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

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Box 96, Folder 7, General correspondence, memos & working papers, January-September 1977.

Julian Bach Literary Agency, Inc.

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WENDY WEIL

January 13, 1977

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director, Interreligious Affairs
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

I have reread Chapters I and II, and read IV and V (you did not send me III). My reaction is not what you wish to hear, and may be wrong or short sighted.

I think that rather than a book, you should write a serious article about the strength of Southern Evangelicals and what this implies for the Jews and the nation. What are the truths, what are the misconceptions, what are your predictions.

I liked pages 1-7 and your observation that Carter didn't pull the South with him; rather the South drew Carter. These pages have a strong, interesting voice. The rest of the chapters do not have this voice. II is heavily secondary-source quotations to make points about the historical South. IV seemed a restatement to me of points already made. And V is statistics.

Julian's reaction to chapters I and II was that II could be greatly condensed so that you get quickly to contemporary material. I have not shown him IV and V. Since you must have the originals, I will give these new xeroxes to him.

Sincerely,

Wendy Weil

Wendy Weil
(Signed in her absence)

WW:ls1

LOUISE W. FRANKLIN

F
OLLADO
1307 AZALEA LANE
MAITLAND, FLORIDA 32751

January 21, 1977

Rabbi Marc Jassenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56 Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Marc,

An update on where our Dialogue work has been leading. Acting on the mandate of the group present on December 5, we are organizing small groups to meet monthly for discussion, study, dialogue. Work is in process now to collate the forms turned in that night and to design proposed curricula to meet with the requested subject matter. We will need help in order to provide quality leadership to these groups. The hope is that steering committee members will serve as "pick-off" leaders for each group, but that each group will be encouraged to assume responsibility for leadership once underway. We would like to provide each group with as much good

resourcing as possible.

Can you help us? Please let us hear from you with information about what ATE can provide in terms of literature, readings, curriculum, or any other guides and resources. We welcome your resourcing of this ambitious effort.

Many other proposals have been made for future programming including: an interfaith Marriage Encounter experience; retreats; joint mission to Israel and/or Rome; establishment of a center in the manner of Yad Vashem here in Orlando; establishment of a media center. The future of our efforts is bounded only by our own imaginations, energies and, of course, funding... on that subject -

I trust that Erik Dether has spoken with you re: the fees presented for your Dec. 5 appearance here. I hope that any misunderstanding

LOUISE W. FRANKLIN

1307 AZALEA LANE
MAITLAND, FLORIDA 32751

have been clarified and will await
word from Erik when he returns
to Florida.

I look forward to hearing
from you and to working with
you and ASC.

Best regards,
Louise

A final evaluation of participant
responses is being prepared —
Copy will be forwarded upon
completion.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 30, 1978
 to AREA DIRECTORS and EXECUTIVE ASSISTANTS
 from George E. Gruen *GEH*
 subject Sadat U.S. Visit and Letter to American Jews

We are attaching for your information the full text of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's letter to the American Jewish community which was solicited by the Miami Herald and published in its issue of Sunday, January 29th. The text was also published in the New York Daily News and other newspapers around the country. We are also enclosing a reply by Rabbi Alexander Schindler which was carried by the Daily News together with the Sadat letter.

As you well know, one of Sadat's major tactics has long been to drive a wedge between the U.S. and Israel. His latest maneuver in this campaign is to ask American Jews to pressure Israel. In his open letter to the American Jewish community, Sadat also lays the groundwork for isolating and splitting off the American Jewish community from general U.S. public opinion should American Jews refuse to criticize the Israeli government.

We do not advise the communities around the country to get into a point by point debate over the Sadat letter. If you are asked for comments by the local media, you should limit yourself to saying: "Of course we support the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East that will provide security and normal relations for Israel and all its neighbors. We find this position fully consistent with our interests as American citizens and as Jews."

Sadat in his letter himself says "I was not seeking support for any particular stand on a given subject. Rather, I was and am still asking for a reinforcement of this unselfish drive toward peace." We should not be drawn into answering him on the provocative questions at the end of his letter. Such intricate issues as the establishment of secure and recognized borders and the rights of the Palestinians are properly the subject of the current Egyptian/Israeli government-to-government negotiations. If Sadat is prepared to negotiate with Israel in good faith, we are confident that an equitable compromise can be achieved. But we will not become parties to an imposed peace nor will we allow our loyalty to be impugned.

(over)

(You may be interested to know that our Miami chapter is planning an off-the-record meeting with the editorial board of the Miami Herald since this is not the first time that the paper has tried to raise the issue of dual loyalty of American Jews).

In case your local paper has published the text of the Sadat letter you may wish to ask it to give equal space to Rabbi Schindler's reply. While we do not anticipate that President Sadat will be visiting any communities on this trip, you may be approached with the suggestion for a meeting with Egyptian officials in your community. Our position continues to be not to encourage public meetings at this point. There may be occasions when informal off-the-record meetings can be helpful, but we urge you to check with national headquarters before undertaking such activity in your community.

cc: Foreign Affairs Commission
Staff Advisory Committee

78-580-1



Sadat to U.S. Jews Help Build Peace

By ANWAR SADAT

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Cairo — For several considerations, I believe that the American Jewish community shares a historic responsibility for erecting a formidable edifice of peace.

We have reached the stage when human relations should be based on love and cooperation rather than on hatred and tension. I believe that all nations should reason together and solve their disputes by peaceful means free from the use or threat of force. No conflict can be singled out as an exception to this rule.

If the establishment of peace in the world is a moral commitment for those who are conscientious among us, working for peace in the Middle East is an absolute must. This area is not only the cradle of civilizations, but most importantly, it is the birthplace of the divine religions where followers of all the prophets and messengers of God have lived and worshipped together in love, fraternity and tolerance.

There is no reason why we should perpetuate the suffering and misery of millions who could devote their talents and resources to the establishment of a better world. Old memories of the unhappy past should by no means block the way for a happy future for the generations to come.

Play a Pivotal Role

I believe that all people of Jewish faith shoulder a special responsibility in reviving this spirit of accommodation and meaningful coexistence. They are most qualified to play a pivotal role in eliminating human suffering and misery. The sad experience they went through in the past in some parts of the world and the lessons of history render them more sensitive to the need for the eradication of all manifestations of injustice and misery.

The Jewish community in the United States can contribute immensely to this process in a manner that would reinforce our belief in the oneness of the human cause. I greet you as an integral part of the American people for whom we feel all friendship and cordiality. We expect you to support what is right and to correct what is wrong. Your commitment should be to the rule of legitimacy and the sublime norms of humanism. You should not be counted upon to support the perpetuation of injustice or the suppression of legitimate aspirations.

Editor's note: This is an open letter, written to the American Jewish community, by President Anwar Sadat of Egypt. It is another step by the Egyptian leader in his quest for a settlement for peace in the Middle East.

Not Taken for Granted

You should not be taken for granted by any power, regardless of the merits of its position. Rather, your stand should be based on rational and objective grounds that could be understood and appreciated by all parties to a given dispute.

We need your understanding. We want to put an end to an era of war and violence in our region and usher in a new dawn of peace and fraternity. We want the Israeli to live side by side with the Egyptian, the Syrian and the Palestinian in a community of mutual benefit and love. We want to eliminate all fears and grievances. I do not think that we should be deterred in this noble march by the complexes of the past, the

insecurities of the present, or the uncertainties of the future. We want to work beyond all that to establish a community of stability and prosperity.

It is with this in mind that I undertook my historic mission to Jerusalem against all odds. I wanted to break all the barriers that had accumulated even before the establishment of Israel.

I did not do this to strike a bargain or to reach a compromise. I did it with a view to uprooting all grudges, feuds and misconceptions that have long inflicted untold damage to the souls and spirits of all inhabitants of the area.

While taking this bold move, I had no doubt that I would be supported by all individuals and communities that are firmly committed to the cause of peace. I was not seeking support for any particular stand on a given subject. Rather, I was and am still asking for a reinforcement of this unselfish drive toward peace.

"Time of the Essence"

Events of the past few weeks, though negative in some aspects, have not shaken my belief in the possibility and necessity of establishing peace in the area. However, I must tell you in all earnestness and in the spirit that prompted me to undertake my mission that the behavior of the Israeli government in the past few weeks has been negative and disappointing. In all objectivity, I feel that my visit to Jerusalem, with all that it symbolized, has not been responded to in a forthcoming manner.

I hope that the spirit that had prompted my sacred mission would propel us all to a new plane where we do not spend our time and effort fighting for procedural and peripheral matters. I believe that time is of the essence if we are to prove to millions of Arabs and Jews alike the validity of the premises which underlie our surge for peace. We want to eliminate once and for all the remaining suspicions and misgivings. I believe that you have an important role, in fact a great responsibility, in correcting the course of events to the direction that will be conducive to peace.

It will be a tragedy for all if this golden opportunity is not seized before that spirit fades away.

Do you condone the annexation of others' territories by force?

Do you tolerate the suppression of the rights of the Palestinian people to live in peace in their homeland, free from foreign rule and military occupation?

Do you forgive the suppression of human rights of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza and their natural right to liberate their land and emancipate themselves?

Do you agree with those Israeli officials who claim that territorial expansion is more important than the establishment of peace and the normalization of the situation?

I am certain that you will not hesitate to make your voice heard in favor of justice and security for all peoples in the Middle East.

A Jewish Reply to Egyptian

(Editors Note: The following is a reply to an open letter from President Anwar Sadat of Egypt by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.)

By ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER

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Dear President Sadat:

I respond with heartfelt warmth to the letter you have addressed to the American Jewish community. Your impassioned call for peace, your eloquent plea to end the misery of millions, recalls the emotion all men of good will felt when you accepted Prime Minister Begin's invitation to Israel and when you spoke those historic words: "We welcome you among us, with all sincerity and peace."

I am especially touched by your recognition of the special vocation of the Jewish people, born as it was of our martyrdom: to end human suffering, to seek justice not only for ourselves but for all humankind. It is a task we seek ever to follow. American Jews serve not themselves alone. They enlist in every cause which promises to heal the bruise and lift the fallen, wherever and whoever they may be.

When Jordan Held the Land

History will remember and honor you for daring to speak in Jerusalem of peace between Arab and Jew. Yet in all candor I cannot accept the statement that your visit to Israel "has not been responded to in a forthcoming manner." Indeed, it seems to me that Israel has made far-reaching territorial and political concessions — involving great national risks — in demonstrating its own commitment to peace.

You have raised the question of the Palestinian Arabs. Prime Minister Begin's proposals offer them the opportunity of self-rule and self-identity — autonomous power over their own affairs — that they never enjoyed before, including the years from 1948 to 1957, when the territory had been conquered by Jordan and there was no talk of

Palestinian "rights" or even of a Palestinian "people."

President Carter has judged the Begin plan to be a "reasonable basis for negotiation," "most flexible" and "a long step forward" on the road to peace. We agree with our President.

As for the people of Israel, you yourself told me when you received me at your residence in Aswan earlier this month how deeply encouraged you were by the warmth of your reception in Jerusalem, not only before but also after your strong Knesset speech. "The Israelis wore their hearts on their faces," you told me.

The Quest for Security

What you saw, Mr. President, were the hearts of parents and widows and orphans of Israel's soldiers fallen in battle. There is hardly a family in that tiny land which has not suffered the loss of a loved one in the wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973. And yet Israel's people poured out into the streets and waved little Egyptian flags as you drove by. A people such as this shares a commitment to peace no less than your own.

I must also demur from your evaluation of Israel's expressed concerns as "procedural and peripheral." Israel's quest for carefully defined security arrangements is not peripheral; it goes to the very heart of the matter. Can there be any doubt that Israel itself must guard the very peace we seek? Not for purposes of "annexation" or "foreign rule" or "military occupation," not for the "suppression of the rights of the Palestinian people" but simply to protect human lives — Arab as well as Jewish — from PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) terrorists still sworn to Israel's destruction, from the danger of Soviet incursion and from enemies who have denounced you as a traitor to the Arab cause for your desire to live in peace with the Jewish state.

Commitment to Peace

Is it unreasonable for Israel to wish to defend itself against such dangers?

Your impatience conveys the impression that you disdain the negotiating

process in its entirety, preferring a prior agreement or an imposed solution.

Our experience living in a democracy has persuaded us that there can be no agreement without compromise, no settlement of disputes without mutual concessions. I believe all American Jews share the commitment to peace that informs your letter. But we are troubled by the implication it contains that the only appropriate response to your initiative is an unqualified acceptance of Egypt's full demands.

Your letter further states that American Jews "should not be taken for granted by any power." Surely you understand that American Jews support Israel because the Jews are a people, one people ... because Israel offers a home, a refuge, a place of dignity to every Jew ... because a strong and free and democratic State of Israel is essential to the security of our own country, America.

I look forward to your impending visit to our shores. Perhaps we can continue our dialogue then. Of this I am certain, that though we have not yet found a common way, we do share a common purpose. It is a lofty purpose, worthy of our striving: peace with justice, not only to avoid the tragedies of the past but to reap that rich harvest of the better life which the full and free and cooperative effort between Egypt and Israel, born of peace, can bring.

Let us therefore, truly reason together, summing the required energy and will to make the dream of peace the fact of peace.

Promise of the Prophet

Let us together call on the other Arab nations that still fear and reject peace to join us in the sacred mission of its attainment.

And let us pray to Him who is enthroned above our praises. May He bless the work of our hands and hearts. Then will the promise of the prophet be fulfilled:

"Nation will not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more ... Every man will sit under his vine and under his fig tree, and none shall make him afraid."

Rabbis hold Pope slurred Judaism in priest ruling

By BERNARD POSTAL

Sharp criticism of a passage in last week's Vatican statement reaffirming a prohibition against women priests was voiced this week by three New York rabbis who took issue with the declaration's account of Judaism's position on the rights of women at the time of Jesus Christ.

The Vatican statement to which the rabbis took exception said that "He (Jesus) does not hesitate to depart from the Mosaic law in order to affirm the equality of the rights and duties of men and women with regard to the marriage bond."

Rabbi Walter S. Wurzbarger, president of the Rabbinical Council of America (Orthodox), said this was "a misinterpretation of Mosaic law" and "reflects a general Christian prejudice that treats Christianity as an advance over its 'mother religion' — Judaism."

Rabbi Joseph Glaser, executive vice-president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform), criticized the Vatican statement as "a simplistic approach. What the Vatican is saying is that women are not good enough to be priests but that Jesus had a favorable attitude toward women. Then that is compounded by saying that Judaism did not have a favorable attitude toward women."

"To understand the attitude of Biblical and rabbinic Judaism toward women in ancient times, one has to look at the whole fabric of Jewish life and customs. You can't just pick out of the air and out of context a ritual law to level the very serious and erroneous accusation that Judaism was a religion that discriminated against women and kept them down."

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of the interreligious affairs department of the American Jewish Committee, noted that "Jewish scholars would have to differ with that black-and-white construction of the attitude of first century Jews toward women in contrast to that of Jesus and the early church."

"In first-century Palestine there were seven different schools of Pharisees, ranging from the legalistic school to the school known as the Pharisees of love, who emphasized mercy and compassion as the most appropriate way of serving God. There is abundant evidence that the majority of the teachings of Jesus about worshipping God through love and mercy and compassion was in the main a reflection of what he learned from the Pharisees of love, including his attitudes toward women."

Rabbi Tanenbaum said "in an objective sense, one could say that Jesus' attitudes toward women were not a break with the Pharisees of love, but rather in harmony and continuity with that tradition."

Women explore leadership ideas at 3 conferences

"Ideas That Click," innovative fundraising techniques, were featured at three Women's Campaign Leadership Conferences held on Long Island and in Queens and Westchester to explore the needs of world Jewry and the humanitarian programs of the UJA-Federation Joint Campaign.

Over 350 women attended the sessions. At the Westchester Conference, conferees heard Estelle Foreman, the chairman, characterize them as "women who care about the quality of life of Jews wherever they may live." Urging them to raise more money, Mrs. Foreman declared:

"Your dollars are more than money. They're a bridge of hope and help and love, connecting us to our fellow Jews in need in Israel, around the world and here in New York."

The morning was devoted to round-robin workshops on "Operations and Organization" in connection with the Women's Campaign and "Expansion and Demographic Changes."

The keynote speaker was Ernest W. Michel, executive vice president and campaign director of the Joint Campaign, who discussed "Holocaust to Rebirth."

The seminar was held at the Jewish Community Center of White Plains.

Evelyn Denker and Francine Lashinsky served as chairmen for the Queens Leadership Conference, which took place at Queens College in Flushing. Zahava Stern, Queens Campaign chairman, described the status of the 1977 Campaign.

The speakers included Mary Froelich, president of Federation's Women's Organization, who described the "Federation Story." Marshall M. Weinberg, member of the Joint Campaign Cabinet, whose topic was "World Crisis," and Mr. Michel, who described the current needs and programs of the Joint Campaign.

The Nassau Leadership Conference was held at the Jewish Institute for Geriatric Care in New Hyde Park. The chairmen were Lila Glassman of the North Shore, and Judith Kaleko and Dorothy Lestner of the South Shore.

The women toured the Institute with Sidney Feinberg, executive vice president of JIGC.

Samuel Haber, honorary executive vice chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee, addressed the meeting.

The keynote speaker was Pat Gantz, Women's Campaign chairman. Fundraising techniques were described by Phyllis Siegel, executive director of the Women's Campaign.

Pay your pledge today.
UJA-Federation Joint Campaign



"OPERATIONS AND ORGANIZATION" of the Women's Campaign were the themes of the workshop at the Westchester Conference. The leaders of the session were Priscilla Pollack standing at left, and Miriam Kramer, seated at her right.



AT THE WESTCHESTER LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE are, left to right, Carol Saltzman and Evelyn Denker, who served as workshop leaders, Estelle Foreman, conference chairman, and Marshall M. Weinberg, Westchester Campaign chairman.



AT THE QUEENS LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE are, left to right, Marshall M. Weinberg, member of the Joint Campaign Cabinet; Mary Froelich, president of Federation's Women's Organization; Fran Lashinsky, conference chairman; Zahava Stern, Queens Campaign executive director; Evelyn Denker, conference chairman; and Ernest W. Michel, executive vice president and campaign director of the Joint Campaign.



LONG ISLAND WOMEN hear Samuel Haber, honorary executive vice chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee, explain the work of his agency. With him on the dais at the Nassau Leadership Conference, are left to right, Connie Gilmore, South Shore Campaign chairman; Lila Glassman, North Shore Conference chairman; Phyllis Siegel, Women's Campaign executive director; Pat Gantz, Women's Campaign chairman; Dorothy Lestner, South Shore Conference chairman; Sylvia Schoenfeld, South Shore Board chairman; and Judith Kaleko, South Shore Conference chairman.



AT THE JACOB SCHIFF CENTER of the Bronx breakfast in behalf of the UJA-Federation Joint Campaign: from the left, chairman Nat Danzig, Samuel Eisenfeld, guests of honor Reverend and Mrs. Moses Burstein, chairman Max Semel and Rabbi Abraham Bardekoff.

February 11, 1977

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Mr. President:

We in the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. have been heartened by many of the policy directions spelled out by your Administration. We have noted with appreciation your stated intention of working toward de-escalation of the arms race and of working diligently toward peace in various conflict situations, most notably in the Middle East. These are goals on which we as Christians, and as a Council of Churches, are actively working and are pleased that our interests appear to be similar to yours.

In view of your general policy directions, I trust you will decide against the proposed sale of the CBU-72 bomb, which press reports indicate you have under consideration.

We believe that the nature of this particular bomb, with its potential for indiscriminate destruction, is contrary to our Christian faith commitment to the sanctity of human life.

Further, we are concerned at the proposed introduction of this weapon into the Middle East situation. The history of this area of conflict clearly demonstrates that the introduction of a new type weapon or weapons system has inevitably led to an escalation of the Middle East arms race. At a time when we all are awaiting new initiatives for peace in the Middle East, it would be tragic if the United States' position as mediator in the conflict were compromised by the sale of this new weapon of death and destruction.

During the Advent season 1974, the National Council of Churches' Executive Committee stated: "The love of Christ constrains us to speak from the depth of our Christian conscience. We call upon the Arab nations Israel and the Palestinians to renounce their use of violence, and to engage actively in negotiations to achieve an equitable and lasting peace."

We believe the achievement of an equitable and lasting peace requires our own government not to be a party to the introduction of the CBU-72 into that region or any part of the world as it will only heighten the potential for violence and indiscriminate destruction of human life.

