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**MS-630: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Digital Collection, 1961-1996.**

Series A: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1961-1996.

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World Union for Progressive Judaism - Rights in Israel,  
1963-1971.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the  
American Jewish Archives website.

## A DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

"Pray for the peace of Jerusalem" (Ps. 122: 6)

As Christians bidden to pursue peace and to fight evil, we cannot remain silent in the face of threats by Arab leaders to destroy the people of the State of Israel.

We condemn and deplore such threats as a sin against God and humanity.

We therefore call upon the Administration firmly to maintain its commitments to safeguard the integrity of the State of Israel and to restore the freedom of innocent passage through the Gulf of Aqaba, an international waterway, whose blockade President Johnson has called "illegal and potentially disastrous to the cause of peace."

Before God, let us not again be guilty of silence.

BACKGROUND MEMORANDUM

United States Commitment to Free and Innocent Passage  
Through the Gulf of Aqaba

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Address to the American People

20 February 1957

With reference to the passage into and through the Gulf of Aqaba, we expressed the conviction that the Gulf constitutes international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf. We announced that the United States was prepared to exercise this right itself and to join with others to secure general recognition of this right...Egypt, by accepting the six principles adopted by the Security Council last October in relation to the Suez Canal, bound itself to free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination, and to the principle that the operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country. We should not assume that, if Israel withdraws, Egypt will prevent Israeli shipping from using the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba. If, unhappily, Egypt does hereafter violate the Armistice Agreement or other international obligations, then this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations."

Aide Memoire Handed to Israel's Ambassador Abba Eban by  
Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, 11 February 1957

With respect to the Gulf of Aqaba and access thereto -- the United States believes that the Gulf comprehends international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf and through the Straits giving access thereto. We have in mind not only commercial usage, but the passage of pilgrims on religious missions, which should be fully respected.

The United States recalls that on January 28, 1950, the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the United States that the Egyptian occupation of the two islands of Tiran and Senafir at the entrance of the Gulf of Aqaba was only to protect the islands themselves against possible damage or violation and that "this occupation being in no way conceived in a spirit of obstructing in any way innocent passage through the stretch of water separating these two islands from the Egyptian coast of Sinai, it follows that this passage, the only practical one, will remain free as in the past, in conformity with international practice and recognized principles of the law of nations."

In the absence of some overriding decision to the contrary, as by the International Court of Justice, the United States, on behalf of vessels of United States registry, is prepared to exercise the right of free and innocent passage and to join with others to secure general recognition of this right.



Reply by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles at News Conference  
26 March 1957

"It is our intention to...(establish the principle of free or innocent passage through the Gulf of Aqaba). That intention was made clear I think by the aide memoire which we gave to the Government of Israel and published last February. Now the question of how it takes place is not yet determined. I think that it is the fact that a certain amount of shipping is or shortly will be in fact passing through the straits, although I also think that it is important to get a decision by the International Court of Justice as to what the legal rights of the parties are. We indicated, indeed, in that aide memoire that that would be a factor; that we felt that the preponderance of legal authority was so strong in favor of the right of passage unless and until there was a contrary decision by the World Court. And you may recall that the report of the Secretary-General said that he did not think that belligerent rights should be exercised in relation to the Sharm el-Sheikh area and the Straits of Tiran, because he also shared the view that the preponderance of legal authority was that there was no right to exercise belligerent rights and to stop innocent passage through there."

Statement by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Head of the United States  
Delegation to the United Nations, 1 March 1957

"With respect to the situation in the area along the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran, I stated on 28 January, and again on 2 February, that 'it is essential that units of the United Nations Emergency Force be stationed at the Straits of Tiran in order to achieve there the separation of Egyptian and Israeli land and sea forces. This separation is essential until it is clear that the non-exercise of any claimed belligerent rights has established in practice the peaceful conditions which must govern navigation in waters having such an international interest. All of this, of course, would be without prejudice to any ultimate determination which may be made of any legal questions concerning the Gulf of Aqaba.'

...Once Israel has completed its withdrawal in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, and in view of the measures taken by the United Nations to deal with the situation, there is no basis for either party to the Armistice Agreement to assert or exercise any belligerent rights."



Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, 1 March 1957

"...The U.S. believes that the Gulf comprehends international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf and through the Straits giving access thereto. We have in mind not only commercial usage, but the passage of pilgrims on religious missions, which should be fully respected."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Address to the American People,  
20 February 1957

"...Equally serious efforts have been made to bring about conditions designed to assure that if Israel will withdraw in response to the repeated requests of the United Nations, there will then be achieved a greater security and tranquillity for that nation. This means that the U.N. would assert a determination to see that in the M.E. there will be a greater degree of justice and compliance with international law than was the case prior to the events of last October-November."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Message to Israel's Prime Minister,  
David Ben Gurion, 2 March 1957

"I believe that Israel will have no cause to regret having conformed to the strong sentiment of the world community as expressed in the various United Nations resolutions relating to the withdrawal. It has always been the view of this Government that after the withdrawal there should be a united effort by all the nations to bring about conditions in the area more stable, more concrete and more conducive to the general welfare than those reached heretofore. Already the U.N. General Assembly has adopted resolutions which presage such a better future. Hopes and expectations based thereon were voiced by your Foreign Minister and others. I believe that it is reasonable to entertain such hopes and expectations, and I want you to know that the U.S., as a friend of all the countries of the area and as a loyal member of the U.N., will seek that such hopes prove not to be in vain."

Statement by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, 31 December 1956

"During the coming year the United States will have to accept an increasing responsibility to assist the free nations of the Middle East and elsewhere, to maintain their freedom and to develop their welfare. We must live by the Golden Rule. By so serving others we serve ourselves."

Reply made by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to questions asked at a News Conference, 26 March 1957

..."I would not say that the initial role of the United Nations Emergency Force was exhausted until there is more assurance than there is today that belligerent rights may not be exercised if it should wholly withdraw. And while it is true that the initial hostilities have come to a close and the initial forces of invasion has been totally withdrawn, I do not think that there is assurance of tranquility which would indicate that the initial mission was wholly accomplished. That depends, of course, upon how one interprets the original terms of reference. But I think that the original terms of reference are broad enough to cover the prospective activities of the UNEF.

"...The generally accepted view in the United Nations is that the General Assembly has no right to impose upon any nation the presence of any observers or representatives or forces of the United Nations and that, in order for them to enter upon the territory of another state, they have to have the consent of that state. Now once the consent has been given, then I think a good argument can be made that the consent cannot be arbitrarily withdrawn, frustrating the original project, because other people change their positions in reliance of the original consent, forces are set in motion, a chain of events has occurred. And we would question, certainly, whether Egypt has the right arbitrarily to alter and change a consent once given until the purpose of that consent has been accomplished."

- Q. Mr. Secretary, I would like to check back on an answer you gave a moment ago. Do I understand it is the position of the United States that the Egyptian Government does not have the power, legally speaking, under present circumstances to compel United Nations forces to withdraw from its territory?
- A. The problem I don't think permits a categorical answer. Now there was one question put to me here that suggested that the United Nations had accomplished its original mission, to which the consent of Egypt had been given, and that therefore its continuance there in effect was for a new purpose. If that's the case, and to the extent that's the case, then the original consent given by Egypt may have exhausted its purpose. If that has not been the case, then I think the consent given by Egypt cannot be arbitrarily withdrawn. I don't say it can't ever be withdrawn, but I say it can't be "arbitrarily" withdrawn without giving countries who have relied upon it an opportunity to turn around and reappraise their position in the light of the new situation.



Q. Mr. Secretary, is it your view then that the mission of UNEF has not been completed as yet?

A. Well, I indicated, I think, my views: I felt that under a liberal construction of the original mandate to the UNEF, in the light of the present situation and the fact that there is no clear assurance that hostilities -- that belligerency -- may not reoccur, it is not correct to conclude that the original mandate has been exhausted.

Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone, Adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, 27 April 1958

Article 16, p.4

"There shall be no suspension of the innocent passage of foreign ships through straits which are used for international navigation between one part of the high seas and another part of the high seas or territorial sea of a foreign state."

Statement by President John F. Kennedy at Press Conference, 8 May 1963

Q. Mr. President, do you consider the situation in the Middle East -- the balance of power there -- to have been changed as the result of recent developments, and what is the U.S. policy towards the security of Israel and Jordan in case they are threatened?

A. I don't think that the balance of military power has been changed in the Middle East in recent days. The -- obviously, there are political changes in the Middle East which still do not show a precise pattern and on which we are unable to make any final judgments.

The United States supports social and economic and political progress in the Middle East. We support the security of both Israel and her neighbors. We seek to limit the Near East arms race, which obviously takes resources from an area already poor and puts them into an increasing race which does not really bring any great security. We strongly oppose the use of force or the threat of force in the Near East. And we also seek to limit the spread of Communism in the Middle East, which would, of course, destroy the independence of the people.

This Government has been, and remains, strongly opposed to the use of force, or the threat of force, in the Near East. In the event of aggression, or preparation for aggression, whether direct or indirect, we would support appropriate measures in the United Nations and adopt other courses of action on our own to prevent or to put a stop to such aggression, which, of course, has been the policy which the United States has followed for some time.

# PHONE-O-GRAM

for:

M. Steve Flinders of CBS Radio

☒ Telephoned ☐ Please return the call ☐ Will call again, ☐ Came in ☐ See me

Message: Will you do a piece on

Gilda Merz - a value judgment  
(since MNE is not here)

765-4321 X 5841-2-3

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_ Date 10/1 Time 3:35 By \_\_\_\_\_



9/30 Gilda Murr reception

---

Baker

B B

G. Cohen

Coleman

Eisen

Evans

Hess

Luitt

Murce

RMS

al V.

Is Earl Morse to follow  
up on this so that  
we can advise  
Z. Hellman?





INVITED TO MEET WITH P.M. GOLDA MEIR 9/30

*Last Fayer Macdary Astoria*

✓ EARL MORSE

✓ NAT HESS

✓ NORMA LEVITT

✓ GEORGE COHEN

ALVIN COLEMAN

✓ RICHARD EISNER

✓ RABBI SCHINDLER

RABBI-EISENDRATH

*June Evans*

*Al Verspan*

*B. Brickner*



*Admiral Y. Kellman*  
*who is coming*



838 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 · (212) 249-0100

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Vice President

September 5, 1969

Mr. Richard A. Eisner  
114 East 72d Street  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Dick,

I just heard that Golda Meir will be in town during the day of September 30 rather than September 29. You may recall my speaking to you about her visit and you expressed an interest in joining a relatively small group (some five to ten people from each major Jewish organization) who have been asked to meet with her. At the time you indicated that you might be interested in doing so.

This meeting will be held in the afternoon at 3:30 to 5:30 P.M. For security reasons, the place of meeting has not been announced, but if you are still interested let me know and I will get in touch with you.

Let me take this occasion also to confirm the meeting date for the Steering Committee of our "Committee of 100," whose work we discussed at the pleasant Harmonie Club luncheon some weeks ago. We will convene at 10:30 A.M. on Sunday, September 28 in the Board rooms of the UAHC at 838 Fifth Avenue.

I realize full well that I ask no small sacrifice from you, to give up a weekend day which you should be spending with your wonderful family. But the task at hand is sufficiently important to merit the kind of consideration which a week-day luncheon meeting simply does not allow.

All my best to Carol and to the children.

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

September 17, 1969

Mr. Yehudah Hellman  
Presidents Conference  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Hellman,

This is to confirm the fact that Mr. Earl Morse, the Chairman of our Board of Trustees will be part of the reception committee to meet Prime Minister Golda Meir at the airport on Thursday morning, September 29th.

We have instructed Mr. Morse to meet at 515 Park Avenue at 9:00 A.M., from where the reception committee will proceed to the airport and then on to City Hall.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander M. Schindler

bc : Earl Morse



September 4, 1969

Earl Morse

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

At the meeting of the Presidents Conference yesterday we were advised that the special meeting with Golda Meir will be held on --

Tuesday, September 30 (instead of Monday September 29)  
from 3:30 to 5:30 P.M.

