism (CORLE) of the NCCC. As such the Office on Christian Jewish Relations is part of the CORLE Commission budget and its Rules of Organization shall conform to the CORLE Commission.

III. MEMBERSHIP

A. Voting Members

1. Two representatives designated by each member denomination of the NCCC.
2. Two representatives each from any non-NCCC member denomination choosing to participate in the work of the Committee on Christian Jewish Relations subject to the approval of the Committee.
3. Two representatives designated by the Commission on Faith and Order of the NCCC.
4. Two representatives designated by the Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism of the NCCC.
5. Two persons representing local interfaith or ecumenical councils, upon invitation of the Committee.

B. Non-voting Members

1. Representatives of selected Jewish agencies having offices or programs in interfaith relations, upon invitation of the Committee.
2. Consultants, upon invitation of the Committee.
3. Individuals requesting membership on the Committee, subject to the approval of the Committee.
4. Ex-officio members, including the NCCC General Secretary, the Associate General Secretaries of the Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism and the Commission on Faith and Order and the Directors of the NCCC Middle East Desk and the NCCC Task Force on Christian Muslim Relations.

IV. OFFICERS

- A. The Officers of the Committee shall be a Chairperson and a

Vice Chairperson elected from among the voting members of the Committee.

B. Officers shall be elected at the beginning of each triennium and shall serve for a term of three years.

C. Officers shall be nominated by the Nominating Committee of the Committee on Christian Jewish Relations.

V. ACCOUNTABILITY

The Committee shall be accountable to the NCCC Governing Board through the Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism (CORLE)

VI. STANDING COMMITTEE

A. There shall be a Standing Committee consisting of the Chairperson, the Vice Chairperson and three additional voting members of the Committee, nominated by the Chairperson and approved by the Committee, for a term of one year.

B. Ex-officio members of the Standing Committee without vote shall include the Director of the Committee, the Director of the NCCC Middle East Desk and the Director of the NCCC Task Force on Christian Muslim Relations.

C. The Chairperson of the Committee shall chair the Standing Committee.

D. Three voting members of the Standing Committee shall constitute a quorum.

E. The Standing Committee shall work with the Director of the Committee in the implementation of programs, projects and other actions of the Committee, but shall initiate no new programs. The Standing Committee shall assist the Director in developing responses to crises which may arise between meetings of the Committee. It shall report its activities to the regular meetings of the Committee.

VII. OTHER COMMITTEES

Sub-committees on Finance, nominating, and other appropriate concerns of the Committee shall be appointed by the Chairperson as necessary, subject to the approval of the Committee.

VIII. EXECUTIVE STAFF

The policies and program established by the Committee shall be carried out by the Director of the Committee. The Director of the Committee is responsible administratively to the Associate General Secretary of CORLE and programatically responsible to the Committee. The Director of the Committee shall be selected by a Search Committee named by the Committee, and including one representative from CORLE.

IX. MEETINGS

The Committee shall normally meet at least three times a year. An executive session of the Committee, consisting of only the voting

members, may be called at the discretion of the Officers of the Committee and in accordance with the rules of the NCCC. At all meetings, a quorum shall consist of one-third of the voting members.

X. AMENDMENTS

These Rules of Organization may be amended at any regular meeting of the Committee, provided that the proposed amendments have first been approved by either the Standing Committee or a full meeting of the Committee and then distributed to all members at least one month prior to the meeting at which they are to be voted upon.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 16, 1980
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Martin Raffel *m/arty*
subject NCC Statement on the Middle East — Meeting with Representatives of the Penna. Southeast Conference — United Church of Christ

PN
 We met with representatives of the UCC on October 14th to discuss the revised draft of the NCC Statement on the Middle East. While there were five UCC participants, only two were worth noting — Rev. Dr. John Shetler, Chief Executive of the Conference and Dr. Peter Doghramji, Director of the Conference's Church and Society Program. Dr. Doghramji is an Armenian who grew up in Syria. The Conference Moderator, Carl Spence, who is a member of the NCC's Governing Board, had to cancel at the last moment. However, the session was taped and Dr. Shetler assured us that Spence will hear the tape prior to the NCC meeting.

The day before our meeting, I spoke with Inge about the revised draft and the points worth raising. I believe we managed to cover most of the issues at the meeting, with most of the discussion revolving around the PLO's entrance into the document, the UN's lack of credibility in the area, and generally the flexibility demonstrated by Israel in its withdrawal from the Sinai and recognition of legitimate Palestinian rights within the framework of Camp David.

Dr. Doghramji did most of the speaking on behalf of the UCC. He clearly has strong pro-Arab bias and, at one point, began to argue Israel's de jure recognition was cast in doubt because of her disregard for U.N. Resolutions on the rights of the Palestinians. He strongly argued for the addition of the PLO as a party to negotiations and explained that PLO extremism is really a product of Israeli intransigence and refusal to recognize Palestinian aspirations. He also expressed concern for the plight of the Christian community in Arab countries. Doghramji claims that the Middle East Council of Churches has been forced to identify with the Arab positions in order to survive in predominantly Islamic societies.

Although he seldom spoke out, Shetler expressed support for several of our key positions. Prior to the meeting he confided in me that, unlike Dr. Doghramji, he is a strong supporter of Israel.

I think Dr. Shetler was really the key person here. I am hoping that he will positively influence Carl Spence, the Governing Board member. Shetler also promised to write a personal letter on the issues raised by the document to the National President of the UCC as well as to the NCC. We will be receiving copies of his correspondence.

more ...

To: Marc Tanenbaum:

October 16, 1980

As I mentioned to you on the phone, a meeting on the NCC Statement with several leaders of the American Baptist Center in Valley Forge has been tentatively scheduled for October 23. Once I find out who is attending, I will pass the information on to you.

MR:g

cc: Jim Rudin
Inge Gibel
Judy Banki
Seymour Piwoz
Edward Newman
Jules I. Whitman
Robert A. Fox
Harold Applebaum
Murray Friedman



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

October 22-25, 1981

Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

THE POLITICAL PROCESS

A Background Memorandum

Recent new developments in the American political process are likely to affect the way Americans choose their public officials and have a far-reaching impact on our democratic system as a whole. The American Jewish Committee's Task Force on the Political Process examined these changes and their possible impact on the democratic process in general, and on American Jews.

David Cohen, former president of Common Cause, and the principal author of the Task Force report, points out that the rules pertaining to the political and electoral process can protect and enhance Jewish interests, or they can affect them adversely. Current political trends -- the diminution of party loyalties, the weakening of party machines, the proliferation of single-issue groups, the public financing of electoral campaigns, and possible changes in the Electoral College system -- raise serious problems for Jews, Cohen declares.

Political Parties: The Jewish community should be a forum for discussion on ways to make political parties important again, Cohen urges. Revitalizing the parties would strengthen competitive politics and the standing of politicians. Parties are one of the few cohering and mediating political institutions we have in American politics. The stronger the parties and the stronger the place of professionals in politics, the better protected Jewish group interests will be.

The Electoral College: Repealing the Electoral College and moving to a direct election system or other variation would undermine a system that gives Presidential candidates a powerful incentive to pay attention to Jewish and other minority interests, Cohen warns. The Electoral College increases the influence of minority groups. It places value on coalition, and that serves Jewish community interests, whether Jews vote largely for one candidate or divide their vote.

Voting Participation: From a Jewish viewpoint, says Cohen, it could be argued that since Jews vote in higher proportions to their number than the rest of the population, Jewish votes count for more when there is a low turnout. Therefore, why increase the turnout?

The drive for full participation has always characterized the Jewish experience in America and has led the Jewish community to do everything in its power to remove the barriers to voting for all citizens. Continuing the effort by working to overcome the remaining impediments would be a useful way for the Jewish community to champion the value of full participation in American governance.

Campaign Financing: Because campaign financing is so central to our ability to govern ourselves as a nation, it is incumbent on the Jewish community to be mindful of the complex problems it raises, Cohen argues.

Jews have a history of being generous contributors as individuals, and the natural impulse would be to advocate the simplest of changes -- increase the amount individuals may give to a candidate and the total that may be given to all Federal candidates, independent committees and political parties. While there is no doubt that individual contributions ought to be increased because inflation has both reduced the worth of the dollar and swelled campaign costs, it does not follow that Jewish group interests would be protected or enhanced by a massive flow of individual Jews spreading their largesse over House and Senate campaigns, or providing the seed money for a Presidential candidate. In an arms race atmosphere, individuals from groups inimical to Jewish interests would be unleashed as well.

Care should be taken, says Cohen, to avoid unintentionally offending allies by adopting positions that run counter to their interests. On the question of a free and secure Israel, for example, the Jewish community has had no stauncher ally than organized labor, particularly the AFL-CIO. No single issue will fracture this relationship. But a campaign finance system that only increases individual contributions and does nothing about PACs or creating an alternative financing system for House and Senate races is tilting the balance towards those who occupy the executive suite. Raising the contribution limit for individuals is not likely to expand the pool of contributors.

One option that has been advocated for Jewish interest is the creation of formal Jewish PACs, with an organized lobby that rewards and punishes through the use of money. This is a serious step that would endanger the political standing of the Jewish community without gaining any real benefits. It would divide the Jewish community over tactics when -- whatever its political differences -- it has been unified on issues that affect the Jewish community, such as the welfare and security of Israel.

Cohen maintains that there is another fundamental reason to object to the creation of a Jewish PAC. In opposing those who advocate the "Christianizing" of America, it is important not to engage in any activities that establish a litmus test for what is pro- or anti-Jewish in American politics. That is why Jewish groups or Jewish umbrella organizations do not publish their voting record, the staple of interest-group politics. (If PACs are created anyway, by self-generating Jewish groups that are not part of the formally organized community, the Jewish institutional reaction should be silence -- neither praise nor criticism, since such endeavors are constitutionally protected.)

The PAC system, with its powerful effect on fragmenting our national politics, adversely affects Jewish interests. What creates the problem with PACs and independent expenditures is that no alternative sources of campaign funding exist that would generate sufficient resources to wage competitive campaigns. A strengthened political-party system would be a major bulwark against PACs and independent expenditures, as would a system

of matching public funds with small individual contributions that enlarged the pool of contributors.

Constitutional Conventions and Amendments: Cohen argues that there is an overriding Jewish interest against holding a constitutional convention. If one were to be called, various ideological and issue forces would be unleashed. This is exactly the kind of situation Tom Driver had in mind when he noted, in "Hating Jews for Jesus' Sake" in the November 24, 1980 issue of Christianity and Crisis: "There is a rising anti-Semitism today among people who are very religious and very nationalistic. I am deeply troubled by this, most especially by the recurrence of anti-Semitism among Christians and its recent rapid growth among them." The threat goes beyond the Jews to other minorities in this country. That is why, Driver continues, "it is important to deal with anti-Semitism in right-wing evangelical Christianity and to search out its roots." The proposed anti-abortion and voluntary-prayer amendments could release the kinds of forces that Driver worries about.

The ideals of opportunity, full participation and fairness, Cohen concludes, all of which are part of the historic Jewish outlook, provide extraordinary opportunities to build alliances with other groups to promote common social issues, defend American pluralism and resist efforts to undermine the Bill of Rights. When pluralism is threatened by increasing divisiveness and growing public skepticism about the effectiveness of democratic institutions, it becomes especially important for Jews to make their voices heard.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What governance issues do you think are likely to have the greatest impact on the status and security of American Jews in the 1980s?
2. Do you think the recent changes in the campaign laws are good or bad for Jews?
3. How do American Jews differ from the single-issue interest groups that try to impose their views on the American political system?
4. Do you think there should be Jewish political action groups on a community and national level?

#81-100-111

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting
October 22-25, 1981
Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

THE HISPANIC COMMUNITY IN THE U.S.

A Background Memorandum

Hispanics have emerged as an increasingly important force on the American political and social scene. They are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States and have developed an extensive communal agenda. Moreover, their demographic patterns and policy goals are likely to lead them to frequent contacts with Jews in coming years.

At least 15 million people of Hispanic origin live in the United States. Four major groupings make up this population: about 60 percent are of Mexican origin; 15 percent come from Puerto Rico; 7 percent are of Cuban ancestry, most of them refugees from Castro; and 18 percent stem from other Latin nations. A key characteristic of all the communities is their closeness to the immigrant experience: more than 6 out of 10 were born outside this country's borders.

As important as the size of the Hispanic population is its geographical location. Most live in the Southwest, but there are also large concentrations in the industrial northern states and in Florida, primarily in metropolitan areas but with a growing suburban presence. Many American Jews live in the areas in which the Hispanic population is increasing, and the two groups will come into increasing contact as their residential patterns converge.

Hispanic Issues

In the past few years, Hispanics have become better organized and more articulate about a range of issues affecting their community, though they are by no means monolithic in their views concerning these issues.

Language: Attachment to Spanish is the one bond that unites all members of the Hispanic community. Surveys indicate that Hispanics see their language as one of the most important aspects of their tradition and are deeply committed to preserving it. In addition, many newcomers cannot yet function in English. These factors explain the community's strong support of bilingual education, and their demand that those who provide social services to the Spanish-speaking be competent in that language.

Immigration: Except for Puerto Ricans, who are Americans by birth, and therefore not subject to immigration restrictions, Hispanics maintain a keen interest in the immigration issue. They constitute the largest group of both legal and illegal entrants to the U.S. They vigorously endorse policies

permitting large-scale inflow and family reunification, and oppose harsh measures to deal with undocumented workers. The Cuban community, particularly, keeps close watch on developments in the refugee field.

Civil Rights: The Hispanic community in the U.S. feels that it is subject to a great deal of discrimination in employment and in the general society. Segments of this group have been staunch supporters of affirmative-action initiatives, including quotas, and most Hispanics are very eager for the extension of the Voting Rights Act, which recognizes literacy in Spanish.

Social Programs: While some Hispanics, especially in the Cuban community, vote Republican and support conservative policies, the great majority favor the continuation of social programs for the poor and aid to urban areas.

Education: Hispanics are strong proponents of quality public education, which they see as a major instrument for social and economic mobility.

Foreign Affairs: Most Hispanics remain vitally interested in the political and social events taking place in their native countries. Many have family and friends living in their lands of origin and follow developments there closely.

Hispanic-Jewish Relations

Hispanics and Jews will not always see eye-to-eye -- affirmative action quotas are one area where they disagree strongly. At several frank meetings between AJC representatives and leaders of the Hispanic community in various parts of the country, differences also surfaced regarding aspects of U.S. immigration policy, the goals of bilingual education, and even some foreign-policy issues. (And, of course, there are differences on these issues within both communities as well.) Nevertheless, the two groups have many interests in common. The American Jewish Committee has endorsed a number of programs important to Hispanics Americans.

- - While the two groups often disagree on the measures needed to curb undocumented migration, both support a generous U.S. immigration policy, including family unification and amnesty for undocumented workers within the context of adequate borders and other enforcement measures.
- - While rejecting the proposals of some Hispanics groups that their children continue to be instructed in Spanish in all subjects, even after they have learned English, the AJC (and some Hispanic groups as well) does endorse the use of native languages primarily as a vehicle for teaching English, and stresses the need for public schools to encourage respect for pluralism.
- - Jews and Hispanics both back the extension of the Voting Rights Act.

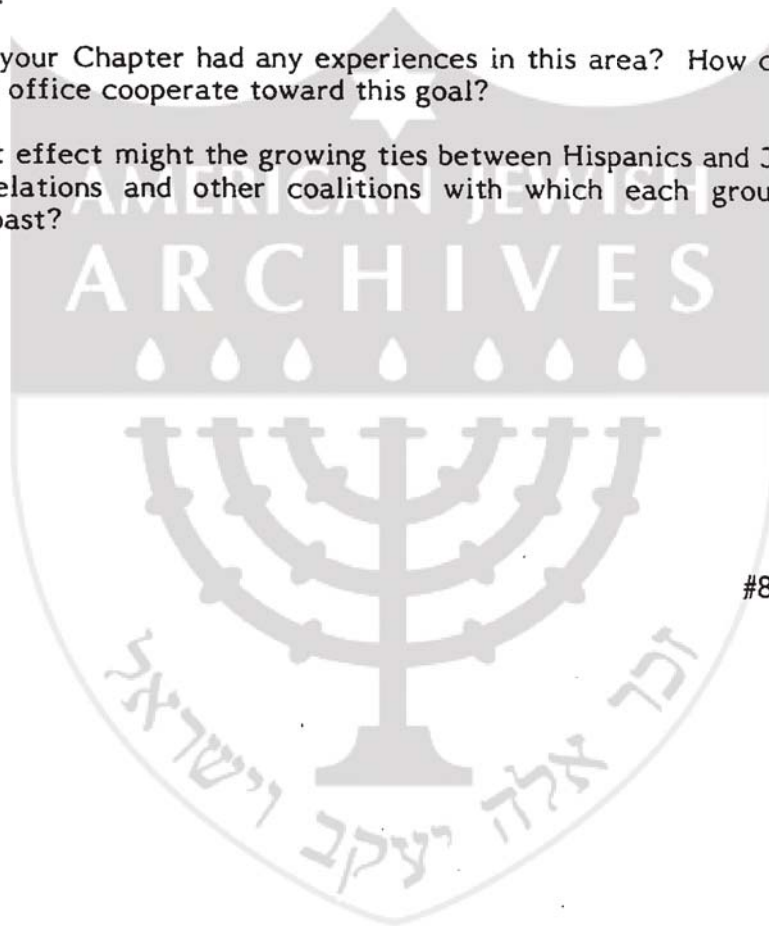
Future Prospects

Hispanic-Jewish ties are steadily increasing, and more exploration is needed,

to reveal common concerns and points of disagreement. If both sides approach this relationship with realism and a respect for each other's needs and feelings, it should be possible to forge an effective coalitional movement beneficial to both groups.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do you think that building Hispanic-Jewish relations should be an AJC priority in the months ahead?
2. What are the key issues around which Jews and Hispanics can or should forge coalitions?
3. Has your Chapter had any experiences in this area? How can Chapters and the national office cooperate toward this goal?
4. What effect might the growing ties between Hispanics and Jews have on Black-Jewish relations and other coalitions with which each group has been involved in the past?



#81-100-109

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE'S **ENERGY INFORMATION SERVICE**

Phyllis Sherman, Director, Energy Program

Volume III, Issue 5
October 5, 1981

THE UNITED STATES REMAINS UNPREPARED FOR OIL IMPORT DISRUPTIONS

Comptroller General's Report To The Congress

DIGEST

With the exception of the recent buildup of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, the United States is no better prepared to deal with significant disruptions in oil imports than it was during the 1973 oil embargo.

The Nation's almost total lack of emergency preparedness requires immediate attention. The Federal Government bears the primary responsibility and must take concerted action to counter this serious threat to national security. While the current state of readiness is poor, GAO believes that immediate steps can be taken to improve preparedness. Some will help in the near term, while others will bring significant benefits within 2 to 4 years.

Time is the important factor. The world oil market is inherently unstable. The Nation needs to act now to protect itself against import disruptions. The U.S. now has the luxury of importing less oil than in recent years in a market characterized by oversupply and falling prices. The slack market is similar to the one prevailing in the years preceding the Iranian oil shortfall of 1979. The U.S. ignored the underlying instability of the Middle East then and paid for it dearly as prices doubled in 1979 and 1980. With effective domestic and international contingency planning, that small shortfall probably would not have caused the price hike which severely damaged the economies of both the developed and underdeveloped nations. The Government would be short-sighted if it let this opportunity to develop an effective oil emergency preparedness program pass.

GAO's two-volume study was made at the request of Senator Charles Percy, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Energy, Nuclear Proliferation and Government Processes, Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, and Senator Edward Kennedy, former Chairman of the Energy Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee.

Volume I summarizes GAO's conclusions and recommendations. Volume II is a more detailed discussion of the results of GAO's comprehensive reviews of the status of contingency plans and programs and alternative approaches for coping with oil import disruptions.

CURRENT STATE OF READINESS

In order to examine present emergency preparedness, GAO hypothesized an import shortfall of 3 million barrels per day (MMBD) to the United States. While this is a substantial shortfall, it is by no means a "worst case."

The analysis is not limited to the 3 MMBD case; however, that was chosen to simplify presentation of this complex subject and provide a benchmark for evaluating larger and smaller disruptions. GAO examined emergency programs for quickly increasing oil supply, substituting other fuels for oil, restraining oil demand, and allocating short supplies both nationally and internationally (international allocation is carried out by the 21-nation International Energy Agency--IEA).

Legislative authority, provided by the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act (EPAA) which enables the Federal Government to establish contingency programs in a number of important areas, will expire September 30, 1981. GAO analyzed how these programs have fitted into the Nation's overall emergency preparedness, since Congress might choose to renew or otherwise extend the authority for one or more of them. During the summer, 1981, GAO briefed several congressional committees on the principal findings and conclusions of this study, with special reference to the expiring EPAA authorities.