I appreciate your consideration of our views on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Claire Randall
General Secretary



CR:amm

cc: The Honorable Cyrus Vance
Secretary of State

The Honorable Harold Brown
Secretary of Defense

MEMORANDUM

77-700-28

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 10, 1977
to Area Directors, JCRCs, Rabbinic Associations
from Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
subject BACKGROUND ON THE RECENT ATTACK ON THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The relationship of the National Council of Churches to the various representative bodies of the Jewish community has been historically and is at the present complex and ambiguous. Any evaluation of those relationships - if it is to be judged by canons of candor, fairness, and objectivity - must seek to reflect that complexity. To select out only one aspect of that mixed and complicated condition is to run the risk of creating a single-dimensional caricature. Aside from exposing such a necessary critique to vulnerability on the grounds of becoming a distortion, an imbalanced evaluation threatens to weaken the credibility of those charges against the NCC which are legitimate on the basis of empirical evidence and which deserve to get a serious hearing and a constructive response from the NCC leadership. An imbalanced evaluation also tends to undermine the standing and role of pro-Jewish and pro-Israel persons within the NCC whose continued effectiveness and credibility deserve the support and encouragement of the Jewish community, rather than undermine them which sweeping generalizations could help bring about.

The National Council of Churches is a loose umbrella group composed of some 31 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox denominations. In addition to the major "liberal" denominations, it numbers among its constituent members 2 Arab Christian bodies, 9 Eastern Orthodox Churches, 2 Quaker groups, and 5 large black denominations. The presence of Arab churchmen on the NCC's General Board - as typified by Arab propagandists, Archbishop Philip Saliba and Dr. Frank Maria, both of whom represent the Syrian Orthodox Church and are known to be subsidized by Arab governments to carry out anti-Israel and pro-Arab propaganda within the entire NCC institutional system - simply means that there is built into the NCC a constant anti-Jewish lobby. As in the dynamics of the United Nations, these Arab and pro-Arab forces are frequently able to mobilize "Third World" opposition against Israel and Jewish viewpoints which at times makes the NCC look plain and simply like an ecclesiastical version of the United Nations at its propagandistic worst.

But that is not the whole picture. There are Protestant bodies within each of the major mainline denominations who for theological, moral, and human reasons have been consistently sympathetic to the legitimate interests of the American Jewish community and of Israel. These include leaders of the stature of Episcopal Bishop John Burt of Cleveland; United Methodist Ecumenical Officer Dr.

Robert Houston; American Baptist President Dr. Robert Campbell; and a number of NCC staff professionals. These impressive Christian spokesmen in turn have been joined by growing numbers of local Councils of Churches leaders who have represented the pro-Jewish sentiments of their constituents in the governing councils of the NCC. In fact, their cohesion has led in recent years to their organization within the NCC of an "Interreligious Caucus" whose primary purpose has been to try to counter blatant and one-sided pro-Arab policies and propaganda and to pursue a more balanced approach that takes into account the valid claims of Jews, Christians and Moslems.

Keeping in mind these affirmative developments within the NCC, there can be no question that some of the actions - or inactions - of NCC governing bodies with reference to the Middle East have been a cause of deep chagrin and resentment within the Jewish community and among many other Americans. The "Swasia" publication for all intents and purposes might have been published in Cairo or Damascus or Baghdad - such is its "objectivity." What is troublesome to many in the Jewish community is not so much the fact that the NCC has allowed one of its divisions to become a major propaganda arm for the Arab cause, but that by allowing it to support extremist, revolutionary elements in the Middle East, the NCC has wittingly or unwittingly contributed to the encouragement of intransigence and even terrorism, thereby inhibiting the possibilities of peace in that area. And for that egregious fact, the NCC owes its millions of constituents who may well not approve of those policies - for which they unknowingly contributed financially - a full and adequate accounting.

However, fairness and integrity require the recognition of the fact the NCC is larger than its Middle East division, and that other pro-Jewish and pro-Israel policies and actions have been taken in recent years which deserve acknowledgement on the part of fair-minded people. These include the following:

* In December 1974, the NCC executive committee adopted a statement on the Middle East which spoke directly in support of the right of Israel to exist with secure borders as a recognized state in the Middle East.

* In the Fall of 1975, Dr. Claire Randall, NCC general secretary, spoke out against the anti-Zionism resolution of the UN. A NCC governing board member, then president of the United Church of Christ, the late Dr. Robert Moss, together with several NCC staff members, also expressed opposition to the UN resolution at the Dec. 1975 meeting of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi. Thanks to the interventions of Dr. Moss and other NCC representatives, no anti-Israel resolutions were adopted by the Nairobi meeting. Beyond that, the Nairobi meeting did adopt a positive statement in support of the human rights of Soviet Jews and other oppressed groups, and NCC personnel played a constructive role in that development.

* The NCC's Faith and Order Commission issued a strong pro-Israel theological paper which, in our judgment, is one of the best ecumenical articulations supporting the Jewish religious and historical ties with Israel.

* The April 1975 "Middle East Working Forum" found more than "a few voices" present who were sympathetic to Israel. The meeting has been described by both NCC staff and outside participants as a "non-event". The conference managers employed a "Management by Objectives" approach and effectively curtailed any serious discussion of the Middle East.

* Dr. Claire Randall sent a personal memo to all NCC staff urging them to take part in the 1976 Solidarity Day march in support of Soviet Jewry, and a good number of NCC-affiliated clergy did participate.

* Dr. Nathan Vanderwerf, director of the NCC's Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism - the most extensive network that reaches "the Christian grass roots" - joined with AJC's Rabbi James Rudin in denouncing the Soviet Union for cancelling an interreligious tour to the Soviet Union.

* The NCC "Interreligious Coalition," formed at the 1972 Dallas General Assembly, did prevent an anti-Israel vote in 1973 in relation to the shooting down of the Libyan airplane; helped turn back several Frank Maria-sponsored anti-Israel resolutions on the Munich massacre, the destruction of Kuneitra, an attempt to blame Israel for the Lebanese civil war, and other such one-sided efforts sponsored by Arab propagandists.

* The proposal to widen the focus of the human rights study in the Middle East from Israel to include Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon was in fact a pro-Israel achievement, not the contrary as alleged. If the study is ever undertaken, which is still not certain, it would not single out Israel as the pro-Arab forces sought, but would rather relativize the human rights picture and in fact could lead to a comparative analysis in which Israel conceivably would come off much better than would the Arab states with their traditional practices of torture, hangings, and maiming of prisoners.

* With regard to the NCC action in relation to Archbishop Trifa, simple fairness requires that we acknowledge that no recent issue stirred as much discussion of moral concern and responsibility on the part of the leadership and staff of the NCC and its constituent denominations as did the Trifa matter. While all of us would have preferred a clearcut decision of formal suspension of this Nazi commandant, the NCC did actively move within a period of four months to bring about his de-facto suspension by his own sponsoring body. Moral people living in an immoral world cannot expect perfection - especially of institutions who live by complicated constitutional limits. The plain fact of the matter is that Trifa is out of the NCC picture, and Claire Randall and other NCC officials produced that result.

On balance, the NCC - as all individuals and all structures - are not above criticism. There are indeed deeply troublesome tendencies in the NCC regarding the Division of Overseas Ministries and its explicit and consistent anti-Israel bias. But there are also the affirmative developments in Jewish-Christian relations which deserve fair acknowledgement.

It is the policy of the American Jewish Committee to speak out publicly as we have on a number of occasions against those developments within the NCC and elsewhere which we regard as inimical. We feel morally obligated to speak out in support of those features of NCC policy and program which are expressions of solidarity and friendship for Jews and for Israel. This is one such moment to seek to clarify that balance.

Bio Medical Ethics:
An Interreligious Response

Committee Minutes, March 16, 1977

Those in attendance were: Rabbi Abelsen, Dr. Henry Allen, Rev. Al Lehman, Louise Hoistad, Dr. Arthur Scott, Father Jack Eales, Corrine Chilstrom, Trudy Jensen, Father Paul Palmitessa, Rev. David Witheredge, Paul Sand, Gerald Fahrenholz.

The purpose of this meeting was to revise and refine the enclosed planning committee's reports: 1) purpose and program
2) funding proposals.

Enclosed find the two above reports revised according to decision of this March 16 meeting.

The following statement was unanimously endorsed and it was moved that it be entered into the minutes for use whenever such referral be necessary:

✓ "We are committed to the cause of our Jewish brethren; to working together as Christians and Jews: to the witness we can make publicly by this "togetherness" - an image which is necessary and important to the Midwest. It is this constructive kind of service in "togetherness" which we can bring to our Twin City community and introduce other Christians to this concept. This can be great encouragement to the Christian community toward understanding the urgency and the importance of supporting their Jewish brethren, not only through these political crises, but all areas of life where discriminatory or anti-semitic acts appear. It is this kind of commitment this Bio-Medical Ethics Dialogue should evidence and witness to the entire Twin City area and beyond. All

the former endeavors, and most certainly the Dunrovin Retreat, have brought us to this level of trust and love and commitment. So as full partners we proceed in this Symposium planning."

Our projected audience is to include: clergy; lay leadership; social workers; public officials; lawyers; women's denominational groups; hospital boards, personnel and chaplains; seminary students and faculties; nursing home boards, personnel and chaplains; those of the health and medical faculties, professions and students.

Our goals in addition to the broad goals stated in the proposal for funding:

1. Dr. Eales suggested one goal might be, as a result of this, to draft a resolution to go to Washington.

2. A second goal was to establish a permanent committee from this present acting committee to address these issues in interfaith context.

3. It was suggested that after four sessions an in-depth evaluation session be held in a retreat setting to reflect upon input and impact of our endeavor.

Further suggestions for input were: The Nolte Center for Continuing Education (373-3151); The Nursing schools and also their approved Continuing Education Program. (e.g. for nurses to be re-licensed. Investigate the possibility of this Symposia toward such continuing education credits);

Continuing Education credit for nurses, physicians, health professions & social workers

The Metropolitan Medical Council which passes on allocation of funds.

Further suggestions for speakers and/or reactors: Father Sharon, St. John's (Father Palmitessa is to obtain more representation from The Catholic Church as possible speakers or reactors.); Dr. Schneidman, Professor of Thanatology, University of California.

Budgetary Concerns:

1. The Committee instructed the grant seekers to limit importation to keynote speakers if possible.

2. Projected budget: ~~\$3,000~~ ^{\$9,000} - ~~\$4,000~~ ^{\$10,000}. The Committee's decision was to stay within limits of ~~\$5,000~~ ^{\$10,300}.

3. Registration: Registration fees and forms for Continuing Education if such credit be so authorized. Otherwise, the Symposium should be a public forum.

4. Two or three private foundations to which applications can be made shall be selected.

5. The Minnesota Humanities Commission deadline for first draft, May 4 and for final draft, May 25.

Authorization: Authorization was given to the working committee 1) to define reactors (including someone in the health budgeting to allocate resources; 2) to submit a grant; 3) to obtain speakers, beginning actual invitations.

Video and Radio Taping: In the proposal, build in a request for funds for video taping, tapes to be available for use to all categories of people listed in audience descriptions; and for radio taping, possibly KUOM. (Gerald Fahrenholz to investigate) Suggested resource: Roger Beaubien, Director of Audio Visual Department, Educational Center for The Archdiocese of Minneapolis and St. Paul.

The next meeting of this committee: Wednesday, May 4,
2:00 P.M. at The Minnesota Church Center.

Trudy Jensen
Co-Chairman, Planning Committee



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date *March 28, 1977*

to *Will Katz*

from *Neil C. Sandberg*

subject *Interfaith Activities in Support of Jews and Human Rights
in the Soviet Union.*

I read with great interest Miles Zitmore's March 16th memo on the outstanding activities of the Dallas Chapter to form a coalition on behalf of Christians and Jews in the Soviet Union. The accomplishments of AJC in Dallas are certainly to be commended.

I am concerned, however, that I do not understand what is happening within our agency on these important issues: 1. - Soviet Jewry 2. - human rights. At the staff cabinet meeting last month, I called attention to the mixed signals we were getting from the Interreligious and Foreign Affairs Departments on whether to treat the Soviet Jewry issue separately, or in coalitions that included Jews and Christians. The matter was not fully clarified, and is further confused by messages we are getting from the Israelis. A local Consular official in Los Angeles told staff representatives at a CRC meeting the other day that it was absolutely imperative to treat the Jewish problem separate from that of other dissidents in the Soviet Union. He argued that those now being harassed and arrested are individuals who have become involved with the general human rights problem in the U.S.S.R. We were implored to maintain discrete strategies and programs. Here in L.A. we have just organized a National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jews and for the moment have kept the Christian and human rights dimensions outside its purview. We feel free, of course, to speak out separately on discrimination against Christians and other non-Jewish dissidents in the U.S.S.R. Thus far, however, we are keeping the streams separate.

I can see the advantages of the interreligious coalition strategy here in the United States, but don't know what its impact will be on Jews in the Soviet Union. Are we helping them or hurting them -- or does anybody know?

It seems to me that some clear direction has to come from New York on how the Chapters should proceed in dealing with these questions. With human rights on the Carter agenda, we have an opportunity to do some important work in an area of traditional AJC concern. At the same time we have a special responsibility to Soviet Jewry and ought to make some rational judgement on how we can be most helpful to them. Moreover, we will have a major P.R. flap within the Jewish

Page 2. -
March 28, 1977

Memorandum to: Will Katz
From: Neil C. Sandberg

Subject: Interfaith Activities in Support of Jews and Human Rights
in the Soviet Union.

community here if we take off on a separate course without being prepared
to back up our position in some meaningful way.

I would welcome hearing from any and all of you to whom copies of this memo
are being sent.

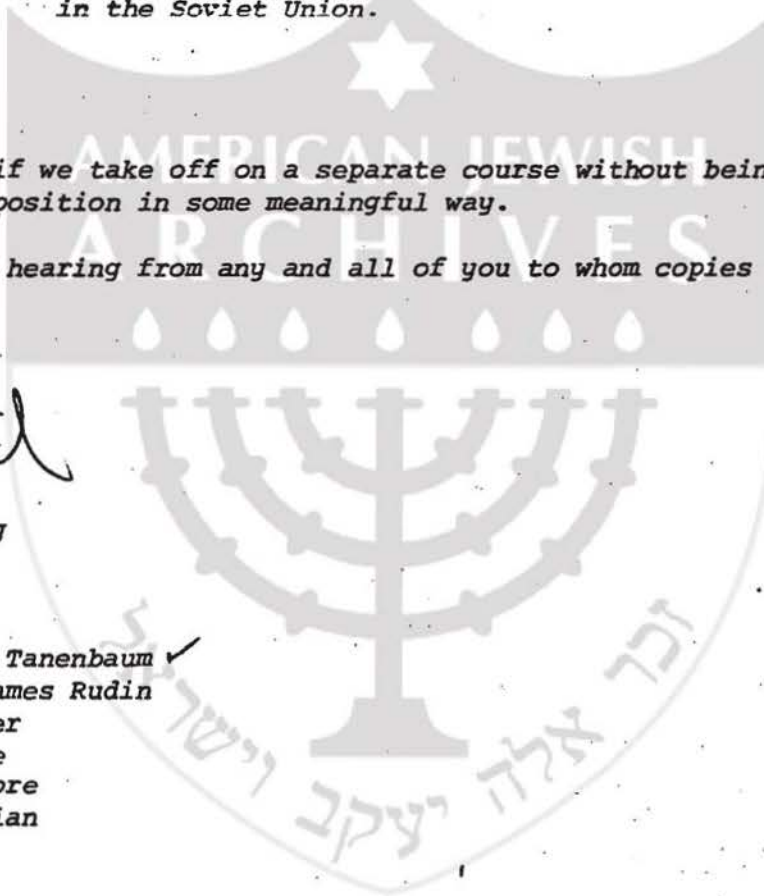
Regards,



Neil C. Sandberg

NCS:eu

cc: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum ✓
Rabbi A. James Rudin
David Geller
Morris Fine
Miles Zitmore
Milton Tobian
Bert Gold



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 31, 1977

to Will Katz
from Brenda Shapiro

Jim Rudin ✓
cc: Harold Applebaum
David Geller

subject Interfaith Commission on Human Rights of Greater Miami

We want to share with you our experience in attempting to form an interreligious task force on Soviet Jewry.

As early as 1973 the Florida area attempted to organize a group of Christian and Jewish clergymen patterned after the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry. Such a group was formed under the chairmanship of Rev. Luther Pierce and included Baptist minister, representatives from the Archdiocese, the Episcopal Diocese, Methodist Church, Presbyterian Church, a Rabbi and lay leadership from the So. Florida Conference on Soviet Jewry. The single agenda item which emerged was the plight of Soviet Jews. This group sponsored a conference in December of 1974 on religious oppression in the Soviet Union. The conference was attended by approximately 65 people, many of whom were from the So. Florida Conference on Soviet Jewry, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee and a sprinkling of attendees from the Christian community at large. The key note address (which has been shared with you in the past) was delivered by Prof. Leon Gouré of the University of Miami.

In January of 1975 Rev. Pierce left the community to assume pastoral duties in Connecticut and a replacement for the task force chairman was never secured because the agenda was presumed to be a uniquely Jewish agenda and one that clergymen were willing to assist on but not commit to. For 1975 and 1976 the task force functioned on an ad hoc basis, never meeting but sending telegrams and appeals when asked.

In the Fall of 1976, Dr. Zand and Ed Rosenthal, Director of the local CRC, met to discuss the reorganization of the task force as it was a priority item of AJC's and the local CRC. This office, wishing to learn from mistakes of the past, was firm in its declaration that such a task force should function separately and independent of the So. Florida Conference on Soviet Jewry, a group of dedicated aggressive lay people who have done a yeomans' job in educating the Jewish community to the plight of Soviet Jews. It was also felt that there had to be a sincere commitment on the part of Jewish members of the task force to address themselves to matters on the Christian agenda as well as the plight of Soviet Jews. It was agreed that the focus of the task force work would be the Helsinki Accord, in that way broadening the task force agenda. A local United Church of Christ minister was selected by the AJC and the CRC director to attend the National Interreligious Task Force in Chicago held in December. The CRC committed \$250 in funding, AJC contributed \$50.

Upon his return, staff of both the CRC and AJC met with Rev. Bailar to discuss the formation of a local clergy group which would be motivated to address a human rights agenda. In January a meeting was held at the YWCA to explore the possibility for forming such a group with religious leadership throughout the community in attendance. Some lay leaders were also invited. In this first exploratory meeting many clergymen expressed interest in organizing such an interfaith group but made it

very clear that they wanted that coalition to address itself to a wide spectrum of human rights problems, i.e. Soviet Jewry, Anglican oppression in Uganda, repression of Catholic clergymen in Latin America.

Rev. Bailar convened the 2nd meeting on March 10, 1977 and invited judicatory heads of the major Protestant sects in the community, the Episcopal Bishop, the Archbishop of the Catholic diocese and three Rabbis; conservative, orthodox and reform. This meeting was held at Trinity Cathedral, the seat of the Episcopal diocese in So. Florida and was very well attended.

After much discussion, it was decided that the group would in its beginning stages restrict itself to clergy participation. It voted to call itself the Interfaith Committee on Human Rights, elected Rev. Richard Bailar its chairman, adopted a logo and letterhead (samples of which are enclosed) and elected the AJ Committee to be its secretariat and resource. A steering committee for the Commission is now in formation and is made up of the Archbishop, the Bishop, the Baptist judicatory head, the Methodist judicatory head, Presbyterian, United Church of Christ and a Rabbi. The group has sent letters to President Jimmy Carter and the Florida Congressional Delegation reaffirming support for the Administration's strong stand on human rights and expressing the hope that the Jackson-Vanick amendment be enforced. The group will meet in April to plan their participation in Solidarity Day scheduled for May 22 in Dade County, at which time they will be coordinating efforts with the So. Florida Conference on Soviet Jewry. There are preliminary plans to set aside succeeding Sundays to highlight other areas of concern: Baptist repression in the Soviet Union, Anglican repression in Uganda, the plight of Catholic priests in Latin America, etc.

Two things have been accomplished in this process. Dade County has not had a council of churches or similar centralized religious coalition since the Vietnam War. The single exception is the Metropolitan Fellowship of Churches, a fundamentalist organization with no participation from the liberal clergy or the Episcopal and Catholics. Their agenda is predominantly Evangelical and their image in the community negative. Attempts at such a coalition as we have formed have failed in the past because participants were selected as representatives of their religious bodies. It is hoped that this group can succeed where others have failed because they came together out of religious concern and represent only themselves and not their constituencies. It is felt that this frees them to be more decisive and act on important agenda items. They also see themselves better able to play an educational role in the community by bringing matters of concern to the attention of all.

I would expect that by next Fall they would be well enough organized and committed to their own process to sponsor a visit by Sister Ann Gillen to this community. They are now a fragile new-born babe whose growth will be followed closely. We also have the support of the National Council of Christians and Jews who sponsor dialogue groups on an interfaith basis for local clergy but who see this as a vehicle for taking action, a role the dialogue groups are prevented from playing.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

February 15, 1977

Marc Tannenbaum

To: Members of the Board of Governors
From: Richard Maass, Chairman

A summary of the recommendations emanating from the recent Board of Governors Institute is enclosed. As you will note, many of the recommendations have been referred to the Committee on Organization for sifting, analysis and reassignment to the appropriate lay bodies. That Committee, under the Chairmanship of Kal Druck, is in the process of being reorganized and any Board member who would like to serve on it would be welcome. If you are interested, please notify Kal at the AJC office.