For security purposes the place of the meeting will not be formally disclosed. I would assume that since the Prime Minister will be staying at the Waldorf Astoria that the meeting will be held there.

I was further advised that each of the organizations will be allowed to have ten representatives. I have already invited George Cohen and I will invite Alvin Coleman. I assume that an equitable distribution of invitations between the staff and the lay leadership is appropriate, and it is my suggestion that the following be invited:

From the staff: Rabbi Eisendrath, Rabbi Schindler, Jane Evans, Al Vorspan.

From the lay leadership: Earl Morse, Norma Levitt, Nat Hess, George Cohen, Alvin Coleman, and either Harry Gutmann or Cyrus Gordon, or some other suggestion.

Will you please let me have your advice, and arrange for the invitations under my name when we have both agreed on the delegation.



August 7, 1969

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Earl Morse

I have further information concerning the Golda Meir visit. The Conference of Presidents will convene at 4:00 P.M. on September 29th and will meet through the remainder of the afternoon.

I suppose we could amplify the usual delegation by inviting one or two more from amongst our lay leadership. Whom do you thus want to honor: Hess? Coleman? Anyone else? In addition to, or in place of these?

August 6, 1969

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath; Earl Morse

Albert Vorspan; Rabbi Belfour Brickner

As you know, Golda Meier will be in town in late September.

On the 29th of that month there will be two meetings:

An afternoon session for about five to seven people from each organization sponsored by the Conference of Presidents,

An evening planned at the Waldorf-Astoria sponsored by the UJA, possibly in cooperation with the Presidents Conference.

Needless to say, we are cooperating with both of these efforts. Undoubtedly further details will be forthcoming from the sponsoring organizations. I write you now so that you can place these dates in your calendar.



# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Cable Address: COJOGRA

PLaza 2-1616



*Please put on  
my calendar  
Ash ~~Memorial~~ <sup>Vivian's</sup>  
put it  
on MWS*

August 5, 1969

TO: Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents of  
Major American Jewish Organizations

FROM: Yehuda Hellman

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

This is to inform you that our meeting with Her  
Excellency the Prime Minister of Israel Mrs. Golda  
Meir will take place on Monday September 29 at  
4:00 P.M.

The entire afternoon will be devoted to this  
meeting so that there will be ample time for basic  
discussions.

Further details will follow at a later date.

YH/pb

# MEMORANDUM

*TM*  
Date August 11, 1969

From EARL MORSE

To RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

Regarding the Golda Meir visit, I think Hess and Coleman are very good suggestions. I think you might want to add George Cohen, perhaps, of Rodeph Shalom. If a fourth is possible, you might want to consider someone from New England or Philadelphia. We could make an occasion out of it by having a lunch for these people, with someone from Israel speaking, as there probably will be a large delegation here from Israel.

In our conversation we agreed on Coleman + Cohen. Will you contact them? I think you should.

The date Sept 29.

The hour 4 P.M.

Will they have time to spend with us here too? If you think so, I'll set up the luncheon too.

Alr!



# MEMORANDUM

Date August 6, 1969

From Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

To Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath; Earl Morse

Copy for information of Albert Vorapan; Rabbi Balfour Brickner

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

As you know, Golda Meier will be in town in late September.

On the 29th of that month there will be two meetings:

An afternoon session for about five to seven people from each organization sponsored by the Conference of Presidents,

An evening planned at the Waldorf-Astoria sponsored by the UJA, possibly in cooperation with the Presidents Conference.

Needless to say, we are cooperating with both of these efforts. Undoubtedly further details will be forthcoming from the sponsoring organizations. I write you now so that you can place these dates in your calendar.

*Noted,  
E.M.*

*you will write George -  
or do you want me to  
handle?*



September 5, 1969

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Earl Morse

I take note of the change in date for Golda Meir's visit.

The list which you proposed of staff and lay leader representatives is fine as far as I am concerned. Maurice will be on the west coast and therefore will not be able to join us. In any event, Balfour should be added, since he has been serving the Presidents Conference regularly.

EARL MORSE, NORMA LEVITT, NAT HESS, GEORGE COHEN and ALVIN COLEMAN were already agreed upon. Instead of Gutmann or Gordon, may I suggest a younger man, RICHARD EISNER, who I understand is anxious to get involved in our work.

As far as the invitation is concerned, may I suggest the following:

"Dear ...

I cordially invite you to join a select group of Reform Jewish leaders who have been invited to meet with Golda Meir, the Prime Minister of Israel, on the occasion of her forthcoming visit to America. Our delegation will be joining a relatively small group -- some five to ten men and women from each major Jewish national organization -- who have been invited to a meeting sponsored by the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations.

We will be meeting Mrs. Meir on Tuesday, September 30, from 3:30 to 5:30 P.M. at a place not yet formally disclosed because of security reasons. Should you be interested in joining us, let me know and of course I will tell you precisely where we will be meeting.

Cordially,  
EM"

If this letter of invitation is acceptable to you it can be processed. It need be sent only to NORMA LEVITT, NAT HESS, RICHARD EISNER since Cohen and Coleman have already been orally invited by you, and the staff members need no such invitation. If this letter is acceptable to you, tell Rae or Cally and they will take care of this task for you.

bc: Earl Morse

September 17, 1969

Mrs. David M. Levitt  
9 Mitchell Drive  
Great Neck, New York 11024

Dear Norma,

Please be advised that the September 30th meeting with Prime Minister Golda Meir will take place in the East Foyer room at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York.

Because of security reasons, all invited guests must arrive by 3:00 P.M. as the doors will be closed by 3:10 P.M.

Warm good wishes.

Cordially,

Earl Morse

Same letter to:

Mr. Alvin Coleman  
Coleman Factors Division  
Bankers Trust Co.  
2 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

Mr. Nathaniel E. Hess  
Sloans Court  
Sands Point, New York 11050

Mr. George L. Cohen  
1290 Avenue of the Americas - Suite 1600  
New York, N.Y. 10019

Mr. Richard A. Eisner  
90 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016



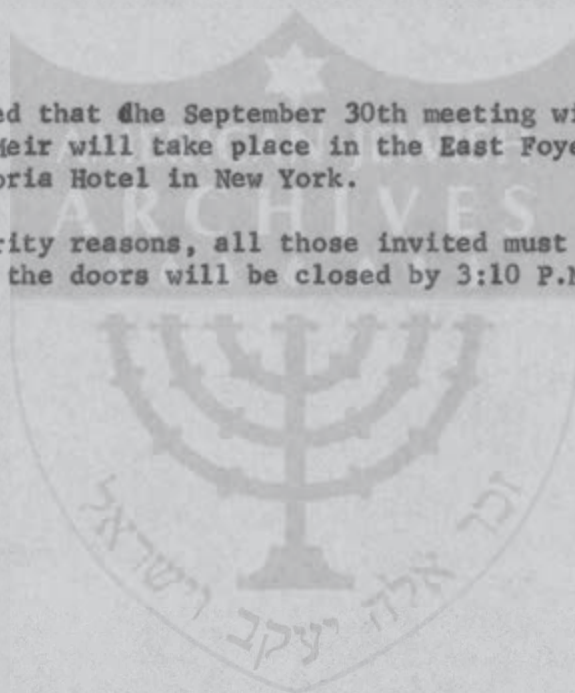
September 17, 1969

Earl Morse

(Individually sent to): Rabbi Schindler, ,Jane Evans, Al Vorspan, Rabbi  
Brickner

Please be advised that the September 30th meeting with Prime Minister Golda Meir will take place in the East Foyer room at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York.

Because of security reasons, all those invited must arrive by 3:00 P.M. as the doors will be closed by 3:10 P.M.



# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022  
PLaza 2-1616  
Cable Address: COJOGRA

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC  
AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

AMERICAN TRADE UNION  
COUNCIL for HISTADRUT

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

B'NAI B'RITH

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF  
AMERICAN RABBIS

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS  
and WELFARE FUNDS (observer)

HADASSAH

JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL—  
AMERICAN SECTION

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

JEWISH WAR VETERANS  
OF THE U.S.A.

LABOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT—  
Poale Zion, Farband, Pioneer Women

MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
JEWISH WOMEN

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
YOUNG ISRAEL

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY  
RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD

NORTH AMERICAN JEWISH  
YOUTH COUNCIL

THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW  
CONGREGATIONS

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

September 15, 1969

TO: Rabbi A. Schindler, UAHC

FROM: Yehuda Hellman

Please inform your ten delegates that the September 30th meeting with Prime Minister Golda Meir will take place in the East Foyer room at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City.

Because of security reasons, it is necessary that all delegates arrive by 3:00 pm as the doors will be closed by 3:10 pm.

Kind regards.

YH/scc



September 10, 1969

Mr. Yehudah Hellman  
Presidents Conference  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Yehudah,

The following people have been invited to attend the meeting with Golda Meir:

Earl Morse  
Nathaniel E. Hess  
Norma E. Levitt  
George Chhen  
Alvin Coleman  
Richard Eisner  
Jane Evans  
Al Vorspan  
Rabbi Balfour Brickner  
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

We have acceptances from all, except the following: Alvin Coleman and Richard Eisner.

As soon as we hear from them, or if there are any substitutions, we will let you know.

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Earl Morse



# MEMORANDUM

Date September 5, 1969

From Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

To Earl Morse

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

I take note of the change in date for Golda Meir's visit.

The list which you proposed of staff and lay leader representatives is fine as far as I am concerned. Maurice will be on the west coast and therefore will not be able to join us. In any event, Balfour should be added, since he has been serving the Presidents Conference regularly.

EARL MORSE, NORMA LEVITT, NAT HESS, GEORGE COHEN and ALVIN COLEMAN were already agreed upon. Instead of Gutmann or Gordon, may I suggest a younger man, RICHARD EISNER, who I understand is anxious to get involved in our work.

As far as the invitation is concerned, may I suggest the following:

"Dear ...

I cordially invite you to join a select group of Reform Jewish leaders who have been invited to meet with Golda Meir, the Prime Minister of Israel, on the occasion of her forthcoming visit to America. Our delegation will be joining a relatively small group -- some five to ten men and women from each major Jewish national organization -- who have been invited to a meeting sponsored by the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations.

We will be meeting Mrs. Meir on Tuesday, September 30, from 3:30 to 5:30 P.M. at a place not yet formally disclosed because of security reasons. Should you be interested in joining us, let me know and of course I will tell you precisely where we will be meeting.

Cordially,  
EM"

If this letter of invitation is acceptable to you it can be processed. It need be sent only to NORMA LEVITT, NAT HESS, RICHARD EISNER since Cohen and Coleman have already been orally invited by you, and the staff members need no such invitation. If this letter is acceptable to you, tell Rae or Cally and they will take care of this task for you.





September 4, 1969

Mrs. David M. Levitt  
9 Mitchell Drive  
Great Neck, New York 11024

Dear Norma,

The Prime Minister, Golda Meir, is going to have an off the record meeting under the auspices of the Presidents Conference from 3:30 P.M. to 5:30 P.M. on Tuesday, September 30th.

Each of the member organizations are allowed to have a small delegation, and I hope you will be free to attend this meeting which I think you will find of special interest.

Please call my office at 564-3100 to confirm your acceptance. I will let you know as soon as I am advised where the meeting will be held.

Sincerely,

Earl Morse

EM/mg

cc: Rabbi A. Schindler



September 4, 1969

Mr. Alvin Coleman  
Coleman Factors Division  
Bankers Trust Co.  
Two Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10016

Dear Alvin,

The Prime Minister, Golda Meir, is going to have an off the record meeting under the auspices of the Presidents Conference from 3:30 P.M. to 5:30 P.M. on Tuesday, September 30th.

Each of the member organizations are allowed to have a small delegation and I hope you will be free to attend this meeting which I think you will find of special interest.

Please call my office at 564-3100 to confirm your acceptance. I will let you know then as soon as I am advised where the meeting will be held.