GAO found that the Nation is grossly unprepared to cope with a 3 MMBD shortfall

- No plan has been prepared for emergency surge oil production.
- There is no adequate plan for using the Nation's most important disruption insurance--the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR).
- The Government has no plans for managing private oil stock drawdown, and the Govern-

ment's authority to manage private stocks expires on September 30, 1981.

- Both crude oil and petroleum product allocation programs are in disarray, and most authority for such programs lapses on September 30, 1981.
- Federal and State plans for restraining oil demand are totally inadequate, and the legal framework for demand restraint is impractical.
- Emergency oil reserves both here and in other industrialized countries are not adequate.
- The international oil sharing mechanism is too narrowly focused and may not work effectively.

These and other important though secondary conclusions are summarized in Chapters II, III, and IV of Volume I and analyzed more fully in Chapters III through VIII of Volume II.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Government has an important role in countering oil import disruptions even though market forces can be used to offset many negative effects of shortfalls. Oil market disruptions are extraordinary happenings; therefore, total reliance on unfettered markets is an inappropriate means for dealing with disruptions and will lead to greater economic and political losses than would occur under an integrated approach guided by governmental action. For example, only the Federal Government can plan effectively for SPR use, nation-wide demand restraint, removing constraints to fuel switching, recycling tax revenues, participating in International Energy Agency (IEA) programs, and many other areas. At the same time, use of the market to balance supply and demand through flexible prices is indispensable for countering disruptions because it supports the goals of governmental measures.

A governmental program also has important psychological benefits, both domestically and internationally. Well-designed, effective, and timely programs will reassure the American public and help avoid panic. They should be developed beforehand so that government at all levels will not have to enact measures in the confusion and political pressures generated by a disruption.

Such quickly instituted measures may be ineffective or even counterproductive. Internationally, a carefully prepared program will reassure our friends, making precipitous price increases less likely by reducing or avoiding pressure on the oil spot market and by asserting American leadership in this important area of political/economic policy.

GAO believes that the Federal Government must provide one crucial ingredient which has been missing from its recipe for oil disruption preparedness. That ingredient is commitment. Eight years of desultory activity in this area show that without this commitment little will be accomplished. The report contains many recommendations both to Congress and the Executive Branch. These are designed to support development of an integrated plan for emergency preparedness.

The Nation can have effective contingency programs to protect itself from the disastrous impacts of world oil market disruptions. Basically, what is needed are programs which will yield significant benefits when applied, are fully developed and kept ready for use, can be implemented in a timely manner, coordinate the actions of the public and private sectors, can be enforced, and are fully tested before use. This is a tall order. The process should begin now; if adopted, GAO's recommendations, both to Congress and the Executive Branch, will support that process.

The full set of conclusions and recommendations is in Chapter V of Volume I. The principal conclusions and recommendations are:

1. The U.S. needs to increase the oil available for emergency use via industry stocks, the SPR, and surge oil production. GAO's recommendations for increasing supply include maintaining government authority to manage private stocks after September 1981; completing, in conjunction with private industry, a plan to manage stocks; and establishing a private petroleum reserve. The Department of Energy (DOE) should use secure supplies such as Alaskan North Slope and U.S. royalty oil as much as possible to fill the SPR, and a comprehensive SPR use plan should be developed and integrated with other contingency plans. Surge oil production holds considerable promise; a law allowing emergency production at

Elk Hills should be passed; and agreements with the governments of Alaska and Texas permitting surge production should be negotiated by DOE.

2. Congress needs to replace the crude oil and product allocation authority which expires in September 1981 with authority for an improved emergency distribution system. This is particularly important for the next few years as effective contingency programs are established. Price controls are a counterproductive strategy, and GAO recommends that they not be used; gasoline rationing also should be avoided because it is clumsy and expensive and would need a price control program to work.
3. One promising way to counter disruptions is a mechanism which works through the oil market. Emergency taxes with rebates may be easier to operate than gasoline rationing, be less disruptive, and could be as equitable. Development of such a system is particularly important, and GAO recommends that the Departments of Energy and Treasury review the potential of such a system as quickly as possible. The State Department should also promote emergency taxes as an IEA policy.
4. Demand restraint planning needs a complete overhaul. Primary emphasis needs to be placed on voluntary programs which provide flexibility and build consumer confidence and participation. Mandatory programs should be developed for use as a last resort. State planning is a sound concept, but the law must be changed to require States to submit their plans before, not after the disruption begins. If States do not submit plans, the Federal plan should be imposed immediately if a disruption occurs.
5. Estimates of oil-to-gas fuel switching potential vary widely and are highly speculative. GAO recommends that a better assessment of gas supplies, deliverability, and switching capability be made. An adequate oil-to-coal switching program--which is much less far along than

oil-to-gas switching--should be developed. DOE's plans in this area cannot now be implemented quickly enough to effectively substitute for a significant amount of oil. One important aspect of both oil-to-gas and oil-to-coal programs is reliable data. GAO recommends that DOE ensure the necessary information is kept current and is in useable form for contingency purposes.

6. Much needs to be done to develop a more effective international energy emergency preparedness program. Oil disruptions are inherently international, and measures to cope with them are much more effective if they are internationally coordinated. GAO recommends that the Departments of Energy and State work within the IEA to increase member country useable emergency reserves to at least 90 days; develop better programs to cope with small but significant market disruptions; establish a binding oil price reconciliation mechanism for emergency sharing; and consider establishing an IEA-wide emergency oil tax.

*Reference Document
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While the American Jewish Committee endorses the thrust of the GAO report, its reprint of the Digest does not necessarily imply agreement with all of its recommendations.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

October 22-25, 1981

Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

FAMILY POLICY

A Background Memorandum

Society has not yet adjusted to the rapid social changes that have taken place in recent years. Americans today are marrying and bearing children later, having fewer children, divorcing and remarrying, living longer. The age group that will dominate the 1980s -- men and women between the ages of 25 and 44 -- represents a population likely to be married, to be parents and to be working. The elderly are also likely to increase in numbers as the decade unfolds.

The American Jewish population is experiencing all of these changes -- some to a greater degree than other groups -- and the Jewish community faces some unique problems as well. American Jews are not reproducing their numbers, and their proportion in the U.S. population, now under 3 percent, is shrinking. The sharply increased rate of intermarriage is also viewed by most Jewish leaders as extremely threatening to Jewish continuity.

AJC's Task Force on Family Policy discussed these issues and their implications for the Jewish community in the 1980s. The report by Dr. Sheila B. Kamerman, Professor of Social Work, Columbia University, identifies recent demographic and social changes and their impact on family life, and analyzes those changes that will have the greatest effects on Jewish families.

Family Changes

The changing role of women today is the single most important factor in altering the nature of American family life. A majority of married women, including mothers of young children, are now in the labor force, spending most of their waking hours away from home. Traditional family patterns, which called for women to assume full responsibility for home and children while their husbands earned the family income, have had to give way to a more equitable division of household labors and parental responsibilities. At the same time, rising divorce rates have increased the number of single-parent households whose heads must juggle both outside jobs and total home and family responsibilities. But social policy has been slow to adapt to these changes.

Dr. Kamerman cites three issues that are likely to dominate the Jewish family policy agenda in the 1980:

(1) The growing tension between two needy and vulnerable population groups -- the aged and children -- as competition increases for limited social resources. The Jewish community can provide a model for the larger society by developing criteria for the difficult choices that must be made in setting priorities.

(2) The pace and extent of family change and its impact on work, on family lifestyles, and on national and community services and resources. There will be growing pressure for some adaptation in the workplace and on the part of government and community institutions, Jewish and non-Jewish, to encourage a greater balance between work and home responsibilities.

(3) The threat to Jewish identity and survival inherent in the community's low birthrate, high intermarriage rate, and geographic dispersion of the Jewish community. A variety of supportive community services must be provided to help families develop and maintain a close attachment to the Jewish community.

Social Policy Alternatives

Dr. Kamerman believes the Jewish community's extensive network of voluntary services will be significantly affected by changes in national social policy. Three possible strategies are receiving considerable attention:

(1) Achieving social goals through direct subsidy to consumers, such as tax credits or vouchers for child care and other family services. In theory, this strategy eliminates cumbersome public bureaucracies, and encourages private suppliers of services to compete in the marketplace.

(2) Public-private partnership, including expanded use of public funds to purchase services from private, non-profit or for-profit organizations.

(3) Corporate social welfare in the form of fringe benefits -- health, child care, educational scholarships, etc. -- provided by private-sector employers, has emerged as an increasingly important source of supplementary social support.

Since neither family policies, nor social policies more broadly defined, are likely to be in the forefront of the nation's social agenda during the next few years, Dr. Kamerman points out that clear priorities are urgent if the beleaguered American family is to receive any meaningful social and community support.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Should the AJC become directly involved in establishing priorities among competing constituencies such as children and aged? What criteria should be used to make difficult funding decisions?

2. Has your AJC chapter had any experience in dealing with these issues in your community?

3. How can national AJC help the chapter in dealing with these issues?

4. How can the Jewish community best reach intermarried, converted or marginally affiliated Jews?

5. What programs would you suggest the AJC's National Jewish Family Center ought to undertake?

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

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Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

U.S. DEFENSE POSTURE

A Background Memorandum

The American Jewish Committee has, on several occasions, considered whether to deal with national defense as an AJC program activity. The decision in the past has been that it should not. The explorations of the Task Forces on the 80s on critical issues of domestic concern provided a new opportunity to consider whether America's defense posture touched on vital areas of AJC concern.

Professor Walter Laqueur, Chairman of the International Research Council of the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, and principal author of the AJC's Task Force Report, argues that unless America regains military credibility, its foreign policies are doomed to failure, and the prospects for peace will diminish.

Opponents of defense spending question whether the billions allocated to armaments do indeed provide security for this country. Such expenditures, they maintain, fuel inflation and waste resources that could be used for more productive purposes or social welfare. Laqueur contends that the issue is not quite so straightforward, and points out that in an earlier period when our defense spending was very high (until about 1968), the country's inflation rate was at its lowest. He also points out that one could make a liberal, Keynesian argument for heavy arms expenditure, since even socially wasteful investment -- be it digging holes in the ground or building tanks -- can revive a slack economy.

Many people who do not oppose a stronger defense in principle believe it can be done more cheaply, or fear that arms races lead to war. Others think there is a tendency to overstate the dangers facing the country. But Laqueur says that most wars are caused not by arm races, but by changes in the balance of power. Iraq, he points out, had been hostile to Iran for years; but she attacked only when Iran had been weakened by domestic turbulence.

The real and "crucial issue now facing America," Laqueur maintains, is not what allies spend or do not spend on armaments, but whether we "confront real dangers or ... figments of the imagination. ..."

There is no doubt that Soviet military power has increased while U.S. military spending has been declining. While it is true that the Russians have trouble keeping their European empire under control, Laqueur denies the claim of other respected scholars that the global political drift toward the Soviet Union is a myth. The Russians have managed to expand their sphere of influence, he insists, and their Warsaw Pact is in better shape than NATO, as European responses to Soviet pressures and threats show.

To the argument that "the Soviet Union is no longer the only, probably not even the main danger facing the U.S.," and that the major conflicts in the 1980s are likely to be political rather than military, Laqueur replies that while military capability can never replace foreign policy, "it is also true that without this prerequisite no effective foreign policy can be conducted." Thus, it is hard even to imagine a Middle East peace settlement without a credible American military presence in the area, and there is something "deeply inconsistent" on the part of those who promise unlimited support to Israel, but deny the U.S. the capacity to carry out the promise.

The national mood is changing and there is greater readiness to accept sacrifices. But there can be no hope for even a partial recovery of American power without a realistic assessment of American weakness. And the need for priorities remains. Laqueur argues that the defense of Western Europe and access to vital raw materials are primary. He believes nuclear war is an unlikely eventuality, political warfare more probable by far, as the Soviets or their proxies seek to destabilize Third World regimes that support the West or are neutral. And he sees no compelling ethical reasons for the U.S. to accept such efforts passively.

If the U.S. remains a global power willing and able to extend help, much anti-Americanism in Latin America and Asia will disappear, Laqueur says, as countries recognize their own best interests and realize they have more to fear from the Soviet Union.

Only if the U.S. regains the confidence of friends and the respect of those who do not wish it well, Laqueur concludes, can the U.S. deal with the hazards of the 1980s.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do you think the AJC should consider U.S. defense posture as an important program issue?
2. To what extent will U.S. influence abroad (and the possibility for U.S. intervention on issues of Jewish concern) be improved or weakened by the defense posture Professor Laqueur advocates?
3. Does Israel's basic security depend significantly on increases in the U.S. defense capacity?
4. Must increases in the U.S. defense budget be made at the expense of urgently needed social and welfare programs?

#81-100-115

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

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Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

URBAN/SURBURBAN PROBLEMS

A Background Memorandum

A national urban policy for the 1980s that will help revitalize the cities is vitally needed; and American Jews have a compelling reason to concern themselves with the development of such a policy, for reasons both of self-interest and of traditional Jewish values. Not only are Jews overwhelmingly city dwellers, but the American Jewish population remains disproportionately concentrated in the troubled Northeast. The disintegration and abandonment of Jewish neighborhoods weakens cherished group ties, exacts a high psychic toll among long-time residents, most often the elderly for whom uprooting is so traumatic, and imposes large financial costs on the Jewish community for the replacement of synagogues, Jewish Centers and other facilities that provide services and a focus for Jewish life.

Defining an urban agenda for the 1980s calls for a weighing of priorities among hundreds of existing and proposed Federal programs. The American Jewish Committee's Task Force on Urban/Suburban Problems grappled with these issues over several sessions before Dr. Bernard Frieden, Professor of Urban Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, wrote his Task Force Report.

Professor Frieden explains that what is generally referred to as "the urban crisis" really consists of three different crises, each with possible remedies of its own. One, which surfaced in the 1950s, involves the decline of downtown business districts and the once-fashionable residential neighborhoods nearby; the second concerns the economic, educational and employment problems of the racial and ethnic minorities who constitute a large portion of the urban poor; the third is the prospect of widespread municipal defaults and bankruptcies as a result of fiscal and economic stresses that can no longer be papered over or postponed.

Programs that address the problems of the urban poor and minority groups, Professor Frieden feels, should be given top priority. The bulk of these programs involve "person-oriented" Federal outlays, such as Social Security, food stamps, old-age assistance, and Medicaid. Programs created to deal with the fiscal problems of distressed cities, including revenue-sharing and programs to speed physical rehabilitation and improve public services, must also remain high on the agenda. The lowest priority, in Dr. Frieden's view, should be given programs that were created to deal with the decline of downtown business districts and nearby residential areas -- not because the goals of such programs are unimportant, but because many of the older cities are beginning to attract such new development without subsidies.

Since dispersal of once-flourishing Jewish neighborhoods poses serious problems both for individual Jews and for Jewish organizational life, the Jewish community has a strong interest in helping to maintain Jewish neighborhoods.

Reinvestment efforts to help moderate-income families remain where they are, and to encourage young families to move to urban Jewish neighborhoods, as well as below-market loan programs for building non-profit housing for the elderly are among the programs that merit Jewish support, Dr. Frieden suggests.

The role of voluntary institutions in urban areas is another issue of special concern to Jews. The Jewish community can serve its own interests as well as those of a broader public by pressing for adequate levels of funding to enable voluntary agencies to maintain essential social services.

As the far-reaching changes in the Federal budget begin to be translated into state and city funding, there are likely to be pressures to dismantle a number of urban programs. Professor Frieden believes that many of these pressures will need to be resisted; but he notes that certain types of programs, block grants and standardized cost-sharing formulas could enable state and local administrators to use Federal money more flexibly and productively.

Public policy can make an important difference to the future of cities and suburbs. The stakes are high enough to engage both the Jewish and general communities in the search for ways to solve the nation's urban ills.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do you think the AJC should be significantly involved in the following issues: Providing subsidized housing for low-income Americans? Monitoring state disbursements of Federal block grants? Safeguarding the Social Security system? Improving the social-welfare system? Maintaining and/or improving such essential city services as mass transit, police protection, sanitation, and so on?

2. At its Annual Meeting in May, the AJC took a position opposing a number of proposed cuts in Federal social programs. Now that many of these cuts have been approved, what should be the AJC's current stance?

3. Should the AJC take an active role in helping to keep old Jewish neighborhoods stable and viable?

4. Should the Jewish community support programs encouraging people to move to regions with the best economic opportunities, or concentrate its energies on programs that might improve conditions for the poor within the cities where they now live?

#81-100-110

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

October 22-25, 1981

Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

PUBLIC EDUCATION

A Background Memorandum

The AJC's Task Force on Public Education studied the chief complaints against the nation's schools and what must be done to deal with them. Professor Alan Gartner, Director of the Center for Advanced Studies in Education at the Graduate Center of New York's City University, and principal author of the Task Force Report, focuses on a few aspects of this complex problem: the increasing demands on the schools over the past century; the quality of education and how it can be improved; the role of race and ethnicity; the problems of funding; and the role of public education in a democratic society.

Studies in different parts of the country demonstrate that the proportion of poor children in the schools, the race of pupils and teachers, and income level of the neighborhood do not affect achievement. What does matter is the attitude of the principal, the skill and training of the teachers, heavy concentration on reading and math, frequent contact with parents, and the expectation that pupils can and will learn.

There is a wide disparity in the amount of money that different states spend for education, whether measured as expenditure per student or as a percentage of per capita income. Recent efforts to overcome these discrepancies have foundered as a result of general inflation and state tax-cutting fever.

One of the most serious threats to adequate funding for the public schools, Gartner believes, is the drive to provide tuition tax credits for parents who send their children to private secular or parochial schools. A bill providing such credits has been introduced in Congress by Senators Packwood and Moynihan, and its proponents argue that it will make quality education available to the poor. Gartner insists that, instead, tuition tax credits will drain funds from the overwhelming majority* of children who, even with some limited tax credit, cannot afford private schooling, and "will lure from the public schools just those active and concerned families whose presence is most vital to the strengthening of public education, leaving families least able to cope to schools less and less able to help them do so."

Gartner also touches on several other public-education issues of particular importance to Jews, such as the renewed efforts to introduce prayer in the public-school classroom, and the controversy surrounding bilingual education. Prayer in the schools, along with the drive to introduce "creationism" and

*Ninety percent of the nation's children attend public school; ten percent attend private secular or religious schools.

censorship of school libraries and textbooks, are important planks in the political platform of the New Right, and Senator Jesse Helms has introduced Federal legislation barring the Federal courts from hearing any challenges to state laws permitting "voluntary" prayers in the public schools.

Gartner sees the issue of bilingual education as a Jewish concern, not only because minority groups with whom Jews work closely feel strongly about the subject, but also because substantial numbers of Jews live in the states where bilingual education is an important issue. The goal of American education, he says, must be to make all children fluent in English; but the learning needs of any child are best met by starting where that child is, and both respect and good pedagogic practice argue for honoring the child's cultural background, including its language.

"Schools today, as in the past, are asked both to reflect and shape societal values," Gartner concludes. "The schools will serve neither the Jewish interest nor the larger American interest if they fail to provide high-quality education -- basic skills and beyond -- to all children. To do so, schools systems need both financial and human resources We need to identify the goals schools can be expected to meet, and the services for which they can be held accountable as well as the ways ... that their effective delivery contributes to the overall promise of social improvement. That effort represents the Jewish interest in public education."

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Dr. Gartner argues strongly that Jews must remain deeply committed to the quality and funding of public education. With growing numbers of Jewish parents opting for private education for their children, do you think public education should continue to be a major concern of the AJC?
2. Should the AJC continue to oppose tuition tax credits? Is such funding the most effective way to meet the needs of Jewish secular and parochial schools?
3. In your community, what is likely to be the impact of a shift in Federal school funding from Washington to the states?

#81-100-112

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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October 22-25, 1981

Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

GROUP STATUS IN AMERICA

A Background Memorandum

Group status and identity will play an increasingly important role in defining the nature of American society in the 1980s. On a personal level, large numbers of Americans are finding new meaning and support from their ethnic and religious ties. In addition, various communities have begun to demand that social services and opportunities for advancement be allocated according to group rather than according to individual merit or need.

Both trends have major implications for America's Jews. The AJC's Task Force on Group Status in America considered a number of key issues currently under public discussion in this area. In the principal paper stemming from the Task Force deliberations, Dr. Peter Rose, Sophia Smith Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Smith College, summarizes these as follows:

Group Rights: In the 1970s a powerful movement emerged to emphasize group economic and social rights. Proposals for affirmative action ranged from increased recruitment of minorities for employment or higher education to demands for quotas to insure that all groups share desired opportunities in rough proportion to their percentage in the population. A key question is how to facilitate advancement for disadvantaged groups without compromising the principle that individuals be judged on the basis of their own merit. Another important consideration centers on whether programs addressing this issue should focus on particular ethnic and racial groups, or on disadvantaged individuals regardless of their background. Since many of these issues are likely to be settled in the courts, the judges appointed by President Reagan to the Federal courts are likely to play an important part in determining future approaches to these questions.