For those who are not familiar with it, the Committee on Organization has responsibility for the continuous evaluation of our organizational structure and the adaptation of that structure to new conditions and new tasks, as they emerge. Accordingly, it is concerned with such aspects of organizational development as governance, leadership, decision-making, communications, etc.

The minutes of our January 4th meeting are also enclosed, along with two program plans in the areas of foreign and domestic affairs, prepared by members of our staff, and presented at the recent National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council Assembly. We believe you will find these of interest.

If you have not yet sent in your reservation for our two-day meeting in Washington, D.C.--beginning at luncheon, Sunday, March 20th and concluding at 3:00 P.M. on the 21st--please do so now. A reservation form is enclosed for your convenience.

RM:MRG
Encls.

77-100-29

ELMER L. WINTER, President ■
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LEONARD KAPLAN, Boston; RAYMOND F. KRAVIS, Tulsa; DAVID LLOYD KREEGER, Washington, D.C.; RICHARD H. LEVIN, Chicago ■

BOARD OF GOVERNORS INSTITUTE
January 27-30, 1977
Palm Beach, Florida

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The Board of Governors Institute was devoted to discussions of (a) the planning process in which Kalman Druck of Harshe-Rotman and Druck, and Leo Kornfeld of Automatic Data Processing reviewed the whole gamut of planning possibilities and procedures--long, short and intermediate range; (b) the fund-raising process; and (c) the processes of leadership development and deployment.

The following is a summary of the recommendations emerging from the three-day meeting.

THE PLANNING PROCESS

1. The concept of long-range planning and its applicability to AJC concerns was recognized as requiring further study. In that context, the possibility of organizing task forces on the world of the 80's, comparable to those we had on the world of the 70's in the areas of intergroup relations in America, the future of the American Jewish community, and international affairs, is to be explored.

Longer-range planning was also seen as having important possibilities for the Board of Trustees in terms of financial planning, and planning for long-range goals for chapter development and membership were seen as responsibilities for the Community Services Committee and Membership Cabinet.

Insofar as annual program planning is concerned, it was felt that the Board of Governors ought to be involved in that process which is now carried out largely by staff and the program commissions. And although it was recognized that much of the program planning and evaluation has to be done on the Commission, rather than on the Board level and that Commissions have to be given a fair amount of autonomy to operate effectively, nevertheless it was felt that the Board should be involved, as a Board, at some stage in this process.

THE FUND-RAISING PROCESS

The session on the fund-raising process was intended as a "consciousness-raising" session, based on the recognition that the most effective fund raising was achieved through personal solicitations, and that the performance of the Board in this area was not what it might be. Thus discussion centered on ways and means of improving Board members' performance and two specific recommendations emerged. First, that each Board member should accept responsibility for soliciting four new contributors and that the results of these efforts be reported on at upcoming Board meetings. It was felt that this recommendation also had applicability at the local level--i.e., for members of chapter boards.

(over)

Second, since during the course of the discussion, the whole question of the impact of federations on our fund-raising efforts was raised, it was agreed that this should be the subject of a major discussion at an upcoming Board meeting. At a later session during the weekend, it was also suggested that a special committee or task force be set up, comprised of some of our more seasoned and experienced leaders from communities across the country, particularly those that have experience with federations, to study this question.

THE PROCESSES OF LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

The Board was divided into four small groups to consider the leadership development process. Each group was asked to concentrate--although not exclusively--on one of the four questions attached and to report its recommendations to the full group at the closing plenary. Those recommendations follow.

The problem of "instant leadership" was seen as one of default rather than demand--i.e., perhaps because of the thinness of some local programs there is not developed a reservoir of skilled and experienced leaders at the local level. Therefore, chapters often create "instant leaders" by pressing into service people who have not come up through the ranks and do not have extensive experience.

Because program attracts membership and membership is an important source of leadership, it was felt that in many communities more dynamic, action-oriented programs are needed which, in turn, could help to attract individuals who are potential leaders for the future. As one step in this process, a community-by-community appraisal and inventory of local programs was recommended. Other suggestions to help strengthen local programming included increased involvement by national staff and, in communities where there is an absence of professional or lay leadership, lay leaders from nearby communities might be enlisted to help get such programs underway.

There was general agreement that there is a need to increase opportunities for service by our more seasoned members. There were differences of opinion, however, as to how this might be achieved. One group believed structural changes were necessary and recommended that the Board of Governors be increased from 90 elected members up to a maximum of 120 and, in addition, that one-year-emeritus status be granted to everyone rotated off the Board. Another group considered--and rejected--the possibility of expanding the Board. They felt more might be done with our current structure to increase opportunities for meaningful service. As one example, they suggested that the NEC be made more cohesive and functional and our seasoned leaders be given more significant roles in the NEC. The expansion of our national Commissions was also recommended and the chairmen of those bodies were urged to delegate more responsibility to more people. The Board of Trustees might also provide new and additional opportunities for service in the areas of endowment fund planning, long range fund-raising planning and programs to attract Foundation funds.

It was recommended that we should also be identifying the special interests of our leaders so that they might be more involved on a selective basis, on ad hoc committees, task forces and/or special projects related specifically to their areas of expertise. This would apply to both national and community leaders. It

was suggested, too, that they might have a role to play in the training of new, younger leaders and perhaps also in carrying out some of the assignments now carried on by staff members.

Still another possibility was the greater utilization of past officers (national and local) and Board members in connection with our Speakers Bureau--making them available for chapter meetings and related community events.

Seasoned leaders might have a major role in the area of planning and especially in helping to deal with major policy questions facing the agency, e.g., our relationship with Federations and CRC's with the Presidents' Conference, etc.

In all of the above, however, two important caveats were noted: (1) that we cannot create "make work" jobs and (2) that additional staff would be required to make newly organized task forces, special committees, etc., operate effectively.

It was suggested that the full impact of the six-year rotation policy for membership on the Board could not yet be fully assessed and therefore it should be the subject of continuous study over the next several years.

As to the recruitment of future leaders, there was general agreement that a number of sources should be tapped, the most productive being current Jewish communal leaders. While it was suggested that the 30-40 year olds who are not now Jewishly affiliated might hold some potential for us, the consensus was that our major efforts should be aimed at the Jewishly affiliated and that special emphasis should be placed on the recruitment of women and younger leaders.

There was a suggestion that chapters might set up panels of communal leaders composed of those whose terms of office in other community organizations were about to expire. Special assignments might be given them during the course of the year, with a view to making them a permanent part of the AJC structure. However, it was also recognized that unless our own in-house leaders are developed as well, our local community structures might be undermined.

The need to exercise caution in the kinds of leaders we seek to enlist was underscored--i.e., there was some concern that the infusion of a number of individuals previously affiliated with other Jewish organizations and not especially appreciative of the way AJC works, might change our unique style of operation.

The need for new leaders on the Board of Governors was also considered, and the suggestion was made that there be a requirement that a specific number of new people be added to the Board each year, perhaps a minimum of 10.

Leadership Institutes were considered to be a very effective technique--in fact, an essential ingredient--in the development of new leadership. However, these must be viewed as part of a process, not ends in themselves, and there must be developed an overall plan including the placement and utilization of the graduates of these Institutes in roles that are meaningful to them and to AJC to ensure their continued interest and commitment. It was felt that people with established leadership credentials both within and outside AJC should be invited to participate in these Institutes. It was also suggested that some of our experienced and committed lay leaders might substitute for or assist staff from time to time in these Institutes.

(over)

Because of the variety and tentative nature of these recommendations and the conflicts implicit in some, it was decided that they should all be referred to the Committee on Organization in the first instance for study, analysis, and subsequent referral to other appropriate bodies. It was pointed out that the Committee on Organization is now being reorganized and its membership is being reviewed. Board members who wish to serve on that committee would be welcome. It was also suggested that the chairmen of the last several Nominating Committees be added to the Committee on Organization in view of their experience in the area of leadership deployment.

* * *

In the concluding minutes of the Institute, the Board reached a consensus that its 1978 Institute should be held in Palm Springs. It also adopted the motion presented by Mervin Riseman that Elmer Winter be authorized to write to President Carter applauding his firm stand on behalf of human rights. It was left to the discretion of the officers whether such a communique should be made public.



77-100-27

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Board of Governors Institute

January 27-30, 1977

Palm Beach, Florida

Questions for Small-Group Sessions
on the Process of Leadership Development

Sunday, January 30, 1977

1. What can we do to resolve the potential (and sometimes actual) conflict between the "instant leadership" sought by younger members and the needs and desires of our more seasoned leaders? How to reconcile the need to "capture" and retain the interest of the young and up-and-coming leaders with the need to appropriately reward and satisfy those who have come up through the ranks and continue to render significant service?
2. Some have suggested that over the next few years our efforts in leadership development should be concentrated on the following groups: members of the Jewish communal power structure; Jews presently unaffiliated in their thirties and forties who might be developed for future leadership roles; women with experience in volunteer efforts and/or women of achievement in the professional or business world; young leadership with or without current financial means. What special approaches might be undertaken to any or all of these groups? Are any of them mutually exclusive? Are some more important than others?
3. The policy of rotation of officers and membership on the Board of Governors will sharply increase the problem of retaining the active involvement of qualified and dedicated leadership within the organization. What can be done to meet this emerging and widening problem?
4. If funds should become available for the establishment of Leadership Institutes, what should be the main thrust of those Institutes? What kinds of individuals should be recruited for participation in them? What provisions can be made for the subsequent proper utilization of participants in these Institutes? for insuring feedback into the chapters? at the national level?

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING

Tuesday - January 4, 1977

Richard Maass, Chairman, Presiding

Attendance

Stanford M. Adelstein
Emily H. Alschuler
Hannah H. Baumann
Dr. Charles Beber
Walter Brecher
Matthew Brown
Emanuel Dannett
Theodore Ellenoff
Solomon Fisher
Arnold B. Gardner
Ruth R. Goddard
Bertram H. Gold
Robert B. Goldmann
E. Robert Goodkind
Robert D. Gries
Robert H. Haines
Rita E. Hauser
Robert T. Hexter
David Hirschhorn
Philip E. Hoffman
Charlotte G. Holstein
Robert L. Horowitz
Miles Jaffe
Gerald S. Jeremias
Harris L. Kempner, Jr.
Emery E. Klineman
Benedict M. Kohl
Jack Lapin
Benjamin S. Loewenstein
Isador Lubin
James Marshall
Edward D. Moldover
Alfred H. Moses
Robert L. Pelz
Charles I. Petschek
Elaine Petschek
Edward A. Ring
Mervin H. Riseman
Raymond S. Rubinow
Ruth Samuel
Daniel S. Shapiro
Jerome J. Shestack
Caroline K. Simon
Dr. John Slawson

George M. Szabad
Shirley M. Szabad
Bernard Wallerstein
Elise Waterman
Gerard Weinstock

Guests

Ms. Julia Horowitz
Robert Klineman
Susan Lapin
Robert Shapiro

Staff

Lee Billig
Hyman Bookbinder
Morris Fine
Selma Hirsh
Eleanor Katz
Will Katz
Irving Levine
Seymour Samet
Marc Tanenbaum
William Trosten

MEETING SITES

Selma HIRSH presented for the Board's reaction several possible sites for the 1978 National Executive Council meeting, including Cleveland, Kansas City and San Francisco. An alternate proposal was to meet either in Kansas City or Cleveland in 1978 and either San Francisco or Denver in 1979. Since the Board had no strong preferences, it was agreed to leave the decision to the staff.

Richard MAASS brought up the possibility of the Board of Governors holding a two-day meeting in Washington in March to meet with the new Administration officials. There was unanimous approval of this recommendation. The New York meeting of the Board on March 8th was therefore cancelled.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. GOLD began his report by noting that our tri-faith press conference on the Moon Movement received exceptionally broad press and TV coverage. The story was carried by the Associated Press and was the subject of numerous editorials in papers throughout the country. He indicated that in response to the release of our study on Moon's theology, which was made public in Dallas, the Moonies had taken out a full-page ad in The New York Times. The press conference was held not only to counter that ad, but also because Moon's theology is replete with anti-Semitic and anti-Christian materials and, at the base of their teachings is an authoritarian, anti-democratic philosophy which is important to get across in view of their intensive proselytization of young Jews.

Mr. GOLD then reported on a story in The New York Times concerning alleged meetings of Jewish "leaders" with representatives of the PLO. The story described the split in the Jewish community on this issue which Mr. GOLD characterized as incorrect and highly exaggerated and, to set the record straight, he read into the record the attached memorandum describing the events surrounding this issue and our position on it. In the ensuing discussion on the propriety and/or usefulness of such meetings, it was agreed that the subject should be referred to the Foreign Affairs Steering Committee for study and clarification and that their recommendations should be reported back to the Board of Governors.

On the subject of the Soviet Jewish Noshrim, Mr. GOLD indicated that our Executive Committee had put into statement form the position adopted by the National Executive Council in Dallas on this issue. It was circulated to members of the Board and to the Committee of Ten. Since then, a special meeting of the NJCRAC was called on the Noshrim and AJC's statement became the model for the position of most other Jewish organizations. Mr. GOLD was of the view that nothing further would happen on this issue at least for the next several months, and certainly until there has been some clarification of the new Administration's position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. In addition, he pointed out that there has been a strong expression of the views of the American Jewish community and, as a result, he did not believe there would be any attempt to implement the kind of recommendations originally proposed.

(over)

Mr. GOLD reported that the final draft of an internal document on "Rising Arab Influence in the U.S." by Milton Ellerin is now being completed and it is expected that it will be helpful in formulating programs in this area. He also announced the appointment of a new staff person, Ira Silverman, who will be devoting full time to the area of Arab influence and penetration in American life. Mr. Silverman, he noted, has an impressive academic and professional background, and is currently Director of the Synagogue Council's Jewish Policy, Planning and Research operations in Washington, D.C.

Turning next to finances, Mr. GOLD reported that we do not have the final results for 1976. It is clear, however, that there definitely will be no large deficit, but that is due largely to retrenchments and special gifts and special membership dues related to our 70th Anniversary celebration. We received some \$250,000 in 1976 that will probably not be repeated in 1977, in addition to which we will have an additional \$250,000 in expenses. He therefore stressed the need for special intensive fund raising efforts in 1977.

He then announced a series of grants AJC received in recent weeks: \$180,000 from the Community Services Administration, National Endowment for the Arts and New York State Endowment for the Arts for our Coney Island Revitalization Project; \$105,000 from the Ford Foundation for the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity; \$89,000 for our Center on Group Identity and Mental Health and \$42,000 for a Pittsburgh oral history project on women, ethnicity and mental health--both grants from the Falk Medical Fund in Pittsburgh.

Finally, he reported that our Israel-Diaspora Task Force, made possible by grants from the J. M. Kaplan and Sperry Funds, will be meeting in Jerusalem the week of January 10th. Its purpose is to develop basic policy recommendations on Israel-Diaspora Relations and an interim report on these discussions will be made to the Board in Palm Beach.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE BYLAWS

On behalf of the Committee on Organization, Solomon FISHER, Chairman of the Bylaws Committee, presented the proposed amendments which had been circulated in advance of the meeting. Those amendments, as modified and approved by the Board of Governors, provide that: the term of office on the National Executive Council shall be two years and that elections shall be staggered; that the Chairmen of all permanent standing committees reporting directly to the Board of Governors who are not regularly elected members of the Board shall serve ex-officio; that in addition to those now serving, the Chairmen of the Budget Committee, Committee on Organization and Management Council shall also serve on the Executive Committee; that Committee Chairmen shall not serve more than four successive one-year terms; that the terms of office of all administrative officers--President, Board Chairmen, Secretary, Treasurer, Associate Treasurer--shall be one year, with a maximum of three consecutive one-year terms, beginning with those elected in 1977; and that Honorary Officers shall not be precluded from serving on the Nominating Committee. It was also agreed that all references in the Bylaws to "his" would be changed to "his or her."

The proposed amendments, duly approved by the Board after some discussion, will be submitted to the National Executive Council for final approval at the Annual Meeting in May.

OUTLOOK FOR 1977:
THE WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

Mr. BOOKBINDER pointed out that while there are great expectations for the new Administration because the White House and the Congress are now both in the hands of the same party, those expectations may be exaggerated because many of those now in Congress were elected on the need for an independent Congress and there may well be an independent congressional voice. He thought, moreover, that on many issues there would be a greater desire for movement on the part of the Congress than on the part of the Administration.

In discussing Carter's Cabinet appointments, Mr. BOOKBINDER concluded that they reveal a gratifying pattern: that the President-elect had used as his principal criteria ability and intelligence.

Turning next to what Congress and the Administration will do in the areas of concern to us, Mr. BOOKBINDER underscored that unless the nation's economic difficulties are solved consistent with Carter's pledge to have a balanced budget by 1980, they will not be able to deal effectively with the whole range of social and urban welfare problems.

In addition to the very basic questions coming to the fore in the foreign policy and defense areas, Mr. BOOKBINDER noted that the Carter Administration will also have to deal with a whole series of questions regarding Israel, including the level of aid and anti-boycott legislation. On the subject of energy, Mr. BOOKBINDER saw the appointment of Mr. Schlesinger as an important step in elevating the issue in the American consciousness.

In closing, Mr. BOOKBINDER pointed out that AJC has very good connections with, and access to, the new Administration. He thought it possible, however, that the Administration may feel compelled to develop a "pattern of Jewish consultations"--and he strongly suggested that AJC officers think through this situation with a view to ensuring effective representations of AJC's views at the White House and State Departments.

Following the Bookbinder presentation, the four Commission Chairmen presented their views on the outlook for 1977 with reference to the concerns of their respective commissions.

Jerome SHESTACK, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission, indicated that, in the Middle East, one of our first priorities is to see to it that the new Administration transforms the President's promises into policies and his pledges into specific programs--e.g., his pledges to work for a just and lasting peace, to support the principles underlying UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 332, and to favor direct Arab-Israel negotiations, to oppose any imposed solutions, to refrain from using aid to Israel in a "carrot and stick" manner, to resist Arab oil blackmail and to support legislation to end the Arab boycott.

Backing up our approaches to the Administration, he went on, we also plan to place greater stress on working with the Brookings Institution, the Foreign Policy Association and other such groups that help shape foreign policy and mold elite opinion.

(over)

The work of our Ad Hoc Group on the UN, which has had some influence, will continue. In addition, we will be meeting with the new U.S. Representative to the UN and talking with incoming State Department officials, etc.

We anticipate that the new Administration will place much greater emphasis on working with Third World countries, particularly with Black African nations. Therefore, Mr. SHESTACK believed it especially important that we initiate some thoughtful programming in this area.

In the area of Soviet Jewry, he felt we must turn our attention to broader aspects of U.S.-Soviet relations rather than to continue to confine our attention to Soviet Jewry.

In the field of human rights, we welcome President Carter's commitment to have human rights considerations play a much larger role in American foreign policy and, particularly, in granting foreign aid. At the same time this presents certain dilemmas for us in the development of our policy and program--e.g., in the area of aid to Chile, where any public action we might take, such as advocating withholding aid, might well rebound against the welfare of the Jewish community. On the other hand, we do anticipate greater receptivity to our other activities in behalf of human rights.

Mr. SHESTACK closed on the broad question of "who speaks for the Jews" and how AJC can maintain its independent voice, especially in meetings with high level government officials, and he suggested that the Board devote one of its future meetings to this question.

Alfred MOSES, Chairman of the Domestic Affairs Commission, dealt with the domestic side of the incoming Administration. In the area of social, economic and educational programs, he noted that during the campaign, Carter was critical of our failure to move in the past and held out promise for greater movement in the future. Mr. MOSES believed the President-elect has demonstrated a sensitivity to AJC concerns in these areas and has also shown an awareness of the economic restraints which exist. AJC has also come to understand that you cannot deal with these issues in isolation and for that reason we have in recent months been turning our attention to the economic scene. Mr. MOSES felt that the Carter Administration will not be satisfied with stagnation on the economic front. He believed there will be some kind of jobs program, tax cut or combination of the two in the immediate future. Our commitment has been in the area of increased economic opportunity, and we will be concerned that there are economic measures that reflect social justice.

Second, Mr. MOSES noted that President-elect Carter has made a commitment to affirmative action based on his perception of a shared culture and, to some extent, shared experiences with the Black community. He pointed out that we have an identity of interests with the Black community in the area of civil rights and democratic pluralism. Where we have differences is the extent to which the Black community exalts group rights and extends those to preferential treatment. Therefore he felt we may see a divergence of interest on these issues in the future.