Cordially,

Earl Morse

EM/mg

cc: Rabbi A. Schindler



September 4, 1969

Mr. Nathan Hess  
Sloans Court  
Sands Point, New York

Dear Nat,

The Prime Minister, Golda Meir, is going to have an off the record meeting under the auspices of the Presidents Conference from 3:30 P.M. to 5:30 P.M. on Tuesday, September 30th.

Each of the member organizations are allowed to have a small delegation and I hope you will be free to attend this meeting which I think you will find of special interest.

Please call my office at 564-3100 to confirm your acceptance. I will let you know as soon as I am advised where the meeting will be held.

Cordially,

Earl Morse

EM/mg

cc: Rabbi A. Schindler



September 4, 1969

Mr. George L. Cohen  
1290 Avenue of the Americas Suite 1600  
New York, New York

Dear George,

I received your telephone message letting me know that you will be able to go to the Prime Minister's off the record meeting of the Presidents Conference later this month.

When I phoned you, I had been told that the meeting was to be on Monday, September 29th. Yesterday I was advised that it has been changed to Tuesday, September 30th from 3:30 P.M. to 5:30 P.M.

I hope you will be able to accept this changed date and time. Please have your secretary call my office at 564-3100 to confirm your acceptance. I will let you know as soon as I am advised where the meeting will be held.

I now learn that there will be ten representatives from each organization at this off the record meeting, but the Prime Minister especially requested that it be a frank and confidential discussion, so it should be very interesting.

Cordially,

Earl Morse

EM/mg

cc: Rabbi A. Schindler



September 10, 1969

Mr. Richard A. Eisner  
90 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

Dear Richard,

I cordially invite you to join a select group of Reform Jewish leaders who have been invited to meet with Golda Meir, the Prime Minister of Israel, on the occasion of her forthcoming visit to America. Our delegation will be joining a relatively small group -- some five to ten men and women from each major Jewish national organization -- who have been invited to a meeting sponsored by the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations.

We will be meeting Mrs. Meir on Tuesday, September 30th from 3:30 to 5:30 P.M. at a place not yet formally disclosed because of security reasons. Should you be interested in joining us, let me know and of course I will tell you precisely where we will be meeting.

Cordially,

Earl Morse

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022  
PLaza 2-1616  
Cable Address: COJOGRA



September 8, 1969

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC  
AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

AMERICAN TRADE UNION  
COUNCIL for HISTADRUT

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

B'NAI B'RITH

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF  
AMERICAN RABBIS

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS  
and WELFARE FUNDS (observer)

HADASSAH

JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL—  
AMERICAN SECTION

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

JEWISH WAR VETERANS  
OF THE U.S.A.

LABOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT—  
Poale Zion, Farband, Pioneer Women

MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
JEWISH WOMEN

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
YOUNG ISRAEL

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY  
RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD

NORTH AMERICAN JEWISH  
YOUTH COUNCIL

THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW  
CONGREGATIONS

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

TO: Members associated in the Conference of  
Presidents of Major American Jewish Org.

FROM: Rabbi Herschel Schacter, Chairman

The Prime Minister of Israel, Mrs. Golda Meir, will meet with the Conference of Presidents on Tuesday afternoon, September 30, 1969, promptly at 3:30 o'clock until 5:30. You will be informed in due time as to the precise location of this meeting. This will be her only briefing session with top American Jewish leadership during her official visit to the United States.

The format of this meeting will therefore be in the nature of a national leadership conference, to which your organization may send a maximum of ten of your key leaders. Please be good enough to forward to our office as soon as possible your list of delegates so that proper accreditation can be prepared for your representatives. Admission will be limited to accredited delegates only.



***Greet***



**GOLDA**

**At CITY HALL**

**Monday, September 29, 1969, 12:00 noon**

at the official New York City reception for

***Her Excellency Golda Meir***

**Prime Minister of Israel**

**Join this demonstration of solidarity with Israel**

shalom  
Golda

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler RR  
UAHC  
838 Fifth Ave.  
New York, N.Y. 10021





September 17, 1969

Mr. Yehudah Hellman  
Presidents Conference  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Hellman,

This is to confirm the fact that Mr. Earl Morse, the Chairman of our Board of Trustees will be part of the reception committee to meet Prime Minister Golda Meir at the airport on Thursday morning, September 29th.

We have instructed Mr. Morse to meet at 515 Park Avenue at 9:00 A.M., from where the reception committee will proceed to the airport and then on to City Hall.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander M. Schindler

bc: Earl Morse

Mrs. Nathaniel E. Hess  
Rabbi Leanne Leavis  
will attend reception at City Hall

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022  
PLaza 2-1616  
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## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC  
AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

AMERICAN TRADE UNION  
COUNCIL for HISTADRUT

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

B'NAI B'RITH

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF  
AMERICAN RABBIS

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HADASSAH

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UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW  
CONGREGATIONS

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



September 19, 1969

TO: Members associated in the Conference of Presidents  
of Major American Jewish Organizations

FROM: Yehuda Hellman

Enclosed please find memorandum summarizing the  
schedule of Mrs. Golda Meir's visit to New York.  
Please read this memo carefully and kindly  
convey to all your branches and affiliated  
organizations the content of this document.

We would like to take this opportunity to  
suggest that each organization submit to us  
by phone, on Tuesday, September 23rd the  
names of two (2) of your representatives for  
whom reserved seats should be allocated at  
City Hall during the welcoming ceremonies  
for Mrs. Meir. Please do not include the  
names of those who will meet her at the air-  
port as they will be admitted, as a matter  
of course, to the dais.

Each organization is herewith requested to  
transmit to the Presidents Conference a one-  
time assessment in the amount of \$100. to  
help defray the costs of the special expenses  
incurred by the Presidents Conference in  
connection with this program. You will  
receive a bill under separate cover. Your  
cooperation in this regard will be greatly  
appreciated.

YH:az



# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

September 17, 1969

TO: All Jewish organizations

FROM: Planning Committee for Prime Minister Golda Meir's New York Visit

Chairman: Theodore Comet, CJFVF

Co-ordinator: Kurt Goldberger, B'nai B'rith

RE: Special Events For The Participation of The Jewish Community

In order to deepen the impact of the Prime Minister's visit and to provide the Jewish community with opportunities to express its affection and solidarity, the following plans have been formulated, taking into consideration the strict security requirement.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29

1. RECEPTION AT AIRPORT-

Mrs. Meir will arrive at Kennedy from Washington in the late morning (exact time and place to be designated). In spite of the morning hour it was felt that several thousand residents and day school students of the surrounding Queens areas could be recruited to welcome the Prime Minister and add another dimension to the media coverage of her arrival.

For security reasons no private cars will be permitted near the disembarkment area. Only buses will be granted the necessary permit. These must arrive at the airport by 10:15 a.m. Special efforts must be made to reach sisterhoods and women's divisions. Information on bus formation areas will be coordinated by Rabbi Harold Gordon of the New York Board of Rabbis and by the Queens Jewish Community Council. Bus permits, which are obligatory, and instructions are available from Kurt Goldberger at the B'nai B'rith New York office.

2. CEREMONY AT CITY HALL - 12:30 P.M.

Our major efforts should be directed towards getting as large a turnout as possible for the welcoming ceremonies of the city of New York, taking place at City Hall at 12:30 p.m. Mailings to your members should emphasize the importance of attending this event which will receive the broadest media coverage.

All Jewish organizations are requested to close their offices from 12:00-2:00 and urge their staff to attend the City Hall ceremonies.

3. POSTERS, LAPEL TAGS & BUMPER-STICKERS

To add to the welcoming aura, special visual materials have been prepared:

- a. a large "Welcome Golda Meir" photograph poster for stores and other public places.
- b. a "Shalom Golda" self-adhesive lapel tag.
- c. a bumper-sticker for cars.

These are available upon request from

4. SERVICE FOR PEACE AT U.N. ISAIAH WALL

A special Service For Peace will be held at the Isaiah Wall at 1:00 p.m. to coincide with the Prime Minister's visit to the United Nations. This is not intended as a mass event and will be handled by the New York Board of Rabbis and the National Council of Young Israel. This is for your background information.

5. PUBLICITY

Public relations will be handled for the President's Conference by Richard Cohen and full use will be made of the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish Press.



Although security requirements preventing the publicizing of the Prime Minister's schedule and travel routes limit the character of our response, your full cooperation with the plans listed above, and the participation of your memberships, and their children, in these events, especially at City Hall, will insure an impressive and effective welcome.



# PHONE-O-GRAM for:

M

Yehudah Hellman

*Put this  
in paper  
calendar  
of 2*

☒ Telephoned ☒ Please return the call ☐ Will call again ☐ Came in ☐ See me

Message:

*Designate someone to be part of  
Reception Comm to greet Golda Meir at  
Airport. 6 Limousines leave 5:15 PM 9 AM  
9/29 w/ police escort to airport & City Hall  
for reception bet 12:30-1 PM. Call by tomorrow  
AM & get name & confirm in writing.*

Phone

Date

*9/17*

Time

*1:50*

By



FROM: Marvin Braiterman

SUBJECT: Feeling Jewish During the Mid-East Crisis

THE SCENE

...Rallies and demonstrations of solidarity with Israel in dozens of American cities...Jews turning out by the hundreds here and the thousands and tens of thousands there to listen, to speak, and to be heard...Incredible donations of funds to defend Israel, maintain her strength, reinvigorate her economic life...Telephone squads at work on every conceivable assistance and communication between Jews who never knew each other before, glad to call, glad to be called, willing to help, responding to any request...All kinds of Jews, meeting together, working together, worrying together, promising together that "on this one, they are one people."

...Volunteers and inquiries about going to Israel and rescuing the crops of the kibbutzim from neglect and loss in the wake of Israeli mobilization of its manpower..."Am I too old to go?" ... "I am not too young to go!" ... "If I can't go, here is money to send someone who can."

...Jews organizing and arranging things -- the kind of Jews who never did anything but pray before...Jews praying -- the kind of Jews who never did anything but organize and arrange before...Jews being Jews -- the kind of Jews who never had been any kind of Jews before...All kinds, every kind -- Jews learning to roll with the punches -- first, to prevent the war; then, to win it; then, to gain the peace -- real peace, not just a temporary truce.

When Egyptian acceptance of a cease fire was announced in the closing minutes of a rally at Lafayette Park in Washington, attended by some 35,000 from all states and all persuasions, the throng burst into cheers, songs were heard, horas were danced, tears were shed, voices were lost, strangers embraced, backs were pummeled. Jews were one people. Traffic jammed.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE SCENE

For a while, all kinds of Jews came together. Organizational rivalries, and ideological quarrels were forgotten. Jews, read out of Jewish life by other Jews, were welcomed. Jews, who had eliminated all traces of Jewish kinship or identity, felt "something" stir and effervesce.

"Israelis are a fractious and argumentative people, but in this crisis, Israel was one," Ambassador Harman, of Israel, told the leaders and staff of the Washington Rally prior to its opening meeting. So were and are America's Jews. The disunity and disharmony of American Jewish life will return, but we know it has a floor below which cacaphony ends. And what of alienation -- that word that organization-minded Jews talk about so endlessly -- those "other" Jews "lost, strayed or stolen" from participation in and identity with Jewish life. Jews are Jews. Just as surely as we will live through the aftermath of this crisis, we shall again be able to proclaim, and to prove, our disunity and alienation. But will disunity ever again appear quite as unconditional and inevitable as before? Will alienation ever seem quite as complete, as it did before these days?

What kind of people are we? Are we a religious people? Yes, we are, regardless of the brand of religion that some of us believe in, and the absence of faith that other Jews proclaim for themselves. Are we a secular people? We surely are -- in the best and uncorrupted sense of that word. As surely as we have witnessed the salvation of a modern, earthy, progressive people by an army that, in the words of one correspondent, "uses the Bible as a roadmap," we, too, in the American Jewish Community, are very much a people of the world. Perhaps now is as good a time as any to recapture pride and respectability for that word, "secular." In its Greek root, it contains a view of the world, in the sense of time, and history and process -- a Jewish view of the world that no Jew need be ashamed to feel as his own, alongside and compatible with his faith in God, if he has such faith, and his identity



with the Jewish people, which, if he took part in anything in recent days, he must feel more strongly than ever.