Group Identity: Recent research indicates that ethnic identity is an important factor in personality, and that a healthy attitude toward one's background is important both for acceptance of self and for the ability to relate positively to others. On the other hand, the emphasis on ethnicity has been denounced for fostering chauvinism and weakening national unity. The challenge for the 1980s is to find ways of preserving a strong sense of ethnic identity while, at the same time, building coalitions that unite the various ethnic groups for common national goals.

Coalitional Strategies: To achieve political objectives, a small group like the Jews must find allies. A reevaluation of Jewish coalitional partners is now taking place. Some argue that traditional ties to the liberal and Black communities no longer serve Jewish interests and that Jews must reach out to forces that are socially and politically more conservative. Others hold

that the traditional values and long-term interests of Jews can best be assured by continued allegiance to liberal causes.

Acculturation: A significant number of immigrants have come to this country in recent years, including a sizeable number of Jews from the Soviet Union, Israel and elsewhere. These new arrivals have aroused mixed reactions in the general public -- sympathy for the plight that brought many of the newcomers to these shores, but fear that their influx will increase fragmentation of our society and make it more difficult to maintain a broad sense of national purpose.

Many of the political issues of the 1980s will reflect efforts to find acceptable answers to these questions, and new and effective strategies will be needed to achieve this goal.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is the growing emphasis on group allegiances good or bad for Jews?
2. Which groups represents the most promising coalition partners for American Jews? What are the issues around which coalitions might be formed?
3. Has your chapter been involved in any recent coalition efforts? If so, with whom and on what issues?

#81-100-113

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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PUBLIC EDUCATION

A Background Memorandum

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Studies in different parts of the country demonstrate that the proportion of poor children in the schools, the race of pupils and teachers, and income level of the neighborhood do not affect achievement. What does matter is the attitude of the principal, the skill and training of the teachers, heavy concentration on reading and math, frequent contact with parents, and the expectation that pupils can and will learn.

There is a wide disparity in the amount of money that different states spend for education, whether measured as expenditure per student or as a percentage of per capita income. Recent efforts to overcome these discrepancies have foundered as a result of general inflation and state tax-cutting fever.

One of the most serious threats to adequate funding for the public schools, Gartner believes, is the drive to provide tuition tax credits for parents who send their children to private secular or parochial schools. A bill providing such credits has been introduced in Congress by Senators Packwood and Moynihan, and its proponents argue that it will make quality education available to the poor. Gartner insists that, instead, tuition tax credits will drain funds from the overwhelming majority* of children who, even with some limited tax credit, cannot afford private schooling, and "will lure from the public schools just those active and concerned families whose presence is most vital to the strengthening of public education, leaving families least able to cope to schools less and less able to help them do so."

Gartner also touches on several other public-education issues of particular importance to Jews, such as the renewed efforts to introduce prayer in the public-school classroom, and the controversy surrounding bilingual education. Prayer in the schools, along with the drive to introduce "creationism" and

*Ninety percent of the nation's children attend public school; ten percent attend private secular or religious schools.

censorship of school libraries and textbooks, are important planks in the political platform of the New Right, and Senator Jesse Helms has introduced Federal legislation barring the Federal courts from hearing any challenges to state laws permitting "voluntary" prayers in the public schools.

Gartner sees the issue of bilingual education as a Jewish concern, not only because minority groups with whom Jews work closely feel strongly about the subject, but also because substantial numbers of Jews live in the states where bilingual education is an important issue. The goal of American education, he says, must be to make all children fluent in English; but the learning needs of any child are best met by starting where that child is, and both respect and good pedagogic practice argue for honoring the child's cultural background, including its language.

"Schools today, as in the past, are asked both to reflect and shape societal values," Gartner concludes. "The schools will serve neither the Jewish interest nor the larger American interest if they fail to provide high-quality education -- basic skills and beyond -- to all children. To do so, schools systems need both financial and human resources We need to identify the goals schools can be expected to meet, and the services for which they can be held accountable as well as the ways ... that their effective delivery contributes to the overall promise of social improvement. That effort represents the Jewish interest in public education."

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Dr. Gartner argues strongly that Jews must remain deeply committed to the quality and funding of public education. With growing numbers of Jewish parents opting for private education for their children, do you think public education should continue to be a major concern of the AJC?
2. Should the AJC continue to oppose tuition tax credits? Is such funding the most effective way to meet the needs of Jewish secular and parochial schools?
3. In your community, what is likely to be the impact of a shift in Federal school funding from Washington to the states?

#81-100-112

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

October 22-25, 1981

Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

U.S. DEFENSE POSTURE

A Background Memorandum

The American Jewish Committee has, on several occasions, considered whether to deal with national defense as an AJC program activity. The decision in the past has been that it should not. The explorations of the Task Forces on the 80s on critical issues of domestic concern provided a new opportunity to consider whether America's defense posture touched on vital areas of AJC concern.

Professor Walter Laqueur, Chairman of the International Research Council of the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, and principal author of the AJC's Task Force Report, argues that unless America regains military credibility, its foreign policies are doomed to failure, and the prospects for peace will diminish.

Opponents of defense spending question whether the billions allocated to armaments do indeed provide security for this country. Such expenditures, they maintain, fuel inflation and waste resources that could be used for more productive purposes or social welfare. Laqueur contends that the issue is not quite so straightforward, and points out that in an earlier period when our defense spending was very high (until about 1968), the country's inflation rate was at its lowest. He also points out that one could make a liberal, Keynesian argument for heavy arms expenditure, since even socially wasteful investment -- be it digging holes in the ground or building tanks -- can revive a slack economy.

Many people who do not oppose a stronger defense in principle believe it can be done more cheaply, or fear that arms races lead to war. Others think there is a tendency to overstate the dangers facing the country. But Laqueur says that most wars are caused not by arm races, but by changes in the balance of power. Iraq, he points out, had been hostile to Iran for years; but she attacked only when Iran had been weakened by domestic turbulence.

The real and "crucial issue now facing America," Laqueur maintains, is not what allies spend or do not spend on armaments, but whether we "confront real dangers or ... figments of the imagination. ..."

There is no doubt that Soviet military power has increased while U.S. military spending has been declining. While it is true that the Russians have trouble keeping their European empire under control, Laqueur denies the claim of other respected scholars that the global political drift toward the Soviet Union is a myth. The Russians have managed to expand their sphere of influence, he insists, and their Warsaw Pact is in better shape than NATO, as European responses to Soviet pressures and threats show.

To the argument that "the Soviet Union is no longer the only, probably not even the main danger facing the U.S.," and that the major conflicts in the 1980s are likely to be political rather than military, Laqueur replies that while military capability can never replace foreign policy, "it is also true that without this prerequisite no effective foreign policy can be conducted." Thus, it is hard even to imagine a Middle East peace settlement without a credible American military presence in the area, and there is something "deeply inconsistent" on the part of those who promise unlimited support to Israel, but deny the U.S. the capacity to carry out the promise.

The national mood is changing and there is greater readiness to accept sacrifices. But there can be no hope for even a partial recovery of American power without a realistic assessment of American weakness. And the need for priorities remains. Laqueur argues that the defense of Western Europe and access to vital raw materials are primary. He believes nuclear war is an unlikely eventuality, political warfare more probable by far, as the Soviets or their proxies seek to destabilize Third World regimes that support the West or are neutral. And he sees no compelling ethical reasons for the U.S. to accept such efforts passively.

If the U.S. remains a global power willing and able to extend help, much anti-Americanism in Latin America and Asia will disappear, Laqueur says, as countries recognize their own best interests and realize they have more to fear from the Soviet Union.

Only if the U.S. regains the confidence of friends and the respect of those who do not wish it well, Laqueur concludes, can the U.S. deal with the hazards of the 1980s.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do you think the AJC should consider U.S. defense posture as an important program issue?
2. To what extent will U.S. influence abroad (and the possibility for U.S. intervention on issues of Jewish concern) be improved or weakened by the defense posture Professor Laqueur advocates?
3. Does Israel's basic security depend significantly on increases in the U.S. defense capacity?
4. Must increases in the U.S. defense budget be made at the expense of urgently needed social and welfare programs?

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

October 22-25, 1981

Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

GROUP STATUS IN AMERICA

A Background Memorandum

Group status and identity will play an increasingly important role in defining the nature of American society in the 1980s. On a personal level, large numbers of Americans are finding new meaning and support from their ethnic and religious ties. In addition, various communities have begun to demand that social services and opportunities for advancement be allocated according to group rather than according to individual merit or need.

Both trends have major implications for America's Jews. The AJC's Task Force on Group Status in America considered a number of key issues currently under public discussion in this area. In the principal paper stemming from the Task Force deliberations, Dr. Peter Rose, Sophia Smith Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Smith College, summarizes these as follows:

Group Rights: In the 1970s a powerful movement emerged to emphasize group economic and social rights. Proposals for affirmative action ranged from increased recruitment of minorities for employment or higher education to demands for quotas to insure that all groups share desired opportunities in rough proportion to their percentage in the population. A key question is how to facilitate advancement for disadvantaged groups without compromising the principle that individuals be judged on the basis of their own merit. Another important consideration centers on whether programs addressing this issue should focus on particular ethnic and racial groups, or on disadvantaged individuals regardless of their background. Since many of these issues are likely to be settled in the courts, the judges appointed by President Reagan to the Federal courts are likely to play an important part in determining future approaches to these questions.

Group Identity: Recent research indicates that ethnic identity is an important factor in personality, and that a healthy attitude toward one's background is important both for acceptance of self and for the ability to relate positively to others. On the other hand, the emphasis on ethnicity has been denounced for fostering chauvinism and weakening national unity. The challenge for the 1980s is to find ways of preserving a strong sense of ethnic identity while, at the same time, building coalitions that unite the various ethnic groups for common national goals.

Coalitional Strategies: To achieve political objectives, a small group like the Jews must find allies. A reevaluation of Jewish coalitional partners is now taking place. Some argue that traditional ties to the liberal and Black communities no longer serve Jewish interests and that Jews must reach out to forces that are socially and politically more conservative. Others hold

that the traditional values and long-term interests of Jews can best be assured by continued allegiance to liberal causes.

Acculturation: A significant number of immigrants have come to this country in recent years, including a sizeable number of Jews from the Soviet Union, Israel and elsewhere. These new arrivals have aroused mixed reactions in the general public -- sympathy for the plight that brought many of the newcomers to these shores, but fear that their influx will increase fragmentation of our society and make it more difficult to maintain a broad sense of national purpose.

Many of the political issues of the 1980s will reflect efforts to find acceptable answers to these questions, and new and effective strategies will be needed to achieve this goal.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is the growing emphasis on group allegiances good or bad for Jews?
2. Which groups represents the most promising coalition partners for American Jews? What are the issues around which coalitions might be formed?
3. Has your chapter been involved in any recent coalition efforts? If so, with whom and on what issues?

#81-100-113

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

October 22-25, 1981

Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

URBAN/SURBURBAN PROBLEMS

A Background Memorandum

A national urban policy for the 1980s that will help revitalize the cities is vitally needed; and American Jews have a compelling reason to concern themselves with the development of such a policy, for reasons both of self-interest and of traditional Jewish values. Not only are Jews overwhelmingly city dwellers, but the American Jewish population remains disproportionately concentrated in the troubled Northeast. The disintegration and abandonment of Jewish neighborhoods weakens cherished group ties, exacts a high psychic toll among long-time residents, most often the elderly for whom uprooting is so traumatic, and imposes large financial costs on the Jewish community for the replacement of synagogues, Jewish Centers and other facilities that provide services and a focus for Jewish life.

Defining an urban agenda for the 1980s calls for a weighing of priorities among hundreds of existing and proposed Federal programs. The American Jewish Committee's Task Force on Urban/Suburban Problems grappled with these issues over several sessions before Dr. Bernard Frieden, Professor of Urban Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, wrote his Task Force Report.

Professor Frieden explains that what is generally referred to as "the urban crisis" really consists of three different crises, each with possible remedies of its own. One, which surfaced in the 1950s, involves the decline of downtown business districts and the once-fashionable residential neighborhoods nearby; the second concerns the economic, educational and employment problems of the racial and ethnic minorities who constitute a large portion of the urban poor; the third is the prospect of widespread municipal defaults and bankruptcies as a result of fiscal and economic stresses that can no longer be papered over or postponed.

Programs that address the problems of the urban poor and minority groups, Professor Frieden feels, should be given top priority. The bulk of these programs involve "person-oriented" Federal outlays, such as Social Security, food stamps, old-age assistance, and Medicaid. Programs created to deal with the fiscal problems of distressed cities, including revenue-sharing and programs to speed physical rehabilitation and improve public services, must also remain high on the agenda. The lowest priority, in Dr. Frieden's view, should be given programs that were created to deal with the decline of downtown business districts and nearby residential areas -- not because the goals of such programs are unimportant, but because many of the older cities are beginning to attract such new development without subsidies.

Since dispersal of once-flourishing Jewish neighborhoods poses serious problems both for individual Jews and for Jewish organizational life, the Jewish community has a strong interest in helping to maintain Jewish neighborhoods.

Reinvestment efforts to help moderate-income families remain where they are, and to encourage young families to move to urban Jewish neighborhoods, as well as below-market loan programs for building non-profit housing for the elderly are among the programs that merit Jewish support, Dr. Frieden suggests.

The role of voluntary institutions in urban areas is another issue of special concern to Jews. The Jewish community can serve its own interests as well as those of a broader public by pressing for adequate levels of funding to enable voluntary agencies to maintain essential social services.

As the far-reaching changes in the Federal budget begin to be translated into state and city funding, there are likely to be pressures to dismantle a number of urban programs. Professor Frieden believes that many of these pressures will need to be resisted; but he notes that certain types of programs, block grants and standardized cost-sharing formulas could enable state and local administrators to use Federal money more flexibly and productively.

Public policy can make an important difference to the future of cities and suburbs. The stakes are high enough to engage both the Jewish and general communities in the search for ways to solve the nation's urban ills.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do you think the AJC should be significantly involved in the following issues: Providing subsidized housing for low-income Americans? Monitoring state disbursements of Federal block grants? Safeguarding the Social Security system? Improving the social-welfare system? Maintaining and/or improving such essential city services as mass transit, police protection, sanitation, and so on?

2. At its Annual Meeting in May, the AJC took a position opposing a number of proposed cuts in Federal social programs. Now that many of these cuts have been approved, what should be the AJC's current stance?

3. Should the AJC take an active role in helping to keep old Jewish neighborhoods stable and viable?

4. Should the Jewish community support programs encouraging people to move to regions with the best economic opportunities, or concentrate its energies on programs that might improve conditions for the poor within the cities where they now live?

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

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FAMILY POLICY

A Background Memorandum

Society has not yet adjusted to the rapid social changes that have taken place in recent years. Americans today are marrying and bearing children later, having fewer children, divorcing and remarrying, living longer. The age group that will dominate the 1980s -- men and women between the ages of 25 and 44 -- represents a population likely to be married, to be parents and to be working. The elderly are also likely to increase in numbers as the decade unfolds.

The American Jewish population is experiencing all of these changes -- some to a greater degree than other groups -- and the Jewish community faces some unique problems as well. American Jews are not reproducing their numbers, and their proportion in the U.S. population, now under 3 percent, is shrinking. The sharply increased rate of intermarriage is also viewed by most Jewish leaders as extremely threatening to Jewish continuity.

AJC's Task Force on Family Policy discussed these issues and their implications for the Jewish community in the 1980s. The report by Dr. Sheila B. Kamerman, Professor of Social Work, Columbia University, identifies recent demographic and social changes and their impact on family life, and analyzes those changes that will have the greatest effects on Jewish families.

Family Changes

The changing role of women today is the single most important factor in altering the nature of American family life. A majority of married women, including mothers of young children, are now in the labor force, spending most of their waking hours away from home. Traditional family patterns, which called for women to assume full responsibility for home and children while their husbands earned the family income, have had to give way to a more equitable division of household labors and parental responsibilities. At the same time, rising divorce rates have increased the number of single-parent households whose heads must juggle both outside jobs and total home and family responsibilities. But social policy has been slow to adapt to these changes.

Dr. Kamerman cites three issues that are likely to dominate the Jewish family policy agenda in the 1980:

(1) The growing tension between two needy and vulnerable population groups - the aged and children - as competition increases for limited social resources. The Jewish community can provide a model for the larger society by developing criteria for the difficult choices that must be made in setting priorities.

(2) The pace and extent of family change and its impact on work, on family lifestyles, and on national and community services and resources. There will be growing pressure for some adaptation in the workplace and on the part of government and community institutions, Jewish and non-Jewish, to encourage a greater balance between work and home responsibilities.

(3) The threat to Jewish identity and survival inherent in the community's low birthrate, high intermarriage rate, and geographic dispersion of the Jewish community. A variety of supportive community services must be provided to help families develop and maintain a close attachment to the Jewish community.

Social Policy Alternatives

Dr. Kamerman believes the Jewish community's extensive network of voluntary services will be significantly affected by changes in national social policy. Three possible strategies are receiving considerable attention:

(1) Achieving social goals through direct subsidy to consumers, such as tax credits or vouchers for child care and other family services. In theory, this strategy eliminates cumbersome public bureaucracies, and encourages private suppliers of services to compete in the marketplace.

(2) Public-private partnership, including expanded use of public funds to purchase services from private, non-profit or for-profit organizations.

(3) Corporate social welfare in the form of fringe benefits -- health, child care, educational scholarships, etc. -- provided by private-sector employers, has emerged as an increasingly important source of supplementary social support.

Since neither family policies, nor social policies more broadly defined, are likely to be in the forefront of the nation's social agenda during the next few years, Dr. Kamerman points out that clear priorities are urgent if the beleaguered American family is to receive any meaningful social and community support.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Should the AJC become directly involved in establishing priorities among competing constituencies such as children and aged? What criteria should be used to make difficult funding decisions?

2. Has your AJC chapter had any experience in dealing with these issues in your community?

3. How can national AJC help the chapter in dealing with these issues?

4. How can the Jewish community best reach intermarried, converted or marginally affiliated Jews?

5. What programs would you suggest the AJC's National Jewish Family Center ought to undertake?

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

October 22-25, 1981

Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

THE POLITICAL PROCESS

A Background Memorandum

Recent new developments in the American political process are likely to affect the way Americans choose their public officials and have a far-reaching impact on our democratic system as a whole. The American Jewish Committee's Task Force on the Political Process examined these changes and their possible impact on the democratic process in general, and on American Jews.

David Cohen, former president of Common Cause, and the principal author of the Task Force report, points out that the rules pertaining to the political and electoral process can protect and enhance Jewish interests, or they can affect them adversely. Current political trends -- the diminution of party loyalties, the weakening of party machines, the proliferation of single-issue groups, the public financing of electoral campaigns, and possible changes in the Electoral College system -- raise serious problems for Jews, Cohen declares.

Political Parties: The Jewish community should be a forum for discussion on ways to make political parties important again, Cohen urges. Revitalizing the parties would strengthen competitive politics and the standing of politicians. Parties are one of the few cohering and mediating political institutions we have in American politics. The stronger the parties and the stronger the place of professionals in politics, the better protected Jewish group interests will be.

The Electoral College: Repealing the Electoral College and moving to a direct election system or other variation would undermine a system that gives Presidential candidates a powerful incentive to pay attention to Jewish and other minority interests, Cohen warns. The Electoral College increases the influence of minority groups. It places value on coalition, and that serves Jewish community interests, whether Jews vote largely for one candidate or divide their vote.

Voting Participation: From a Jewish viewpoint, says Cohen, it could be argued that since Jews vote in higher proportions to their number than the rest of the population, Jewish votes count for more when there is a low turnout. Therefore, why increase the turnout?

The drive for full participation has always characterized the Jewish experience in America and has led the Jewish community to do everything in its power to remove the barriers to voting for all citizens. Continuing the effort by working to overcome the remaining impediments would be a useful way for the Jewish community to champion the value of full participation in American governance.

Campaign Financing: Because campaign financing is so central to our ability to govern ourselves as a nation, it is incumbent on the Jewish community to be mindful of the complex problems it raises, Cohen argues.

Jews have a history of being generous contributors as individuals, and the natural impulse would be to advocate the simplest of changes -- increase the amount individuals may give to a candidate and the total that may be given to all Federal candidates, independent committees and political parties. While there is no doubt that individual contributions ought to be increased because inflation has both reduced the worth of the dollar and swelled campaign costs, it does not follow that Jewish group interests would be protected or enhanced by a massive flow of individual Jews spreading their largesse over House and Senate campaigns, or providing the seed money for a Presidential candidate. In an arms race atmosphere, individuals from groups inimical to Jewish interests would be unleashed as well.