Mr. MOSES then turned to cultural or democratic pluralism and indicated that we as a nation have moved very far on this. He believed, however, that in the next few years there will be some disquietude which will show itself in a growing sense of national identity and interest. He felt there would be redefinition of American identity which might begin with the feeling of regionalism, which is so strong an element of Carter's background. Mr. MOSES believed it would take the President-elect a little time to appreciate the political mix of the American system and, while he is coming to grips with it, there may be times when we will feel a little uncomfortable. He felt the same thing would apply to the ascendancy of Evangelical Christianity.

Finally, on the question of Israel, Mr. MOSES foresaw continuing pressures on Israel, the American Jewish community expressing their view that such actions are not in the best interests of Israel, and some friction resulting from this. Therefore, he saw the situation as one requiring continuing vigilance. In concluding, he expressed the hope that AJC could make a real contribution to the programs of the Administration.

Interreligious Affairs Commission Chairman, Miles JAFFE, felt that our interreligious concerns would be little affected by the change of Administration in Washington, and he outlined those concerns as follows: the Geneva Peace Conference, the problems of Soviet Jewry, Latin America, and a new dimension to the UN debate on Israel. With respect to Israel, he felt we could take heart from Carter's Evangelical background since the Evangelicals give us the most comfort on territorial problems, including Jerusalem. We will need to work more closely with the Evangelical community to make that support explicit and to deal with some of the problems of Evangelism that are implicit in its outlook and orientation. We can, he believed, expect to see some pressure for more prayer in the public schools, for more evangelizing in general and of the Jews in particular.

At the same time that we develop our programs with the Evangelicals, we will also have to continue to deal with other Christian groups, Mr. JAFFE indicated. He suspected that he will have continuing problems with mainline Protestants who will increasingly sympathize with the Arab position. We also have problems with the Black community that cut across all religious lines. We will need to continue and, perhaps, increase our support of the work of the Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry. Problems in Latin America will require that we work more closely with the American Catholic hierarchy and the hierarchy in Rome.

Finally, Mr. JAFFE urged that we continue to do all that we have been doing in the past. He believed we still had to look at ourselves as existing by sufferance, and to recognize that those who exist by sufferance survive by coalitions and that the best possibility we have for coalitions lies in the interreligious area.

Jewish Communal Affairs Commission Chairman, Mervin RISEMAN, pointed out that the only area of concern of the JCAC in which the Administration can have an impact is that relating to the Jewish family, the tie-in being the effect of government policy on strengthening the American family. He indicated that a major three-year program approved by the NEC calls for the creation of a task force of social scientists which will examine public policy in such areas

(over)

as health, education, welfare, housing, economics and taxes with regard to their impact on specific Jewish family needs. It is hoped that the task force will create an index of the potential implications of specific public policies for the Jewish family which will be helpful to AJC and other Jewish communal organizations in their functions of advocacy and social action.

He noted that in his campaign speeches, Governor Carter expressed a deep concern with the weakening of the structure of the American family and recognized the need for strong legislation to strengthen the family unit. Mr. RISEMAN closed by expressing his hope that the government would move in those areas that affect the American family in general and the American Jewish family in particular.

During the discussion, which was devoted largely to the Moonies, the question of our relation to the Presidents' Conference was raised and it was suggested that the Board consider it in depth at a future meeting when some specific formulations have been spelled out.

Mr. MOSES added one item that he had omitted from his earlier report --namely, the renewed interest in social discrimination as a result of the notoriety given to Judge Bell's affiliations. He indicated that our Social Discrimination Committee, under the Chairmanship of Ben Loewenstein, would be meeting soon to look at the whole issue. He pointed out, too, that clubs that are reported as barring Jews and Blacks discriminate also against all other minority groups. In fact, they go right down the "ethnic alphabet," discriminating against probably 60% of the American public, which gives us a commonality of interest in this area. He also pointed out that Jews are vulnerable on the question of our own social club affiliations and will have to come to grips with this issue in the near future.

The Board then went into Executive Session, and the minutes of that session are on file in the office.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 10, 1976
to Area Directors
from Bertram H. Gold
subject The PLO

In response to inquiries from some of you about a recent JTA report of a meeting with PLO representatives, I want to give you the following information.

In late October, we received word from the representative of a Jewish peace group that two Palestinians were arriving who, although personally connected with the PLO, strongly opposed terrorism and were prepared to accept the continued existence of Israel as a sovereign Jewish state. These two Palestinians, we were told, were coming here—without the knowledge of the PLO's UN delegation—on a special "fact-finding mission" as part of the alleged soul-searching and agonizing reappraisal going on within the PLO leadership in the wake of its setbacks in Lebanon and the prospect of new Middle East peace initiatives. As part of their efforts to probe American attitudes and explain their views, they asked to meet with the American Jewish Committee.

We refused to meet with them. However, when the Jewish peace group representative invited the Palestinians and a number of Jewish individuals to his home we thought it would be useful if George Gruen, as a Middle East expert, were to attend, in his individual capacity, and report back to us. The Palestinians were told that an informal summary of the meeting, without names, would be conveyed to the Israel government. This was done.

We subsequently learned of a plan for another meeting, in Washington, to which AJC was invited to send a representative. We instructed our Washington representative not to attend—not even in his individual capacity. Our reasoning was that while the first meeting served as a necessary fact-finding operation, a second meeting with the same PLO officials would serve no useful purpose and could be misinterpreted as the beginning of an ongoing relationship by AJC with them. Consequently, no one from the American Jewish Committee attended the Washington meeting.

BHG/ac

75-580-27

BHG

WEBSTER COLLEGE

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

First, personal greetings from St. Louis. Continued blessings on you and your good work.

This is a letter about my work. It is explained in the accompanying two pages. Perhaps Rabbi James Rudin has spoken to you concerning it. Jordan Harburger of the AJC here tells me that he spoke to Rabbi Rudin about it briefly.

In any event, if you could consider the worthiness of what I hope to do, perhaps you would also consider recommending the projects for funding for the period May-September of this year. I am seeking \$6,000 to support myself and my family as I attempt to complete two books and a long, annotated bibliography, all having to do with the Holocaust. (These are outlined in the attached.)

If you think that my plans are worthy of discussion, I would be able to come to your office to talk about them. My friend, Rabbi Alvan Rubin, with whom I have talked over my ideas, has offered me air fare for such a purpose.

Naturally, I am deeply grateful to you for considering all of this. Thank you very much.

Peace in deed,



Harry James Cargas
Department of English

WEBSTER COLLEGE

For Christians, the greatest tragedy since the Crucifixion of Jesus was the Holocaust of Jews in World War II. I believe that the collective as well as individual guilt of Christians in this mass horror must be recognized and made continually evident. Thus, to remember must be a challenge not only to Jews but to Christians as well.

I am haunted by the responsibility that we Christians have for centuries of anti-Semitism, and particularly for the Holocaust. My goal is to try to make Christians aware of the need to acknowledge this guilt as a means to creating a climate in which such a monstrous happening can never again occur.

In the past I have written a number of times on this subject and on the literature of the Holocaust. I have also been active on behalf of human rights for Jews in Eastern bloc nations and was active in helping to establish a St. Louis chapter of the Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry.

This summer of 1977 I plan several important projects for which I am seeking support. These are, specifically, as follows: 1) A book based on interviews with survivors of the Holocaust. I plan to tape meetings with many men and women, to see what "patterns" emerge and what lessons develop from these encounters. Then I plan to comment on all of this from the point of view of a Christian who identifies himself with the persecutors. 2) The editor of Catholic Library World has asked me to prepare a 50 page annotated bibliography on writings about the Holocaust. I think that such a booklet will be especially valuable given the primary audience that CLW reaches. 3) I have been asked by the Archdiocese of St. Louis to give a series of five lectures on the Holocaust in September-October at Kenrick Seminary--to be open (and advertized) to the public. This group of talks will be the basis for another volume the working title of which is Christian Murderers. 4) I will be doing research for a book on which I am collaborating with Protestant philosopher and author John Roth (whose writings on the Holocaust and on Elie Wiesel are very meaningful) on a reevaluation of the subject of evil after Auschwitz from a Christian perspective.

Now is a unique time in our brief history since World War II. There is a slowly growing interest among people in the Holocaust, Christians and Jews alike. Furthermore, this is a period when many survivors seem to have come to a kind of collective realization of the void that their deaths will leave if their stories are not told, at least anonymously. This is an important time for scholars to assist in the holy work of helping to tell as much of the story of the Holocaust as can be told.

WEBSTER COLLEGE

That it may be reasonably assumed that I will carry out the above proposals may be seen by my personal bibliography which covers a period of 17 years and which lists over 1,000 publications. These include eleven books, the most recent of which is Harry James Cargas in Conversation with Elie Wiesel (Paulist, 1976). Four additional books are now awaiting publication.

While working on these projects I will be continually consulting with Elie Wiesel and Professor Yaffa Eliach, the Director of the Center for Holocaust Studies in Brooklyn. Their guidance will help me to strengthen my approaches and my final productions.

Harry James Cargas
Chairman, Department of English





UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

West Bank Union
110 Anderson Hall
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
257 - 19th Ave. S.

April 6, 1977

Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum, Director
National Interreligious Office
American Jewish Committee
165 E 65th Street
New York City, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Professor Leonard Swidler of Temple University seeking your advice and counsel. On July 1, 1977, I begin a 12 month Sabbatical leave from my administrative-faculty position at the University of Minnesota. This leave will be devoted to a major study of the American Church and the Holocaust 1933-1945, based on the use of denominational and inter-denominational periodicals regularly available to the average church member at the local parish level.

Central questions are:

- 1) What information was being published about the plight of the Jews in Nazi Germany?
- 2) If such information was available (and the evidence is overwhelming that it was, as early as 1933) what actions, if any, were undertaken at the parish level to remediate the situation?
- 3) If actions were ineffectual, or not taken, why not?
- 4) What is the relationship of this information to the anti-Semitism that was virulent in the 1930's, and so often welcomed in some American churches?
- 5) All of the multiplicity of questions related to current Holocaust Studies; the Silence and the effort to comprehend, if not fully grasp, and to relate this study to anti-Semitism and Jewish-Christian dialogue today.

I have been working away at this study for over three years, and have attended the Holocaust and Church Struggle conferences a number of times. I have consulted at length with Professor Littell, Professor Ryan and a

April 6, 1977
Page 2

host of others in search of information. Two papers on the study have been presented to a regional, and to a national meeting of the American Academy of Religion. Several articles, and a book are the objective during the Sabbatical.

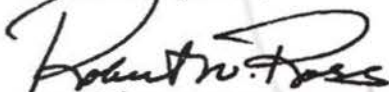
Unfortunately, grant requests from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the humanities grant fund of the Rockefeller Foundation, and from the Ed Phillips Foundation (local, Minneapolis) have been unfruitful.

To-date, the Stern Fund and the Graduate Research fund of the University of Minnesota have not responded to my proposals. Professor Swidler suggested that you might know of possible sources for funding, ideally for one-half salary and needed travel and copying funds from archives in the United States, primarily in the East and South-east. If not one-half salary, at least travel and copying funds of @ \$4,000.00.

I have made preliminary trips at my own expense, and the material is abundantly available. Literature review of all Holocaust studies to-date indicate that no one, to my knowledge is approaching the Holocaust from this perspective and this seems to be confirmed through inquiry with Holocaust scholars. My field is American Religions.

Please forgive the length of this letter, and needless to say, your advice would be most welcome. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,



Robert W. Ross, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor in Student Affairs and Religious Studies
Director, West Bank Union

RWR:tmj

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 8, 1977

to Marc Tanenbaum

from Marilyn Rothman

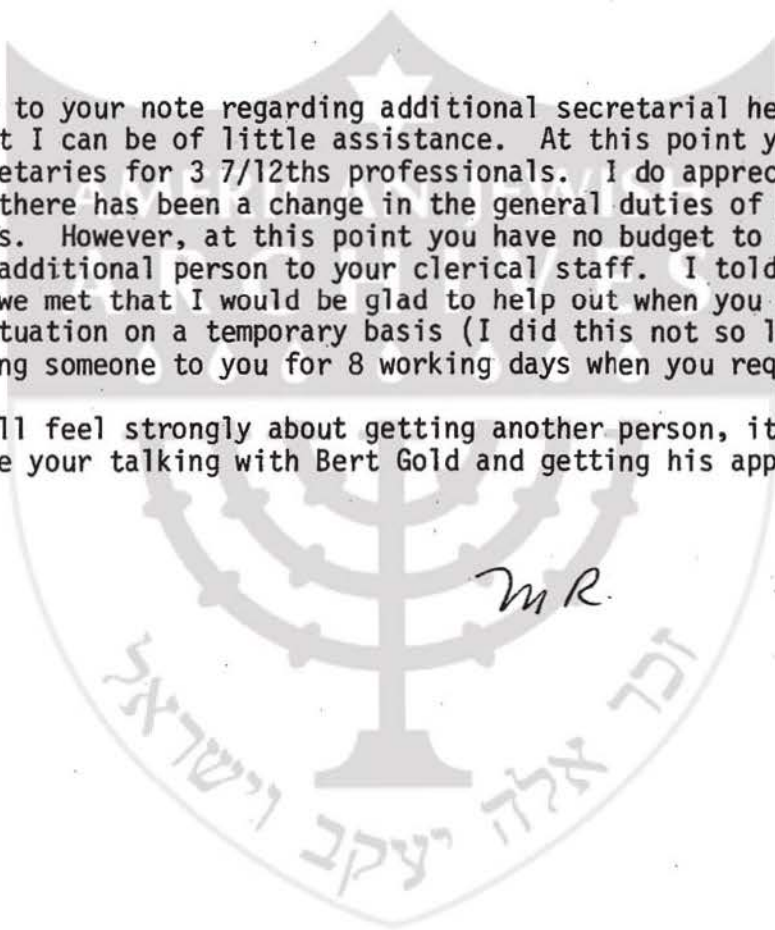
subject

In answer to your note regarding additional secretarial help, I am afraid that I can be of little assistance. At this point you have three secretaries for 3 7/12ths professionals. I do appreciate the fact that there has been a change in the general duties of your secretaries. However, at this point you have no budget to add a permanent additional person to your clerical staff. I told you the last time we met that I would be glad to help out when you got into a tight situation on a temporary basis (I did this not so long ago by assigning someone to you for 8 working days when you requested it).

If you still feel strongly about getting another person, it will necessitate your talking with Bert Gold and getting his approval.

MR/az

MR.



May 3, 1977

Mr. Marcus Cohn
Cohn and Marks
1920 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. ~~Cohn~~,

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 18th, by our office.

Rabbi Tanenbaum is away on an extended lecture tour. He should be returning to the New York office around the 18th of May, at which time your letter will be brought to his attention for reply.

Yours truly,

Rita P. Reznik
Secretary to Rabbi Tanenbaum

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A National Accolade

The Rabbi, The Priest And Ecumenism

By IS LECHTMAN

LA Bnai Brith Messenger City Editor 5/5



RABBI ALFRED WOLF
—The Ecumenical Spirit

A national accolade for Los Angeles and the cause of inter-religious harmony was won by a priest and a rabbi at the third National Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations held last week in Detroit.

Rabbi Alfred Wolf of Wilshire Boulevard Temple and Father Royale M. Vadakin, chairman of the Ecumenical and Interfaith Commission of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles delivered the workshop report that won the enthusiastic plaudits of the more than 200 priests, rabbis, ministers and lay leaders attending.

THE WORKSHOP, whose theme this year was "Living To-Please Turn To Page 21



FATHER R.M. VADAKIN
—Plaudits From 'Brothers'



Priest, Rabbi Report On Interfaith Project

LA Tidus
5/6

A national accolade for Los Angeles and the cause of interreligious harmony was won by a priest and a rabbi at the third National Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations last week in Detroit.

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The workshop, whose theme was "Living Together in an Age of Pluralism," was sponsored by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the National Council of Churches in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The workshop, conducted by Rabbi Wolf and Father Vadakin, centered upon the Los Angeles diocesan document "Lenten Pastoral Reflection." The booklet

won national recognition as a pioneer document in overcoming Christian anti-Semitism.

The document was produced by nine priests and 12 rabbis who acted as consultants. Cardinal Timothy Manning sent the booklet with an introductory letter to every priest in the archdiocese.

Presented as homiletic and pastoral aids for Catholic-Jewish interaction in Lenten and Holy Week liturgies, the heart of the publication is in its suggested series of brief readings which priests were instructed to include in their Lenten Sunday, Palm Sunday and Good Friday services prior to the Scripture reading.

These readings emphasize the Jewish roots of Christianity, the relationship between Christianity and the Jewish people living today, and assert the incompatibility of Christianity and anti-Semitism.

Commenting on the document, Father Vadakin pointed out, "the Catholic-Jewish dialogue here in Los Angeles, I believe, revolves

around two principles — integrity and self-definition."

The document "Lenten Pastoral Reflection," developed by the Archdiocesan Commission on Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs (together with the Los Angeles Priest-Rabbi Committee), pointed the way to the recommendation by the National Bishops Committee on the Liturgy of the American Catholic Bishops that the "Reproaches," a hymn that has been considered offensive to Jews, be omitted from the Good Friday liturgy.



Rabbi Wolf, Father Vadakin Earn A National Accolade

From Page One
 ether in an Age of Pluralism," is sponsored by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the National Council of Churches in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

This year the Jewish Community Council of Detroit, the Archdiocese of Detroit, the Christian Communication Council of Detroit Churches and the Detroit sector of the National Conference of Christians and Jews joined in sponsorship.

THE WORKSHOP conducted by Rabbi Wolf and Father Vadakin centered upon the Los Angeles Diocesan document, "Lenten Pastoral Reflection." The booklet, which won national recognition as a pioneer document in overcoming Christian anti-Semitism in connection with the Lent, Good Friday and Easter period has emerged through the efforts of a Los Angeles Priest-Rabbi Committee.

Judging by the admiration voiced and the inquiries that have been coming in, indications are the pioneering document will have impact.

IN THEIR Detroit presentation Father Vadakin and Rabbi Wolf pointed to the community atmosphere created over the years fostering Catholic-Jewish cooperation.

The group composed of rabbis and priests have been meeting the past three years. Ten rabbis and 10 priests, at the invitation of Timothy Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Los Angeles, in cooperation with the Southern California Board of Rabbis meet six times a year. Orthodox, Conservative and Reform rabbis are included, and priests in parish pastorates, in university and in teaching positions are involved.

Topics discussed include questions which unite and divide Catholics and Jews: the interpretation of Scripture; the respect for life (abortion) issue; support for parochial schools; the Middle East problem; "Russian Jewry." In the process both groups have developed mutual trust and understanding.

PRODUCED by nine priests and a group of 12 rabbis from the ranks of Orthodox, Conservative and Reform rabbinate, all of Los Angeles, who acted as consultants, the document is additionally noteworthy in that it had the strong support of Cardinal Manning, who sent the booklet with an introductory letter to every priest in the archdiocese.

Presented as homiletic and pastoral aids for Catholic-Jewish interaction in Lenten and Holy Week liturgies, the heart of the publication is in its suggested series of brief readings which priests were instructed to include in their Lenten Sunday, Palm Sunday and Good Friday services.

prior to the Scripture reading. **THESE READINGS** emphasize the Jewish roots of Christianity, the relationship between Christianity and the Jewish people living today, and assert the incompatibility of Christianity and anti-Semitism.

Typical of the readings in the Los Angeles Diocesan document is that preceding the crucifixion story, the Passion according to John 18:

"In the passion and death of Jesus according to St. John, which we are about to proclaim together, we announce the heart of the Christian message: God loves all men into death, even death on a cross. The hostility between the earliest Christians and their Jewish brothers, as manifested in the gospel of John, cannot be continued today. The timeless message of reconciliation and love for all mankind has to replace early Christians' prejudice against their Jewish contemporaries before Jesus work will ever truly be finished."

COMMENTING on the document, Father Vadakin pointed out, "The Catholic Jewish dialogue here in Los Angeles, I believe, revolves around two principles: integrity and self-definition."

An example of integrity is that there has been no excising of Scriptural texts in the Lenten material. The difficult passages in the Gospel of John were commented, named and placed in personal perspective, but not removed. And the Jewish community in Los Angeles has never asked that they be removed.

The Lenten material is described by Father Vadakin as "pastoral and practical rather than theological." It is an attempt to reach broad sections of Catholic Sunday congregations. The coverage in the national press and the large number of requests for material nationwide indicates that this pastoral and practical area had not been so adequately addressed before.

THE DOCUMENT, Lenten Pastoral Reflection, developed in Los Angeles by the Archdiocesan Commission on Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs (together with the Los Angeles Priest-Rabbi Committee) pointed the way to the National Bishops recommendation by the Committee on the Liturgy of the American Catholic Bishops that the "Reproaches," a hymn that has been considered offensive to Jews, be omitted from the Good Friday ritual.

The Los Angeles document indicates that the Reproaches are a pastoral option, and for those who elect to use the option recommends that the "you" of the phrases "My people, what have I done to you, how have I offended you?" be recognized as ourselves, be identified as "we."