There surely must be a lesson here. These neat and efficient classifications, secular or religious, -- imposed upon Jews by Christians, and social scientists, and scholars of all stripes who must live by finding labels and categories for people -- just don't fit the Jewish people. And perhaps, our peculiar tenacity in a "crunch" is the best evidence of our defiance of these dichotomies and fractures. Hopefully, we can learn to resist labels which identify Jews in such limiting terminology, and thereby eliminate others from the fold.

Squeezed ~~xxxx~~ against each other in the crowd, melting together in the heat at Lafayette Park, were five (5) Jewish young men, about 17 to 19 years old, strangers (and probably vague antagonists) to each other moments before the Rally began. Three of them -- a kid from a Yeshiva, whom the others called a "Yarmulke bopper;" and an officer of a temple youth group in Western Pennsylvania; and a near-sighted fellow wearing a blue shirt bearing the insignia of the Habonim Labor Zionist Youth Organization -- teased the other two. One of the recipients of the teasing readily admitted that he had had nothing to do with "Jewish stuff" since he was confirmed a few years ago. And the fifth one, a sophomore from Yale, owned up to the fact that his Jewish identity ended about the time of his father's Bar Mitzvah

But when the crowd cheered, they all cheered, and looked at each other for approval.

And when the crowd was asked to read in unison, from blue papers that had been distributed, the 137th Psalm -- "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem" -- they read together.

And they remembered.

## MEMORANDUM

Date April 30, 1969From Rabbi Alexander M. SchindlerTo Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, Rabbi Leonard SchoolmanCopy for information of Earl Morse

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

Just confirming our telephone conversation, Earl Morse suggested that Professor Herman of Hebrew University, who is currently at Brandeis, ought to be invited to our Israel Committee meeting to give his views on the need for Liberal religion in Israel.

Earl heard him on the subject at an American Jewish Committee Board meeting and recommends him highly. As a matter of fact, Earl made extensive notes of his remarks, which he is dictating to his secretary and which he will send along to you. A copy of this memo goes to him by way of reminder to have him do so.

I read Earl's notes, and there is little doubt that what Professor Herman has to say will be of interest.



## MEMORANDUM

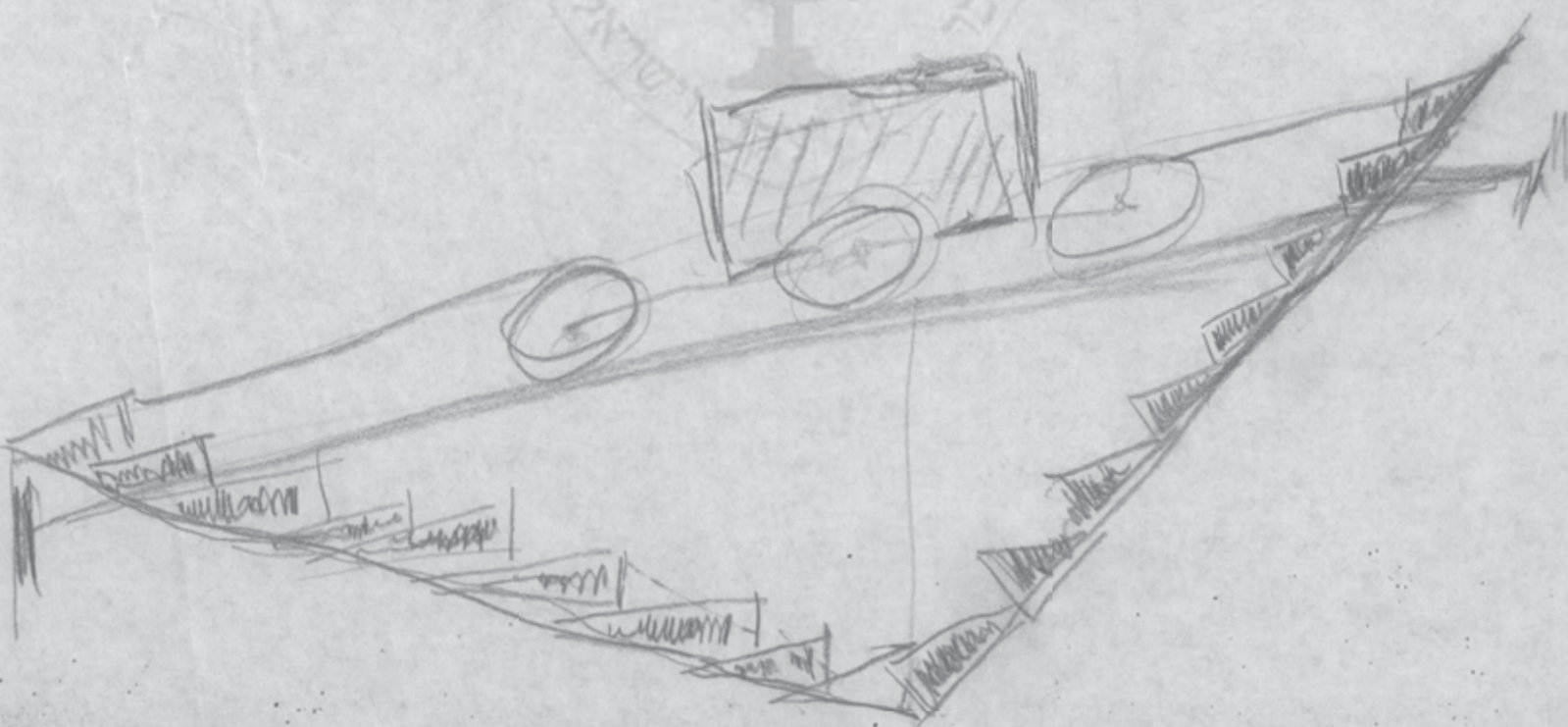
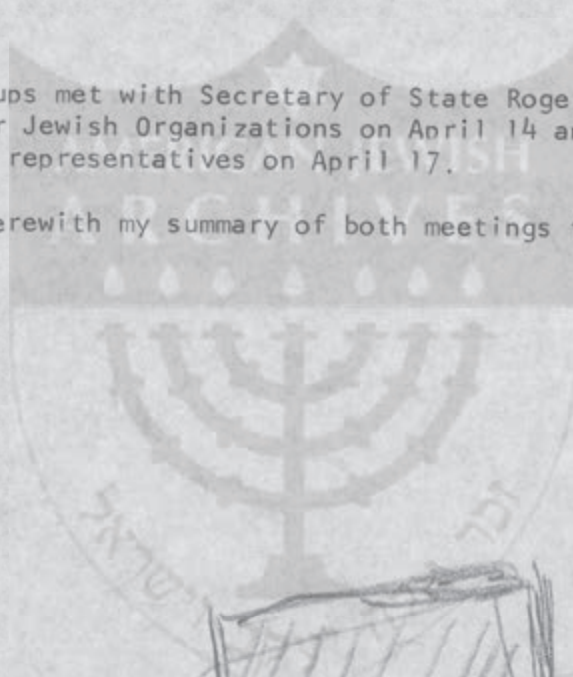
Date April 22, 1969From Rabbi Richard G. HirschTo Rabbi Alexander Schindler

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

This week, two groups met with Secretary of State Rogers -- the Presidents' Conference of Major Jewish Organizations on April 14 and the Synagogue Council of America representatives on April 17.

I am sending you herewith my summary of both meetings for your confidential information.





(Published with the permission of Dr. A. Roy Eckardt)

Address delivered by DR. A. ROY ECKARDT  
at the  
NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST  
Delmonico's Hotel, New York - March 24, 1969

The Reaction of the Churches  
to the Middle East Crisis

A practical device for analyzing and appraising the reaction of the American churches to the Middle East situation is to concentrate upon attitudes to Israel. My plan is to offer, first, some orientation to the subject; second, a review of attitudes expressed within Christian circles; and third, some ways of accounting for these attitudes.

Beginning in May, 1967, a marked crisis developed in Jewish-Christian relations in our country, and this has continued to the present. The resulting tensions have involved two related foci: on the one hand, a failure, and often a refusal, by many church bodies and churchmen to support Israel amidst the ongoing threat to her existence, together with considerable pro-Arab sentiment among these same parties; and, on the other hand, the American Jewish community's existential oneness with the Israeli cause, and that community's consequent disappointment over, and opposition to, the Christian response. By contrast, my impression from recent conversations in Israel is that most Israelis have not been terribly excited over where the American churches stand--with one qualification: The people of Israel are fully aware of the political importance of the churches in the United States and elsewhere. To offer my first gross simplification: The American Jew tends to be a moralist; the Israeli Jew tends to be a political man. For the one, the gospel of Hosea is paramount; for the other, the gospel of Hobbes has proven a grim necessity.

I rather doubt that my special topic would gain much of a place on the program were this Conference being held in Israel. Amnon Rubenstein wrote very recently of Israeli scorn of preachments from abroad--even by friends of Israel.<sup>1</sup> Many of the references I shall cite are not exempt from that kind of response--if not scorn, then justified indifference and, once in a while, laughter.

The fact remains that most American Jewish leaders are concerned and have been taken aback by what is for them a moral lapse within the churches. Accordingly, we would be irresponsible if we ignored this state of affairs. Only two months ago, a rabbi in New York City found it necessary to entitle his Sabbath sermon, "Preparing for a Second Holocaust: The Christian Response to the Middle East Crisis." I have myself been very critical of the churches. But in the interests of fairness, I may refer to three analyses that seek a more balanced view: one by Marc H. Tanenbaum and two by Judith H. Banki.<sup>2</sup>

Rabbi Tanenbaum emphasized and documented two points: (1) that for the most part the substantial numbers of American citizens who have supported and sympathized with the Israeli cause are, after all, Christians; and (2) that significant numbers of prominent and influential Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Christian leaders and journals of opinion have spoken out for Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state in freedom from Arab belligerency. Precisely because Rabbi Tanenbaum and Mrs. Banki are authoritative analysts and take the prevailing position they do, their own disclaimers about the extent of Christian advocacy become



that much more significant. For example, Rabbi Tanenbaum wrote that "Jewish leaders directed their most valid, serious and justifiable criticism at the 'establishment' institutions of the Catholic and Protestant churches. . . .When the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (finally issued a statement on June 8, 1967), it asked for 'a crusade of prayer for peace'. . . .In the face of what appeared to most Jews as the imminent prospect of another Auschwitz, (such) rhetoric, with its echo of the . . . flight into pietism by Christian leaders in Nazi Germany, contributed to a pervading sense of gloom in American Jewry.

"Nor were the statements of the National Council of Churches (the Protestant and Orthodox body) . . .(a) reinforcement for Jews or for Israel. In (a telegram to the President, Council officials) appeared to equate Israel's right to exist with the need to resolve the Arab refugee problem. In their July, 1967 resolution, the National Council of Churches contributed to the moral confusion of cause and effect by labeling Israel's retaliation to Arab provocations 'aggression' and 'expansionism.'"<sup>3</sup>

To add one point to Marc Tanenbaum's response, a visitor from another world could read from end to end the National Council of Churches' lengthy Resolution on the Middle East and never learn that the Arab world had anything whatsoever to do with bringing about the Six Day War. Christian documents are as revealing for what they omit as for what they say. The National Council statement was completely silent at such points as Israel's chronic need for defensible borders, her navigation rights, and the role of the Soviet Union in fomenting Arab aggression.

"The major preoccupation of Christian church groups"--I cite Mrs. Banki now--"appeared to be concern for (new and old) Arab refugees, strengthening of the U.N., and frequently the internationalization of Jerusalem. Often, the question of Israel's national integrity--indeed even of her survival--seemed secondary to (these other) concerns.