Care should be taken, says Cohen, to avoid unintentionally offending allies by adopting positions that run counter to their interests. On the question of a free and secure Israel, for example, the Jewish community has had no stauncher ally than organized labor, particularly the AFL-CIO. No single issue will fracture this relationship. But a campaign finance system that only increases individual contributions and does nothing about PACs or creating an alternative financing system for House and Senate races is tilting the balance towards those who occupy the executive suite. Raising the contribution limit for individuals is not likely to expand the pool of contributors.

One option that has been advocated for Jewish interest is the creation of formal Jewish PACs, with an organized lobby that rewards and punishes through the use of money. This is a serious step that would endanger the political standing of the Jewish community without gaining any real benefits. It would divide the Jewish community over tactics when -- whatever its political differences -- it has been unified on issues that affect the Jewish community, such as the welfare and security of Israel.

Cohen maintains that there is another fundamental reason to object to the creation of a Jewish PAC. In opposing those who advocate the "Christianizing" of America, it is important not to engage in any activities that establish a litmus test for what is pro- or anti-Jewish in American politics. That is why Jewish groups or Jewish umbrella organizations do not publish their voting record, the staple of interest-group politics. (If PACs are created anyway, by self-generating Jewish groups that are not part of the formally organized community, the Jewish institutional reaction should be silence -- neither praise nor criticism, since such endeavors are constitutionally protected.)

The PAC system, with its powerful effect on fragmenting our national politics, adversely affects Jewish interests. What creates the problem with PACs and independent expenditures is that no alternative sources of campaign funding exist that would generate sufficient resources to wage competitive campaigns. A strengthened political-party system would be a major bulwark against PACs and independent expenditures, as would a system

of matching public funds with small individual contributions that enlarged the pool of contributors.

Constitutional Conventions and Amendments: Cohen argues that there is an overriding Jewish interest against holding a constitutional convention. If one were to be called, various ideological and issue forces would be unleashed. This is exactly the kind of situation Tom Driver had in mind when he noted, in "Hating Jews for Jesus' Sake" in the November 24, 1980 issue of Christianity and Crisis: "There is a rising anti-Semitism today among people who are very religious and very nationalistic. I am deeply troubled by this, most especially by the recurrence of anti-Semitism among Christians and its recent rapid growth among them." The threat goes beyond the Jews to other minorities in this country. That is why, Driver continues, "it is important to deal with anti-Semitism in right-wing evangelical Christianity and to search out its roots." The proposed anti-abortion and voluntary-prayer amendments could release the kinds of forces that Driver worries about.

The ideals of opportunity, full participation and fairness, Cohen concludes, all of which are part of the historic Jewish outlook, provide extraordinary opportunities to build alliances with other groups to promote common social issues, defend American pluralism and resist efforts to undermine the Bill of Rights. When pluralism is threatened by increasing divisiveness and growing public skepticism about the effectiveness of democratic institutions, it becomes especially important for Jews to make their voices heard.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What governance issues do you think are likely to have the greatest impact on the status and security of American Jews in the 1980s?
2. Do you think the recent changes in the campaign laws are good or bad for Jews?
3. How do American Jews differ from the single-issue interest groups that try to impose their views on the American political system?
4. Do you think there should be Jewish political action groups on a community and national level?

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

October 22-25, 1981
Galleria Plaza Hotel, Houston, Texas

THE HISPANIC COMMUNITY IN THE U.S.

A Background Memorandum

Hispanics have emerged as an increasingly important force on the American political and social scene. They are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States and have developed an extensive communal agenda. Moreover, their demographic patterns and policy goals are likely to lead them to frequent contacts with Jews in coming years.

At least 15 million people of Hispanic origin live in the United States. Four major groupings make up this population: about 60 percent are of Mexican origin; 15 percent come from Puerto Rico; 7 percent are of Cuban ancestry, most of them refugees from Castro; and 18 percent stem from other Latin nations. A key characteristic of all the communities is their closeness to the immigrant experience: more than 6 out of 10 were born outside this country's borders.

As important as the size of the Hispanic population is its geographical location. Most live in the Southwest, but there are also large concentrations in the industrial northern states and in Florida, primarily in metropolitan areas but with a growing suburban presence. Many American Jews live in the areas in which the Hispanic population is increasing, and the two groups will come into increasing contact as their residential patterns converge.

Hispanic Issues

In the past few years, Hispanics have become better organized and more articulate about a range of issues affecting their community, though they are by no means monolithic in their views concerning these issues.

Language: Attachment to Spanish is the one bond that unites all members of the Hispanic community. Surveys indicate that Hispanics see their language as one of the most important aspects of their tradition and are deeply committed to preserving it. In addition, many newcomers cannot yet function in English. These factors explain the community's strong support of bilingual education, and their demand that those who provide social services to the Spanish-speaking be competent in that language.

Immigration: Except for Puerto Ricans, who are Americans by birth, and therefore not subject to immigration restrictions, Hispanics maintain a keen interest in the immigration issue. They constitute the largest group of both legal and illegal entrants to the U.S. They vigorously endorse policies

permitting large-scale inflow and family reunification, and oppose harsh measures to deal with undocumented workers. The Cuban community, particularly, keeps close watch on developments in the refugee field.

Civil Rights: The Hispanic community in the U.S. feels that it is subject to a great deal of discrimination in employment and in the general society. Segments of this group have been staunch supporters of affirmative-action initiatives, including quotas, and most Hispanics are very eager for the extension of the Voting Rights Act, which recognizes literacy in Spanish.

Social Programs: While some Hispanics, especially in the Cuban community, vote Republican and support conservative policies, the great majority favor the continuation of social programs for the poor and aid to urban areas.

Education: Hispanics are strong proponents of quality public education, which they see as a major instrument for social and economic mobility.

Foreign Affairs: Most Hispanics remain vitally interested in the political and social events taking place in their native countries. Many have family and friends living in their lands of origin and follow developments there closely.

Hispanic-Jewish Relations

Hispanics and Jews will not always see eye-to-eye -- affirmative action quotas are one area where they disagree strongly. At several frank meetings between AJC representatives and leaders of the Hispanic community in various parts of the country, differences also surfaced regarding aspects of U.S. immigration policy, the goals of bilingual education, and even some foreign-policy issues. (And, of course, there are differences on these issues within both communities as well.) Nevertheless, the two groups have many interests in common. The American Jewish Committee has endorsed a number of programs important to Hispanics Americans.

- - While the two groups often disagree on the measures needed to curb undocumented migration, both support a generous U.S. immigration policy, including family unification and amnesty for undocumented workers within the context of adequate borders and other enforcement measures.
- - While rejecting the proposals of some Hispanics groups that their children continue to be instructed in Spanish in all subjects, even after they have learned English, the AJC (and some Hispanic groups as well) does endorse the use of native languages primarily as a vehicle for teaching English, and stresses the need for public schools to encourage respect for pluralism.
- - Jews and Hispanics both back the extension of the Voting Rights Act.

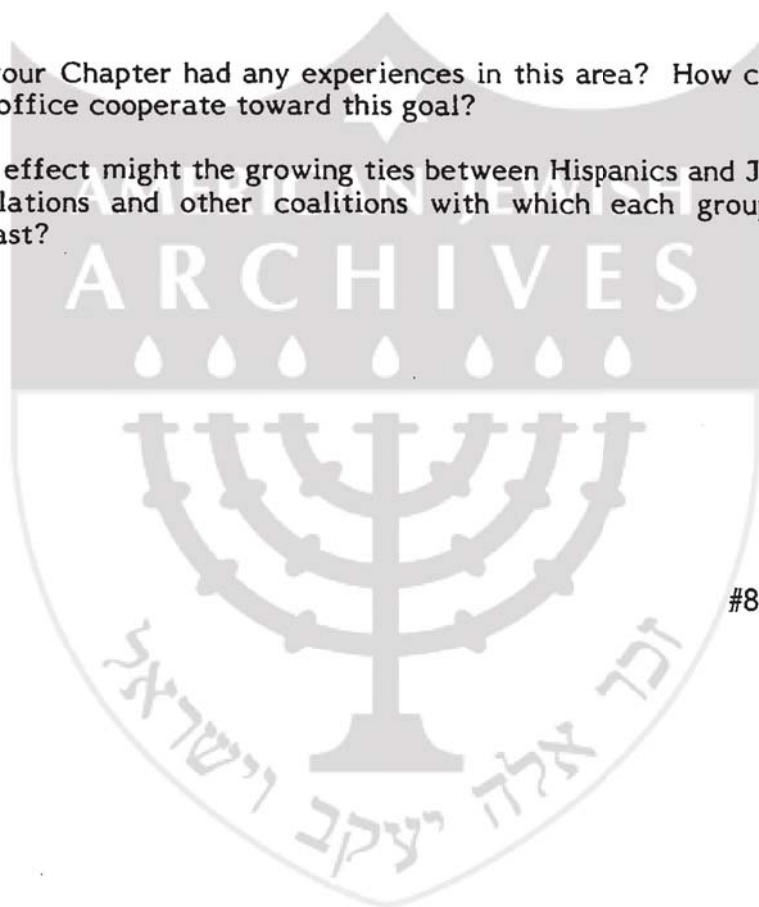
Future Prospects

Hispanic-Jewish ties are steadily increasing, and more exploration is needed,

to reveal common concerns and points of disagreement. If both sides approach this relationship with realism and a respect for each other's needs and feelings, it should be possible to forge an effective coalitional movement beneficial to both groups.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do you think that building Hispanic-Jewish relations should be an AJC priority in the months ahead?
2. What are the key issues around which Jews and Hispanics can or should forge coalitions?
3. Has your Chapter had any experiences in this area? How can Chapters and the national office cooperate toward this goal?
4. What effect might the growing ties between Hispanics and Jews have on Black-Jewish relations and other coalitions with which each group has been involved in the past?



#81-100-109

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
DRAFT STATEMENT ON IMMIGRATION

For consideration by the
National Executive Council
Sunday morning, Oct. 25, 1981

The American Jewish Committee has always maintained a deep interest in United States immigration and refugee policy. From its founding, AJC has been in the forefront of the movement to keep America's doors open to new immigrants. After the passage of restrictive legislation in the early 1920s, it played a prominent role in the successful 40-year effort to revise the nation's statutes to end discrimination in criteria for admission and open opportunities for entry to people from all over the world. AJC has also spoken out forcefully on the Refugee Act of 1980 and on proposals for legislative change on this issue.

The past year has seen much activity in this field. In March 1981, the joint Presidential and Congressionally appointed Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy made its report. On July 30, the Reagan Administration announced its own immigration proposals. Congressional hearings aimed at producing new legislation are now taking place.

Major national and Jewish interests are at stake in the immigration issue. Admission of refugees and newcomers reflects the values of the country and plays a key role in determining its demographic patterns and group makeup. The Jewish community traditionally has seen, in entry to the United States, a way to rescue co-religionists at risk in foreign lands and a means of maintaining the pluralistic character of American society.

The American Jewish Committee's position on immigration rests on three principles:

- * The United States should play a key role in gaining freedom for refugees both by providing, together with other free nations, a safe haven for the world's oppressed and by participating in international efforts aimed at rescue and resettlement.
- * The nation should maintain a generous policy toward people seeking to enter legally, especially those who come to reunify their families.
- * The effectiveness of any national policy depends on the country's ability to enforce its decisions. Illegal entry must be fairly but firmly stemmed.

The American Jewish Committee supports, in short, a generous but controlled immigration policy for the United States.

These principles find application in the following specific policy positions:

Refugees

During the debate on the Refugee Act of 1980, the AJC strongly endorsed an expanded definition of a refugee that now provides refugee status to any person with a well founded fear of persecution in the home country "on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." We oppose present efforts to weaken this definition.

We support the prominent leadership role that the United States has taken in offering asylum and seek continuance of current levels of refugee acceptance.

No matter how generous our policy remains in providing a safe haven, however, our nation cannot possibly grant entry to more than a fraction of the millions of refugees in the world. We urge United States leadership in seeking international solutions to this problem both in resettlement of people forced to flee and in upholding human rights in political conflicts.

On the difficult issue of mass arrivals on our shores of people claiming political asylum, we believe it necessary to provide fair and prompt hearings with guarantees of due process after they land, to establish their true status. Current efforts at interdiction on the high seas raise serious questions of due process and may set international precedents for the turning away of those legitimately fleeing from oppression. Because dealing with mass arrivals is a matter of national policy and responsibility, the nation as a whole must carry the cost of their reception and processing; individual states such as Florida must not be left with a disproportionate share of this expense.

Undocumented Aliens

To uphold the law and to avoid a seeming lack of control over our borders that could produce a backlash against all immigration, we believe it necessary to find fair and effective ways to stem illegal entry into the country. Four policy directions must be undertaken simultaneously to accomplish this goal:

- * We believe that it would be both inhumane and impractical to deport the millions of undocumented aliens already in the United States. Concurrent with instituting enforcement measures, we think it appropriate to grant a one time amnesty conferring permanent resident status on people in the country before a designated date close to the enactment of this measure. Those granted this benefit would have the same opportunities as other permanent immigrants to reunify families, pay taxes and receive benefits, and apply for citizenship after five years.
- * Our borders and ports of entry must be better secured by raising the budget for staff and equipment of the Border Patrol. Efforts in this area ought to be directed in particular at smuggling rings that organize large-scale entries and often operate in a corrupt and inhumane manner. Enforcement must be vigorous but it must also itself remain within the law and avoid indiscriminate sweeps and other violations of due process. Because undocumented aliens participate heavily in the workforce, where some employers try to take advantage of their cheap labor, enforcement must include upholding of fair labor standards.
- * Since in the absence of unacceptably harsh measures, no border can be made completely secure, an effective policy must aim to cut down on demand for undocumented workers. We believe that this effort can be aided by imposing sanctions on employers who knowingly hire workers in the country illegally. To provide employers with a reliable test of eligibility for work and to prevent discrimination against any

particular group, a new universal and secure identification system will have to be instituted for all legitimate workers in the United States. For this purpose, we prefer a computer-based call in system. Dangers to civil liberties under this proposal would be minimized by the clear declaration that the identification mechanism can be used only for the purpose of checking eligibility for employment.

- * For the long term, the solution to undocumented immigration lies in addressing the problem at its source. Development aid and population assistance to countries that request them must be provided to ease the conditions that force emigration from poor and developing nations.

Normal Flow

The AJC continues to endorse a generous legal flow of immigrants to the country and criteria for their entry that stress family unification. In view of their close historical and cultural ties to this country, we recommend that immigration quotas for nations contiguous to the United States be doubled.

Acculturation

In the past decade, immigration to the United States has risen dramatically, presenting advocates of a generous policy with the challenge of suggesting effective ways to acculturate newcomers to American society. The same situation faces the Jewish community which is currently receiving large numbers of new arrivals. In testimony to the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, AJC called for a proper balance between government assistance programs, voluntary agency activity, and efforts by immigrants to help themselves in their transition. We wish to stress the role the immigrant community plays as a major actor in its own resettlement. Mutual aid associations, informal networks, groups based on kinship and common origin and enterprises run by immigrants perform important functions in cushioning the shock of arrival, preserving positive heritages, and easing newcomers gradually into the social and economic mainstream of American life. They should be better utilized in adjusting new populations to the host society.

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In sum, the American Jewish Committee reaffirms its traditional position in favor of a generous but controlled immigration policy for the United States. We believe that this stance both reflects the best values of our nation and recognizes the many benefits which immigrants and refugees have brought to their new country.

Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey 07079
Phone (201) 761-9141

COMMENTS ON THE MURDER OF ANWAR SADAT

by Msgr. J. M. Oesterreicher

Given to Ms. Anne Smith, Assoc. Dir., PR.

Seton Hall University

President Sadat, a giant of a statesman, murdered; one of the architects of peace in the Near East assassinated by men of war -- what are we to make of it? First, we must remain grateful for his having broken what seemed to be the never-ending chain reaction of war and armistice, and given us grounds to look toward a more tranquil future. We must not allow the foul deed to kill our hope. The measures taken by the Egyptian government strengthens my confidence. We must stand by Egypt with sympathy and help, in this precarious hour. We must not weaken in our support for Israel, ever-threatened in its existence. And we must not be satisfied with feeble assurances from Arab nations who seek our assistance, rather must we exact from them solid contributions to peace. We must honor the memory of Anwar Sadat by continuing on the road he and the people of Israel, led by their government, walked.

October 6, 1981

The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies

SETON HALL UNIVERSITY • SOUTH ORANGE • NEW JERSEY 07079



With Compliments

J. R.

*No acknowledgment is required though we would be glad to know
our mail reaches you. Comments are, of course, most welcome.*

Temple Israel of New Rochelle

1000 Pinebrook Boulevard • New Rochelle, NY 10804 • BEvery 5-1800

RHODA ROYAL
ADMINISTRATOR

October 28, 1981

Rabbi M. Greenbaum
% American Jewish Committee
165 East 86 St.
New York, N.Y. 10022

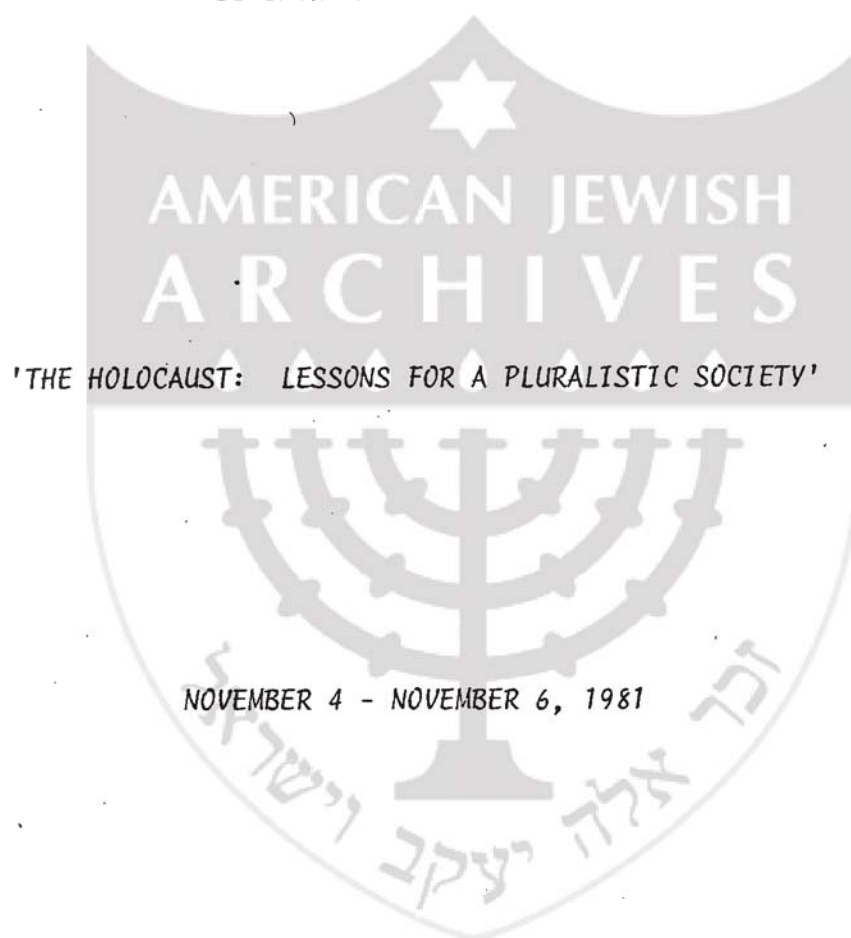
Dear Rabbi:

Attached is our mailing
re: Green Scholar-In-Residence
Weekend -

Looking forward to it!

Sincerely -
Rhoda Royal

PHILADELPHIA COORDINATING COUNCIL ON THE HOLOCAUST
SEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE



UNIVERSITY CITY HOLIDAY INN

36TH & CHESTNUT STS., PHILA., PENNA.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 4

2:30-4:00 P.M. REGISTRATION

LOWER LOBBY FOYER

RESOURCE CENTER (open before and after all Conference sessions)

CHESTNUT ROOM

4:00-5:00 P.M. OPENING PLENARY SESSION

PALM AIRE I

Presiding: Sister Gloria Coleman, S.H.C.J., Chairperson,
Philadelphia Coordinating Council on the Holocaust

Keynote

Address: BIGOTRY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Theodore R. Mann, Past President, National Jewish
Community Relations Advisory Council

5:30-6:30 P.M.