A meeting just concluded in

Venice, Italy, of the International Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee, which ended with an agreement that the Catholic Church rejects any proselytism of Jews, and in which the Synagogue Council of America participated, is also an action that was anticipated in Los Angeles, when the Archdiocesan Commission on Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs adopted a document last September, 1976, repudiating proselytism.

THAT GUIDELINE, issued almost a year before the Venice declaration, specifically stated: "Efforts to convert Jews to Christianity, or views of Judaism as an 'incomplete faith' are considered unacceptable."

DOCUMENTS such as Lenten Pastoral Reflection and the Guideline would be far less effective but for the atmosphere of friendly cooperation in the community. Over the past decade, since Cardinal Manning became Archbishop, the movement toward ecumenical activity and concern for fostering interreligious affairs

has gained strength and scope.

It has manifested itself in the priest-rabbi dialogue; the Interreligious Council of Southern California, which today, in addition to Catholic, Jewish and Protestant representation includes Islam and the Eastern religions; activities emphasizing the close relationship between the Church and the Synagogue.

IN THIS BEALM Jewish scholars of national importance participate in the Catholic Education Conference held annually in Anaheim and attended by some 10,000 educators.

JOINT STUDY groups include Jewish couples and Catholic couples. Each group is guided by a rabbi and a priest.

INTERFAITH activities are now involving Sinai Temple and University Synagogue as well as the Wilshire Boulevard Temple. (A model Seder at the latter temple for all Catholic high schools was attended by 1,000 students.)

AN ANNUAL exchange of professors is maintained between

St. John's Seminary where diocesan priests are trained and the Los Angeles school of Hebrew Union College which trains rabbis.

ADDITIONALLY there is an annual conference of students for the priesthood, the rabbinate, and the Protestant ministry which is sponsored by the Interreligious Council in cooperation with the Wilshire Boulevard Temple camps.

A GROUP composed of rabbis, priests, physicians, a professor of Loyola School of Law, women active in the American Jewish Committee, and women active in the Right to Life committees discuss their similarities and differences in the Catholic and Jewish views on abortion.

These inter-religious activities, the secular outreach, the understanding support of Cardinal Manning, the wholehearted cooperation of the Board of Rabbis and Jewish community organizations, the unstinting efforts of Rabbi Alfred Wolf and Father Royale Vadakin, have all combined to give Los Angeles a trail-blazing role in charting paths for living together in an age of pluralism.



A Simultaneous Exclusive

The Rabbi, The Priest and Ecumenism by B'nai B'rith Messenger city editor Is Lechtman appears simultaneously this Friday in both The Messenger and in The Tidings, publication of the archdiocese of Los Angeles; Cardinal Timothy Manning, Archbishop of Los Angeles, is president of The Tidings; Al Antczak, managing editor.

H. Applebaum

Christians, Jews meet

Workshop faces issues that divide

By FLORENCE SCHUMACHER
Christians and Jews who participated in the third national workshop on Christian-Jewish relations now have a better idea of how to look at some of the key issues that divide the religions.

"The leaders have come to know each other as persons, not stereotypes," said Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, the national director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, after the weekend session in Southfield.

"Working together for our common welfare is unprecedented in the history of the Jewish and Christian people."

He said a network of Jews and Christians are meeting in almost every American city today.

One of the specific recommendations of the workshops was to correct misleading stereotypes in religious texts which feed old prejudices. The participants from all over the country shared model programs which could be put into practice in their communities.

One of the workshops tried to eliminate misconceptions and dealt with the use of the scriptures during the liturgies of Lent and Holy Week.

"THIS AREA has caused tensions

for 2,000 years because of the misunderstanding of the death of Jesus," said Eugene Fisher, chairman of the subcommittee for Catholic-Jewish relations for the archdiocese of Detroit. Specific liturgical suggestions were distributed.

Vatican II in 1965 absolved the Jews from responsibility in causing the death of Jesus and ushered in the new era of interreligious dialogue represented by the conference.

The image of Christianity growing out of Judaism as a branch grows from the root of a tree was well accepted by conference participants according to Fisher.

"As a Christian, one can't believe that Jews are infidels," Fisher said, "because our faith is based on the Jewish faith. Our liturgy grew out of the Jewish liturgy."

This conception of Christianity is "on the table" and is being worked out theologically, Fisher said. "The relationship between the Jewish and Christian covenants is open and positive."

Separate workshops on "Women Today and the Christian-Jewish Dialogue" scheduled for the first time, showed a concern with the women's call for change on all levels of institutional life.

The workshops explored how women and men can effect change in theology, ritual, law, ordination, marriage, the family and volunteerism.

ACCORDING to Rabbi Tanenbaum, the biggest problem which remains is the acceptance of differences among the religions.

"The Christians have been the enemies of the Jews for most of our history," he said. "We are making an effort to turn around the whole course of history. Many Christians still see the Jews as nonbelievers."

Fisher said the workshop was one place where controversial issues such as abortion and aid to parochial schools were discussed in a serious and open way.

"Both sides began to see that none of the sides is a monolithic as sometimes appears. There is pluralism within each community as well as between communities."

The workshop was sponsored by the Catholic Bishops' Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations and by the office on Christian-Jewish Relations of the National Council of Churches in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Community Council, the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit, the Christian Communication Council and the Detroit Round Table of Christians and Jews.

The Rev. Alex Bruett, chairman of the conference said, "Religious dialogue is not a luxury engaged in by those who have nothing better to do

with their time. It is a necessary venture on the part of any community that hopes to survive in an age of change.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
MICHIGAN AREA OFFICE
163 MADISON
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226

[end]

Original documents
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date May 17, 1977
to Area Directors
from Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
subject PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENT ON DEICIDE AND ANTI-SEMITISM

It gives me genuine gratification to send you the full text of President Jimmy Carter's letter to Pastor John Steinbruck and to share with you some background about this interesting and quite important development.

After the AP story of April 22 appeared on the President's Bible class lesson in major dailies throughout the country, I received literally dozens of telephone calls and letters from Rabbinic Associations, JCRCs, AJC members and just plain Jews expressing concern over what this meant. Is this what President Carter really thinks about Jews? Does that have meaning for his deeper attitudes about Israel?

I called Robert Lipshutz, the President's counsel and a good friend of AJC, and asked for clarification. Bob had been away the weekend before, had not seen the story, and asked me to send him copies of the stories and letters I had received. He also asked if I would prepare a draft statement for the President for his consideration. The day after our telephone conversation, Pastor John Steinbruck, who has been active in our Jewish-Christian dialogue work in Washington, went with Hy Bookbinder and Brant Coopersmith to meet with Bob Lipshutz to express their concerns, and to explore constructive ways of clarifying this issue.

Bob, and subsequently Joyce Starr of the White House Public Liaison staff, were most sympathetic and agreed that clarification of the President's actual views were necessary. On the day after the President's return from the European summit, Bob presented our draft text to the President. He made several changes, all of which strengthened the President's formulation of his attitudes condemning the Christ-killer charge and rejecting anti-Semitism.

Pastor Steinbruck sent a letter to the President - copy of which is enclosed - following his meeting with Bob Lipshutz, Bookie and Brant. The White House decided to issue the President's statement in the form of a letter from the President to Pastor Steinbruck. John then called us to help draft his own response to the President. The President's office hand-delivered the Carter letter to John last Friday afternoon, and within an hour, John issued his response warmly welcoming the President's position as an "historic declaration."

Page Two

The exchange of correspondence was carried by the Associated Press and picked up in dailies all over the country, the New York Times, the Washington Post, Religious News Service (copy enclosed), Jewish Telegraphic Agency, among others. I did a WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting commentary last Sunday that was carried over some 46 radio stations. (Copy enclosed).

The response thus far both from Christians and Jews has been quite positive. I would be most interested in having your own reaction to the President's statements, and any other comments or newspaper coverage that may have appeared in your community.

MHT:RPR

Enclosures

77-700-48



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1977

To Reverend John F. Steinbruck

Several weeks ago, I conducted a Bible study class during which the subject of the role of the Jewish people in the Crucifixion of Christ was discussed. A number of newspaper reports have appeared about my comments which have led to some questions about my views on this subject. I am glad to have this opportunity to set forth my personal position and to clarify any misunderstandings which may have resulted from these incomplete accounts of my convictions:

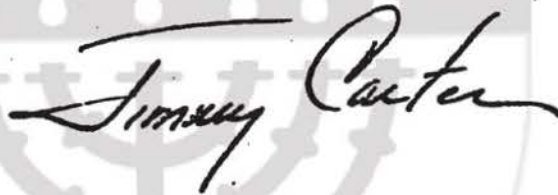
The Christian religion, according to my understanding, holds that Jesus of Nazareth, who was a Jew, gave His life to redeem the sins of humanity. The Gospels declare that His death was foreordained and without that death and the resurrection which followed it Christians would not be saved in Christ. Yet the Crucifixion required human instruments.

Among these were Judas, who was a Christian disciple, Caiaphas, who was a Jewish priest appointed by the Roman authorities, and Pilate, a gentile, who actually condemned Jesus to death.

In accordance with the Gospels, I know that Jesus forgave the human instruments of His death but I am also aware that the Jewish people were for many centuries falsely charged with collective responsibility for the death of Jesus, and were persecuted terribly for that unjust accusation which has been exploited as a basis and rationalization for anti-Semitism.

I know and am personally gratified by the fact that the highest authorities of the major Christian Churches, Protestant, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox, have totally and decisively rejected the charge that the Jewish people as a whole were then or are now responsible for the death of Christ. My own denomination, the Southern Baptist Convention, adopted an official resolution on June 7, 1972, declaring "anti-Semitism as un-Christian" and as being opposed to any and all forms of it. Further, the Baptist Churches have resolved that "we covenant to work positively to replace all anti-Semitic bias in the Christian attitude and practices with love for Jews, who along with all other men, are equally beloved of God."

To that, I can only say "amen" with all my heart.



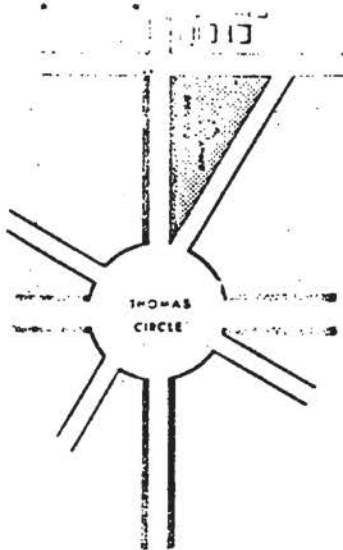
Jimmy Carter

Reverend John F. Steinbruck
Luther Place Memorial Church
Fourteenth and N Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

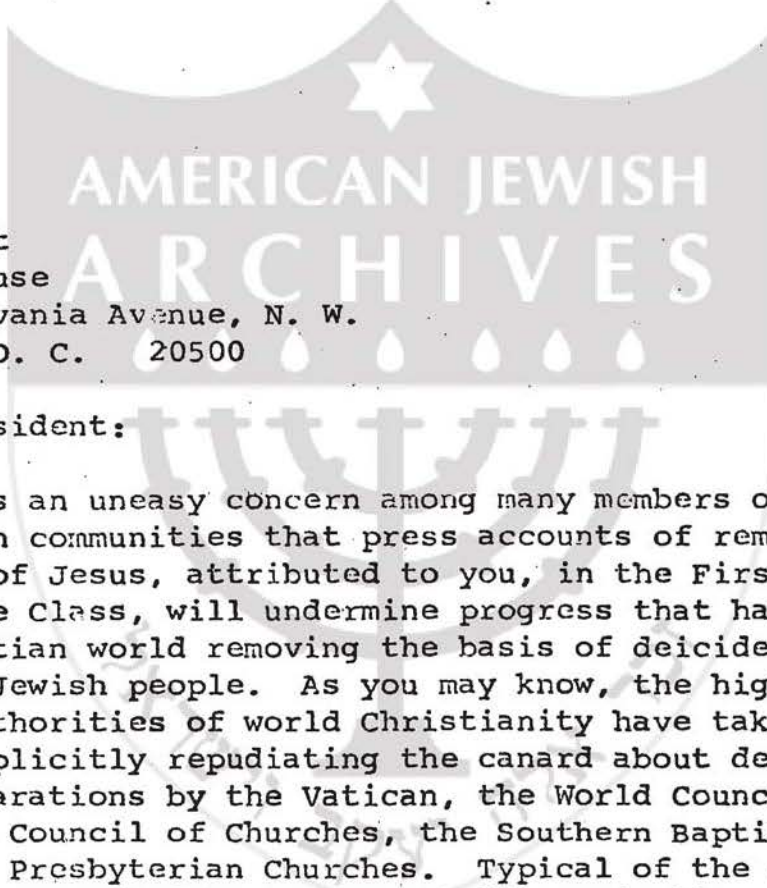
LUTHER PLACE MEMORIAL CHURCH

AT THE LUTHER STATUE
in the heart of our Nation's Capital

May 6, 1977



Thomas Circle
14th and H Sts., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
Telephone (202) 667-1377



The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

There is an uneasy concern among many members of the Jewish and Christian communities that press accounts of remarks about the killing of Jesus, attributed to you, in the First Baptist Couples Bible Class, will undermine progress that has been made in the Christian world removing the basis of deicide charges against the Jewish people. As you may know, the highest spiritual and moral authorities of world Christianity have taken public positions explicitly repudiating the canard about deicide. These include declarations by the Vatican, the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, the Southern Baptist Convention and Southern Presbyterian Churches. Typical of the consensus which has been reached by Roman Catholic, main line Protestant, Evangelical and Greek Orthodox authorities are the following cautions from a section on education in a document on ecumenical and interfaith relations, issued by the Sixth Synod of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati in October, 1971:

1. All who are responsible for instruction and education should be informed during their training about the permanent significance of the Jewish people in God's plan for mankind. The history of persecution should not be concealed and the Jewish people should not be treated as though they were non-existent.

- more -

2. The Jewish people is not collectively guilty of the passion and death of Jesus Christ, nor of the rejection of Jesus as Messiah. The Jewish people is not damned, nor bereft of its election. Their suffering, dispersion, and persecution are not punishments for the crucifixion or the rejection of Jesus.
3. Much care should be taken in instruction and homilies to right interpretations of biblical readings, especially of those texts which seem to put the Jewish people in an unfavorable light.

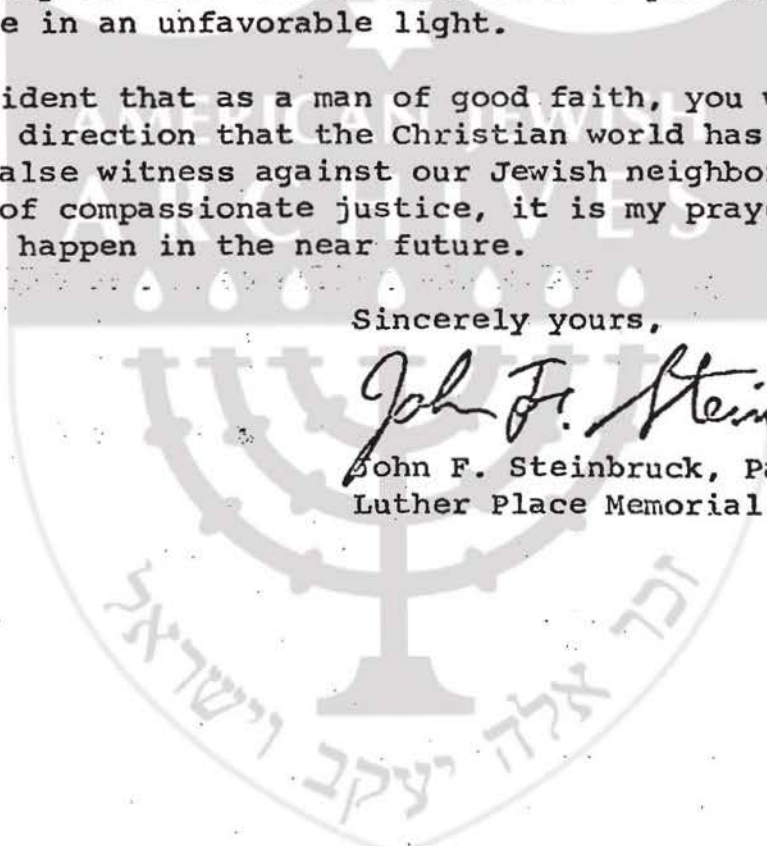
I am confident that as a man of good faith, you will want to reinforce this direction that the Christian world has at long last taken to end false witness against our Jewish neighbors. As a Christian act of compassionate justice, it is my prayerful hope that this will happen in the near future.

Sincerely yours,



John F. Steinbruck, Pastor
Luther Place Memorial Church

JFS:gvp



PRESIDENT CARTER ISSUES CLARIFICATION
ON SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHING ABOUT JEWS

By Religious News Service (5-13-77)

WASHINGTON, D. C. (RNS) -- President Carter has issued a statement clarifying remarks he made in Sunday School on the role of Jews in the Crucifixion. His statement was immediately hailed by Jewish and Christian spokesmen.

In the Bible class at First Baptist Church here on March 20, the President said that Jesus "had directly challenged in a fatal way the existing church, and there was no possible way for the Jewish leaders to avoid the challenge. So they decided to kill Jesus."

President Carter declared in a statement released May 13 that "the Christian religion holds that Jesus of Nazareth, who was a Jew, gave his life to redeem the sins of all humanity. The Gospels declare that the death of Jesus was foreordained, and without that death and the resurrection which followed it, Christians would not be saved in Christ. Yet the Crucifixion required human interests. Among these were Judas, who was a Christian disciple, Caiaphas, who was a Jewish priest appointed by the Roman authorities, and Pilate, a gentile, who actually condemned Jesus to death."

Mr. Carter added, "In accordance with the Gospels, I know that Jesus forgave the preordained human instruments of his death, but I am also aware that the Jewish people were for many centuries falsely charged with collective responsibility for the death of Jesus, and were persecuted terribly for that unjust accusation which has been exploited as a basis and rationalization for anti-Semitism."

The President said he knew and was "personally gratified by the fact that the highest authorities of the major Christian Churches -- Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox -- have totally and decisively rejected the charge that the Jewish people as a whole were then or are now responsible for the death of Christ."

Noting that his own denomination, the Southern Baptist Convention, has condemned anti-Semitism as un-Christian, and that it has pledged to work to "replace all anti-Semitic bias in the Christian attitude and practices with love for Jews," Mr. Carter commented, "To that, I can only say 'Amen,' with all my heart."

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, national director of interreligious affairs of the American Jewish Committee, had contacted members of the White House staff to relay concerns that had been expressed to him about the President's comments in the Bible class. At the request of the White House staff, he sent copies of positions taken on the subject by Roman Catholic, Protestant, and other Christian bodies.

The Rev. John Steinbruck, pastor of Luther Place Memorial Church in Washington, a Lutheran Church in America congregation, had written to the President that his comments in the Bible class had stirred "an uneasy concern" in the Jewish and Christian communities. Pastor Steinbruck cited as typical of the consensus of Christian opinion today a document issued in 1971 by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Cincinnati which had declared that the Jewish people "is not collectively guilty of the passion and death of Jesus Christ, nor of the rejection of Jesus as Messiah."

R E L I G I O U S N E W S S E R V I C E

DOMESTIC SERVICE

-30-

FRIDAY, MAY 13, 1977

In his letter, the Lutheran clergyman expressed confidence "that as a man of good faith, you will want to reinforce this direction that the Christian world has at long last taken to end false witness against our Jewish neighbors."

After learning of President Carter's statement of clarification, Pastor Steinbruck wrote a second letter commending him for his stand.

Pastor Steinbruck, after seeing the President's statement, wrote to him that he and leaders of the American Jewish Committee "share with me the profound appreciation of this moment in which you have made a compassionate, just and constructive contribution to destroy the poisonous roots of anti-Semitism and prejudice. Both my Jewish and Christian friends perceive the sensitive-healing action you have taken."

He told the President his statement was "a uniquely constructive action toward purging Christian civilization of unhistoric teachings of contempt for the Jewish people and at the same time a giant stride toward the advancement of the cause of universal human rights to which you have given sincere and inspiring leadership."

Pastor Steinbruck concluded that "your receptivity to the questioning of your constituency and your willingness to reflect and evaluate your position constitutes a humility that can only make for greatness as our President and as a world leader."

-0-



Carter Denies He Believes Jews Are Guilty of the Death of Jesus

By LAURA FOREMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 13—In response to a letter from a Lutheran pastor, President Carter has declared that he regards anti-Semitism as un-Christian and does not believe that the Jewish people are guilty of the death of Jesus.

The text of the President's letter to the Rev. John F. Steinbruck of the Luther Place Memorial Church in Washington was released today by the White House.

In it, the President said that he was writing to "set forth my personal position and to clarify any misunderstandings" resulting from press accounts of a Bible class lesson he taught at the First Baptist Church in Washington in March.