"In short, despite support of Israel by individual Christians, Jewish spokesmen had the impression that a number of Christian. . .groups considered Israel expendable and its survival a negotiable item on the agenda of international relations."<sup>4</sup>

## II

Next let us consider and illustrate the major points of view that have been advanced within representative Christian materials.<sup>5</sup>

1. The issue of Israel's right to live. Since the Six Day War, Christian opinion has ranged from the claim that Israel is an illicit intruder into the Arab world to the affirmation that Israel's integrity is justified upon one or another ground: historical, moral, or religious.

Early in the crisis Richard Cardinal Cushing and a number of Catholic and Protestant leaders in the Boston area declared: 'We cannot stand idly by at the possibility of Israel's destruction, of (the decimation of) two and a half million Jewish people. . . .'<sup>6</sup> Contrariwise, Alford Carleton, an official of the United Church of Christ, wrote an open letter to pastors and leaders of his church



asserting that the creation of the Jewish national home--"not to mention (the) aggressive national State of Israel--was an act of Western political and economic invasion" into an area that "had been indisputably 'the Arab world' for well over a thousand years."<sup>7</sup> But the noted New Testament scholar, Frederick C. Grant, attested in The Witness, an independent weekly of the Episcopal Church, that "no nation has a historical claim to the land of Israel that can even be compared with that of modern Israel." It is simply false to say that the land "has always belonged to the Arabs. . . . (There have been Jews in Palestine) ever since there were Jews anywhere."<sup>8</sup>

Writing in Christianity Today, a widely-circulated evangelical journal, James L. Kelso, former moderator of the United Presbyterian Church and a longtime archaeologist in the Middle East, labeled the Balfour Declaration "the major cause of the three wars whereby the Jews have stolen so much of Palestine from the Arabs who have owned it for centuries," and he identified Israel as the sole culprit in the current Middle East conflict.<sup>9</sup>

The most influential Protestant publication in this country, The Christian Century, reacted as follows to a rabbi's proposal that interfaith discussion is contingent upon support by Christian leadership of the territorial and political integrity of Israel: "If interfaith dialogue must cease until all Christians become Zionists, then, of course, there will be no dialogue"--as if the rabbi were proposing that Christians become "Zionists." The editors also found "appalling" the adverse evaluations that had been made of the Christian community for its neutral position on the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>10</sup>

Intrinsic to the advocacy of Israel's integrity is the issue of direct negotiations, in the sense that these will constitute minimal recognition of the nation's sovereignty. Here I have found only a few instances of unambiguous Christian backing. Thus, in a "Statement of Conscience" distributed by the Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies, two Catholic scholars, John M. Oesterreicher and Edward H. Flannery, strongly supported the Israeli stand on this question.<sup>11</sup> On the general issue of Israel's right to live, the stated position within the Roman Catholic Church in the United States has been more positive than that within Protestant and Orthodox quarters.<sup>12</sup> True, at the time of the War the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, along with the National Council of Churches, did not commit itself unequivocally on Israel's survival.<sup>13</sup> However, two recent pronouncements are noteworthy. Last November the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations affirmed: "The fundamental issue is that of Israel's right to exist and develop in peace. If this basic issue is settled, the solution of all other important issues, including that of the refugees, will be greatly facilitated."<sup>14</sup> And on January 5, 1969 the Division of World Justice and Peace of the United States Catholic Conference stated: "Those who wish to bring peace and justice to this troubled area must begin with . . . two facts:" Israel's existence as a state; and the need for effective help permanently to relieve the sufferings of "refugees on both sides."<sup>15</sup>

2. The comparative moral standing of Israelis and Arabs. To James L. Kelso, for whom Israelis look upon Arabs as dogs, there must be Christian solidarity in the face of "Israel's crimes against Arab Christians." And it is an equal or greater horror for Christians to sanction crimes against Arab Muslims. Kelso added that the Arabs, along with the Jews, should have been evangelized.<sup>16</sup> Christians, he seems to be suggesting, do not commit crimes. Horace D. Hummel of the Lutheran



School of Theology, Chicago, pointed out: "It is no secret that the vast majority of Christian intellectuals who have worked in the Arab world as archaeologists or the like champion the Arab cause. . . ." The language they use is suggestive of that used in the Vietnam issue: "the unquestionable good of Arab nationalism and self-determination as thwarted by Israeli imperialism or aggression; Israel even becomes a fascist and racist state, guilty of genocide, of all things!"<sup>17</sup>

The generalization is sometimes made that reputedly "liberal" Christians are more ready to recognize the moral caliber of Israel than are reputedly "conservative" Christians. This is not accurate. Many Christian fundamentalists are firmly anti-Communist, and this has tended to lead some of them, at least by implication, to appreciate Israel's moral stature, particularly since the Soviet Union has become so greatly opposed to Israel. On the other hand, in the "liberal" camp Dana E. Klotzle, Director of the United Nations office of the Unitarian-Universalist Association, condemned unequivocally what he called the evident "expansionist policy of the Israeli government," and he accused Israel of excessive nationalism and a naked power policy--although unlike most Christian spokesmen, Klotzle also condemned the policy of Arab leaders "to incite their people to violence against Israel."<sup>18</sup> Henry P. Van Dusen, former president of a noted liberal Protestant seminary, compared Israel's military successes in 1967 with Hitler's Blitzkrieg across Western Europe "aiming not at victory but at annihilation."<sup>19</sup> By contrast, the Catholic publication Providence Visitor attested that the compassionate element in Israel's military action and the humanitarian attention lavished upon her defeated foes appears to be "without historical parallel."<sup>20</sup> I have not found a single American Catholic statement expressive of the rancor toward Israel that suffuses many Protestant statements.

Charges against Israel of "aggression," "expansionism," "imperialism," "militancy," and "overreaction"--accusations that are of course plentiful in extra-religious circles, and Arab and Communist circles--are by no means absent among Churchmen, even where Arab provocations are fully admitted. Such accusations are very seldom answered. Here is one that was: When in the family magazine Presbyterian Life Willard G. Oxtoby of Yale University sought a la Arnold Toynbee to draw moral parallels between Israeli treatment of Arabs and Nazi treatment of Jews, a fellow Presbyterian, Noel Freedman of San Francisco Theological Seminary, found the comparison at once "vicious and odious."<sup>21</sup> We may add here that Israelis have been especially repelled by repeated demands by Christian spokesmen (as by others, including the esteemed New York Times) that Israel ought to be magnanimous to her Arab foes. The Christian Century dared to insist, for example, that the new burden and "advantage" of Israel "should be handled without arrogance and with great restraint and wisdom."<sup>22</sup> In general, The Christian Century has been quite ambivalent toward Israel. It keeps wanting to do something with her, to refashion her. In a recent editorial, curiously titled "To Zionists, with Love," the editors counseled wariness of "uncritical combinations of religious faith and political loyalty," the kind of combination to be found among "some of you Zionists. . . ." After protesting their support of Israel's existence, the editors went on to allege Israel's role in igniting the June War, her repeated defiance of and scorn for the U.N., and the ascendancy of hawks in the Israeli body politic.<sup>23</sup>

3. The sufferings of refugees and others. This item requires particular attention. The heaviest concentration of criticism of Israel among Protestant



spokesmen--has involved commitment to one side in the refugee question. As of September, 1968 the stated outlook of the National Council of Churches' leadership that we noted earlier had not changed; if anything, it had become more pro-Arab. Last July the Council sent a three-man study team of clergymen to the Middle East, with instructions to concentrate upon the refugee situation.<sup>24</sup> The investigators reported that their "inquiries regarding the causes for continuing flight of Arabs from occupied territory revealed 'the belief and fear' that 'territorial expansion is an integral part' of Israel's policy, and will mean a 'further squeezing out of the Arabs'; great economic insecurity; threats to the Arab way of life through 'the imposition of destructive alien elements of European culture'; and pressures upon people to leave.

The deputation alleged that there was great disillusionment with the American Christian community on the part of Middle Eastern Christians, and elaborated as follows: "Western nations out of a sense of guilt for the persecution of Jews in Europe created the State of Israel, and thus contributed toward the persecution of Arabs, forcing them from . . . their land." "For twenty years Israel has been permitted to ignore the resolutions of the United Nations aimed at justice for the dispossessed Arabs. . . ." "Since the War the United Nations has been virtually powerless in dealing with either the 1948 situation or the present situation, largely through the failure of the United States to give full support to United Nations resolutions. . . ." "The ineffectiveness of the United Nations and the failure of the United States 'must be due' either to support of the churches for Israel or to their neutral, ineffective stance. . . ." "Therefore, it appears to many Christians in the Middle East that Western Christians in the United States, despite relief programs and acts of mercy, have betrayed them in their struggle for justice."<sup>25</sup>

Incredible as it may sound, the reader, studying this lengthy Report from start to finish, is given no indication whatsoever either of the Arab world's interest in destroying Israel or of the plight of Jewish refugees--this in a document devoted to the refugee question and one that describes itself as endeavoring "to maintain objectivity throughout."<sup>26</sup> At the NCC Board's Houston meeting last September, the Report did not go entirely unopposed. It was challenged by David Hunter, deputy general secretary of the Council, and by A. Dudley Ward, a Methodist official. Hunter emphasized the severely pro-Arab bias of the findings and insisted that the National Council not take sides in this way. Ward labeled the Report "distorted" for failing to attend to the political factors behind the refugees' conditions. He said that if the churches had supported the recognition of Israel over the past two decades and had raised questions about the alliances of such a nation as Egypt, they would be in a position now to carry on objective debate about the refugee problem. But despite these pleas for objectivity and fairness, the Board received the Report and transmitted it for study to the National Council's thirty-three member churches.<sup>27</sup>

Almost no churchmen have contended for the other side of the refugee issue.<sup>28</sup> Mrs. Banki summed up the general state of affairs in the churches this way: Concern for the Arab refugees is quite understandable; many Jews share it. But many Christians write and talk as though Israel were alone responsible for their plight, without any reference to Arab aggression and the policy that has kept the refugees suffering in camps. These Christians ignore the thousands of Jewish refugees from Arab lands and the increased suffering and persecution of Jews in those countries.<sup>29</sup>



I may mention one partially compensating sentiment. Occasionally, it is asserted in the churches that Christians have a peculiar moral obligation to Jews and hence to Israel. Thus, the Lutheran theologian Aarne Siirala said that he felt ashamed when a rabbi friend had to plead for support from the Christian community in the face of the threat to Israel since no initiative had come from the Christian side. Siirala wrote that he heard in the request "an authentic concern to break the traditional Christian silence and indifference toward the fate" of Jews. It is the "inner contradictions and conflicts of the Western Christian world that have produced anti-Semitism. . . ."30

This compensating sentiment further appears in our final item reviewing expressed attitudes.

4. The religious factor. As would be anticipated, specifically religious types of affirmation have sustained conflicting points of view.

One influence here is a new readiness among some Christian churchmen to project themselves in some way into the faith of Judaism and into Jewish self-understanding, especially into the meaning and significance of Jewish peoplehood. A number of Protestant leaders published an advertisement in The New York Times that read in part: "For Christians, to acknowledge the necessity of Judaism is to acknowledge that Judaism presupposes inextricable ties with the land of Israel and the city of David, without which Judaism cannot be truly itself."<sup>31</sup> The editor of the Lutheran Forum expressed the matter incisively: For most Jews, to destroy Israel would be equivalent to "taking Christ out of Christianity."<sup>32</sup> The editor of Sheed and Ward, Philip Scharper, confessed: "I was reminded again and again in Israel of the ancient prophecy of Ezekiel when he saw the valley filled with dry bones restored to life at God's command. . . .Twenty years ago, six million Jews lay dead in Europe, and the spared but scattered remnant seemed, to the eyes of human vision, helpless and, perhaps, doomed. . . .Yet in that time the State of Israel was born and the impossible took place. . . .The people were summoned from their graves and were brought into their own land. Was it indeed that the Lord had spoken and performed it?"