ACADEMIC ASSEMBLY

PALM AIRE I

(for college/university professors)

Presiding: Dr. Irene Shur, Professor of History, Director,
Ethnic Studies Center

Consultant: Dr. Chaim Schatzker, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

6:30-8:00 P.M.

DINNER (on your own)

8:15-10:00 P.M.

PLENARY SESSION

PALM AIRE I-II-III

Presiding: Sister Gloria Coleman, S.H.C.J., Conference Chairperson

Greetings: Irving Teitelbaum, President, Association of Jewish
New Americans, Philadelphia

Keynote

Address: THE HOLOCAUST: LESSONS FOR A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Director, Interreligious Affairs,
American Jewish Committee, New York

Moderator: Dr. Rufus Cornelison, Chairman, National Institute on the
Holocaust, former director, Metropolitan Christian
Council, Philadelphia

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5

9:30-11:30 A.M.

SEMINARS

1. HATE GROUPS IN A FREE SOCIETY

PALM AIRE I

Presiding: Dr. I. Ezra Staples, Executive Director, Penna.
Area Council for Economic Education

Speakers: Alice-Leone Moats, Syndicated Newspaper Columnist,
Knight-Ridder

Professor John Weiss, History Department,
Lehman College, City University of New York, N.Y.

Moderator: Barry Ungar, Chairman, Committee on Professional
Programs, Philadelphia Coordinating Council on the
Holocaust

2. MEDIA POWER/MEDIA RESPONSIBILITY

PALM AIRE V

Presiding: Benjamin S. Loewenstein, Honorary Chairman, Memorial
Committee for the Six Million Jewish Martyrs,
Financial Officer, Philadelphia Coordinating Council
on the Holocaust

Speaker: William L. Green, Director, University Relations,
Duke University, Durham, N.C.; Former Ombudsman,
Washington Post

Response: Charles Schwartz, President and Chief Operations
Officer of Broadcast Enterprise National, Inc.,
Philadelphia, Penna.

John O'Connor, Editorial Director, WCAU, (TV-10)
Philadelphia, Penna.

Moderator: Gesa Sklaroff, News Commentator, WCAU, (CBS Radio)
Philadelphia, Penna.

12:00-2:00 P.M.

LUNCHEON

PALM AIRE II-III-IV

Presiding: Dr. Leon Bass, Principal, Benjamin Franklin High
School, Philadelphia, Penna.

Keynote: GIDEON HAUSNER

Address: President, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, Chief Prosecutor,
Eichmann Trial

Moderator: Rev. John F. Hardwick, Bishop's Staff, Episcopal
Diocese of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penna.

2:15-4:15 P.M.

SEMINARS

1. POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND
RELIGIOUS BIGOTRY

PALM AIRE I

Presiding: Rev. Michael J. Carroll, Assistant to the Vicar,
Office for Catholic Education, Philadelphia, Pa.

Speakers: Marjorie Adler, Manager of Employee and Plant
Services, Sun Company, Marcus Hook, Penna.

Dr. Eugene Fisher, Director, Secretariat for
Catholic-Jewish Relations, National Conference
of Catholic Bishops, Washington, D.C.

Hon. Set Momjian, former U.S. Ambassador to the
United Nations Commission on Human Rights

Moderator: Dr. Lawrence Rubin, Executive Director, Jewish
Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia

2. BEYOND SCAPEGOATING

PALM AIRE V

Presiding: Patricia Levine, Regional Director, National
Conference of Christians and Jews, Philadelphia,
Penna.

Speakers: Dr. William Ryan, Professor of Psychology, Boston
College, Boston, Mass.

Dr. Marvin Wolfgang, Director, Center for Studies
in Criminology and Law, University of Pennsyl-
vania, Philadelphia, Penna.

Moderator: Dr. Gerard Sloyan, Professor of Religion, Temple
University, Philadelphia, Penna.

5:00-6:30 P.M.

WORKSHOPS

PALM AIRE I

1. EDUCATION

*Attempts by Organized Hate Groups to Infiltrate the
School Community*

Moderator: Dr. George French, Director, Social Studies
Curriculum, Philadelphia School District

Discussants: Harold Kessler, Curriculum Specialist, Phila-
delphia School District

Rev. Michael J. Carroll, Assistant to the
Vicar, Office for Catholic Education, Phila-
delphia, Penna.

2. LABOR

UNIVERSITY I

Survival of Trade Unions in a Pluralistic Society

Moderator: John Fox, International Vice President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textiles Workers Union

Discussants: Professor Gerd Korman, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

3. LAW

PALM AIRE V

Preparing Lawyers for their Role in a Pluralistic Society

Moderator: George S. Forde, Jr., Philadelphia Coordinating Council on the Holocaust

Discussants: Frank J. Benasutti, Chairman, Special Committee of Pennsylvania Bar Association on Model Rules of Professional Conduct

Michael Bloom, Chairman, Committee on Professional Responsibility, Philadelphia Bar Association

Mercer D. Tate, Vice Chairman, Professional Responsibility Committee, Philadelphia Bar Association

4. MEDIA

UNIVERSITY I

Role and Responsibility in a Pluralistic Society

Moderator: Gesa Sklaroff, News Commentator, WCAU, (CBS Radio), Philadelphia, Penna.

Discussant: Jerry Bellune, Editorial Page Editor, The Bulletin, Philadelphia, Penna.

5. MEDICINE

CENTER II

Medical Ethics and the Holocaust in a Pluralistic Society

Moderator: Dr. David Rosenberg, President, Jewish Federation of Vineland, New Jersey

Discussants: Dr. Lewis Bird, S.T.M., Ph.D., Christian Medical Society, Philadelphia, Penna.

Dr. Alfred Bongiovanni, Professor of Pediatrics, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penna.

6. RELIGION

GEORGIAN II-III

*Incorporating the Lessons of the Holocaust
in the Teaching of Religion*

Moderator: Catherine Mirsch Marian, Chairperson, Ecumenical
Relations Committee, The Presbytery of Philadelphia

Discussants: Rev. John F. Hardwick, Bishop's Staff, Episcopal
Diocese of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penna.

Rabbi Gary Gans, Congregation Beth Tikvah,
Marlton, New Jersey

Rev. Robert White, Eastern Pennsylvania Conference,
United Methodist Church

F. Burton Nelson, Professor of Theology and Ethics,
North Park Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois

7. SCIENCE/ENGINEERING

CENTER II

The Scientific Community in a Pluralistic Society

Moderator: Rev. Hendrik B. Koning, Episcopal Diocese; Chairman
of Ethics Committee, Technology and Society Division,
American Society of Mechanical Engineers

Discussant: Thomas J. Lord, Engineer, Philadelphia Electric
Company, Philadelphia, Penna.

6:30-8:15 P.M.

DINNER (on your own)

8:15-10:00 P.M.

PLENARY SESSION

PALM AIRE I-II

Presiding: Joseph Smukler, President, Jewish Community
Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia,
Chairman, Memorial Committee for the Six Million
Jewish Martyrs

Keynote Address: CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN A
PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

Dr. Hubert Locke, Vice Provost, University of
Washington, Seattle, Washington

Moderator: Rev. John Driscoll, O.S.A., President, Villanova
University, Villanova, Penna.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6

9:30-11:45 A.M. PLENARY SESSION

PALM AIRE I-II

Presiding: Esther Polen, Secretary, Philadelphia Bar Association

Keynote Address: THE ROLE OF AND CHALLENGE TO LAW IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

Patt Derian, former Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights

Response: Michael Bloom, Chairman, Committee on Professional Responsibility, Philadelphia Bar Association

Dean James Freedman, University of Pennsylvania Law School, Philadelphia, Penna.

Professor Monroe Freedman, Hofstra University, Hempstead, Long Island, N.Y., Director, United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Dean J. Willard O'Brien, Villanova Law School, Villanova, Penna.

Moderator: Dean Peter Liacouras, Temple University Law School, Philadelphia, Penna.

12:00-2:00 P.M. CLOSING LUNCHEON

PALM AIRE III-IV-V

Presiding: Sister Gloria Coleman, S.H.C.J., Chairperson, Philadelphia Coordinating Council on the Holocaust

Keynote Address: Dr. Franklin Littell, Professor of Religion, Temple University, Philadelphia, Penna., National Institute on the Holocaust

6. RELIGION

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Temple University, Philadelphia, Penna.,
National Institute on the Holocaust

THE CONFERENCE IS SPONSORED BY THE PHILADELPHIA COORDINATING COUNCIL ON THE HOLOCAUST
IN COOPERATION WITH:

American Baptist Churches of Pennsylvania and Delaware
Augustinian/Villanova Peace and Justice Institute
Archdiocese of Philadelphia
Eastern Pennsylvania Conference of United Methodist Church
Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania
Jewish-Catholic Institute, Saint Joseph's College
Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia
Memorial Committee for the Six Million Jewish Martyrs
Metropolitan Christian Council of Philadelphia
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Institute on the Holocaust
The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations
The Presbytery of Philadelphia
School District of Philadelphia

THE PHILADELPHIA COORDINATING COUNCIL ON THE HOLOCAUST:

HONORARY CHAIRPERSON: Dr. Franklin H. Littell, Temple University,
National Institute on the Holocaust

CHAIRPERSON: Sister Gloria Coleman, SHCJ, Associate Director,
Ecumenical and Interfaith Affairs, Archdiocese of
Philadelphia

VICE-CHAIRPERSON: Dr. Rufus Cornelison, Metropolitan Christian Council
of Philadelphia

FINANCIAL OFFICER: Benjamin S. Loewenstein, Jewish Community Relations
Council of Greater Philadelphia

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Dorothy Freedman, Memorial Committee for the Six
Million Jewish Martyrs

Mary Agnew, Assistant Vice-President, Fidelity Bank
Dr. Leon Bass, Principal, Benjamin Franklin High School
William Brown, Social Studies Department Head, Northeast High School
Rev. Michael J. Carroll, Assistant Vicar for Catholic Education, Archdiocese of Philadelphia
Rev. Donald G. Clifford, S.J., Executive Director, Institute on Jewish-Christian Relations,
Saint Joseph's College

Mary Costanza, Associate Professor, Gratz College
Spencer Coxe, Antioch College, American Civil Liberties Union
Rev. Msgr. Charles V. Devlin, Executive Director, Office of Urban Ministry, Archdiocese
of Philadelphia

Charles Dougherty, United States Congressman
Rev. John Driscoll, OSA, President, Villanova University
George S. Forde, Jr., Cardinal's Commission on Human Relations
John Fox, International Vice-President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
Dr. George W. French, Jr., Director, Social Studies, Philadelphia School District
Edward Gastfriend, Memorial Committee for the Six Million Jewish Martyrs

Rev. John F. Hardwick, Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania
Rabbi Max Hausen, Vice-President, Board of Rabbis of Greater Philadelphia
Nina Kaleska, vocalist
Mina Kalter, Association of Jewish New Americans
Harold Kessler, Assistant Director, Social Studies, Philadelphia School District
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Samuel Pelta, Association of Jewish New Americans
Esther Polen, Secretary, Philadelphia Bar Association
Donald Robinson, Temple University
Rabbi Bernard E. Rothman, President, Board of Rabbis of Greater Philadelphia
Dr. Lawrence Rubin, Executive Director, Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia

Rev. William J. Shaw, Executive Director, Opportunities Industrialization Center
Dr. Irene Shur, West Chester College
Gesa Sklaroff, WCAU Radio
Dr. Gerard Sloyan, Religion Department, Temple University
Dr. I. Ezra Staples, Executive Director, Area Council for Economic Education
Barry Ungar, Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia
Rev. Robert White, Eastern Pennsylvania Conference, United Methodist Church

* * * * *

Joan Caesar, Press Liaison
MaryAnn Kern, Administrative Aide
Jeanne Trachtman, Resource Room, Coordinator

Special Thanks to the Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith for additional services to the Resource Center.

811214
File Vol 6 # 1

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 14, 1981

to Bert Gold and Robert S. Jacobs

from Marc H. Tanenbaum

subject INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM AT ARNOLDSHAIN EVANGELICAL ACADEMY,
DECEMBER 7-9, 1981

The International Symposium on "Judaism in Christian Religious Education" was held in the conference center of the Arnoldshain Evangelical Academy (outside Frankfurt, Germany) from December 7-9. It was co-sponsored by the Evangelical Academy, the Pedagogic & Catechetical Seminar of the University of Freiburg, the Institute on the History and Religion of Judaism of the University of Duisburg, and the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee.

AJC's financial participation in the symposium was made possible through a generous grant made by the Ernest and Leonora Alschuler Foundation obtained by Bob Jacobs, a fact that was generously acknowledged by the conference chairman, Prof. Martin Stöhr, during the sessions. Zachariah Shuster and I represented AJC at the symposium.

To put it mildly, this was an extraordinary meeting, with all the earmarks of "breakthrough" importance for the future of Jewish-Christian relations throughout the whole of Germany's educational system.

The cast of participants could not have been more impressive. There were more than 125 of the leading theologians -- Catholic, Protestant, and several Jews -- professors, key religious and secular publishers of textbooks, editors, writers, religious teachers, officials from central university and seminary bodies, Catholic and Protestant clergy, German government cultural ministers, and some 20 graduate and undergraduate students. The participants came from some 52 cities in the 11 Länder (provinces) of Germany and represented key leadership for the whole of Germany in this field.

The spirit of the conference was frequently deeply moving. Catholic and Lutheran scholars of the standing of Prof. Johannes Metz, Dr. Gunter Biemer, Dr. Heinz Kremers, Dr. Peter Fiedler, Dr. Michael Brocke all made presentations that were characterized by a spirit of anguished confession and atonement for the crimes that Germans and German Christians committed against the Jewish people, and called for concrete actions for fundamental revision of attitudes toward Jews, Judaism, anti-Semitism, the Nazi holocaust, and the State of Israel. (See attached program and list of participants for titles of speakers and participants.)

December 14, 1981

Following are sample excerpts of some of the statements made:

Prof. Metz (one of the foremost Catholic theologians): "Is it possible to be a believing Christian after Auschwitz? Auschwitz was not marginal, it was central to Christian consciousness. Christian identity must be rebuilt under the impact of Auschwitz. That identity must forever include the permanency of the Jewish presence.

"Christian identity can be realized only in relationship with the Jews. We must rebuild Christian identity with the Jews central in our consciousness. Judaism has been a 'resistance religion'; Judaism did not capitulate to radical evil -- can we not learn from the Jews? Since Christianity is based on the person of Jesus, may we not have created a too individualized religion? Christian survival may well depend on its recovery of its Jewish elements. Christian partners from the beginning to the end are the Jews. We must stand together against inhumanity."

Of especial significance was Prof. Metz' assertion about Israel since he has been viewed as a preeminent "liberation theologian" specializing in "political theology":

"Israel -- we must be the first to believe in this land and stand against radical, totalitarian forces that oppose Israel. We must not leave our Jewish partners alone."

Prof. Heinz Kremers, Lutheran scholar who is co-director of the Duisburg Institute:

"Our studies of Catholic and Protestant textbooks carried out at the Universities of Duisburg and Freiburg disclose that our children in the 9th and 10th grades are taught essentially three things about Jews:

- "a) Jews are the people who crucified Christ;
- b) Hitler killed many Jews in the concentration camps;
- c) Jews in Israel are in conflict with the Arabs; Jews took land from the Palestinians."

"It is clear that the Christian religion in Germany provides an anti-Jewish portrait in Christian schools. Our latest study on Die Juden und der Tod Jesu (published in cooperation with AJC) reveals, as Prof. Theodore Filhaut has observed, that the 'crucifixion story is the primary source of anti-Semitism.'

"We have much to unlearn historically. We must teach the crucifixion without its anti-Jewish message. We must put an end to the teaching of the radical conflict between Christianity and Judaism. Jesus must no longer be portrayed as being outside his people, in conflict with his people. There is an astounding amount of material about the Jewish background of Jesus, his being in fact

a Pharisee, and we must incorporate that knowledge in all our future teaching materials. The Duisburg publishing program is intended to fulfill that need.

"All these catastrophes that the Jews have suffered in Germany and in the Christian West comes from these anti-Jewish teachings in traditional Christianity. Must Christianity be anti-Judaistic? Is this what God promised Jesus?

"Christian language holds apartheid themes toward the Jews. Our language is filled with no responsibility, no guilt toward the Jews and what we have done to them. The very words, Die Juden, convey 'untermensch' overtones. Why do we need this defamation of Judaism? We must combat this tendency aggressively for Christian anti-Jewish sources are deeper in Nazism than the German elements."

Dr. Gunter Biemer, Catholic theologian of the University of Freiburg:

After reviewing the documents of Vatican Council II calling for new appreciation of Jews and Judaism, Rev Biemer said:

"Vatican Council II's Nostra Aetate has its roots in Auschwitz. We are now obligated by the Vatican Council actions to develop a new attitude toward the Jewish people, their religion, their culture, their liturgy. We need a new theology of Jewish-Christian relations composed in a pluralistic mode which acknowledges that both Jews and Christians are established by God. We are the goyim and we owe our Christianness to Jews."

He spoke of the importance of taking a group of Catholic leaders to Israel, "the living setting of Jesus' life." He said it was crucial to develop an encounter with living Jews as a means of advancing "the unlearning process" of negative and hostile teachings about Jews and Judaism.

Dr. Biemer then concentrated on the importance of the role of the teacher and the urgency of proper teacher training in Jewish-Christian relations.

A dramatic illustration of the confessional spirit of the symposium and the determination to do something effective occurred when Dr. Ruth Kastning-Olmesdahl, author of the Duisburg book, "The Jews and the Death of Jesus," reported that a textbook on "Jesus of Nazareth" was now being used in a number of religious classes in Germany. The book is apparently filled with anti-Jewish teachings and images. Dr. Kastning urged that action be taken by the conference to protest to the publisher and writers, and to demand that the book be withdrawn and replaced by more positive materials. "We must make these changes now," she said, "we cannot wait for academics to make their formulations. We must put an end to the discrediting of Jews in our books. We must take the actions as Christians and as Germans and not leave it to our Jewish partners alone."

The conference voted at once to set up a committee of Profs. Kremers, Herbert Jochum, and Mintz to draft a resolution of protest to the publishers and writers and press until the Jesus book is removed.

Dr. Günther Ginzel: "Why has it taken so long for the Church to deal with Auschwitz? Auschwitz is a question for Christians, not just for Jews. Before asking where was God, we need to ask where were we Christians, we as Germans? These are the prior questions.

"Auschwitz was geographically in Poland, spiritually it is in Germany. There are still anti-Semitic structures in Germany. Anti-Semitism and xenophobia exist among the German youth. What to do? We need a new language and a new catechesis. After Auschwitz we cannot speak the same as before Auschwitz. We need a new language in catechesis, a new more sympathetic hermeneutic in interpreting the New Testament. We need to revise our entire teaching system regarding Jews and Judaism; we need identification with Jews as persons and a new solidarity with Israel however Jews define their relationship to Israel."

The impact of the conference can be suggested in a statement made by a University of Mainz professor to Prof. Stöhr: "This was an eye-opening experience. It is clear that we must now change our entire teaching method on these subjects."

FOLLOW-UP PROGRAMS

On the closing day, each of the five workshops made concrete recommendations for changing teachings about Jews, Judaism, anti-Semitism, the Nazi holocaust, and Israel in the following areas: a) elementary schools; b) secondary schools; c) the Passion story; d) the Holocaust and the Church; e) Christian prejudice structures; f) The Land, People, and the State of Israel.

Following the conference, Zach Shuster and I held a series of meetings with the key authorities from Arnoldshain, the Universities of Duisburg and Freiburg and agreed on a general plan for the vigorous implementation of programs and projects that would give concrete expression to the excellent spirit of the symposium and the commitments to action made by its participants. These include the following priorities for 1982-83:

I - USE OF PUBLICATIONS - AJC has helped make possible the publication of four major volumes in this field, two with Duisburg and two with Freiburg. The Duisburg volumes are entitled, "Jews, Judaism and the State of Israel," and "The Jews and the Death of Jesus." Also published were several excellent teacher manuals, curricula and syllabi for use by teachers and students in secondary schools. (Copies are available in the IAD offices.)

In Freiburg, two major studies of Catholic education were published on "Judaism in Catholic Education," by Prof. Peter Fiedler and "Freiburger Guidelines for Teaching about Jewish-Christian Relations," by Gunter Biemer.

We agreed to participate in a program that would lead to the widest possible distribution and use of these basic guidelines and resource materials throughout the entire German educational systems.

II - TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTES - We agreed to help make possible the organization of a series of teacher training institutes in each of the 11 Lnder of Germany using the above publications as the basis for programming. The first major regional training institute will be held in Bonn, June 26-27, 1982, directed by Heinz Kremers and Dr. Ruth Kastning. Based on an evaluation of that experience, other will be planned in 1982 and 1983 in other parts of Germany.