The lesson dealt with Jesus' driving the moneylenders from the temple in Jerusalem shortly before his crucifixion.

"That was a turning point in Christ's life," Mr. Carter was reported as saying. "He had directly challenged in a fatal way the existing church, and there was no possible way for the Jewish leaders to avoid the challenge. So they decided to kill Jesus."

Saying that misunderstandings might have arisen from "incomplete accounts" of his remarks, Mr. Carter said in the letter:

"The Christian religion, according to my understanding, holds that Jesus of Nazareth, who was a Jew, gave his life to redeem the sins of humanity. The Gospels declare that his death was foreordained, and without that death and the resurrection which followed it Christians would not be saved in Christ. Yet the crucifixion required human instruments.

"Among these were Judas, who was a Christian disciple; Caiaphas, who was a Jewish priest appointed by the Roman authorities, and Pilate, a gentile who actually condemned Jesus to death.

"In accordance with the Gospels, I know that Jesus forgave the human instruments of his death, but I am also aware that the Jewish people were for many centuries falsely charged with collective responsibility for the death of Jesus and were persecuted terribly for that unjust accusation which has been exploited as a basis and rationalization for anti-Semitism."

The President said that he was "personally gratified" to find a consensus among Christian churches rejecting "the charge that the Jewish people as a whole were then or are now responsible for the death of Christ."

He said that his own denomination, the Southern Baptist Convention, adopted a resolution in 1972 declaring anti-Semitism un-Christian and saying that it should be replaced with "the Christian attitude and practices with love for Jews, who along with all other men are equally beloved of God."

"To that," the President wrote, "I can only say 'amen' with all my heart."

Mr. Steinbruck said today that after reading accounts of the Bible lesson, he wrote Mr. Carter saying his remarks had caused "uneasy concern" in both Jewish and Christian communities. The pastor said that he had met with Robert Lipshutz, counsel to the President, to discuss the matter, and Mr. Lipshutz brought his letter to Mr. Carter's attention.

After receiving the President's letter, Mr. Steinbruck wrote a response thanking him for "an historic repudiation of the 'Christ-killer' canard that has so long and unjustly been the burden of the Jewish people, our older sisters and brothers." He praised Mr. Carter for making "a compassionate, just and constructive contribution to destroy the poisonous roots of anti-Semitism and prejudice."

Mr. Steinbruck said in a telephone interview that he had never believed that the President's remarks had been made with "anti-Semitic intent."

Carter Denounces Accusation That the Jews Killed Christ

By George W. Cornell
Associated Press

NEW YORK, May 13 — President Jimmy Carter, replying to remarks about the Jews attributed to him in teaching a Bible class, denounced as unjust and false today the old anti-Semitic charge that the Jews killed Christ.

He said, "The Jewish people were for many centuries falsely charged with the collective responsibility for the death of Jesus and were persecuted terribly for that unjust accusation which has been exploited as a basis and rationalization for anti-Semitism."

It was a rare stand by a U.S. president on such an historically corrosive and theologically sensitive issue.

News accounts, including one by The Associated Press April 22, reported that Carter, in a Bible-class discussion of Jesus' confrontation with authorities, said Jesus "had directly challenged in a fatal way the existing church, and there was no possible way for the Jewish leaders to avoid the challenge. So they decide to kill Jesus."

The Rev. John F. Steinbruck, pastor of Luther Place Memorial Church in Washington, wrote Carter May 6 that the reported remarks stirred Jewish and Christian concern that they would "undermine progress that has been made in the Christian world removing the basis of deicide charges against the Jewish people."

In a letter hand-delivered to the Lutheran pastor today, Carter noted that the major Christian churches—Protestant, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox—have all repudiated the old Christ-killer slur.

Carter said he was "personally gratified" that they had done so, adding that his own denomination, the Southern Baptists, also have condemned "anti-Semitism as un-Christian" and pledged to root out any remnants of it and replace it with "love for Jews, who along with all other men are equally beloved of God."

"To that I can only say, 'Amen,' with all my heart," Carter said.

Replying to the President's letter, Steinbruck called the President's response "a historic repudiation of the 'Christ-killer' canard that has so long and so unjustly been the burden of the

Jewish people, our older sisters and brothers.

"Furthermore, your action will create a new basis for the embrace and reconciliation of the whole family of Abraham after 1,900 years of estrangement."

He said Jewish leaders "share with me profound appreciation of this moment in which you have made a compassionate, just and constructive contribution to destroy the poisonous roots of anti-Semitism and prejudice."

A large gathering of Jewish leaders burst into spontaneous and prolonged applause tonight when they heard of Carter's letter. It was read at the 71st annual convention of the American Jewish Committee at the Waldorf Astoria.

May 15, 1977

"PRESIDENT CARTER REJECTS DEICIDE CHARGE"

WINS-WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMMENTARY

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Interreligious Affairs Director
of the American Jewish Committee

Several weeks ago, President Jimmy Carter conducted a Bible class at the First Baptist Church in Washington during which he commented on the role of the Jewish people in the Crucifixion of Jesus. According to an Associated Press report, the President seemed to have revived the ancient Christ-killer charge. That led to a reaction of widespread dismay and concern, not only among many Jews but among Christian leaders as well. In response to literally dozens of calls from rabbis and Jewish communities around the country asking for clarification, I contacted members of the White House staff to relay these concerns. The White House staff was most sympathetic and asked that I send copies of positions taken on the subject by Catholic, Protestant, and Evangelical bodies, which I did. At the same time, Rev. John Steinbruck, pastor of the Luther Place Memorial Church in Washington, wrote President Carter requesting that the President clarify his views. Last Friday, President Carter wrote to Pastor Steinbruck a letter whose contents can only be described as historic. The President declared that he regarded the charge of collective Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus as false, and that he joins with Christian leaders in rejecting that charge totally and decisively. He also quoted a resolution of his church, the Southern Baptist Convention, which condemned "anti-Semitism as un-Christian." To that, President Carter concluded, "I can only say 'Amen' with all my heart."

MHT:RPR

77-700-47

CONFIDENTIALTHE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEEStaff Advisory Committee Organizational Development SessionMay 26, 1977MINUTES

Present: Max Birnbaum, Consultant; Morris Fine, Bertram Gold, Milton Himmelfarb, Eleanor Katz, Haskell Lazere, Irving Levine, Yehuda Rosenman, Marilyn Rothman, Seymour Samet, Philip Shamis, Morton Yarmon.

Absent: Selma Hirsh, Will Katz, Marc Tanenbaum, William Trosten

The meeting was devoted to discussion of a number of Agenda items which had arisen out of a series of two SAC-OD sessions on supervision at which Bert Gold was not present but which the group now wished to review with him.

A listing had been circulated to all members of the group in advance for their priority rating. A copy of the Agenda items, as rated by the group, is attached to these minutes. Max Birnbaum pointed out that Items 1 and 2 were rated far ahead of items 3 through 8 and items 9 and 10 were rated far below the first eight items.

- * 1. Should not SAC members participate in agency's personnel planning for the future in view of the fact that a large number of members of the staff are retiring in the next five years? Have there been any moves made by Central Administration in this direction, including successor to the Executive Vice-President?

Bert Gold responded that there would be three levels of turnover due to retirements in the immediate future, namely, Professional staff members, the Executive Vice-President, and the Associate Director. There has been some discussion on a selective basis regarding long-range planning for professional replacements. Irving Levine commented that we should look for persons with reputation and following who are now in other jobs or in other agencies for these openings. In response to rumors circulating throughout the agency that Ira Silverman was hired as his successor, Mr. Gold explained that when the time comes for seeking a new Executive Vice-President there would undoubtedly be a lay search committee. Ira Silverman could be a candidate as could other qualified members of the Staff. No one has an inside track. Milton Himmelfarb and others stressed that emotions become involved with concerns about succession. In response to an inquiry, Bert Gold felt that it would be an error for staff to want formal involvement in the selection process.

Eleanor Katz then explained her assignment in the fall to review retirements in the next four-five years and establish a Talent Bank as a resource for jobs to be filled. She indicated that our first search for potential would be within the agency. Phil Shamis suggested that funds be set up for the purpose of training employees to move ahead in the agency so that in the future they would be prepared to assume greater responsibilities.

*Agenda items are numbered according to the attached list.

2. Should SAC members play a role in reviewing Union and Staff Organization demands and formulation of agency's position? What is their own stake, etc. (SAC as a bargaining unit for themselves)?

Bert Gold said that, as in the past, SAC members would be kept informed of these demands and have opportunities to discuss them. Many SAC members felt that they should have the opportunity to voice their opinions about money matters as they pertain to Union negotiations. Morris Fine felt that this issue has arisen due to the fact that Department Heads, in the last two years, have received only the same increments as other staff, and have had no opportunity to bargain for themselves. They had to take what was decided for them by others. Regarding SAC as a bargaining unit for themselves, Bert Gold agreed that everything that happens in negotiations does affect Department Heads and he explained the reason why the decision had to be as it was in the last round of negotiations. Milton Himmelfarb thought that perhaps the Department Heads would have liked to spend the same money differently. Yehuda Rosenman suggested that in some agencies, the executive staff has greater benefits (i.e., more vacation time). Bert Gold responded by saying that it would be impossible for the SAC to receive any extra benefits in our agency. Phil Shamis thought perhaps the agency could pay the insurance contributions for executives. Mort Yarmon felt the issue of added benefits for Department Heads should be discussed at a future Staff Advisory Committee meeting. Max Birnbaum commented that the Department Heads, because of their role, have a need to differentiate themselves from other staff people. Seymour Samet felt that SAC should have a voice in determining how the dollars should be spent. Morris Fine commented that the spread in salary for Department Heads should be equitable and reflect longer working hours and greater responsibilities, rather than to have this reflected in longer vacations. Irving Levine suggested as a perk, a scholarship fund for children of staff members. Phil Shamis was asked to make a study of the tax advantages and prohibitions and to report back on his findings. Milton Himmelfarb thought that perks for all staff should be on the agenda of an SAC meeting.

At this point, Bert Gold expressed concern about the forthcoming negotiations, particularly about the rising cost of the Pension Plan, which at this time costs the agency 17.6% of the payroll.

3. There is a need for central administration (Bert Gold) to back up Department Heads in handling particularly difficult long service staff.

Bert Gold raised the question of whether Department Heads were displaying the strength to discipline their own staff. If problems arise, such as those of long service employees who feel they "own their jobs", are habitual latecomers, and take advantage simply because of these reasons, they should be dealt with on an individual basis. Mr. Gold also felt that there is a need for positive action regarding lateness, and early departure, and this will be followed up more closely in the future by Marilyn Rothman.

Marilyn Rothman raised the questions of whether we have special obligations to long service staff who may have problems in their particular assignments or in their personalities. Should not concessions be made on their behalf so as to be able to continue them in the agency's employ? With regard to endemic attendance problems, Bert Gold wondered whether this was not a department head responsibility. The department head must explain to his staff that some profes-

signals who work overtime are justified in occasionally coming late, but that does not make it legitimate for the rest of the staff.

5. Are special problems in supervision created by those who raise money for their own projects often being considered exempt from conforming to agency policies and practices?

Haskell Lazere raised a problem dealing with staff members who, because they raise a considerable amount of money for the agency, feel they are entitled to special salary increases. The question was posed as to whether people who raise their own money for their work, should be entitled to special perks. Seymour Samet questioned how tough department heads can or should be to those bringing in money, particularly money that is supporting their own projects. Bert Gold responded by saying he thought there might occasionally be justification for more money in such a circumstance, but for the most part, they should be treated like other employees.

6. How can supervisory problems caused by split supervision be handled?

Bert Gold admitted that this can be a problem and must be handled on an individual basis as needed when the situation arises. It was commented that when he makes assignments directly to specialists without the knowledge of the Department Head, it causes difficulty in holding staff accountable for their regular workload. If this occurs, the supervisor involved should inform his Department Head about it.

8. Use of Interns and Trainees

It was suggested that we make greater use of interns, trainees, research doctoral students and the like, thus contributing towards preparing young people for future AJC job openings.

Bert Gold responded by saying that he agrees in principle with this suggestion but our present budget does not allow for such expenditure at this time. Mort Yarmon recommended that the field staff receive a course in dealing with the media, which he would be willing to give.

Lack of time prevented discussion of the balance of the Agenda.

Bert Gold announced that he has asked Max Birnbaum to confer with all department heads on the supervisory process, including holding sessions with their entire staffs, comparable to those he is now holding with the CSD.

Future meetings will be called on an ad hoc basis, related to Max Birnbaum's meetings with department staff and issues that arise out of these meetings.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:40 P.M.

AGENDA ITEMS FOR SAC-OD MEETING WITH BERT GOLD ON MAY 26

RESULTING FROM TWO SESSIONS ON SUPERVISION

1. Should not SAC members participate in agency's personnel planning for the future, in view of the large number of key staff retiring in the next few years? Have there been any moves made by Central Administration in this direction, including successor to the Executive Vice-President?
2. Should SAC members, as part of management team, play a role in reviewing Union and Staff Organization demands and formulation of agency's position? What is their own stake in outcome of these negotiations? (SAC as bargaining unit for themselves.)
3. There is a need for Central Administration (Bert Gold) to back up Department Heads in handling particularly difficult long-service staff, as for example, those who feel they "own their jobs" and refuse work they do not like to do, or are otherwise defiant.
4. Is AJC paying salaries high enough to meet the competition and attract qualified staff?
5. Are special problems in supervision created by those who raise money for their own projects often being considered exempt from conforming to agency policies and practices?
6. How can the supervisory problems caused by split supervision be handled?
7. When Bert Gold makes assignments directly to specialists without the knowledge of Department Heads it causes difficulties in holding staff accountable for their workload.
8. It was suggested that we make greater use of interns and trainees, thus contributing towards preparing young people for future AJC job openings.
9. Some Department Heads would like a longer probationary period for professional staff, particularly where supervision is from a distance (field staff and overseas country directors) and where Department Head travels a great deal (IPGI).
10. How much pre-retirement counseling should agency be giving, how far in advance should it start, and would staff morale be helped if Bert Gold were to talk with those to be retired, particularly long-service employees?

Vol. 1, No. 3, May 1977

Prepared and edited by Judith H. Banki

AJC HAILS LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT

AJC hailed as "a most welcome and heartening development" the recommendation of the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy that the "Reproaches" -- a hymn considered offensive to Jews -- be omitted from the Good Friday ritual this year. In a letter to Archbishop John R. Quinn, chairman of the Committee, IAD's Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum called the move a "historic action" which would foster "mutual respect and solidarity between the Catholic and Jewish peoples."

AJC had earlier sent to the Committee on Liturgy a study citing several negative references to Jews and Judaism in Catholic Liturgy, and calling attention to the anti-Jewish impact of the "Reproaches." The study was one of several originally submitted to Vatican II by the AJC at the request of the late Augustin Cardinal Bea, head of the Vatican commission which produced *Nostra Aetate* (popularly known as the "Jewish Declaration") in 1965. (Both that document and the Vatican Guidelines for Catholic-Jewish Relations in 1975 called for the elimination of anti-Jewish references in Christian teaching, preaching and liturgy.)

Ironically, this devotion, which has served to build resentment and hostility toward Jewry, is a deliberate inversion of a Jewish prayer of thanksgiving, the *dayenu* chant from the Passover Seder. A brief excerpt from each shows the similarities:

DAYENU
(it would have sufficed)

How thankful we should be to
God
For his many deeds of kindness
to us!

DAYENU

Had God freed us from the
Egyptians,
And not wrought judgment upon
them,

DAYENU

Had He wrought judgment upon
the Egyptians,
And not destroyed their gods.
DAYENU...

THE REPROACHES

My people, what have I done to
you? How have I offended you?
Answer me. Did I not bring you
out of Egypt? And for that you
erected a cross for your Saviour?

...For your sake I scourged Egypt
with the death of her first-born;
but you, you have handed me over
to be scourged.

The "Reproaches" are put into the mouth of Jesus, although the hymn was composed more than a century after his death. According to the distinguished Jewish

scholar, Dr. Eric Werner, who collaborated in preparing AJC's study, "Anti-Jewish Elements in Catholic Liturgy," for Vatican Council II, the source of the "Reproaches" is the Passion homily of Melito, Bishop of Sardes, thought to have lived 120-185 C.E. Melito borrowed the form of the *dayenu* chant, which expresses gratitude for God's benefits bestowed on his people Israel; gave it an "anti-Jewish twist" in which the theme of gratitude is replaced by one of ingratitude -- Israel's ingratitude, reaching its nadir in the scourging and crucifixion of Jesus. In an article detailing his scholarly detective work ("Melito of Sardes, The First Poet of Deicide," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. 37, 1966), Dr. Werner observes that the Passion homily is an "instance of utilizing Jewish material against the Jews -- a method that goes through the ages up to this very day."

The action by the liturgical staff was considered a temporary solution, pending a decision by the Bishops' Committee on Liturgy on whether to eliminate the hymns or revise them.

Following similar AJC approaches to the Episcopal Church last year, the House of the Delegates of the Episcopal Church removed the "Reproaches" hymn from a draft revision of the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer. (See *Interreligious Newsletter*, Vol. 1, No. 2)

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

ARCHBISHOP TRIFA WITHDRAWN FROM NCC GOVERNING BOARD

Rumanian Orthodox Archbishop Valerian D. Trifa, whose membership on the governing board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. drew vigorous protests from Jewish and some Christian sources, was in effect suspended from the board on February 4 by the church he represented, the Orthodox Church in America.

Archbishop Trifa faces denaturalization hearings on charges by the Justice Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service that in obtaining American citizenship he lied about his membership in the fascist Rumanian Iron Guard and his involvement in Nazi atrocities in Rumania during World War II.

The NCC had maintained that it had no power to dismiss or suspend Trifa, since he was the appointed representative of a constituent church. However, the Council's executive committee, which had earlier proposed that the Orthodox Church withdraw him, endorsed the action in a statement which emphasized the "serious moral implications" of the charges against Trifa.

A spokesman for the million-member Orthodox Church, the Rev. Leonid Kishkovsky, announced that the archbishop "will not take part in the council's work or attend meetings of its governing board until further notice." The ban will remain in effect pending disposition of the litigation against him and of an investigation being conducted by the church itself.

AJC had made available to members of the NCC executive committee material from primary Rumanian sources, including "The Trifa Manifesto," which documented Archbishop Trifa's unremitting anti-Semitism, anti-Greek hate propaganda, racism, and pro-Nazi activities.

In the light of that record, AJC executive vice president, Bertram Gold, expressed regret that the de facto suspension was not an outright expulsion, but he acknowledged that the action indicated the NCC's disapproval of Trifa's anti-Semitism.

Trifa's presence on the NCC board had also been protested by the executives of state councils of churches in New York, New Jersey, North Carolina and Oregon, and the (independent) Christian Conference of Connecticut, who communicated their objections to NCC leadership.

PUBLIC TRIBUNAL ON RELIGIOUS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE ...



The National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, which is organizing testimony before the Helsinki Commission of the U. S. Congress and Executive Branch in Washington, D. C. on the issue of "the Helsinki Agreement and Religious Liberty," organized on March 16 a unique "public tribunal" to dramatize the denial of human rights and religious liberty for Jews and Christians in Eastern Europe.

While focusing on the massive violation of the religious liberties of the three million Soviet Jews, the tribunal also provided the opportunity for spokesmen for Catholic, Baptist, Latvian Lutheran, Ukrainian and nationality groups in Eastern Europe to publicly testify about the oppression their respective groups have been suffering.

The testimony cited case histories of Soviet citizens who were fired from their jobs, incarcerated in mental hospitals, refused opportunities for higher education, exiled to labor camps, and subjected to myriad other kinds of intimidation and discrimination because of their insistence on observing religious practices or their expressed requests to emigrate. In each case, it was pointed out that such actions violated the terms of the Helsinki Agreement.

The evidence was presented to a panel that included Rita Hauser, attorney and former U.S. representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission; Dr. David R. Hunter, director of education, Council on Religion and International Affairs; Bayard Rustin, executive director, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum and Sister Ann Gillen, executive director of the Task Force.

Among the witnesses were Prof. Thomas E. Bird, professor of Slavic languages, Queens College, City University of New York; Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor, *Ukrainian Quarterly*; Prof. William Fletcher, director of Soviet Studies, University of Kansas; Prof. Howard Greenberger, New York University Law School; Rev. Blahoslav S. Hruby, secretary, Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies; Mr. Ilya Levkov, a Soviet Jew and research director of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry; and Rev. Alexander Veinbergs, pastor, Latvian Lutheran Church, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Bird urged his fellow Roman Catholics and fellow Christians to understand their own self interest in supporting the cause of Soviet Jews. He declared:

This is not a "Jewish problem." The Soviets want the Jewish community to be isolated. If they are being persecuted and isolated today, we are surely going to be in a group that is persecuted and isolated tomorrow...