"We Christians may not believe so but we must, at least, try to understand why so many Jews both within and without Israel look upon this State as God's reply to a people's faith," finding "that God is faithful to His promises and that the calls of God to the people of Israel are 'irrevocable.'"<sup>33</sup>

I should be the last to want to spoil these compelling words, but I do venture to add--and I think Dr. Scharper would not be upset--that a really fulfilled empathy must also extend to the thousands who live for Israel but simply cannot accede to a theological rendering of the Israeli story--not to mention those Jews and Christians who are entirely committed to a theological outlook but who cannot believe that history is capable of validating faith.

It would be totally misleading to conclude that the religious factor necessarily supplies Christian support for Israel while extra-religious arguments do not. On the contrary, religion is often among the weightiest of obstacles. R. Park Johnson, an ecumenical missions official of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., expressed a viewpoint quite opposed to Philip Scharper's. Johnson asked that American Christians avoid "superficial identification of the modern secular



national state of Israel with the historic ancient Hebrew nation. Present political and military events in the Middle East cannot be properly interpreted as a realization of the prophetic messages in the Bible about the people of Israel as an instrument of God's purposes of justice and mercy for all nations under the rule of God.<sup>34</sup> And the Church Herald, official organ of the Reformed Church in America, after denouncing Christians who, it said, condone Israel's persecutions of Arabs, asserted, "The Christian Church also has something at stake in the Middle East. It is not the free access to the holy places in Jerusalem, but the evangelization of Jew and Muslim alike, and their conversion to Jesus Christ."<sup>35</sup>

Often the religious authentication of Israel expressed by Christians is only provisional, and what is given with one hand is taken away with the other. Thus, an article in the evangelical monthly Eternity, after proposing that if God has begun resettling the sons of Isaac in Israel the sons of Ishmael can scarcely dislodge them, nevertheless cautioned that it was not "in faith" that Jews have returned to their promised land. But tomorrow the Jews will "look upon Him whom they pierced," and the nation "will be converted in a day."<sup>36</sup>

If a charge of biblical literalism is often made against Zionism in some Christian circles,<sup>37</sup> the presence of biblical literalism among Christians can also sustain opposition to Israel.

### III

Are there ways to account for Christian attitudes to Israel, and particularly the widespread indifference and hostility to the Israeli side? The search for motivations is much more difficult than a simple description of expressed points of view--and it moves us into controversy. Yet it would be naive to equate the conscious and public reasons put forward in Christian quarters with deeper urges or causes.

An overall factor is the measure of uncertainty within the Christian community. It is understandable that on such an enormously complex issue many Christians and their leaders should not know what to say or do. Evidently some churchmen have just not believed that the Arab detractors of Israel could or would destroy her. Such points as these are hardly the only ways to explain widespread Christian neutralism, but they are not irrelevant. There has been some avoidance of moral commitment by church representatives on the ground that the Middle East conflict is essentially a power issue. It is not true, however, that institutional bodies must inevitably temporize or compromise, and fail to commit themselves morally within the power-political sphere. The General Board of the National Council of Churches has twice deplored the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, despite the opposite view among churchmen in East European countries. The survival of Israel is not one more political issue; it is a moral issue. And it is a religious issue in the sense that it involves ultimate human meanings.

There is, furthermore, the stubborn hope that the Christian church may somehow fill a conciliatory role between Arab and Jew. You and I may doubt this possibility. But what may appear to be a moral failure to us can have moral intent behind it.



The concern for peace is of undoubted import, if one is to believe a great many petitions and pronouncements. Expressed fears of renewed warfare and, indeed, of a world conflagration have been compounded by the worsening tensions of very recent weeks. Yet it is surely unjust to imply that those churchmen who plead for the Israeli cause are insensitive to the explosive state of affairs in the Middle East. Many such churchmen will insist that the surest guarantee of war is the refusal to acknowledge Israel's rights. Curiously, most Christian groups have seemed unable to concern themselves with the threat to peace in the Arab plan to destroy Israel. Along this line, repeated Christian appeals to the decisions and intervention of the United Nations have been a grievous affront to Jews and Israelis, because the U.N. has been a disastrous and evil influence in the present conflict.

It appears plausible to suggest that potentially pro-Israeli voices have been muted by the severe opposition in the churches to United States' participation in the Vietnamese war as well as by recent isolationist influences. There is also the abiding pacifist tradition within Protestantism, an ideal that seems put into question by the popular image of Israel. On the other hand, Christian pacifists can hardly be honestly enthused over behavior in Arab circles.

The influence of church interests and ties in the Middle East is undeniable. This is readily admitted by such a pro-Arab writer as Willard Oxtoby, who stated concerning his own denomination: Presbyterians "have for a century invested in the educational resources of Syria, Lebanon and Egypt; the good will built up over a century can vanish overnight if Americans close their ears to the Arab side. . . ."38 There are today some 4,000,000 Christians in the Middle East.39

The response to the 1967 crisis on the part of the Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas was to seek to insure that "the traditional and inalienable rights of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem" be defended and preserved, and that "the shrines of all faiths in the Holy Land be given an internationally guaranteed status. . . ."40

Many Arab Christians and some non-Christians have been trained in schools and colleges founded and supported by American missionary enterprise. A number have been helped by clinics, hospitals, and philanthropic institutions. Much apprehension is expressed over the future of the Christian church in the Middle East.41 There is some tendency in the Arab nations to identify their Christian minorities with alien Western interests. Arab hostility to Americans is numbered among the serious obstacles to the Christian cause. Concern is voiced for the welfare and security of Christians in the Arab states.42 It is sometimes claimed that "the substantial numbers of Catholic institutions in Arab countries. . . make the Vatican susceptible to diplomatic pressure"--although not necessarily American Catholic leadership.43

In seeking to comprehend the motivations beneath the words and actions of the Christian community, we face a dilemma: The more popular and plausible the explanation, the less does it seem to bring us to the heart of the matter;44 while the greater the depth of the interpretation, the more difficult and maybe even impossible is its demonstration.



The elements we have just noted--to which can be added the contention that Christians simply lack understanding of the depth of Jewish feeling for Israel and of the solidarity of Jewish peoplehood--hardly provide a convincing or complete explanation, and they may even mislead us. They may, for example, tempt us to the utopian conclusion that once Christians are sufficiently educated, their whole attitude will change. I put it to you that while the "plausible" interpretations may help to account for Christian uncertainty and silence, and perhaps even Christian fears, they scarcely explain the marked ambivalence toward Israel that pervades the churches. We say to Israel: "Be good. Be righteous. Be better than anybody. But you are bad. You are unrighteous. You are worse than everybody. You ought to be saints, but you are going to be devils."

What is to be made of the out-and-out hostility of many Christians--and of their double standard? We have not referred as yet to the "double standard," although we have intimated its presence. Everyone has been talking about it of late, but, to my knowledge, few are asking: Why is there such a thing?

Christian circles are certainly not free of the "double standard." The Christian world has challenged no other nation's right to exist in the way it has that of Israel. Of what other people is that right called into question? We have said to Israel, "If you are good to the refugees, we just may accept you." When has this been told to the Arab world? Why do churchmen constantly lecture Israel on how she must behave? Why have so many Christian spokesmen condemned Israel for her alleged territorial expansion, and not arraigned the Arab nations for their relentless program to harass and annihilate Israel? Why have Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox representatives castigated the Israelis for reunifying Jerusalem, and found no sin in Jordan for her original conquest of the Old City and for abuses of religious freedom there?<sup>45</sup>

Why was it that Christian leaders, including Pope Paul, deplored the raid on the Beirut Airport in December, 1968 and denounced Israel for it, after having said nothing of the terrorist attack in Athens or of other recent acts of violence and terror against Israel?<sup>46</sup> Why did officials of the National Council of Churches go out of their way to commend the American Government for joining in the rebuke of Israel in the U.N. Security Council for the Beirut raid?

One might reply that Christian behavior is simply reminiscent or repetitious of the world's behavior, and the world as a whole is hostile to Israel. The Christian community is part of the world. But this reply is not convincing. It only raises other questions: Does the church always follow the world? Has the church no independent vantage point? At the very least, the lesson in the "double standard," respecting Christians who practice it, is the essential refutation of their claim to be pursuing a morally equitable course in the matter before us. Their claim is a deceit.

Again, has the church been imitating the world, or has the world been learning more and more to be der Stellvertreter, the representative, of historic Christendom? The traditional and entrenched Christian stand on the Jewish people has been: You may either convert or leave or die. The eternal war against the Jew makes strange bedfellows--or are they really so strange? The arab detractors would never suffer to convert Jews, although there is a kind of conversion implied: a conversion to statelessness. And the detractors do represent the other two



alternatives: Israeli Jews may leave--they may go to Germany or Britain or someplace--or stay to fight and die.

The nations of the world and the Arab collaborators have become the latter-day instruments of historic Christendom's conspiracy to destroy the Jewish people.

Somewhat more circumspectly, we may set down three simple propositions:

1. Today's American Christian community focuses infinitely more upon Israeli sins than upon Arab sins.
2. Such behavior is, to say the least, incapable of truthful justification.
3. It makes sense to suggest, therefore, that the Christian community is being conditioned by impulses that lie beneath the surface.

These impulses are abetted by certain ideological influences. At the center of traditional Christian teaching and deep within the Christian psyche looms the myth that the Jewish people have been cast forth from their land because of their transgressions, especially for rejecting "their" Messiah, and that they cannot be restored to wholeness unless and until they repent of their evil and acknowledge divine truth.

The very concept or symbol "Israel" is an aggravating factor. Historically and ideologically, the Christian church is celebrated as the "new Israel." For example, right at the climax of a recent report of a National Council of Churches' conference, a report concerned with hopes and fears in the Holy Land, there appears the expression, "the Church as the Israel of God."<sup>47</sup> There is the rub. The old Israel failed. It is accursed. God has raised up a new and better instrument to do his work.

There is also the Christian dichotomy of "sacred" and "profane," of "religious" and "worldly," an impossible distinction for most Jews. The church's mind has been severely conditioned by a dualism of "matter" and "spirit," in contrast to a Hebraic insistence upon the sacred unity of life. Is not Israel--the Christian dualist asks--a woefully secular state, and, accordingly, is not something seriously lacking in her spiritually? One way the Christian conscience seeks to remove the "worldly Zionists" from the sphere of its obligations is, in effect, to read them out of Judaism.<sup>48</sup>

For its part, Christendom has never won through to a reconciliation with secularism. Accordingly, all through the modern period the church has been burdened by an idealistic universalism inherently distrustful of life's particularities. The church is caught between an advocacy of religiousness (though of course a religiousness inseparable from anti-Judaism) and an apolitical universalism (in implicit opposition to Israel as a secular state). On both these grounds, the religious and the universalistic, we encounter a failure or refusal to take seriously the Jewish people in their Israeli dimension, to accept them on their own terms. Is not Israel a case of nationalist, and even tribalist, regression?



The kind of ideological structure we are observing is connected with many practical issues--such as the fabrication that the "holy places" are somehow "above politics," beyond the sovereignty of the people of Israel, including even the capital of the nation. Here is suggested much of the hidden motivation behind recurrent demands within the Christian community, Protestant and Catholic, for the so-called internationalization of Jerusalem.<sup>49</sup> That demand exemplifies the imperialism of Christian universalism. (In point of fact Israel has guaranteed complete religious freedom in all of Jerusalem and the sanctity and protection of all "holy places," including a readiness to place them under independent denominational supervision.) Who would dream of applying the notion of internationalization to such cities as Damascus or Rome or Geneva? To this day, the Vatican has not recognized the State of Israel. There is no such place as "Israel" apparently; there is only "Palestine"! In the last resort--we Christians are saying--Israel is not in fact the property of Israel.

Finally, Christian anti-Zionism is the new Christian anti-Semitism. Time precludes a full exposition of this theme. It is in many respects an inference from much of the analysis. In principle, there is little reason to expect that Christian denigration and persecution of Jews over so long a history should not be revived in Christian policies and behavior regarding the Zionist ideal and the reestablishment of the State of Israel--in the "Holy Land" of all places! The anti-Zionist stance of many nations and peoples appears inexplicable apart from the age-old influence of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism within Western and Eastern Christendom.