III - ADDITIONAL STUDIES AND PUBLICATIONS - We have agreed to help sponsor a comprehensive study of all religious educational materials in German secondary schools, Grades 5-10 and 11-13, in terms of portrayal of Jews and Judaism, the Nazi holocaust, anti-Semitism and Israel. This level of education has never been systematically examined before, and this will constitute an important contribution to extending the impact of our work of revision of teachings in Germany. Dr. Ruth Kastning, a first-rate scholar and writer, will implement the Grades 11-13 project in 1982, Dr. Horst Caspers will implement the Grades 5-10 project. We have committed \$2,500 for these purposes out of the Ernest and Leonora Alschuler Foundation grant which will be acknowledged in the book. Both studies will be published in 1983.

We are also helping make possible the publication of a book, "Jewish Theological Reflection After the Holocaust," edited by Drs. Brocke and Jochum. The volume will be published by the Kaiser Verlag in Munich. The book will be the basis of further symposia with German writers, academics, intellectuals, and media people.

We are also exploring the publication of a volume on "Jewish Theological Stances and Reflections on Christianity" by Brocke and Jochum. Because of the sensitive nature of the materials, we have asked first to see an outline of the project and a sample treatment of the subject. We will then determine the nature of our participation.

An original volume, "Handbook on East European Jewry" is also being considered. The point of this study is to demonstrate to German society the spiritual and cultural richness of European Jewry that was destroyed by the Nazis.

In sum, we believe our modest early investments in the Duisburg University project have begun to pay off dividends that now already exceed our highest expectations. And we plan to keep it that way.

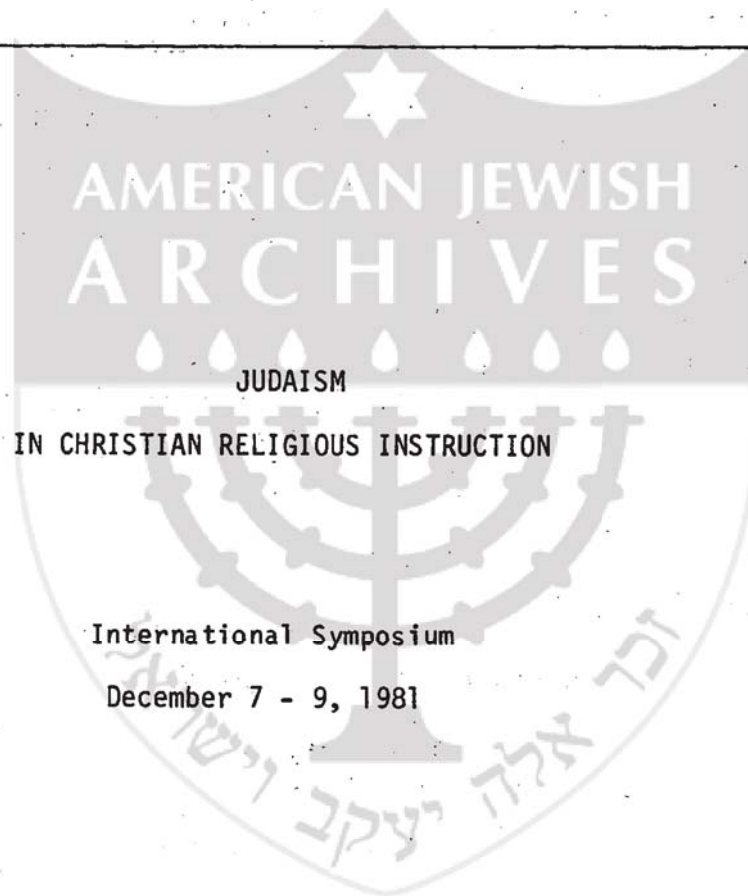
Evangelical Academy -- Arnoldshain

in conjunction with

-- American Jewish Committee

-- Research Project Group "Judaism in Catholic Religious Instruction"
at the Pedagogic Catechetic Seminar at the University of Freiburg

-- Research Project Group "Judaism in Evangelical Religious Instruction"
within the Framework of General Research on the History and Religion
of Judaism at the University of Duisberg



In the Evangelical Academy - Arnoldshain, 6384 Schmitten 1

PROGRAM

Monday, December 7, 1981

2:30 p.m. -- Arrival and Coffee

3:00 p.m. -- Opening and Greetings

Academy Director, Martin Stöhr
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Bishop Dr. Heinz Flugel

3:30 p.m. -- Prof. Dr. Albert Friedlander, London
Elements of Jewish Self-Understanding

5:00 p.m. -- Prof. Dr. J.B. Metz, Münster
The Self-Understanding of Christianity vis-a-vis Judaism

7:30 p.m. -- Discussions with the Lecturers

Tuesday, December 8, 1981

9:00 a.m. -- Prof. Dr. Heinz Kremers, Duisburg
The Important Conclusions of the Analysis of
Contemporary Religious Pedagogic Literature and the
Problem Regarding the Consequences

11:00 a.m. -- Prof. Dr. Günter Biemer, Freiburg
Freiburger Didactic Guidelines in the
Teaching Process on Christians and Jews

3:00 p.m. -- Working Groups

1. The Freiburg Model--Secondary Grade

Rabbi Dr. N.P. Levinson, Heidelberg
Dr. Albert Biesinger, Freiburg

2. Recommendations for Elementary Schools

Dr. Ruth Kastning-Olmesdahl, Siegburg
Prof. Dr. Hildegard Gollinger, Freiburg

3. Secondary Grade 1

Pedagogue Horst Caspers, Duisburg
Pedagogue Edna Brocke, M.A., Duisburg

4. The Passion Story

Prof. Dr. Peter Fiedler, Freiburg
Prof. Dr. Heinz Kremers, Duisburg

5. Holocaust and the Church

Günther Bernd Ginzel, Köln
Herbert Jochum, Saarbrücken

6. Christian Prejudice Structures

Dr. Michael Brocke, Duisburg
Ursula Reck, Köln

7. Land - People - State of Israel

Prof. Dr. Ingrid Maisch, Freiburg
Dr. Pnina Nave-Levinson, Heidelberg

7:30 p.m. -- Reception for the Sponsors and Participants of the Symposium tendered by Church President Dr. Helmut Hild, Darmstadt, Deputy Chairman of the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany

Wednesday, December 9, 1981

9:00 a.m. -- Reports of the Working Groups

10:30 a.m. -- Recommendations and Proposed Measures

A Platform Conversation with:

Dr. Rainer Ilgner, Bonn, Central Office for Education of the German Bishops' Conference
Dr. Christfried Röger, Bonn, Evangelical Church in Germany
Minister of Education Hans Krollmann, Wiesbaden
Minister of Education Dr. Georg Gölder, Mainz
Dr. Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich, Basel
Dr. Jürgen Mackensen, Frankfurt a.M., representing the Organization of Textbook Publishers

12:30 p.m. -- End of the Conference with a Luncheon

Contribution to be made by each Participant 100 DM.

Daily Schedule: 8:15 a.m. -- Morning Prayer ---- 8:30 a.m. -- Breakfast
12:30 p.m. -- Lunch ---- 3:30 p.m. -- Coffee
6:30 p.m. -- Dinner

JUDENTUM IM CHRISTLICHEN RELIGIONSUNTERRICHT

7. - 9. 12. 1981

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Teilnehmerliste
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7. - 9. 12. 1981

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65		Pörsch, Barbara	4100 Duisburg 1, Templerstr. 1	Studentin	
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67		Raske, Prof. Dr. Michael	6233 Kelkheim, Zeilsheimer Str. 33	Professor	Universität Frankfurt/M.
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75		Sommer, U.-Jens	2300 Kiel 1, Gartenstr. 20 PTJ	Theol.Referent	Pädag.theol.Institut Nordelbien
76		Sorge, Helga	3500 Kassel, Goethestr. 34	Studienleiterin	Pädag.theol.Institut Kassel
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79		Schlothane, Gisela	4000 Düsseldorf 30, Kanonierstr.30	Lehrerin	
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86		Stöhr, Martin	6384 Schmitten 1, Evang.Akademie	Akademiedirektor	Evang.Akademie Arnoldshain
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88		Tannenbaum, Dr. Marc	New York,N.Y.10022, 165 East 56 Str.	Rabbiner /Affairs Direct.	The American Jewish Committee
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90		v.Vieregge, Dr.Henning	6100 Darmstadt, Rheinstr. 44/46		
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JUDENTUM IM CHRISTLICHEN RELIGIONSUNTERRICHT
7. - 9. 12. 1981

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Interreligious Affairs

RABBI FABIAN SCHONFELD

Israel Affairs

SAMUEL S. BROCHSTEIN

Roll Call of Synagogues

SEYMOUR KATZ

Task Force on Soviet Policy

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Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America

JULIUS BERMAN, *President*

United Synagogue of America

SIMON SCHWARTZ, *President*

December 22, 1981

TO: Members of IJCIC

FROM: HENRY D. MICHELMAN

Enclosed please find the minutes of our
November 25, 1981 meeting.

enclosure

HDM/hr

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[start]

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International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations

AMERICAN SECRETARIAT:

Synagogue Council
of America
10 East 40th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016
Tel.: (212) 686-8670

EUROPEAN SECRETARIAT:

World Jewish Congress
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1211 Geneve 20
Switzerland
Tel.: (022) 34 13 25

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New York, N.Y. 10022

Anti-Defamation League -
B'nai B'rith
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New York, N.Y. 10017

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for Interreligious
Consultations
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Jerusalem
Israel 91020

Synagogue Council
of America
10 East 40th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

World Jewish Congress
1 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

MINUTES OF IJCIC MEETING, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1981

ATTENDANCE:

Rabbi Balfour Brickner
Mark Friedman
Dr. Arthur Hyman
Rabbi Mordecai Waxman
Rabbi Walter S. Wurzburger
Dr. Gerhart Riegner
Dr. Zachariah Shuster
Rabbi Henry D. Michelman
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Rabbi Bernard Rosensweig
Israel Singer

I.

Minutes of October 6, 1981 meeting were approved.

II.

Publicizing work of IJCIC

Riegner reported Talmon's suggestion that there be some kind of publication on the work of IJCIC which would demonstrate our relationship with the other organizations and would present the major papers presented by IJCIC participants.

Responses:

Rosensweig:

Part of IJCIC's success is that we do not go public.

Brickner:

Invite organizations we dialogue with to contribute to IJCIC publication.

Waxman:

We have two constituencies to address:

- a. The Jewish World
- b. If we put the work of IJCIC on record, the Church will have to face the facts of the "record".

Singer:

Get an independent, neutral publication house to handle this.

Tanenbaum:

The publication could be in the form of a 10 year report on what IJCIC has done -- an overview of achievements, or, an anthology of papers delivered over the year.

Shuster:

The IJCIC publication might be a synthesis of what has taken place, or, major IJCIC papers (too academic?), or, a combination of both.

Riegner:

Proposed IJCIC publication may pose problem with Catholics because of their problems with concept of joint publication of Catholics and Jews; Lutherans agreed papers should be published; Anglicans have already published papers; thus, we should show our Jewish public what IJCIC does and how it presents issues.

Other Considerations:

- a. The costs and funding of an IJCIC publication
- b. It was agreed that a sub-committee of IJCIC be set up to explore the publication idea.

III.

Report on Vatican Meeting, October 27, 1981

1. The Vatican Secretariat is where policy is made and is akin to the "Foreign Ministry" of the Vatican. The Vatican Secretariat made it clear that this meeting (reflecting a new level of relationship) was welcome and would take place again. There was an acknowledgement from the Vatican that it was important to speak with IJCIC as well as with the Israelis.
2. There was a frank discussion about PLO. Vatican pointed out that many revolutionary groups started out as violent and ultimately became civilized. The Vatican saw its task as "civilizing" the PLO and other radical groups.
3. IJCIC stressed the need to differentiate between PLO and other revolutionary groups because PLO has become a special agency to train other terrorist groups for violence.
4. Vatican was embarrassed about the Cappuchi matter.
5. It was clear that the Vatican did not want a confrontation with IJCIC.
6. The meeting lasted 3 hours -- this is significant, indicating that the Vatican recognized IJCIC as an important organization

7. Major problems presented from the Jewish point of view are:
- Religious Liberty - There has been excellent cooperation between the Vatican and IJCIC in the U.N. Vatican is grateful for IJCIC's help at U.N. on matters of religious liberty.
 - Anti-Semitism - Attacks on world leaders and synagogues.
 - Major religious forces have not responded adequately to the problem of violence and terrorism.

8. Vatican Response

There was an acknowledgement that anti-semitism was a serious problem to be dealt with. Riegner suggested a letter on anti-semitism be circulated among Catholics. There was no reaction. But, the feeling was such a letter to world-wide Bishops was not impossible. Recommendation by Riegner to IJCIC that the idea of such a letter be taken up in Geneva.

Tanenbaum:

- Rome meeting constituted a "model demonstration" of cooperation and respect among all of the Jewish representatives. They were ISSUE and TASK oriented and this contributed to the impact of IJCIC on the Vatican.
- The Vatican is creating a contradiction and is compromising its position by making a correlation between its symbolic embrace of the PLO and assassination efforts against Pope and Sadat.
- The Director of the Vatican Secretariat on Peace and Justice was present. Tanenbaum pointed out the epidemic of dehumanization activities via violence and terrorism. Offered to bring in some Jewish experts on terrorism. This should be explored in Geneva.

Discussion:

Brickner:

When the issue about Catholic attempts to "civilize" PLO was raised, did IJCIC ask why the Church was not reaching out to other Arabs?

No response.

Why did Church invite IDI AMIN to meet with Pope and then circulate picture of Amin with Pope?

Tanenbaum:

Vatican's rationale for dealing with PLO is to turn PLO away from violence as a means of achieving goals. The Church has not met with terrorist groups in Angola, for example.

Brickner:

What explains the Vatican's willingness now to talk to IJCIC about political matters?

Riegner:

The change is the result of efforts over the years.

Tanenbaum:

In addition, the Vatican-Muslim dialogue effort has not been productive. The most productive dialogue the Vatican has currently is with the Jews.

Thus, the Church wants "to have something going".

Riegner:

The Church was "tough" in London but the Jews did not break and the Church respected that.

At this stage, the Vatican wants positive relationship with the Jews and the Jews need the Church's cooperation, especially in South America.

IV.

Agenda for December 3, 1981 Geneva Planning Meeting for Milano, September 6 - 9 Conference:

1. Talmon had a preliminary talk with _____ about the agenda. Proposals that the topic be: The sanctity and meaning of life from the Biblical point of view and from the Social point of view.

2. Two papers from each side on each perspective.

3. IJCIC wanted Islam on Geneva Agenda.

Discussion:

Wurzbürger:

It is important that in treating the theme of "The Sanctity of Life" we include issues such as abortion -- which is important to Catholics. We do not want to give the Catholics the impression that the only items on the Jewish agenda are political concerns.

Shuster:

Thus far the topics are vague and amorphous. We should propose in Geneva, for instance, that terrorism and violence be elements of the discussion on the sanctity of life.

Tananebaum:

The Church considers nuclear disarmament as much as abortion, as part of the concern for the sanctity of life, among other major moral human concerns which effect the human family.

Rabbi Mandelbaum presented a useful paper to Lutherans which should be transcribed. The basic moral presuppositions of Judaism have to be presented and then the development of the implications of the theories have to be stressed, i.e., respect of life.

Wurzbürger:

The subject should be formulated as broadly as possible. Thus, one paper on theological presuppositions and another paper on specific implications -- stressing what we share with the Catholics.

Tanenbaum:

Should we raise question of nuclear proliferation as a threat to life? This will be the key question in religious circles in Europe and the U.S. for the next decade.

Riegner:

The specifics of the topics will be dealt with during the summer before the Milan Conference.

V.

Orthodox Church

1. Riegner reported on relationships and two meetings (Lucerne and Bucharest.

2. Outcome: We will publish Roumanian proceedings in either their publication or ours.
3. Agreement in principle for third meeting in Fall of 1982 in Greece.
4. Political issues, such as were discussed in Rome are "too hot" for them.
5. As to the idea of involving various branches of Orthodox Church in America and in Eastern Europe, we must be sensitive to internal problems among Arab-Greek-Russian Orthodox Bishops. We do not want to get caught in the middle.
6. If IJCIC sent invitations, they would take it seriously. But, not if invitations came only from Constantinople.



[end]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



December 30, 1980

Mrs. Anne Wexler
Assistant to the President
and
Mr. Jim Guy Tucker
Chairman, White House Conference on Families
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Anne and Jim,

Thank you very much for your thoughtful Mailgram in which you invite me to join a group of Religious leaders to discuss the recommendations issued from the White House Conference on Families.

I shall be happy to attend the briefing on Friday, January 9th, at 10 a.m.

It may be of some interest for you to know that I serve as Chairman of the Technical Committee on the Media as well as a member of the Technical Committee on Religion of the 1981 White House Conference on Aging. There is a considerable amount of overlap between some of the issues and concerns that we are discussing in preparation for the Conference on Aging as well as those of the Conference on Families. Perhaps an opportunity will allow itself for some discussion of the intersection of those concerns.

I look forward with much pleasure to seeing you on January 9th.

With warmest personal good wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

AJC INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS PROGRAM

1981 PROGRAM PROJECTIONS

I - MORAL MAJORITY - NEW RIGHT EVANGELICALS AND PLURALISM

This area will be a major program emphasis of IAD during 1981. We will continue to pursue a multi-level strategy:

- (1) Seeking to counter the religious and ideological excesses of Fundamentalist preachers and ideologues through "dialogues" with their leaders;
- (2) Cooperating with mainstream Evangelical Christians who support religious pluralism and demonstrate positive attitudes toward Jews, Judaism, and the State of Israel;
- (3) Working with liberal Protestants, where possible, in reaffirming the centrality of religious pluralism and the democratic process in the American system; and
- (4) Relating to such interreligious media groups as "People for the American Way" as an interim response to the assault on the media by extreme rightists who advocate censorship and boycott.

IAD has planned a number of regional meetings during 1981-82 with mainstream Evangelicals as well as with Protestants and Catholics:

Southeast (Atlanta, Florida) Southwest (Tulsa, Dallas), West Coast (Los Angeles, Portland, San Francisco), Middle Atlantic (Baltimore, Washington, Virginia), Northeast (Hartford, Boston), Midwest (Chicago-Wheaton, Illinois).

There is an urgent need to publish from an interreligious - theological, historical, and sociological-perspective a series of articles, background papers, paperback books to help Jews as well as Christians to understand the emergence of the Evangelical Christian movement into the mainstream of American life, and to suggest ways for coping with it constructively on an interreligious basis in local communities. We have begun preparing a kit for Evangelical-Jewish dialogue for our chapters.

Special attention will be given to interreligious approaches to the media since the Evangelical movement has made major strides in virtually dominating TV and radio with their gospel and political messages.

IAD will also explore with DAC setting up local interreligious groups to meet with State Legislators and City Councils to counter the major Fundamentalist strategy to control (and "Christianize") this vulnerable level of government.

II - INTERPRETING ISRAEL AND MIDDLE EAST PEACE

IAD will intensify its work to shore up support for Israel - particularly around the PLO and Jerusalem issues. We will work to keep our lines of communication open with both liberal Protestants and Roman Catholics and responsible Evangelical leadership (Southern Baptists, Presbyterian Church of the U.S., etc.)

To that end, we have planned six bilateral conferences during 1981-82 with Lutherans, the United Methodists, American Baptists, Episcopalians, United Church of Christ, and Disciples of Christ. We have also planned joint conferences with the Southern Baptist Convention, the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.

While concentrating on national church bureaucracies, we will carry forward a simultaneous program of regional and local institutes for building understanding of Israel and Jerusalem. We are convinced that local Protestant and Catholic leaders represent a major countervailing influence to national church bureaucrats who are "Third World" oriented and generally pro-PLO. The conferences and programs referred to in the section on the Moral Majority will frequently include a major section on Israel and the Middle East in addition to domestic concerns.

IAD also plans to step up systematic mailings of "issue-related" materials to selected Christian and Jewish leaders involved in interreligious programming, including the Interreligious Newsletter.

Women of Faith in the 1980s - Based on the success of its first meeting in November 1980, this group has set up a steering committee which can become an important instrument in this education and interpretation program on the Middle East - especially since Christian women represent more than half of church leadership and provide major church funding.

Regional women's conferences are now being planned. A book based on the first conference's proceedings is being prepared for publication, an excellent background document for regional meetings. In addition, WIDME groups are operating in Philadelphia, Rochester, San Francisco, Miami, Norfolk, and others are being planned for Chicago, Detroit, and Boston. These are good forums for discussion of Middle East issues with key influential church women.

Visitors to Israel interreligious tours is another strong instrument for advancing understanding of Israel. We plan to intensify our work in promoting these tours.