We Christians, in an age that has witnessed the Holocaust, have a profound historical, moral obligation to stand guard over the destiny of the children of Israel wherever its existence is threatened, whether it be a reborn Jewish commonwealth, or with beleaguered Soviet Jewry.

The public forum was one of several activities launched by the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry since the major Chicago II conference last November, which drew some 250 participants, most of them Christians. An impressive array of religious and civic leaders, including U.S. Representative Robert Drinan (D-Mass), a Jesuit priest; Senator Charles Percy (R-Ill.), and Dr. Cynthia Wedel, a president of the World Council of Churches, called the Soviet Union to task for failing to fulfill commitments to human rights, including the

right to emigrate, to which the USSR agreed in signing the Helsinki Accord.

Among the results of Sr. Gillen's energetic efforts to expand inter-religious concern for the plight of Jews and other oppressed minorities in the Soviet Union has been the formation of local interreligious task forces in communities around the country. Such groups have been organized in Cincinnati, Dallas, St. Louis and Wilkes-Barre-Scranton, with plans for others. *Interested Christians and Jews should contact Sr. Ann Gillen, National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, 1307 South Wabash, Chicago, Illinois 60605, or any local AJC office.*



MORE ON MOON

Widespread concern with the implications of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church is evidenced by the unprecedented response to a forceful critique of the Moon movement made by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish leaders at a December 28th meeting held at AJC headquarters.

On that occasion, IAD's Rabbis Marc Tanenbaum and A. James Rudin were joined by the Rev. James J. LeBar, of the Office of Communications of the Catholic Archdiocese of New York, and Dr. Jorge Lara-Braud, executive director of the Commission on Faith and Order of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.

While concentrating on the anti-Jewish content which is documented in Rabbi Rudin's study of *Divine Principle*, the basic doctrinal text of the Moon movement, the religious leaders voiced equal concern about other aspects of his activities, including his methods of indoctrination reported by former Moonies who have defected from the group.

Rev. LeBar announced that his office had sent a letter warning priests in the Catholic Archdiocese of New York of "the acute dangers" that Rev. Moon's Unification Church represents. "It is important to bear in mind that Rev. Moon's teachings are in direct conflict with Catholic theology and, therefore, render his movement suspect for Catholic participation," he said.

Father LeBar made public a list of 62 "front organizations of the Unification Church" and questioned why there would be "need to hide behind such fronts, which often deny any association with Sun Myung Moon and his followers?"

Dr. Lara-Braud, quoting from a working paper of his commission, declared that Moon's doctrines "deny the classic Christian understanding of Jesus Christ" in salvation, and "claim a deficiency for Christ's work which Christians could not accept."

The Protestant theologian also pointed out that Moon's *Divine Principle* "fosters continuing anti-Semitism" in that it claims that "Christ failed because the Jews did not believe in him and put him to death." He termed that teaching "double idemnity" against the Jews.

Rev. Moon had earlier reacted to AJC's release of the study. In a seven-point statement published as a full-page advertisement in *The New York Times*, he declared that the Unification Church "categorically condemns anti-Semitism, the most hideous, abject and cruel form of hatred." He further stated that his movement recognizes "the divine and natural right" of Jews to physical survival and preservation of religious tradition; regards Israel as a haven for Holocaust survivors and a sanctuary for Jews fleeing oppression; will work for "an acceptable accommodation between the Arabs and Jews;" and "strives toward the establishment of a United World Family of Nations" in order to contain Soviet imperialism.

Responding to this statement, Rabbi Tanenbaum declared: "We trust that the Rev. Moon's public condemnations of anti-Semitism will now result in concrete actions that will demonstrate that he means what he professes. A comprehensive and systematic removal of negative and hostile references to Jews and Judaism which abound in the *Divine Principle* would be one such demonstration that his statements are serious and are made in good faith and are not simply public relations pieties."

(Single copies of the report, *Jews and Judaism in Rev. Moon's Divine Principle*, are available by request from the American Jewish Committee.)



ISRAELI GOVERNMENT NIXES OFFENSIVE FILM

An anguished appeal from Mother Basilea Schlink of the Evangelical Sisterhood of Mary, urging Jewish leaders to protest plans by a Danish film producer to make a pornographic film about Jesus on location in Israel, drew a quick response from AJC and from the Government of Israel. Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum accused the producer, Jens Jorgen Thorsen, of "attempting to cash in on the current sickness of pornography," and cited an official Israeli Government response that it would "not allow any film to be made that would be offensive to any religious group."

In a separate action, AJC's Interreligious Affairs Commission criticized the film, "Nasty Habits," as "an entirely inappropriate vehicle to parody the Watergate scandal." The IAD continued: "By choosing to satirize a Catholic women's religious order instead of the true perpetrators of Watergate -- those elected and appointed officials of the United States Government who abused their legitimate powers and deceived the American people -- the film deflects public scorn from those who deserve it onto the wrong vocation and the wrong sex." The IAC found the film "offensive not only to women and to Catholics, but to fair-minded people of all persuasions."



INTERRELIGIOUS VISITS TO ISRAEL

In February two major study tours were coordinated by AJC's Visitors to Israel Program. The first, co-led by Dr. George Gruen, director of Middle East Affairs for AJC, and Dr. Arleon L. Kelley, associate executive director of the NCC's Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism, included visits to Egypt, Syria and Jordan as well as Israel. Participants, among whom were outstanding AJC leaders from chapters around the country, as well as the director of the New Mexico Council of Churches, and a member of the NCC national board, met with political, academic and religious leaders in all countries visited. This was the third such tour co-sponsored by AJC and NCC. Rabbi A. James Rudin and Inge Lederer Gibel were previous leaders of these tours.

The Metropolitan Ecumenical Training Center Capital-to-Capital Mission was the second February mission. METC members and participants had met for several years as a study group focusing on Christian-Jewish relations, and their pilgrimage to Jerusalem was a result. National leaders from Washington, D.C. included the Rev. Tilden Edwards, executive director of METC; Daniel Mann, executive director of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington; Rabbi Stanley Rabinowitz, president of the Rabbinical Assembly; Ms. Cynthia Roberson, executive director of

the Secretariat for Black Catholics; Rev. John Steinbruck, Lutheran activist on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and Dr. Timothy S. Healy, S.J., president of Georgetown University. Commenting on the trip in a letter to Ms. Gibel, Fr. Healy wrote:

Probably the briefest way to put it was that I went both understanding and sharing the American support of Israel, and my week in Israel merely strengthened this conviction... In a sense Israel, and above all Jerusalem, have to remain a spiritual home. To cite my own part of the testament, the gospel read in the Mass last Sunday has the haunting phrase, "Salvation is of the Jews." I am sorry that I did not have more time to walk and roam around that part of Israel which would fascinate me most from the point of view of prayer, and that is the Sea of Galilee. But I keep telling myself that pleasure is reserved for a return trip.

Each study tour, in addition to special meetings tailored to the professional interests of tour participants, offers opportunities to meet with Jewish, Christian and Moslem leaders in all areas of Israeli life.

The program, which provides complete airline and hotel arrangements as well as the special interest meetings that mark it as unique, is coordinated in Israel by Ms. Taffy Baker of AJC's Jerusalem office, and in the U.S. by Ms. Gibel, national coordinator of the Visitors to Israel Program, to whom inquiries should be addressed at 165 East 56th Street, New York, New York 10022

IAD BRIEFS

IAD supplied materials on Judaism, Jewish-Christian relations, Soviet Jewry and Israel for educational kits sent to some 1500 Southern Baptist officials throughout the United States. A forthcoming conference co-sponsored by the Southern Baptists' Christian Life Commission in Dallas and AJC is presently in the planning stages, as is an Evangelical-Jewish meeting in Atlanta.

Expressions of solidarity and sympathy were sent by AJC chapter leaders and staff members to Roman Catholic and Episcopal church authorities, decrying the recent massacre of Roman Catholics in Rhodesia, and the shocking death of the Rt. Rev. Janane Luwum, Anglican Archbishop of Uganda. (Uganda President Amin's claim that Archbishop Luwum was killed in an automobile accident has been greeted with skepticism in many parts of the world.)

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum was among the religious technical advisers for the six-hour biblical epic, "Jesus of Nazareth," presented on NBC-TV on April 3 (Palm Sunday and the first day of Passover) and April 10 (Easter Sunday and the eighth day of Passover). Rabbi Tanenbaum, who had reviewed the film in London and consulted with its director, Franco Zeffereilli, commented:

This film has not only avoided all of the negative images about Jews and Judaism which have nurtured anti-Semitism in the past but has, on the contrary, consciously sought to portray first century Judaism in a warm, faithful and sympathetic light.

IAC CHAIRMAN, MILES JAFFE, ADDRESSES NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS WORKSHOP

Miles Jaffe, chairman of AJC's Interreligious Affairs Commission, participated centrally in the *Third National Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations: Living Together in an Age of Pluralism*, April 19-21 in Detroit, Michigan. Mr. Jaffe spoke at a workshop devoted to contemporary issues on the subject: *Church and State: Parochialism and Abortion*, outlining ground rules for discourse of these sensitive, highly-charged issues.

IAD staff also participated in the national workshop in various capacities. Judith Banki delivered a paper on *Women Today and the Jewish-Christian Dialogue*; Inge Gibel served as panelist in a workshop devoted to discussion of Middle East problems; Rabbi James Rudin moderated and participated in a workshop on *Evangelism and the Dialogue*; and Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum served as one of three reactors who summarized the conference. (Other reactors were Fr. Edward J. Flannery, former director, Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and Dr. William L. Weiler, executive director, Office on Christian-Jewish Relations, National Council of Churches.) Sherwood Sandweiss and Ruth Kroll of AJC's Detroit office also participated in the conference, ably organized and chaired by Fr. Alex J. Brunett, director of the Office of Ecumenical Affairs of the Archdiocese of Detroit.

ARCHIVES

NOTABLE QUOTABLES

...My own feelings were stirred even more profoundly when I heard the repeated references to the fact that the alleged crimes had been committed more than thirty years ago and when several church leaders told me that it's time for the Jews to forget. Ah, it seems so long ago, does it not? Some people are tired of being reminded. But don't you realize that for those of us whose homes were invaded by storm troopers it is like yesterday; and that in the nightmares of our loved ones it is still a horrible NOW? Furthermore, our refusal to forget is not based on a desire for revenge, but rather on a determination not to betray the memory of our dead or our responsibility toward future generations... In most Protestant and Orthodox churches, I perceive very little of a sense of urgency to deal with the appalling lack of real concern about the historical role of the Christian churches in centuries of persecution against the Jews.

And now comes that inevitable question, one that is usually raised with great vehemence: "Are you suggesting that there is anti-Semitism in our midst?" What an odd question to ask! What basis would there be for us to believe that we, Christians in the NCC, have somehow remained untainted by this particular manifestation of human sin?

Let me ask a counter-question. How come that we, who will often respond to charges of rampant racism in the Christian churches with quick consent and contrite confessions, find it necessary to react with such indignation to the suggestion that we search our hearts to see whether there are seeds of anti-Semitism to be found among us? By naming the demon and acknowledging its power, we may once again discover the liberating reality of grace. I believe it would be good for us to reflect on that.

...from an open letter on the "Trifa affair" sent to members of the

governing-board of the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A. and other fellow Christians by the Rev. Isaac C. Rottenberg, Secretary for Program Interpretation, Reformed Church in America.

* * * * *

We are beginning to be able to acknowledge and respect each other's religious traditions as representing positive ways of life. Christians are realizing that Judaism has its own integrity and needs no Christian correction. Together we are beginning to see that we can behave as equals, that we do not need to make each other's belief systems "wrong." We are siblings, each possessing his own validity, vitality and wholeness. Christians no longer pray for the conversion of the Jews. It is all right now with most Christians for Jews to be Jews and Christians Christians.

This climate of growing respect and understanding is now threatened by the recent growth of something called -- for want of a better name -- "Jewish-Christianity." The zealous proponents of "Jewish-Christianity" aim their proselytizing activities specifically at Jews. They maintain that real fulfillment for a Jew consists in accepting Jesus (they call him Yeshua) as messiah. Their message is grounded in the notion that to accept Jesus "is the most natural wonderful, and, above all, spiritual thing that can happen to a Jewish person." Once again the "incompleteness" of Jewish faith is being preached.

The current rise of "Jewish-Christian" missionary activity in Long Island is distressing to both Jews and Christians. It is upsetting to Jews because it impugns the integrity of Jewish belief. It is alarming to Christians because it misrepresents Christianity. It is disturbing to both Jews and Christians because it undermines the basis of mutual respect which it has taken so long for us to establish.

Perhaps the greatest danger in this "Jewish-Christian" missionary activity is that the Jewish community may draw back from interfaith dialogue, convinced that the "Jewish-Christian" movement is simply a highly visible manifestation of the otherwise tacit intent of all Christians to convert Jews to Christianity.

We wish, therefore, to make it clear that as Christians we acknowledge and affirm the integrity of Judaism and disavow completely the message and the methods of these "Jewish-Christian" groups.

From a public statement by the Rev. Lawrence McCoombe, chairman, Commission on Christian-Jewish Relations, Episcopal Diocese of Long Island, New York. (The statement has the full support of the Rt. Rev. Jonathan G. Sherman, Bishop of Long Island.)

The publication and distribution of this issue of the *Interreligious Newsletter* has been made possible through the generous support of the Milton Weill Memorial Fund.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 3, 1977
to M. Bernard Resnikoff
from Brant Coopersmith
subject Messianic Vision

In response to your memo of May 15, I asked Herbert Fierst, who was leaving for Israel shortly after we received your memo making an inquiry about Messianic Vision, to tell you the view which is shared by John Steinbruck, Jim Rudin and me---that Messianic Vision is a Hebrew-Christian proselytizing organization.

I am enclosing for you some material which makes it very clear that Messianic Vision is committed to "Yeshua" the "Mashiach".

It is my understanding that Sid Roth, who runs this organization, has been trying to raise funds for a forest in Israel. We recommend that whoever is seeking our advice tell the Messianic Vision people that since questions have been raised, they (the Messianic Vision people) should go to the Jewish Community Council or my office or advice. However our advice now to the JNF is don't do it.

Regards,



BC:gvp

encl.

cc: Morris Fine
Marc Tanenbaum ✓
Murray Friedman
Harold Applebaum

(Dictated by Mr. Coopersmith,
Signed in his absence)

Motivation

"For the love of Messiah
constrains us!"
- II Cor. 5:14

"Brethren, my heart's desire
and prayer to God for Israel is
that they might be saved!"
- Romans 10:1

"Pray for the peace of
Jerusalem, they shall prosper
that love thee!"
- Psalm 122:6

"Son of man, I have set thee
a watchman unto the house of
Israel..."

"If thou dost not speak to
warn the wicked from his way...
his blood will I require at
thine hand!"
- Ezekiel 33:7,8

"To the Jew first!"
- Romans 1:16

"I have set watchman upon
thy walls, O Jerusalem, which
shall never hold their peace
day nor night: ye that make
mention of the Lord, keep not
silence.

"And give Him no rest, till
He establish and till He make
Jerusalem a praise in the earth."
- Isaiah 62:6,7

"And I will bless them that
bless thee!"
- Genesis 12:3

"For he that toucheth you
toucheth the apple of His eye!"
- Zechariah 2:8

Finances

THE MESSIANIC JEWISH MOVEMENT
INTERNATIONAL is not underwritten
by any foundation or business.

THE MESSIANIC JEWISH MOVEMENT
INTERNATIONAL receives its support
from the freewill tithes and
offerings of God's people.

THE MESSIANIC JEWISH MOVEMENT
INTERNATIONAL has its financial
records audited annually by a
Certified Public Accountant.

Involvement

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URGENTLY NEEDED!

INFORMATION BROCHURE



est. 1963

"A Movement Within Judaism
For Messiah Yeshua"



- ❑ THE MESSIANIC JEWISH MOVEMENT INTERNATIONAL was founded on May 1st, 1963 in Chicago, Illinois by Manny Brotman, its current president.
- ❑ THE MESSIANIC JEWISH MOVEMENT INTERNATIONAL is a movement *within Judaism* for Messiah Yeshua!
- ❑ THE MESSIANIC JEWISH MOVEMENT INTERNATIONAL creates methods and materials to bring the Jewish people to their Messiah and to foster their spiritual growth.
- ❑ THE MESSIANIC JEWISH MOVEMENT INTERNATIONAL recruits and trains *Jewish Believers* who conduct BASIC TRAINING INSTITUTES ON HOW TO SHARE THE MESSIAH and OUTREACH MEETINGS TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE.
- ❑ THE MESSIANIC JEWISH MOVEMENT INTERNATIONAL presents a *united image* to the world's Jewish population *that there is indeed* a vital, thriving and growing world-wide movement *within Judaism* for Messiah Yeshua!

M.J.M.I.
7315 Wisconsin Avenue
Washington DC 20014
Phone: 301/656-7575

- * We believe that the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob created us to have a personal relationship with Himself and to enjoy His abundant life! (Pro.16:4; Psa.16:11)
- * We believe that our sins have separated between us and our God and His abundant life and that we all have sinned. (Isa.59:1,2; I Kgs.8:46)
- * We believe that our sins can not be removed by mitzvahs (good works), but only by believing God's Word (FAITH) as Abraham, The Father of the Jews, did. (Isa.64:5; Gen.15:6)
- * We believe that we need the blood of atonement (covering) for the forgiveness of sins. (Lev.17:11)
- * We believe that God has provided the blood of atonement today through a Perfect Sacrifice promised in the Jewish Bible, One called The Messiah (The Anointed One). (Isa.52:13-53:12; Psa.22:15-19)
- * We believe that Yeshua (known to the Gentiles as Jesus) has fulfilled all of the Messianic prophecies in the Jewish Bible and is indeed the promised Messiah of Israel! (See The New Covenant - Jer. 31:30)
- * We believe that when we ask Messiah Yeshua into our hearts and lives that our sins are forgiven, that we are going to heaven and have eternal life and that we are born-again of the Ruach HaKodesh (The Holy Spirit of God) and that we begin the abundant life and the exciting adventure for which God has created us - to know Him and to make Him known! (Rev.3:20; Rom. 5:11; Ephes.1:7; I Jn.5:10-13; St.Jn.3:6 & 10:10; Philip.3:10; Rom. 1:16)

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The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 65th St.
New York, N. Y. 10022

June 7, 1977

Dear Sirs:

I was interested to read in your Highlights Bulletin, Summer 1977, about dealing realistically with the role of the Jews at the birth of Christianity.

It reminded me of when I was a high school freshman back in 1923. Our class was given a history assignment to read for homework, & we were told to skip reading several pages. However, something made me read these "skipped pages". They were about the leaders at that time starting a new religion, Christianity. These leaders were not getting enough converts, so they looked around for a scapegoat. They came down to choosing between a group of Germans, or a small religious group of Jews. They chose the Jews.

All rights were taken away from the Jews including loss of ownership, voting, schooling, citizenship. They were put into a ghetto & made to lead the most miserable of lives, & then these leaders would say, convert to Christianity or you'll be like the Jew. We've been the scapegoat ever since, & smart as we are supposed to be, in 2000 years, we still have not overcome this anti-Jew feeling. We tend to silently take their abuses, & just hope they will go away. This has gotten us
(over please)

nowhere in 2000 years.

This movement is literally anti-Jew, rather than anti-semitic, for the semite arabs do not get the awful hatred, abuse, discrimination, prejudice + cruelty that we Jews were, + still are, subjected to.

Having roots in Israel is helping greatly.

I hope we are on the way to vindicate ourselves of the awful lies + myths that has grown up about us Jews, + that we put the anti-Jew scapegoat blame where it rightfully belongs.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Rose Benjamin

61 Westview Rd.
Worcester, Mass. 01602

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 10, 1977
to Jim Rudin
from Rita Weissman
subject Another report on religious politics in Southern California.

I don't recall a time when the major denominations have been fraught with so many problems. From a variety of sources, Priscilla Chaplin being one, Irwin Trotter being another - (he's number two in the hierarchy), George Cole of the Presbyterian Church also number two - here's what's going on:

1. Never before has the Methodist Conference been faced with bankruptcy. For a variety of reasons the churches homes for the elderly are now in debt to the tune of 22 million dollars, losing \$500,000.00 every two months. The only hard assets now left is church property itself. This situation came about as a result of lax state laws as to how much liquid assets should be available, poor church management, spiraling costs for care, etc. Staff will be cut back, programs will be cut back, fundraising campaigns have been launched, and every drop of energy and time on the part of the hierarchy will be given to saving the Conference. This will not affect AJC's programming with the Methodists but it won't help anything, either.
2. To a lesser extent the Episcopalians are in trouble, financially and organizationally. For a long time they have been trying to get their act together as far as having responsive channels of communication. The Bishop is now in court as you know, because three of his most powerful ministers have walked out of the church over the recent national position on the role of women. The argument is who owns the property. These three churches run by these three priests are wealthy. Unfortunately for AJC the fair-haired boy is Oliver Garver, who has had excellent administrative and fiscal training.