A certain straw man has recently been circulating in our midst. Reputedly, any criticism of Israel is called an "anti-Semitic" act. Yet where in truth has a Jewish or Israeli spokesman insinuated any such thing? The most relentless critics of Israel are Israelis. Many churchmen give evidence of deliberately confusing the issue of Israel's right to survive with the demand (in actuality, a fabrication) that Israel's every act or policy be approved. Furthermore, the theological truism that no people's right to their land can be absolute readily becomes an ideological weapon for denying Israel's legitimate claims. This weapon is seen to be illicit by virtue of the fact that the critic is tacitly granting absolute rights to Israel's enemies. Support for Israel would become unwarranted absolutization only if it meant blind sanction of everything the nation does.

A repeated warning is heard these days: "In your anti-Zionism never let anyone accuse you of anti-Jewishness or anti-Semitism." The ardor and the pervasiveness of this counsel incline me (as a Christian, and therefore a suspicious man) to smell a rat. Anti-Semitism may be a highly complex phenomenon but its essence is quite elementary. It entails Judenfeindschaft, enmity toward the Jewish people. The real question is a simple one: How can a man not be an anti-Semite if he opposes Israel's right to live, or consorts with would-be destroyers of Israel? There is no way to be against Israel without being anti-Semitic.

I want to call your attention to an essay by Edward H. Flannery, entitled "Anti-Zionism and the Christian Psyche." Father Flannery's thesis is that the similarity of reaction in Christendom to the Holocaust and to the emergence of the State of Israel is "symptomatic . . . of determinative unconscious forces;



specifically, of an unrecognized antipathy (to) the Jewish people." The Holocaust and the State of Israel are at opposite poles in the existence of Jews. "One is its nadir; the other, its zenith: Israel prostrate and Israel triumphant." Yet even though the stimuli are poles apart, the response is single: apathy-hostility. Such an inappropriate affect can hardly come from rational sources. The very multiplicity of the indictments of Zionism by Christians conceals unrecognized motivations. "A certain vague uneasiness attends the idea of Jews restored to Palestine, and to Jerusalem in particular. This uneasiness may serve as the subliminal foundation for a Christian anti-Zionism and as the dynamics (behind) the various 'reasons' supplied for disfavoring the State of Israel...." The Christian death-wish for Jews finds a new actualization.<sup>50</sup>

Father Flannery stressed the need for caution and tentativeness in this type of conclusion. I cannot think of a more essential or timely subject for collaborative research among the social sciences, depth psychology, and theology than the whole phenomenon of Christian anti-Zionism. Any scientists who happen to be present will insist that we cannot build upon the absence of data. But we are not without data. We have 1900 years of Christian contempt for Jews and Judaism. And we have some formidable evidence from contemporary behavior in the churches right in our midst.

I should like to close on a moral note rather than a purely psychological one.

First, for most Jews, and some Christians, the primary question is not the mere perpetuation of a state as a juridical entity but the survival and welfare of the Israeli population as human beings. The place of the visible state comes to the fore as a function of the human question, and for that reason it cannot be denied. When I say "the Israeli population," I do not mean only Jews. It is not impossible that a frenzied Arab slaughter in Israel would entail little if any practical distinction between Jews and those Arabs who have, after all, become full Israeli citizens.

Second, in so far as Christian denigration of Israel cannot be divorced either from certain ongoing Christian dogmas and ideology or from historic Christian acts of hostility toward Jews, the responsibility of Israeli Jews and the Jewish world may become clear. Responsible action will be determined by decisions respecting the force and changeability of Christian belief and Christian behavior. There is, I judge, little in the history of dominant Christian attitudes to Israel since 1948, and particularly since 1967, to warrant the conclusion that the Christian world, and the American Christian community in particular, has changed or will change. This state of affairs may inspire Israelis and others sympathetic to Israel to face up to the A.C. Forrests, the Willard Oxtobys, the leadership of the National Council of Churches, by persisting in a resolutely political stance, by fostering structures of power that help make the negative attitudes within the churches increasingly inconsequential to the moral necessities of Israel's survival and well being. This course is commended, not just in the name of Israel but in the name of the Arab peoples and of humanity. From that perspective, we are brought back to one note hinted at in the beginning: the irrelevance of the churches.



NOTES

1 Amnon Rubenstein, "'Damn Everybody' Sums Up The Angry Mood of Israel," The New York Times Magazine, Feb. 9, 1969.

2 Marc H. Tanenbaum, "Israel's Hour of Need and the Jewish-Christian Dialogue," Conservative Judaism, Winter, 1968, pp. 1-18; Judith H. Banki, Christian Reactions to the Middle East Crisis, New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1967; Banki, "Emerging Issues in Jewish-Christian Relations," The Dialogue (published by the National Conference of Christians and Jews), Oct., 1968, pp. 1-9. The coverage of the first two studies was limited almost exclusively to the mid-months of 1967; the third extended into mid-1968.

3 Tanenbaum, pp. 7-8. The last reference is to the "Resolution on the Crisis in the Middle East" put forth by the Executive Committee of the National Council of Churches, July 7, 1967. The Resolution hewed to the familiar line of trying the founding of the State of Israel in 1948 to the plight of the Arab refugees. It continued: "Among the few who have heard" the cries of the refugees "have been Arab leaders, outraged at the establishment of Israel in the first place and fearful of her future expansion." The Council charged Israel with "significant responsibility" for solving the refugee problem, and then added that "the Arab states and other members of the international community" must share responsibility. The Resolution was totally silent on Jewish refugees and on the condition of Jews in Arab countries. Respecting the plight of Israel, here is the relevant passage: "For a generation the world has heard politically inspired threats of a war of extermination against Israel. The consequences speak for themselves. During this period we Christians have said little or done little to seek assurances for Israel that extermination would not be her fate. We have called on neither the Arab states nor Israel to abandon warfare as the means for settlement of conflicting national interests. . . ." The Resolution's partial sympathy for Israel and the point that a condition of peace is acceptance of Israel "by the entire international community" were offset by such passages as "the National Council of Churches cannot condone by silence territorial expansion by armed force" and "we cannot approve Israel's unilateral annexation of the Jordanian portions of Jerusalem." The Council seemed to imply that Israel should somehow be criticized for indicating that she would defend herself against attack. The Resolution totally ignored the fact that the "Jordanian portions of Jerusalem" were the consequence of armed conquest by Jordan.

4 Banki, "Emerging Issues. . .," p. 3

5 We may keep in mind that Christian spokesmen are by no means free of a readiness to distort facts. For example, in Presbyterian Life Willard G. Oxtoby refused to grant any reason for the "Israeli take-over of the Old City of Jerusalem and the Western portion of Jordan" since "surely Jordan had posed no serious threats to Israel's economy and trade." This distortion was answered by Rabbi Solomon S. Bernards: "Oxtoby forgets that a few days before war broke out, Jordan had joined Egypt in a war alliance--and that prior to June 5, Israeli leaders had specifically requested Jordan not to attack Jerusalem, to which Jordan responded by shelling the city at once." Again, Oxtoby claimed that American Christians and Jews practice a double standard: "Arabs could be judged bloodthirsty from their rhetoric no matter how little they could actually do,



while Israel could do no wrong no matter how far its conquests exceeded its provocation." Bernard's rejoinder was that this "overlooks entirely the record of Arab terrorist attacks on towns and settlements over the past fifty years, the pogroms against Jews in Arab lands and the vast military preparations of Egypt in the Sinai Desert prior to the war" (Bernard's, "The Arab-Israel Crisis and the American Christian Response," The Lutheran Quarterly, (Aug., 1968), 270-271). Revealingly, very few Christian analysts have seen fit to correct misrepresentations of fact. In Theology Today this charge appeared: "Christians have been chided and criticized" by Jews "for not enthusiastically supporting the swift and brilliant Israeli victory over Arab threats to their national existence ("Christianity and the Israeli-Arab World," in "The Church and the World" by E.G. Homrighausen, Theology Today, (Oct., 1967), 375). This wording constitutes a falsification. Where has there appeared an instance of a statement warranting any such accusation against Jews? The issue was not at all one of applauding the Israeli victory. It was one of concern over the terrible possibility of Israel's extermination before the hostilities began. This response in Theology Today almost seems to be saying that Israel's real offense was its refusal to die.

6 Cited in Banki, Christian Reactions . . . , p. 4. As early as May 23, 1967, the President of the Catholic Association for International Peace sent a telegram to President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk urging the United States to "take every possible measure . . . to discourage and prevent the threat or use of force by any state against the independence and territorial integrity of any other state in the Middle East." David R. Hunter, deputy general secretary of the National Council of Churches, contended: "I think Jews in this country are quite right in denouncing Christian churches for silence during the threats of genocide" (as cited in "Review of the Week," The New York Times, Dec. 31, 1967). Philip Scharper affirmed: "The fact that the threat of genocide was raised. . . should have evoked more than a shrug of the collective Christian shoulder. One cannot but wonder if the same response of no-response would have been given if the threat to annihilate the enemy had come from the Knesset and Tel Aviv. . . ("Israel, the Modern State, and Contemporary Christian Points of View," Andover Newton Quarterly (March, 1968), 242).

7 Cited in Banki, Christian Reactions. . . , p. 11.

8 The Witness, June 18, 1967, as cited in Banki, Christian Reactions. . . , p. 6. Some 150 ministers, priests and rabbis from the Southwest issued one of the few declarations that gave first priority to "the right of Israel and the Jewish people to exist as a sovereign state" (The Los Angeles Times, July 29, 1967).

9 James L. Kelso, in Christianity Today, July 21, 1967, as cited in Banki, Christian Reactions . . . , p. 5.

10 The Christian Century, editorial "Israel and the Christian Dilemma," July 12, 1967, p. 884. This publication's insistence upon employing the term "Zionist" is an interesting anachronism. It is not wholly unlike the use of "abolitionist" to identify someone in a situation where slavery has already been abolished.

11 John M. Oesterreicher and Edward H. Flannery, "A Statement of Conscience," The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University, South Orange,

N.J., Nov. 17, 1967. The Protestant Council of New York City called for direct negotiations "based upon recognition of the legal existence of Israel. . ." (June 15, 1967, as cited in Bernards, p. 264).

12 I am aware of the lament by Catholics at an international symposium meeting in Strasbourg in July, 1967, that "at the moment when the Jewish people in Israel were endangered to the utmost. . .so few Catholic voices were raised against the threat of genocide."

13 Banki, Christian Reactions. . ., p. 3.

14 Press Release from the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J., Nov. 22, 1968.

15 Statement on the Middle East by the Division of World Justice and Peace of the United States Catholic Conference, Jan. 5, 1969 (mimeographed); italics added.

16 James L. Kelso, as cited in Bernards, p. 269.

17 Horace D. Hummel in "Symposium: Lutheran Reactions to the Arab-Israel War," Lutheran Quarterly, Aug., 1968, pp. 279-80.

18 As cited in Banki, Christian Reactions. . ., p. 11.

19 Henry P. Van Dusen, letter to The New York Times, July 7, 1967.

20 As cited in Banki, Christian Reactions. . ., p. 13.

21 As cited in Bernards, pp. 271, 272.

22 The Christian Century, editorial "Israel and the Christian Dilemma," July 12, 1967, p. 883.

23 The Christian Century, editorial "To Zionists, with Love," Oct. 9, 1968, pp. 1263-64. At the time of the original crisis in May-June, 1967, The Christian Century editors contended that "Arab recalcitrance and belligerence" tilted their "sympathies sharply toward Israel." But they also maintained that Jewish criticisms "erroneously assume that Christian commitment to Judaism and to Israel required hostility to Arabs" (editorial "Israel and the Christian Dilemma," July 12, 1967, pp. 883-884). No documentation was offered to support this charge. The editors also described the accession of East Jerusalem as "war booty" (editorial "Israel Annexes Old Jerusalem," July 12, 1967, p. 884). The Christian Century has time and again opened its pages to persons bitterly hostile to Israel.