The use of religious media - interreligious TV discussions nationally and locally, WINS, WRFM, syndicated radio broadcasts arranged by Mort Yarmon and his staff - will also be intensified.

III - COMBATTING ANTI-SEMITISM AND ENHANCING POSITIVE UNDERSTANDING OF JEWS

In addition to using the opportunities made available by the programs outlined above for combatting anti-Semitism, we plan to inaugurate in 1981 a comprehensive program of seminary education about Jews, Judaism, the Nazi Holocaust and Israel in Protestant, Catholic, and Evangelical seminaries from an interreligious perspective.

We are exploring cooperative programs with the American Association for Theological Seminaries, with denominational seminary boards, and with local seminary clusters. We have elicited serious interest in seminary education programs in Connecticut, Philadelphia, and Boston, and will examine how to proceed on a regional basis.

Much of this work will be planned with CSD in order to develop an integrated agency approach and wise use of resources.

The Priestly Formation booklet to be published with the Catholic bishops will be a background document in this work.

IV - PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS

The National Interreligious Task Force for Soviet Jewry is an effective instrument for the promotion of the human rights of Soviet Jews and persecuted Christians in Russia and Eastern Europe. Interreligious delegations will continue to play a vital role in advocating the cause of Soviet Jewry and others in relation to our Government, the UN, and in mobilizing public opinion through its 15 local chapters around the country. Sister Ann Gillen will program with us in how to continue to mobilize moral support through organizing effective public opinion.

V - PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF JEWS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Interreligious affairs programming in Germany, France, and Italy will constitute an important arm of the agency in seeking to uproot the sources of anti-Semitism in Christian culture in Europe, as well as to interpret affirmatively Jews, Judaism, the meaning of the Nazi holocaust and Israel.

IAD will intensify its cooperation with the University of Duisberg in 1981-82 in producing several new books in West Germany for use through the entire German education system. A nationwide conference of German educators is planned for December '81 by IAD and Duisberg.

Some further work in anticipation of the 1984 production of the Oberammergau Passion Play will be done.

In France, efforts to strengthen Catholic-Jewish programming on anti-Semitism and positive teachings about Jews, Judaism, and Israel will be undertaken with the Catholic hierarchy.

In Rome, a conference of religious leaders will be held on the theme of "Religion, Religious Liberty, and Human Rights." We hope this will involve some Vatican personalities and will have some impact on Vatican and other circles.

VI - IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEES

The moral issues raised by some 14 million refugees in the world will be a major interreligious concern in 1981-82 (and beyond), and we plan to continue our leadership role in this field. IAD's experiences in this area demonstrate that these universal approaches to refugee problems afford special opportunities for placing problems of Jewish refugees on the international agenda, and we plan to participate in our consultations with the U.S. Ambassador on Refugees, The U.S. Committee for Refugees, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service, and the International Rescue Committee.

VII - STRENGTHENING THE JEWISH FAMILY

IAD has special expertise in the "cults" and this a a factor in dealing with Jewish family issues. IAD will plan a National Interreligious Consultation on the cults in 1981-82.

CHURCH AS SHAREHOLDER

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD ISSUES OFFICE OF THE UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR WORLD MINISTRIES

475 Riverside Drive - 16th Floor, New York, NY 10115

VOL. VIII, No. 1 / SPRING, 1981

TNC'S DISCLOSE EAST EUROPE TRADE ON REQUEST BY WORLD MINISTRIES

Of 19 major companies receiving a UCBWM shareholder resolution requesting details of their trade with the Soviet Union and its allies, 15 have provided sufficient information to justify withdrawing the stockholder action. One company is still negotiating at this writing, and in four cases it proved impossible to reach a timely agreement.

The Board's Proxy Committee was concerned to discover to what extent, if any, its portfolio companies were invested in European Communist countries, their policies and practices regarding worker rights, and whether goods and services provided could contribute either to oppressive or aggressive actions by the regimes.

While not co-filing the shareholder resolutions, the Corporate Responsibility Committees of the Pension Boards, United Church Foundation and United Church Board for Homeland Ministries authorized letters of inquiry along the same lines.

Companies were asked to break down their gross revenues by country, product line and year from 1975-1979, including sales by their foreign subsidiaries, and to disclose the quantities and values of products whose end-users the company had reason to believe were the police or military.

For example, one company had received a large order for two-way radios, which upon investigation proved to have been purchased to facilitate the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. The radios were "totally unsuited for ground-to-air communication," a company representative said, pointing out that no products or technology suitable for military purposes could be exported without a U.S.

Government license.

Corporations which made satisfactory disclosure are **Borg-Warner, Bristol-Myers, Conoco, Eastman, Exxon, Ford, GE, GM, Merck, Minnesota Mining, Schering-Plough, Shell, Standard Oil (Indiana), Tenneco, and Textron.** The others are **Mobil, Standard Oil (Calif.), Texaco and Texas Instruments,** where the UCBWM's resolution has been maintained.

When all the texts have been received, the UCBWM will consider making them available to UCC members and others as an illuminating overview of the many products and services that contributed to the total of \$3.5 billion in U.S. sales to the European Communist bloc in 1980.

S.E.C. UPHOLDS UCC BOARDS IN SHAREHOLDER ACTIONS

The score so far is Daniel 6, Lions 0 in United Church of Christ shareholder resolutions contested by corporations before the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. The companies had contended, for various reasons, some technical and some substantive, that they should not be obligated to include in their proxy materials resolutions filed by United Church of Christ instrumentalities.

In this case "Daniel" is Professor Paul Neuhauser of the University of Iowa Law School who has represented the Boards and the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility on a number of occasions. The "Lions" include **Mobil Oil** (two resolutions), **Eastman Kodak, Texas Instruments, Textron,** and **Cleveland's National City Bank** (one each).

Neuhauser, who is a member of the Episcopal Committee for Social Responsibility in Investments, was aided by Howard Schomer in his representations to the Commission.

HOPES — BIG AND SMALL — IN AFRICA TODAY

During the first week of March, a world conference of business leaders was held in the Ivory Coast, in West Africa. Its central theme was "Industry and Civilization—Mastering Change for the Service of All." Flying to shining Abidjan from grim Johannesburg, I felt that the title of this 16th World Congress of the International Christian Union of Business Executives (UNIAPAC) was too slick.

What I found in this gathering of more than 300 business people and some 30 "spiritual counsellors" from 33 countries stood in stark contrast with everything in the South African scene. About 40 percent of the participants were people of color, mostly black, and nine African countries were represented. While there was soaring rhetoric about ultimate goals—"the integration of the African culture"—there was a readiness to grapple with the dilemmas and concrete issues bedeviling all international economic relations between rich countries and nations struggling for economic and human development.

Workshops exchanged ideas and proposals on topics that had been under study in the national branches during the past triennium: the person in industrial society; quality of life in the firm; experiments in social audit; corporate social planning; dialogues between churches and transnational corporations; the businessman's religious vocation; ethical guidelines for foreign business operations in developing countries. The study/action themes adopted for 1981-84 were: family businesses and the future; companies as schools for human development; technological change and employment; world food needs and industry; social ethics and transnationality.

Continued, page 2

U.N. GROUP HOPES TO COMPLETE NEW CODE OF CONDUCT FOR CORPORATIONS

For the past four years the United Nations Commission on Transnational Corporations sponsored a "Working Group on a Code of Conduct." Now, after twelve long series of intensive negotiations it appears that a text may be presented to the Commission to be passed on, no doubt amended, to an international Negotiating Conference, with all U.N. member states represented.

Diplomats, particularly from developing countries, are concerned that the new Administration in Washington may seek to re-open discussion on points of agreement already reached, as seems to be occurring with the Law of the Sea Draft Treaty.

A report on the current status of the Draft Code of Conduct may be requested from the World Issues Office of the UCBWM.

DEALING WITH QUESTIONS OF CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY

The concerns of the United Church of Christ and its members in the field of corporate social responsibility are expressed at many levels. The deepest and most important should be that of the local congregation, where ministers and people struggle with ethical issues, more formally in classes and seminars, less formally in discussions as friend to friend, or within the family circle.

Ultimately the wrestling may take place as a conscientious person spends quiet and lonely hours in meditation and prayer.

At the corporate level the effort to harmonize ethical values with bottom-line realities may take place in several arenas, sometimes at a meeting of a Board of Directors, sometimes in discussions with staff colleagues (not so easy when one's superior officer displays no finely-tuned sense of ethical values), sometimes in a few minutes of hasty thought before an executive makes a decision he or she knows will affect the lives of other people.

At the academic level corporate ethics becomes a frequent subject of discussion in classes and among student groups, by college and seminary faculties, and among those charged with managing the endow-

ments and other funds of institutions related to the church.

Officially, four instrumentalities of the United Church of Christ cooperate in expressing their concern for corporate social responsibility. The Social Strategy Committee of the United Church Board for World Ministries and the Committees on Corporate Social Responsibility of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, United Church Foundation and Pension Boards are jointly involved. With help from the three "downtown" Boards, the UCBWM's World Issues Office is charged with the responsibility of discovering and highlighting issues, and suggesting strategies for dealing with them.

It is in the meetings of these Committees, advised by the World Issues staff and consultants, that the decisions are made to commit the instrumentalities of the United Church of Christ to private negotiations with corporations, or to public action to express and advance their social concerns.

For the past ten years Dr. Howard Schomer has carried the staff responsibility for the World Issues Office, with Dr. Audrey Smock taking up the mantle as of March 1 this year. Schomer and his associate Philip A. Johnson continue in a consultative capacity until June 30.

While guarding their own integrity and freedom to make their own decisions, the UCC Committees are advised and greatly assisted by the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, a related agency of the National Council of Churches. Made up of 17 Protestant denominations and some 170 Roman Catholic diocesan offices or orders, the ICCR sets a good deal of the agenda for church-related investment activities.

BUSINESS WEEK NEGATIVE ON SOUTH AFRICA INVESTMENTS

While crediting U.S. companies with being "one of the most important forces promoting racial reform and improvement in working conditions" in South Africa, the business-oriented publication warns the Government of Prime Minister P. W. Botha that "the longer the Afrikaner dominated government delays real reform, the greater the risks will be and the stronger the case against investment will become."

"Smart investors do not bet on losing propositions," the editorial concludes.

CARTER IMPOSES, REAGAN CANCELS CURB ON EXPORT OF PRODUCTS BANNED IN U.S.A.

Just five days before President Carter left office he issued an executive order restricting the export of a number of products banned for sale within the United States (see *Church as Shareholder*, Fall Issue).

Now, according to the *New York Times*, the order is to be reversed on the grounds that it represents "another example of excessive Government involvement in commercial affairs."

Included in the ban were TRIS-treated children's nightwear (TRIS is a flame retardant suspected of being carcinogenic), and certain drugs, aerosols, X-ray equipment and pesticides.

The order had been attacked by Lewis Engman, president of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, since "it will insure that sales go to foreign firms."

The Carter Administration defended its action as being one of "benevolent self-interest, showing other countries that they can trust goods bearing the label 'Made in the U.S.A.'"

HOPES—from page 1

My previous week's work in South Africa was far less pretentious. Trustworthy and objective friends of many years, both black and white, showed me that the polarization between the forces of apartheid domination and those fighting for multiracial equality had sharply increased since my last visit but twenty months before. Nothing less than a full sharing of political and economic power will meet the demands of the black majority—and of justice—and none who today wield such power would dream of sharing it.

Since knowledge and skill are important building blocks for economic power, my counsellors all welcome initiatives that will greatly advance black education, vocational training and job promotion. We made some progress in developing a consortium of companies that will no longer be content with EEO slogans but are determined to provide the means for accelerated learning, on the job and in the communities where their black employees are obliged to reside. But, of this small hope that could become big, a fuller report later.

— Howard Schomer

STATUS OF WORK ON CORPORATE ISSUES

(See "Actions on Corporate Issues" in Church as Shareholder, Fall Issue)

I. Domestic Employment, Health, Etc.

Atlantic Richfield's subsidiary, **Anaconda**, closed two facilities in Montana with little or no advance warning or preparation for workers or community. A conference with **Anaconda's** president and general counsel brought out much additional information, but little progress toward getting an assurance that **ARCO's** Board would adopt a general policy on plant closings.

On the issue of ethical guidelines for Genetic Engineering research, **General Electric** arranged a one-day intensive seminar for management, scientists, and church-nominated ethicists. Further steps will depend on the outcome of the seminar.

Cleveland's **National City Bank** is the subject of a UCBWM shareholder resolution asking disclosure of their policies in the area of equal opportunities in employment for women and minorities. Drs. Schomer and Smock will represent UCBWM at the Bank's annual meeting.

II. Agribusiness and Chemical Products

Letters of inquiry were sent to five companies regarding their manufacture and export of hazardous chemicals, especially pesticides banned for use in the United States. **Allied Chemical**, **Standard Oil of California (Chevron)**, **Dow**, **Shell Oil (U.S.A.)** and **Union Carbide** all responded. All affirmed that neither they nor their foreign subsidiaries exported such chemicals. **Dow** submitted two studies, by Oregon State University and a broadly based group in the United Kingdom, in effect denying that there was proof of genetic or environmental damage having been caused by the company's manufacture of herbicides and pesticides containing dioxyn (such as **Agent Orange** and **Silvex**). **Dow** asked critics to await the outcome of exhaustive hearings now being conducted by the Environmental Protection Agency.

No resolution regarding the landholding and labor practices of **Castle and Cooke** could be filed this year. However, reports continue to come from churches, unions and missionaries regarding alleged

abuses in Thailand, the Philippines, Nicaragua, Honduras and elsewhere. Investigation continues, however, and both Dr. David Stowe and Dr. Smock will be making trips to get first-hand information on the situation in Central America.

III. Corporate Governance

Should corporations have the right to review proxies as they come in, and then make special efforts to lobby shareholders who vote against management to change their votes? Last year, on the infant formula issue, several very large institutional investors were so lobbied and did change their votes. Therefore the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, the Pension Boards and United Church Foundation have filed a resolution asking **American Home Products** to desist from this practice, and the United Church Board for World Ministries has made the same request of **Bristol-Myers**.

IV. Nuclear Weapons

All four participating United Church Boards would like further discussion with **AT&T** regarding their operation of the Sandia Nuclear Labs in New Mexico, and with **General Electric** concerning their nuclear plant in Pinellas County, Florida. Exploration of these possibilities will continue.

V. South Africa

Issues regarding corporate conduct in the Land of Apartheid continue to be raised. Two banks, **Continental Illinois** and **Bank of America** are asked to strengthen their stands regarding loans to the Government. Two banks, **First Boston** and **Manufacturers Hanover**, were commended for refusing to take part in the **Citibank**-led consortium which loaned \$250 million to a Government agency, ostensibly for beneficent social purposes.

Borg-Warner was asked in a UCBWM resolution not to expand its production in South Africa, and **IBM** was asked by the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, Pension Boards and the United Church Foundation not to make computers or services available to the Government except for health or humanitarian purposes.

A fourth category of concern, sales of products to the South African police and military, was raised with **General Motors**, **Ford**, and **Mobil Oil**. When Ford and GM

agreed to participate in a symposium under church auspices on "Current Issues Confronting U.S. Companies in South Africa," with a transcript of the meeting to go to all their directors, these two resolutions were withdrawn.

Mobil, however, challenged the UCBWM resolution with the S.E.C., where they lost on two attempts to disqualify shareholder action. (See story, "S.E.C. Upholds UCC Boards," in this issue.) Drs. Smock and Johnson will ask other stockholders to support the resolution at the Mobil annual meeting in New York on May 7.

VI. Other Issues

A second conference with **ARCO** officials, held on the same day as the one concerning the **Anaconda** plant closing, took up the question of a proposed new billion-dollar investment in Chile. Although the decision will depend on feasibility studies which may not be complete for a year, the church-related group of shareholders felt that the resolution should be maintained. The company representatives declared that the repressive character of the Pinochet regime was not a determining factor in assuring the country's long-range stability. They stated they could and did operate under all kinds of regimes. "We're there because the resources are there," they said.

A similar resolution was submitted to **Exxon**, also considering expanding in Chile.

PROPHECY VS. PROFITS ANALYZES CHURCH ACTIONS RE CORPORATIONS

Donald J. Kirby, S.J. researched his doctoral thesis in the ways in which religious groups deal with the area of corporate social responsibility. Concentrating a good deal of attention on the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, he has refined his thesis into a good and useful introduction to the subject.

The volume has the strengths and the weaknesses of the case-study method. What it lacks in breadth—three issues have been selected out of a wide spectrum of possibilities—it makes up in depth, and it relates the movement to Judeo-Christian ethical principles and to its theological, historical and practical roots.

Prophecy vs. Profits: An Investment Dilemma for Churches, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, N.Y., 1980, 260 pages, \$13.00.

**\$51,000,000 IN CITICORP
BONDS, C.D.'S
SOLD BY HARVARD
IN S.A. PROTEST**

When New York's Citibank decided to bend its "no loans to South Africa" policy to take the lead in providing \$250,000,000 in financing for housing, medical and educational purposes in South Africa, many religious groups, universities, and others protested, none more dramatically than Harvard in its recent decision to sell off the debt instruments of Citibank it had been holding.

Citibank officials pointed to their policy of not providing funds for the general purposes of the Government, and that the proceeds of the loan would help to provide desperately needed facilities for the black majority population.

Others felt that South Africa, with its enormous profits from gold mining, had no need of external financing, and was merely testing the international financial waters in the hope that it would become a regular participant in the world of international finance. Critics contended that any facilities built with the loan would go into segregated locations and would only contribute to the strengthening of the apartheid system.

The United Church Board for World Ministries closed its accounts with Citibank in 1979. The UCC's President's Office is presently engaged in discussions with Citibank officials responsible for making the new loan. One UCC official

pointed out there are several factors to be taken into account, including the fact that it was Citibank which responded to pleas for emergency loans for UCC black colleges, and for the defense of the "Wilmington Ten."

**INFANT FORMULA ARENA
SHIFTS TO WHO ASSEMBLY**

The World Health Organization's General Assembly, scheduled to meet in June, will be considering the adoption of an "International Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes," recently approved by its Executive Board.

The Code, which has been the subject of intense and sometimes acrimonious discussion among representatives of governments, the baby food industry and private action groups, is admittedly a compromise which will rely on persuasion rather than compulsion for enforcement. It calls for a ban on advertising infant formula as a substitute for breastmilk, and on the distribution of free samples to mothers of babies up to six months old.

In coordination with IBFAN (International Baby Food Action Network) staff of the ICCR's Working Group on Infant Formula lobbied in Geneva for the adoption of a stricter code, but in general welcomed the Executive Board's action as "a victory for babies."

Meanwhile, American delegate Dr. John Bryant warned that the United States would be offering a number of amendments when the 152-government Assem-

bly takes up the Code. He described an absolute ban on advertising as "unacceptable . . . to a country devoted to the idea of free speech, including commercial free speech."

The problem of formula feeding is greatest in third-world countries where mothers do not have access to pure water supplies for mixing the powder, nor the money for purchasing the product. But WHO points to evidence that formula-fed babies are in general more prone to infection and disease than are breast-fed babies, and expresses the hope that the Code will be observed in all countries.

For further information, write to Infant Formula Working Group, ICCR, Room 566, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10115.

GANDHI'S LIST OF SINS

On a list of deadly sins, according to Mahatma Gandhi, are the following: wealth without work, pleasure without conscience, knowledge without character, commerce without morality, science without humanity, worship without sacrifice, politics without principle.

* * *

The United Church Board for World Ministries which publishes this Newsletter welcomes your comments—and new subscribers at \$1 for three issues per year.

This issue of Church as Shareholder was edited by Philip A. Johnson, associate of Howard Schomer in his Corporate Social Responsibility consultancy.

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Promotion of

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Debbi Mark Tannentoun
Dr. J. R. Rep. J. R. C.
165 E 56 Street
New York NY 10021

Nov 13, 1981

Dear Mark,

For I have exciting new information from
the Pope (through a personal friend) confirming
his decision to organize world cooperation
of all religions, with the intention
to overcome religious persecution. ^{action in democratic countries} Reverend
The next Dobrynia ^{he worked for}
Gorbachev. ^{by you: Sunday of the report.}
Team of Architects ^{the Archbishop}
America's ^{in his} ^{as image of Robert}
you are working ^{referred to} ^{finger}
in his ^{unique spirituality} ^{of the old}
this book on Easter ^{and now} ^{with new}
one unique ^{humanity} ^{expressed}
of the old ^{page 5} ^{of Greshdy}
and now ^{the four large} ^{quens for}
with new ^{the end} ^{to}
humanity ^{some} ^{to}
p 376 6 ^{your} ^{article}
p 376 6 ^{phone} ^{me}
your ^{phone} ^{me}
202/529 5900

of 3 can meet you in NY before end
of the month in NY as before I leave
receive an emergency check of 10,000 to
20,000 dollars. Our European promoters have
to earmark these contributions from some
Campus of \$50 million for are I am Pro Pro
and for his emergency all people would
for his spiritual people would
A political peace on earth

We must absolutely
meet before I fly to Rome for
cannot report on writing the
unexpected new developments in the
Internally yours

PS Rita and I hope
be able to visit the
and type it. I am
but have nobody to type to
they

difficult to plan eventual improvements.