24 The members were Raymond E. Maxwell (Episcopal Church), Edwin M. Luidens (Reformed Church in America), and Rodney A. Sundberg (United Presbyterian Church).

25 Report of Deputation to the Middle East, July 19-31, 1968, National Council of Churches, pp. 5, 8-9 (mimeographed).

26 Ibid., p. 3.



27 "Report on Middle East Sparks Controversy at NCC meeting," Religious News Service release, Houston, Texas, Sept. 18, 1968. On Jan. 3, 1969 the president and the general secretary of the National Council of Churches urged four steps in aid of "compassion, justice and peace" in the Middle East: support for the U.N. Security Council Resolution of Nov. 22, 1967; the return of West Bank refugees to their homes; increased U.S. contribution to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency; and this new item: "Mindful of reports of continued persecution of Jews in some countries of the Middle East, we protest and affirm that each person and association should be assured of adequate legal safeguards for the protection of their rights." The most extreme and malignantly anti-Israel presentation of the refugee problem was that of A.C. Forrest, editor of The United Church Observer, family magazine of the United Church of Canada, that country's largest Protestant denomination. A "special issue" of the publication appeared on Oct. 1, 1967. One page heading read in huge type "INJUSTICE" and the subheading stated, "In her present policies Israel stands condemned before the world." I select just two from among the many allegations: We condemn "the treatment of the Arab people in occupied territory in the weeks that followed the war and the harsh, inhumane treatment of the refugees now, and the 19-year-old record of inhumanity to Palestinian refugees." "For another 200,000 homeless--and if Israeli policies remain the same they are going to stay homeless--the future seems grim again in the Holy Land." Forrest's "report" was reproduced with varying degrees of editing, through a syndicated arrangement, in a number of the largest denominational publications in the United States, and thus falls within our delimited subject. These publications included Church and Home, The Episcopalian, The Lutheran, Presbyterian Life, Presbyterian Survey, Together, and the United Church Herald. For example, in Together (Methodist) much of the anti-Israeli slander was edited out. Still, no comments were appended concerning Jewish refugees.

28 The Jesuit journal America, which took the position that the plight of the refugees is at the heart of the Middle Eastern conflict, listed as part of the price for ultimate peace Israeli recognition of the Arab view that the refugees "have unjustly lost their homeland," although it went on to say that the Arab world must recognize that Israel is "a homeland for Jews who have no other" (June 24, 1967) as cited in Banki, Christian Reactions. . . , p. 14). The declaration of the interfaith group from the Southwest (see note 8) spoke not alone of "the rights of suffering Arab refugees" but of "the plight of persecuted Jewish minorities whose human rights have been jeopardized in some Arab lands" (The Los Angeles Times, July 29, 1967).

29 Banki, "Emerging Issues. . .," p. 4.

30 Aarne Siirala, in "Symposium: Lutheran Reactions to the Arab-Israel War," Lutheran Quarterly, Aug., 1968, pp. 235, 286.

31 The New York Times, July 12, 1967. These spokesmen went on: "Theologically, it is this dimension to the religion of Judaism which leads us to support the reunification of the city of Jerusalem."

32 Glenn C. Stone, in "Symposium: Lutheran Reactions to the Arab-Israel War," Lutheran Quarterly, Aug., 1968, p. 284.



33 Scharper, pp. 244-45.

34 As cited in Bernards, p. 265.

35 Church Herald, Sept. 8, 1967, as cited in Bernards, pp. 272-73.

36 Eternity, July, 1967, as cited in Bernards, p. 272.

37 A columnist in the Methodist publication Concern wrote: "Christians and Jews in the United States have a very serious obligation to reject the biblical literalism that lies behind political zionism. . ." (June 15, 1967, p. 9).

38 Willard G. Oxtoby, July 1, 1967, as cited in Bernards, pp. 271-72

39 In today's Israel, Christians number about 72,000, some 12,000 of whom are in East Jerusalem. The principal groups include Greek Catholics (23,000), Greek Orthodox (17,000), Latins (11,000), Maronites (3,000), and Protestants (2,000). Some 30,000 Christians live in the "West Bank" area (Facts About Israel, 1968, Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Information Division, p. 70). According to one estimate, the Christian population in the Middle East is no more than one half the 1900 figure (Alford Carleton, "Christian Alternatives in the Middle East," unpublished).

40 June 24, 1967, as reported in Newsletter, Committee on the Church and the Jewish People, World Council of Churches, Dec., 1967, p. 9.

41 At their 1967 Convention, Southern Baptists voiced much more concern for their missionaries in Arab lands than they did for the fate of Israel (Newsweek, July 3, 1967, p. 73).

42 This may be more of an admission than some realize. Such fears would hardly be forthcoming respecting Christians inside Israel.

43 "Review of the Week," The New York Times, Jan. 5, 1969. In January, 1969 Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee warned of a covert, unprecedented, and highly skillful campaign by Arabs to penetrate the "institutional systems of the American Catholic and Protestant churches with propaganda that is not only blatantly anti-Israel and anti-Zionist but also, in many cases, virulently anti-Semitic." One example is a leaflet providing a Muslim version of the medieval blood libel charge and a revival of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." A primary resource center for the campaign is Lebanon, where many Christian groups and leaders are collaborating in the effort (Statement before the New York Chapter, American Jewish Committee, Jan. 12, 1969, mimeographed).

44 The underdog-top dog transition vis-a-vis Israel and the Arab nations in June of 1967, in so far as it can be talked about at all, does not appear as a very significant factor in changing differing expressions of Christian opinion.

45 Cf. Oesterreicher and Flannery: "When the Jordanians held the Old City, they closed the border so that no Israeli Jew or Arab could visit any of his holy places; they destroyed 35 out of 36 synagogues; they used tombstones from the ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives to pave the footpaths and latrines of the Arab Legion camp in Bethany. To cede the Old City to Jordan would be for



Israelis to participate in those acts of impiety" ('A Statement of Conscience').

46 Cf. "On World Reaction to Developments in the Middle East: A Statement by Rabbi Jacob P. Rudin, President of the Synagogue Council of America, 'The Christian Century, Jan. 22, 1969, p. 110; Arthur J. Lelyveld, 'Christian Morality and Arab Terrorism: An American Jewish Congress Statement,' Congress Bi-Weekly, Jan. 13, 1969, p. 2. On Jan. 28, 1969 the Pope did deplore the public hangings in Baghdad of fourteen Iraqi "spies," nine of whom were Jews. James Feron surmised that this appeal and a subsequent one to the Jordanian authorities seeking clemency for two Christian Arabs were perhaps connected with the bitter criticism of the Pope by Israeli leaders following upon the raid on the Beirut Airport in December, 1968 (The New York Times, Feb. 1, 1969). An interesting variation on the "double standard" was a joint Methodist-Quaker seminar on current social issues arranged for high school students at the United Nations on Dec. 11, 1968. The single speaker on 'Zionism and the Middle East Problem' was a representative of the American Council for Judaism, an uncompromisingly anti-Zionist group.

47 L. Humphrey Walz, 'Hopes vs. Fears in the Holy Land,' Social Action and Social Progress, Jan.-Feb., 1968, p. 19.

48 A. Roy and Alice L. Eckardt, 'Again, Silence in the Churches. II. Christian and Arab Ideology,' The Christian Century, Aug. 2, 1967, p. 993.

49 In January, 1968 Pope Paul reiterated in an address to the Roman Curia his contention that places specifically identified with the life of Christ should be internationalized, i.e., protected by formal agreements guaranteed by international authority. The Pope's statement contradicted reports that he had given up the idea of internationalization and was prepared to sanction full Israeli responsibility for the maintenance of the holy places. However, the Pope had apparently abandoned the idea of internationalizing the entire area (as reported in News-letter, Committee on the Church and the Jewish People, World Council of Churches, Feb., 1968, p. 12).

50 Edward H. Flannery, 'Anti-Zionism and the Christian Psyche,' a paper prepared for the International Conference of Christians and Jews, Toronto, Sept. 2-6, 1968 (mimeographed).

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Israel

December 1, 1967

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Al Vorspan

I spoke to Haim Zohar. He wanted to be apprised concerning events in Montreal, and I did it, though obviously not as well as you might have done.

Please be good enough to meet his request for the following materials:

- 1 - 5 copies of the State of Our Union Message
- 2 - copy of the King letter on negro anti-Semitism
- 3 - 10 copies of your book on Israel
- 4 - several copies of our Israel resolution
- 5 - 1 set of all resolutions
- 6 - a listing of our new officers



# MEMORANDUM

Date December 4, 1967

From Bernard Eyslin

To Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Mr. Albert Vorspan

Copy for information of Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch

Subject

I have just been studying Rabbi Hirsch's report on his recent visit to Israel and I am struck by two things -- how much most of us don't know what's going on there in terms of Reform Jewish activities. Secondly, if we do expand these activities, we must expand consciousness of what has happened, what is happening and what we mean to happen -- otherwise it won't happen.

Obviously there are many ways in which this department can be of aid in preparing and disseminating information. However, I think something more is needed which we are eminently qualified to do.

Specifically I am proposing a film about the program to be shot in Israel and to center about the Leo Baeck School, the Eisendrath-Exchange-Program, any Reform presence we manage in the youth villages, and congregational activity.

I should like to point out in this regard that I have shot several films for the UJA overseas -- two of them prize-winning documentaries and another which has been termed "the most effective fund-raising film ever made." All these films were shot on a very low budget. Two of them in Israel, one in Vienna and Naples and another one in this country. I can do it on a budget of about \$10,000, I estimate -- this for a half hour film which would be suitable for congregational use, for fund-raising and for television. It could all be done over the summer.

Let me know what you think.

*Where? Where shall we get this  
sum*

*Where? Where is it now?*

*The idea is superb --*

*the ~~the~~ spirit it is willing but the flesh*

From the desk of

RABBI JAY KAUFMAN

To

Vorskamp

tore and  
return



ridiculous

JK



UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

84-5th Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.



21 Shevat 5723  
February 15, 1963

Mr. Lewis H. Weinstein, Chairman  
National Community Relations Advisory Council  
10 Post Office Square  
Boston, Mass.

Dear Mr. Weinstein:

Please be informed that the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, by unanimous decision of its officers and Administrative Committee, will not participate nor be represented at the meeting called by Rabbi Israel Miller and Mr. Label Katz for Wednesday, February 20, 1963, concerning Russian Jewry. It was also unanimously decided to request the organizations of which the Orthodox Union is a constituent member, to abstain from participation in this meeting.

It is in accordance with this decision that we inform you of the position the Orthodox Union has taken in this matter. We have likewise informed the Synagogue Council of America which, therefore, will not participate.

The reasons for our abstaining from this meeting and for our request that the NCRAC and SCA likewise abstain from such participation, are obvious. Notwithstanding the high repute of the gentlemen calling this meeting and of the high repute and achievements of their respective organizations, we believe that any Zionist sponsorship of an effort to alleviate the plight of Russian Jewry or any effort which could possibly be interpreted as being initiated by, controlled by, or associated with the Zionist Movement, is doomed to failure and on the contrary would tend to increase the sufferings of our brethren in Russia. It has been the persistent claim and allegation of Soviet Russia that Russian Jews are the witting or unwitting tools of Zionism and Imperialism and as such suspect in a high degree of disloyalty and traitorous activities. Any endeavor associated with Zionist organizations or their leadership will, therefore, only exacerbate the situation.

In our opinion, the best chance for success lies in action initiated and conducted by the religious Jewish community and its representatives. The human rights aspect of this



Mr. Lewis H. Weinstein

February 15, 1963

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problem, in addition to the religious one, can come to expression quite forcefully and undiminished by religious spokesmanship, for the dignity of man and his freedom are fundamental to the theistic world view.

By copy of this communication, we are informing the constituent members of the NCRAC of our position.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

MOSES I. FEUERSTEIN  
NATIONAL PRESIDENT



MIF/sd