ARE THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION REALLY ATHEIST AS MOST THINK, OR HAVE TO PROCLAIM ?

by Andrew F. Morlion O.P.

I am capable of answering this question frankly because, as one of the leaders of the youth-revolution in my country Flanders, I thought I was a practical atheist. I found out, after much suffering, ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~no one~~ ^{that} can improve society without first improving the human being. I am now a Dominican priest, ~~disin~~ ^{disin} of the critical realism of Aquinas and absolutely free to act and write without accepting instructions from any political, economic, cultural or humanistic (religious- or not) organisation. The Dominicans are the freest of all organizations because they require six to seven years of thorough study of the living Truth which as Christ promised, really makes us free. As founder of the massmedia agencies in Brussels with their 82 offices in all continents and of the International University in Rome with 20,000 alumni, I have been appointed "peritus" (expert) in the revolutionary Ecumenical Vatican Council II and I received the first new kind of Papal Bull, now called Apostolic Brief. It was signed by my friend Pope Paul VI to confirm, as first practical implementation of the Council that our international Union of Research and action for full development (UNIR) which is erroneously known all over the world for its option "PRO DEO", is encouraged by the highest Church authorities "to unite persons of various nations and opinions who dedicate themselves to realize brotherhood all over the world with people coming from different social and religious circles".

I now finally have a decisive proof that "perestrojka" and "glasnost" are not propaganda moves, but are irreversibly being implemented, not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the Orthodox Church, not only in USSR but also in other countries ~~at~~ ^{with} one-party-regime. I will first translate literally the proofs that the Orthodox Church is finally also starting its belated return to its real nature. Then prove that one of the most famous scientists of USSR now dares to frankly recognize the errors committed in the past and sincerely answers questions which bring us to understand that God does not give the gift of faith to all, but gives to all the challenge to listen to the voice of their conscience which gives not only the light of hope but also the self-giving force of love.

HOW THE AUTHORITIES OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH NOW IRREVERSIBLY CANCEL THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE AND THUS SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF AUTHENTIC RELIGION-

For the first time the layman Beppe Del Colle, chief editor of the most powerful christian illustrated weekly "Famiglia Cristiana". (1 500 000 copies sold: 6 000 000 readers), was allowed to have a man-to-man conversation with the archpriest Valentin Radughin, head of the famous Seminary and Theological Accadamy of Zagorsk. His answers were at least surprising. He started with the observation that the problem for the Church today, also in USSR (I add: and in all countries) is not atheism but religious indifference i.e., the impression that God - if He exists - is not relevant for our ordinary life. Valentin then declares, well each word: "When we di-

vulge our thought, when we preach, we do not try to convert but to show the people what we have at their disposition so that they can freely choose. We indicate the riches of the christian spiritual life, the high elevation of the ideals we profess, not in an abstract and theoretical way, but with our life. We do not proselytize or make propaganda, but indicate the value of an experience which many share with the Church."

2) Then Alessio, Metropolitan of Leningrad, dared to speak even more clearly. He is the author of the most daring samizdat which, in 1980 was the most complete criticism of the unintelligent limitations of religious freedom due to the vice-president of the central committee of the party, responsible for religious affairs. We do not know if this functionary, called Furov, has not yet been demoted, but we know that Alessio is now head of the Ecumenical Council of the Orthodox Churches and travels regularly, also often in the West. He dares to recognize openly: "Before the Revolution there was no crisis in vocations, as there is now in all christian Churches. The choice of a religious life was often dictated by material conditions: in the Orthodox Church there was the habit that the major part of the sons of the priests (called in Russia "Popes") inherited the paternal function, also the parish. Now there are not more than 15- to 18 % of the sons of priests who decide to become priests themselves. Now in USSR, no organized religious instruction is permitted - not even in the church: the duty of evangelization is assumed by the families, especially by the women. In the non-religious families, it is rare that religious vocations should be born". Beppe then naturally asked pointblank: "Are you an optimist concerning the faith in Russia?" The answer was clear: "The christian must be optimist and believe in the grace and absolute truth of Christ who guarantees the eternal existence of the Church. I believe in our function to educate people to be faithful to the Gospel." Naturally Beppe then asked: "How does your Church consider the revolutionary period?" The answer is clear and irreversible: "The Russian Orthodoxy had identified itself with the monarchy - the head of the Church was the tsar and the whole hierarchy was, for centuries, up to the Revolution, educated in this prospective. It was thus not prepared to accept the social change that happened. The function of the Church, however, was - and always will be - to be at the side of the people. Also when changes of such great importance happen, we must continue to be near to the people. For two centuries, from Peter the Great to now, the people were used to consider the Church as just one thing with the State, even at its service. This is no more so: the Soviet Constitution has separated the Church from the State. Then part of the clergy and the hierarchy opposed this and the tension was very strong."

Beppe then asked if the prize the Church had to pay for this change was not very high. The answer was: "Da, yes. But this process of separation had to come about, it is happening also in Greece and will happen everywhere". At this point, Alessio defines ~~proposition~~ the only possible updating of the former erroneous Church-policies. He declares clearly: "If we want it or not - the Constantinean era has passed away. The Church

has perhaps not used all the opportunities it has received, and thereby we must accept those changes: the future of our Orthodoxy depends on the way it will develop its functions in the conditions in which it is now present".

The third interview of Beppe was with the Metropolitan, Filaret of Kiev. He went deeper, distinguishing the three great social duties of the Church: Educate the people, abolish pagan polygamy and the function to strengthen and perpetuate the spirituality, which makes the world ever poorer. Filaret was not wrong in adding that he hoped that the "perestrojka" and "glasnost" i.e., the restructuration and transparence would be extended to all the aspects of society, also the religious ones. In fact, Gorbachev proved he meant business in his project to create a new society.

The director of the official theoretical magazine "Kommunist" invited Filaret to a television debate on the first channel, in the best hour, 1.30 p.m., on the subject "Man, Humanism, Humanity". It is not surprising that at the very last moment Novosti phoned that, for technical reasons the transmission was postponed. We may now, however, ^{quote} one of the most famous Soviet scientists to insist that the Soviet Union needs quickly and more and more clearly and decisively, the clarification of the irresistably spiritual nature of Humanism.

WHO TRANSFORMS THE EGOCENTRIC BOURGEOIS INTO A SELFGIVING HUMANIST ?

Gheorghij Greschko is since the age of 25, one of the most famous Soviet scientists. He is a professor of physical-mathematical sciences and director of the Institute of Physics of the Atmosphere of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow. He is the most experienced astronaut because in three flights, starting with Sputnik, he has passed about 120 days in space - far away from the gravitational pull of the earth. He answered with extraordinary frankness the questions of another journalist of "Famiglia Cristiana", Cenzino Mussa.

Cenzino naturally asked if he was paid well. The answer was: "When I was chief-engineer I earned 180 rubles a month (about \$ 250.-), but now I earn 500 rubles. The crane-operator who works at the polar circle earns 750. This is right. He undergoes the same risks as we do but his work is less interesting. No, ^{one} who wants to become rich, should become astronaut. He goes in for this however if he wants to better appreciate the life on our little old Earth. I have recovered the joy of walking barefoot on the grass, listen to the birds and the rustle of the wind between the leaves. You can never know how good it is when - back from space - you eat fresh bread with onions...". "But you do get something more than this in space ?" Answer: "The eye embraces the Earth for 4 thousand kilometers. I saw a piece of Africa and of Spain, the whole of the mediterranean, the straits of Gibraltar, the colors and outlines which surround it. They are the most beautiful scene."

"Do you feel changed in space?". "I know^{not} if it is a real change in me, but now I know how many millimeters are needed to make the immense; so many are needed. And so also the small things are seen by me in the right light, they are important".

"What do you need most in space?". "Certain inborn human qualities serve as patience, affability, the sense of ^{humour} ~~humour~~ the astronaut must be sympathetic".

"What do you desire most when you come back on Earth?". Here Gheorghij strokes his hair and curls his beard and then takes a piece of paper. He then says, excusing himself for the delay: "I have wanted to decide if I would answer seriously or not. I have decided in the affirmative. Now look here what I have written: 1. I want to see one of the first solitary astronauts. 2, I want a bit of serenity. 3, I want the woman of my life."

"Do you suffer in space?". "My family suffers more. The last time my wife who also is meager, lost six kilos, I only lost four. Now and then arrives from the Earth the spaceshuttle which brings fresh food, water, fuel, letters, newspapers, photographs. In the evening some stay for hours with the photos of their children in front of their eyes and then melancholy comes..".

"Do you have some other special joys in space?". "I've always tried to live according to glasnost (transparency) and perestrojka which means also to break the ordinary rules to succeed in doing my work as well as possible. ~~When they told me that the big telescope could not be repaired, I spent~~ night^s to succeed doing it all the same and brought back surprising new information on the explosions on the sun and the consequent magnetic tempests".

"What is the most important thing you learned in space?". "I gave the answer to the students of a Roman highschool: travel in space and even to Mars is worth it because we can then finally feel ourselves to be human beings."

"But the students objected that you should better spend all those efforts and all those dozens of billions of dollars to feed the poor on Earth..".

"We work in space also to solve the problems of insufficient healthcare and poverty. It is a complex work: we undertake astro-physical, geo-physical research, experiment in radio-communications and the invention of new materials, but also biological and medical research. So, for instance, we have on Saljut 7 obtained an anti-flu vaccine, a few grams capable of immunizing the children of an entire city..".

"Can you find a solution to save the Earth from the lack of protection of life through the ozonlayers?". "The layers of ozone are thinning out and in some points there are already holes, as for example above the Southpole. This is dangerous because the ultraviolet radiations of the sun are then beginning to destroy the protection of life on earth."

Without these layers of ozone, illnesses increase and also the agricultural production can change. Some declare that this is the fault of the astronauts. But the rockets during their take-offs pierce the ozonlayers only for a few seconds and the harm done is irrelevant. Greater damage is provoked by the ultrasound airplanes, by the aerosols, the dust, the ashes, the ^{metallic} particles

which mount in the atmosphere from the volcanic and industrial fumes. ^{They} act negatively on the ozone layers, also the gasses we commonly use, particularly Freon. We are bad administrators of the Earth".

"Does it happen that you ever pray in space?". "Who knows me knows that I am happy to live in a forest, in the middle of the sea, ^{and} with other human beings, and that I try to respect the flowers of May and that I try to respect the ^{footprints} of the hazel mouse on the snow, which are signs of its life. If this is prayer, then I pray..".

"Now I understand ^{that} why you repeated high in space you understood that you love the Earth".

We will not quote here the surprisingly humble declarations of the failures of the Soviet Union which formerly always had to be hidden. Gheorghij repeated and repeated again: "First my articles were always censored. I could not write about the difficulties encountered. The typical phrase was this: '-The equipments function perfectly and the astronauts are in perfect health-! But in the meanwhile often somebody died. Now the Soviets know that the conquest of space is made out of successes and failures. Like the life of each of us."

Gheorghij does not ~~fail~~ however to give exceptional, convincing details ^{proving} that the Soviets with the new enormously powerful booster they call "Energy" can beat the Americans and land on Mars even before the end of the century. But at this point we receive the real message of authentic humanism. Cen-zino asks: "Have you a message to give us?". The answer: "You are too great as humans for personal messages. And I am too small for general messages. To each his own work. If you think that this chat of ours contains a message which is positive and worthy of being transmitted, I will have a reason to smile and feel satisfied when I will read it..".

But now comes the really humanistic message: Gheorghij has calculated that while the Americans could beat the Soviets ^{when} spending thirty billion dollars to be the first to land on the moon, more than ^{ten} times more will be needed to land on Mars. So, he declares very frankly what everybody should know: "The conquest of space has to be peaceful. With the collaboration of all, there will be no nuclear peril. We must go together to this planet Mars as worldcitizens, not as Russians or Americans..".

WHY EVERY AUTHENTIC HUMANIST ENCOUNTERS GOD, GENERALLY WITHOUT KNOWING IT-

Most humanists like to declare that they are atheists. The word "atheist" comes from the Greek root: "a theos". This means that most humanists are convinced that they have never encountered God and that He certainly has no relevance for their ordinary doings, so that they can live without God. They are not "anti-theistic", because only a person incapable of using his intelligence will stupidly declare that there is no Creator.

It is commonsense evidence that no human being has existence in his possession, because he would then never let it go and naturally never die.

The immense majority of people in all countries are thus not anti-theists as Stalin tried to impose on all, but just atheists in the ordinary, practical sense of feeling no need for God in their life. They are even generally examples of humility because they honestly admit that they just do not know anything about God. ^(Genuineness) They are not different from even the great mystics who insist that God remains, for everybody on earth the "great unknown". One of the first great catholic mystics, the syrian monk Dionysios, was perfectly orthodox when he wrote that it is better to ~~write~~ ^{check} that God does not exist, that He is not good, just, powerful, etc. because with any affirmative ^{one} on God - also calling Him "the Heavenly Father", we imprison His infinite reality in the narrow circles of our human concepts. This is why another famous mystic, St. John of the Cross, wrote beautiful books to prove that to encounter God we must first go through the night of the senses and then through the night of the mind i.e., never try to think we understand God and can grasp Him with our limited and abstract intelligence. One of the most beautiful books of an anonymous English mystic of the 14th century has a most significant title to start speaking about God: "He Is: The Cloud of Unknowing". God became man in the young carpenter, Jesus of Nazareth, the most despised class of all proletarians, to finally reveal how we really encounter God - most often without knowing it. The story of the Last Judgment is the most revolutionary story ever told. It is the story of God who, at the end of human history, divides humanity in two groups: those who are called to live with Him forever i.e., who are saved and those who freely have refused. We naturally, as all the other humans, presented in this story ask the simple question: "Why are we saved to be with You forever and the others not?". The answer is flabbergasting: "Because you gave Me to eat when I was hungry, to drink when I was thirsty, helped to cure me when I was ill, visited Me while I was in prison." Those who call themselves believers rebel even more strongly than those who think they are not: "But as God You were never hungry, thirsty, ill, in prison and furthermore we never saw You..". The answer is the deepest truth about the spirituality of humanism. God does not ask how often the saved ones have been to church, synagogue, temple or mosque, or even if they ever prayed. He declares: "Whatever you did for the least of your brothers and sisters in the human family you did it for me!" In other words, we encounter God not ^{mainly} in the high flights of warmhearted imploration, nor in our presence at cult-meetings and certainly not just by purely intellectual assent to some truths called "dogmas" or worse, by hypocritical lipservice. ^{Many are in} ~~approve the~~ ^{they miss} religious, by giving God half-an-hour on Sundays, sabbaths or Friday, forgetting God during the other hours of the week; and even despising or harming our fellowhuman in the name of a professed creed. ^{they miss} the greatest revolution of all times. Christ well knew He would be tortured and then crucified for daring to oppose the official, complicated norms imposed on the people by the traditional religious leaders.

It is thus clear for everybody that religion is the action of loving self-giving help to any human being in need, without discrimination concerning creed or lack of it, political opinion, cultural development, nationality,

class or sex. There are not less people who develop authentic love outside the Churches than inside the Churches. Authentic humanism is the contrary of the self-centeredness of the bourgeois who works only for his own pleasure, honor, power etc. Authentic humanism is rightly called altruism. This is beautifully expressed in two words of the Italian language: "Voler bene" i.e., to work for the happiness and success, the higher good of our fellowhumans, more than for our own interests. The word "love", unfortunately often sentimentalized, is in fact the only word which expresses the nature of God Who would not have created beings distinct from Himself if not moved by infinite universal Love. The authentic humanist is thus in fact not less religious than those many who proclaim themselves believers and are often just bourgeois egoists. It is very significant that Christ liked to repeat that he always knocks at the door of each human heart. He never breaks open the door. But if by the simplest but authentic act of love any human opens his heart, then Christ comes in to be the best first-born brother of the family. He has no visiting-card enumerating his Divine titles. But he is there always challenging in the depth of consciences to do what is good and to fight what is evil. Religion comes from the latin word "religare". This means that religion is the only conscious act of relinking our whole being to the One Who every moment gives us our whole being, life and love, but Whom we most easily forget most of the time. Religion is thus social; loving, interpersonal relations and loving creation of an ever better society for the common good of all. We must thus decidedly abolish the manmade frontiers between those who call themselves believers and those who do not. The Catholic Church finally has abandoned the old unintelligent affirmation of "creatio ex nihilo".

Evidently, nothing comes out of nothing and all that is, comes out of God - the only Being Who owes His existence to no outside cause. We must thus bring all the Churches and the other kinds of religious organizations to understand, esteem and trust those brothers and sisters in the one human family who, for mysterious reasons, did not receive the gift of Divine Faith, but constantly receive the unscrutable light of irrepressible hope and the the Divine force of self-giving love.

THE URGENT CHALLENGE FOR THE FUTURE: OSMOSIS BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN TRADITIONS-

Valentin Radughin applied the glasnost to his own Church by ~~preparing~~^{el} with courage and clarity what we should all know and start doing. He weighed his words in declaring: "There are three types of mystical religious experience. Your type, catholic- or protestant, tends mainly toward social activities. The oriental type, buddhist- or hinduist concentrates itself in eternal contemplation. And there is our type (the orthodox) which very much depends on our national character and manifests itself mainly in the liturgy, which is the active participation with songs and prayers, ritual gestures. Our choirs substitute your organs. But do not think that our two mystical religious experiences are far from each other and destined not to ever come together..".

As an ex-atheist, I agree with the very many Soviet friends who, having experienced that the stalinist ideology is a void, have tried to find out if they should not join the Orthodox Church of their country. I agree with them even if there is the exultation of beauty in the architecture, Icones and powerful collective singing of the orthodox faithful) ^{that} this is not enough to bring religion into every day of our life. The Dominican Pope, Pius V, wisely applied the motto of our Order: "Breviter et succinte" ^{to} overcome the long-winded ceremonies of the Catholic Church. adapted to the times of the Baroque style and not to the dynamic rhythm of our times. ^{We} admire the Orthodox ^{which} avoid the semi-sadistic pictures. of the tortured, crucified Christ with the glorious ^{beams} and ^{Christ} is resurrected, is living now, here, always, everywhere. ^{We} hope all orthodox will not ^{be} better to wait until death gives them the better, eternally happy life and neglect the severe commandment of Christ: "I bring you life and the fulness of life", ^{and} now, not only afterwards ... ^{To be developed personally and socially.}

The Orthodox Church has already taken active responsibility in helping to bring peace on earth. It can and must now be the main support of Gorbachev's revolution: the creation of an authentic socialist democracy in which there are no have-nots, but in which each citizen is committed to co-create the better society, not only in self-managed workers teams but also as Lenin himself tried to obtain, too early (with posters in the main cities): "Everyone... everyone... everyone! Who is not a stockholder of Dobrolet (this was the first airplane factory) is not a citizen of USSR!". To make this clear, I will not quote a Pope or any christian scholar, but Kôtaoka Okada, the first great Japanese industrialist who, one night decided to stop making money and founded the "World Association for the True Light Civilization (in Japanese MAHIKARI). He wrote on the very first page of the shortest and best anthology of his writings: "Politics is giving. For example on the global scale politics has the mission of giving to mankind materially, mentally and spiritually... As for science, I think of it and its offspring, the economy, industry and medicine and so on, all together as one. And I think that ultimately science also has salvation as its goal... It is my basic belief that it is impossible to draw boundaries between religion, politics, economics and industry."

The Catholic Church had its perestrojka with the Ecumenical Council Vatican II 1962-1965. If Gorbachev does better than Stalin, he ^{will} save his country and the world. Stalin was realistic enough to know that he would not overcome the cruel invasion of Hitler's army if he did not mobilize all the spiritual forces of the thousand-year-old orthodox religion which can never be uprooted because during a thousand years, it created the unity of the Russian peoples.

Gorbachev is certainly even more realistic and will ^{to overcome religion, business etc} mobilize the moral and spiritual forces of the sixty million ^{orthodox} citizens who have the courage to sign as permitted by law a request to have a place where they can meet for cult, ^{there} the five million catholics, two million registered protestants, the three million jews and the fifty million moslems who receive from God special motivations and unscrutable forces for the fulfilment of their human destiny and for the society which must serve human dignity. ^{He} will chose the right time and will succeed. ^{Gorbachev}