3. The Presbyterians have never recovered financially or organizationally since the Angela Davis debacle some years ago when the Synod gave \$10,000 to the Davis defense. As you may recall several churches within the Synod walked out and formed a new group. But what was worse, from another point of view, was that the Synod was weakened and the Presbyteries became the real source of centralized power, if there is such a thing in the Presbyterian world. Even in my own work I experienced the autonomy of the individual congregations, they - more than any other - are jealous of their prerogatives, and want to do their own thing. The Synod then, is in the position of asking, requesting, but there is very little mandating or telling from on high. This situation has been exacerbated from the social activists point of view ever since Carroll Schuster left some years ago and Wally Gibbs replaced him. Gibbs showed no interest whatever in any community problems, whether it was school desegregation, Presbyterian-Jewish relations, etc. Fortunately, the work was carried on by men committed to these issues, who had enough clout in their own right to move the Synod despite Gibbs. Now Gibbs has been forced to retire because of poor health and there's a mad scramble as to who will be the new Chief Executive. The Chief Executive, as you know, is not analogous to the Bishop. Interestingly enough, Priscilla Chaplin would love that job but I don't think that she will get it and I don't think that she thinks she is going to get it either, but I wish she would, for a lot of reasons.
4. The real ecumenical clout is exercised by a man that fortunately we are on close terms with. His name is Fred Register. He's the Chief Executive for the United Church of Christ and he has monthly breakfasts where the Bishops really do appear. Fred is always available by phone to use his name. What's harder is to get him to a meeting but we really don't need him as long as we can talk to him anytime about anything. The reason that I am mentioning this is because it's at these meetings that the future of the Southern California Council of Churches is being debated, which brings me to the next point.
5. The situation with the Southern California Council of Churches has worsened since I last reported it. The Methodists who have financed about 30 percent of the operation obviously are going to have to cut back. The Episcopalians have won a bitter fight for individual representation in the Interreligious Council because Harold Hultgren represents the Anglican branch of Espiscopalian thinking, and he wanted independent recognition and the Bishop gave him support; therefore, the Southern California Council of Churches people were left fairly powerless and simply acknowledged the request. I am sure

5. (Cont'd.):
that the Episcopalians, then, will have separate representation even though it grieves old timers like Carl Segerhammer, who is Bishop Emeritus of L.C.A. Priscilla says that the Council of Churches won't go under, probably because other ecumenical programs will have to be cut out, such as COMMIT and the Women's Caucus, which is an activist group, who want to do more than Churchwomen United are willing to do. The situation is touchy; I am not sure what the solution will be, but I don't have to tell you, Jim, that if the budget is \$17,000, the most the Southern California Council can be for us is a name, and if Priscilla leaves, which she might - I don't know what will happen.
6. Finally, I've got to tell you that there is also continuing and bitter dissention in the Lutheran world; this for two reasons: Bishop Burke, who replaced Carl, is not able to do anything but administer L.C.A. The reconciling efforts done by Carl Segerhammer are at a standstill, particularly when a man as powerful as Dr. Falde of the Missouri Synod speaks out as he does with a weak A.L.C. here in the Los Angeles area. Burke told Neil and me almost two years ago that any inter-faith effort coming from the Lutherans would come from Carl, and he was so right because he won't do anything, and Carl, because he is retired, just doesn't have the clout that he once had. This has led me to realize - and Neil and Alfred Wolf as well, of course, that the work must continue but we've got to become even more sophisticated and more patient in cultivating new relationships among individuals in all of the denominations who have the power because of their pulpits and because of the respect accorded them by central administration, weak as it is. We need the titles for statements but the day to day work is being increasingly deputized to an informal power structure that may not show up on a roster. One way for many to test this hypothesis is to convene a meeting with Rabbi Heller and Rabbi Wolf in early Fall on the question of proselytizing of Jews. We'll see who shows up and we will have some idea of how great our influence is. I know it's good with Soviet Jewry and I know it's receptive as far as reading material on Israel. I know it's good on local problems such as school desegregation. We'll find out just how far we can go on this most sensitive of subjects, i.e. proselytizing.

Over the summer I am going to make visits to Evangelicals, as I told you in my last memo. Please don't forget to send me

Page 4.

6. (continued)-

any contacts that you might have in New York. This is material I will need, as I look and think about this profile that I have hurriedly sketched for you.

Rita

AMERICAN JEWISH
RITA WEISSMAN
ARCHIVES

RW:eu

cc: Harold Applebaum
Neil Sandberg



WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA

110 MARYLAND AVENUE, N.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-8045

June 16, 1977

Dear *Rabbi Saronbaum*

Certainly many of us have been following with great interest the news reports of Rosalynn Carter's recent visit to seven Latin American nations. Her stress in speaking with government officials of each country on the democratic process and respect for human rights as an essential element of future U.S. foreign policy were especially noteworthy.

We feel that a meeting of church leaders with Rosalynn Carter to discuss her reactions to her recent visit could be very beneficial. Through such a meeting church leaders could manifest their preoccupation with the present situation of repression in Latin America to Mrs. Carter and some of her aides. This could both stimulate the present administration to keep faith with its commitment to human rights and give the administration the moral support of the churches. A secondary benefit would be any publicity such a meeting could generate to show U.S. church solidarity with the suffering peoples of Latin America.

If you are interested in such a meeting of church leaders with Mrs. Carter and wish to co-sign the official letter of invitation, please contact the Washington Office on Latin America.

The time and place of the meeting will be discussed with Mrs. Carter's office. It should take place within the next two weeks so please respond as soon as possible. Co-signers of the official invitation will be informed of the details.

Sincerely,

Joseph Eldridge

Joseph Eldridge
Director

To CRCs and Federations
 For your information
 Harold Applebaum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 17, 1977
to Area Directors and Executive Assistants
from George E. Gruen
subject Additional Themes for Interpreting Israel and Israel-U.S. Relations in the Post-Election Period

1. The Israeli people all place the highest priority on achieving peace. We should stress that the essential debate within Israel is not between "hawks" and "doves" but between pessimists and optimists regarding Arab intentions toward Israel and the prospects for achieving real peace. The pessimists point to the following developments as evidence that the claims of a new Arab "moderation" are unfounded:

- a. At the Palestine National Council meeting in Cairo in March, it once again publicly endorsed the PLO commitment to Israel's dissolution. Arafat does not seem able to control the "rejectionist" front, even if one believes those who claim he would like to do so.
- b. The Lebanese civil war has not been ended and Moslem-Christian and leftist-rightist clashes continue.
- c. There are still sharp inter-Arab rivalries, e.g. between Iraq and Syria and between Egypt and Libya. This raises questions as to how far the "moderates" can go without fear of attack or overthrow by the extremists, who remain dedicated to Israel's destruction. Even the "moderate" Sadat demands "every inch" of Sinai.
- d. The Arabs are unreliable allies. Sadat is seeking a rapprochement with the Soviet Union, and Assad maintains close military and political ties with Moscow.

2. We should stress those elements that underlie the "special relationship" of the United States with Israel and which have not been changed by the elections, e.g. the continued functioning of democratic institutions, the opposition to Soviet expansion in the Middle East, the Judeo-Christian heritage, the pioneering tradition, the striving for social justice.

3. This may be hard to do simultaneously, but to the business community we should emphasize Likud's greater emphasis on free enterprise, and worker productivity; to the labor community we should try to point out that Begin will not dismantle the social welfare institutions of Israel. What Likud and the Democratic Movement for Change (assuming it joins a coalition) want is to

make Israel's economy less bureaucratic and more productive and to curb inflation, which is the root cause of the strikes. This is not at variance with the true interests of the Israeli working man and woman. (We may want to wait until after the Histadrut election returns are in before elaborating on this theme.)

4. On the Palestinian question, I would not attack the principle of a Palestinian homeland. It is an emotional and humanitarian concept that draws support in the same way that the concept of a Jewish national home did in the earlier period. Our emphasis should be rather in pointing out the dangers and pitfalls of an isolated mini-Palestinian state on the West Bank, its likely irredentist and radical bent, and its basic inability to solve the Palestinian problem. (Most Palestinian refugees do not come from the West Bank or Gaza.) We should emphasize that even Sadat and Hussein have stressed the value of a Palestinian state being part of a larger federation or confederation with Jordan. It should also have continuing economic links with Israel, broadening the economic ties already developing in the "open bridges" to Jordan and the "good fence" with Lebanon. We should, however, avoid drawing borders.

We have a right to point out that a solution to the Palestinian question is to be negotiated between Israel and its neighbors. We should stick to our position, reiterated in our Annual Meeting Statement of May 15, 1977, that only those who are prepared to negotiate on the basis of the principles contained in Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 should be allowed to attend a Geneva peace conference. Menahem Begin has said that he accepts 242 and 338. The PLO does not. There is no need for us to get into speculation as to what would happen if the PLO did change its position. The point to stress is that it has not done so. Moreover, we should remind the world that from 1948 to 1967 the Arab states refused to set up an independent Palestinian state when it was they and not Israel that controlled the West Bank and Gaza Strip. (The PLO was created in 1964 to "liberate" Tel Aviv.)

5. Similarly we should not oppose the principle of compensation for property left behind by the Palestinian Arab refugees. We should insist, however, that Jewish refugee claims also be considered, and point out that the December 1948 UN General Assembly resolution that spoke of compensation for the refugees also set the general principle that all outstanding issues between Israel and the Arab states should be solved through negotiations leading to permanent peace. For over twenty years the Arab states adamantly refused to do so and that is why the question of refugee compensation was not resolved. Moreover, we should point out that the U.S. has in the UN consistently voted against Arab efforts to reinterpret and broaden the meaning of the earlier resolutions to give the Arab refugees an allegedly absolute "right" to return. The U.S. has also voted against recent General Assembly resolutions which shift the UN's approach from one of refugee rehabilitation to an endorsement of a political movement without regard to Israel's right to exist securely as a sovereign UN member.

6. Despite the change in government in Israel there is a broad national consensus on certain basic issues. After he met with President Ephraim Katzir on June 7, 1977, to accept his invitation to attempt to form a new government, Likud leader Menahem Begin stated the consensus as follows:

There are some things that unite all of us: that there should be no destructive Palestinian state in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip; that there should be no withdrawal to the pre-1967 borders or their approximation; and that the murderous PLO should not take part in any international negotiation of the dispute. (Emphasis added.)

The real dispute within Israel is whether the underlined adjectives reflect an inherent, immutable quality, or whether there is hope of devising conditions such as effective demilitarization, linkage to Jordan, etc. under which a Palestinian state would not be "destructive" to Israel, and whether a PLO that had given up its "murderous" commitment to Israel's destruction might somehow be brought into negotiations. While American Jews also differ in their views as to how realistic it is to expect such changes, there is a broad consensus that as long as the Palestinian leadership remain "murderous" and "destructive," neither Israel nor the United States should deal with them.

The American Role

7. There is also a broadly based consensus in both Israel and the American Jewish community that the United States should refrain from presenting a peace plan of its own and seeking to impose it upon the parties. Certain recent statements by President Carter and his advisers which expressed opinions as to the extent of territorial withdrawal, compensation, and a Palestinian homeland aroused fears in both Israel and the American Jewish community that the Carter administration was either consciously or inadvertently moving towards pushing an American peace plan. This would be contrary to the official position of the 1976 Democratic Party platform, repeatedly endorsed by Mr. Carter, that the United States would seek to bring about direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel and that the role of the United States should, in President Carter's words, be that of a "catalyst to bring about their ability to negotiate successfully with one another."

We should point out that public statements by American officials detailing U.S. views on the specific issues in dispute will inevitably have the effect of undermining the prospects of successful Arab-Israel negotiations for a lasting peace. The mere announcement

of an American position on a substantive issue is in itself a form of pressure on Israel since the Arabs see this as the maximum Israel can hope to get. Moreover, it plays into the hand of the Arab strategy, which is to convince the United States to pressure Israel into meeting Arab demands without the Arabs having to negotiate with Israel itself. Such a tactic is dangerous not only because it risks converting the Arab-Israel conflict into an American-Israeli confrontation, but also because an imposed settlement will not bring about a genuine peace of reconciliation, which President Carter himself has stressed is the only kind of Arab-Israel settlement that will be lasting.

GEG/ac

77-580-17

P.S. With regard to point 1.a. above, you may find useful a recent article "Where Have All the PLO 'Moderates' Gone," in the May-June 1977 ORT Reporter. This is an expanded and updated version of my memo to you of March 29.



June 21, 1977

back to our detailed studies of the involvement of Jews for Jesus and other so-called "Hebrew-Christian" groups in Key '73 testifies that each of these groups who have targeted the Jewish community as their primary object of proselytization do in fact engage in deception of Jews by manipulation of Jewish symbols, Jewish sacred objects, and fundamental Jewish beliefs. A few representative examples:

A) If you will look at the enclosed leaflet, "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman," issued by B'nai Yeshua of Stony Brook, N. Y., you will see that their leaflet was prepared by Jews for Jesus which identifies itself on this leaflet, and in most of their other recent missionary materials as "Jews for Jesus is a registered trademark of Hineni Ministries." Hineni (Hebrew for "Here I am," Abraham's response to God's call) is the official name of a Jewish Orthodox religious movement organized by Rebbetzin Jungreich. That movement, whose major purpose has been to promote Jewish education and deepened Jewish religious commitment among Jewish young people, has used that name for several years and has achieved credibility as an authentic institution of Jewish life. Moishe Rosen simply appropriated that undoubtedly to transfer to himself and to Jews for Jesus the public image of some kind of association with an authentic Jewish group. Is that not deceptive, in consequence if not in intention? I understand that Rebbetzin Jungreis' authentic Jewish-Hineni movement is suing Rosen's phony-Hineni movement.

If the FTC requires "fair packaging" so that consumers know beforehand exactly what they are buying, shouldn't Christians like Rosen observe at least minimal ethical standards in promoting their religious wares?

B) Enclosed is another leaflet from B'nai Yeshua, apparently also borrowed from Jews for Jesus. Again, to quote from the leaflet, "Hineni! Here Am I! It's a Highly Jewish thing to do," referring to apostasizing from Judaism to become Rosen's version of a Jew for Jesus. "Join us Jews for Jesus in crying Hineni!"

Rosen's leaflets and other literature is filled with acts of manipulation through the use of Hebrew words, Hebrew concepts, Hebrew quotations all of which emphasize that they are some new form of Judaism, and deemphasize that they are in fact fundamentalist Christians in disguise.

C) All the Hebrew-Christian movements are pushing Jewish calendars which are appropriations of authentic Jewish liturgical calendars, with photographs of Jewish saints, sages, and prophets. When I first saw their calendar, I thought it was one issued by the United Synagogue of America; only later does it creep up on you that this is a cleverly disguised proselytizing device. How do you think the Vatican and the Catholic Church would respond if the Hebrew-Christians were to publish a calendar of Catholic saints and priests and nuns, and then insinuate that Catholics needed to abandon their Church and become a member of this sect in order to be saved?

D) In recent months, Hebrew-Christian groups on Long Island where a substantial Jewish population resides, especially young Jews of college age, sponsored a "Havdalah" service marking the conclusion of the Jewish Sabbath. They also publicly announced and sponsored

June 21, 1977

a Purim service, which are authentic Jewish holy days and feasts and are not part of any normative Christian tradition. Similarly, they announce the sponsoring of Passover seder services, and hand out Haggadah (order of service) which communicate a single message to the Jewish public -- we are engaged in Jewish religious rituals and practices. Unknowing and innocent Jews, especially young Jews, come to these ostensible Jewish religious ceremonies, and before they know it, non-Jewish meanings are insinuated into Jewish sancta. What response can a believing Jew have to these deceptions other than one of moral offense?

E) Jews for Jesus and other Hebrew-Christians groups are seeking to infiltrate Synagogues and Jewish organizations, without identifying themselves in advance, and recently some Hebrew-Christians attended the weekend Shabbatons sponsored by the Lubavitcher movement. Rabbis who are colleagues and friends of mine in this area have told me of Hebrew-Christians who attend their Sabbath services and Torah study sessions wearing yarmulkas (which they bring with them) and tallit, prayer shawls, and on occasion destroy the spirit of the Jewish prayer or study session by having the effrontery to stand up and testify that the Jews in the room are doomed and will be saved only if they accept Christ. I wonder what the response would be if Jews were to return the "compliment" and were to start attending evangelical worship services, and at a high point of the service were to proclaim that Christians are heretics who abandoned the Torah given at Sinai, and could only be saved if they made a decision for Moses! (Actually, Jewish doctrine, thank God, asserts that Gentiles who observe the seven Noahide laws are assured a place in the world to come, and a Gentile who studies the word of God is equal to a High Priest in Israel. So Christians can be saved outside of the Synagogue.)

F) As you know, Hebrew-Christians missionaries are running institutes this summer using such names as "Shechinah '77". Shechinah is Hebrew for the "Divine Presence". It signifies holiness and the utmost sanctity to the Jews. The very use of those terms is an abuse of Jewish sensibility. Catholic nuns were outraged by "Nasty Habits"; we are scandalized that Jews for Jesus and others play cheap word games, trivialize, and abuse the holiest values and ideas of Judaism for their vulgar promotions. Do not Hebrew-Christians, and the evangelical Christians who support them, have a code of ethical behavior that requires that the means they use have some moral and ethical qualities in relation to the ends they seek, or do the ends justify any means? How does such an ideology differ then from the secularist ideologies of Communism and Fascism who also believe that their noble utopian ends of a classless or elitist society justify any means?

G) From the Contra Costa Times, 12/30/76: "The Liberating Wailing Wall, a mobile evangelistic team of Jews for Jesus...presents a rare type of music called 'Jewish Gospel,' which combines lyrics about Jesus with a Jewish sound." From the Dallas Times Herald, Nov. 27, 76: "Star of David signals mission aimed at Jews"...on and on and on. There just seems to be no limits, no ethical restraints whatsoever in how these people abuse Jewish sensibilities. And frankly, to me, it raises the basic question about the quality of religious commitment of these people.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 27, 1977

to DAVID GELLER
from SERGIO NUDELSTEJER

subject

Since some time ago, the Million Testaments Campaign, Inc. has begun a campaign flooding many Jewish homes with books of the "New Testament", and the Mexican Jewish community has been bothered with this campaign.

Many Jewish homes and offices have received "The New Testament" and other book titled "El Camino de Vida" ("The Way of Life") delivered in person by members of an organization of believers in Jesus the Messiah, in a missionary work trying to contain all the Jewish community.

As I could know, a man named Richard Mc Mullin is here in Mexico organizing this campaign, relying on the help of many Mexicans.

In a letter enclosed to the mentioned books they give the name and address of some organizations dedicated to diffuse the "Jesus thoughts" into the Jewish houses. The addresses of such organizations are the following:

Million Testaments Campaign, Inc.	Bat Sar Sharon
1211 Arch Street	Billinghurst 417
Philadelphia, Pa. 19107	Buenos Aires
U. S.	A. Argentine

Messianic Jewish Alliance of America	Compañerismo Hebreo-Cristiano
3841 West Lawrence	Campeche 162
Chicago, Illinois 60625	México 7, D.F.
U. S.	MEXICO

In recent conversations about this campaign with members of the Comité Central Israelita de México (Central Jewish Committee) and with Rabbi - Samuel S. Lerer of the Beth Israel Community Center, I have suggested them to take some measures that may prevent that representatives of this organization "Jews for Jesus" can distribute their propoganda into the Jewish institutions.

In many meetings of the Central Jewish Committee has been treated - this problem, according to prevent that representatives of this organization can surprise to members of the community and especially to youngsters. In addition to an appeal made to all those persons who has received these - books to return them back with a protest letter in name of their community.

(over)

David Geller
Second page
June 27, 1977

By his own way, Rabbi Samuel S. Lerer has sent a protest letter in the name of his community to the Billion Testaments Campaign, Inc. in Philadelphia. I enclosed to the present xerox copy of the mentioned letter

I want to mentioned that this "New Testament" has been edited in Spanish by the National Publishing Company in Philadelphia.

I shall appreciate your observations and comments about this matter; meanwhile, receive my best cordial regards.

Enc.

SNB/em

cc: Morris Fine
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum



WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA

110 MARYLAND AVENUE, N.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-8045

June 27, 1977

Mrs. Rosalynn Carter
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

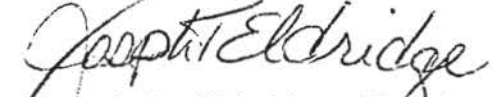
Dear Mrs. Carter:

We followed with great interest the news reports concerning your recent visit to Latin America as President Carter's personal representative. Your stress on the democratic process and respect for human rights as an essential element of United States foreign policy particularly drew our attention.

The co-signers of this letter are church and synagogue leaders, representing institutions with a long history of dedication and commitment to the peoples of Latin America. We each have members working in the countries you visited and in other countries in Latin America. We are profoundly disturbed by the present situation of repression now gripping the continent. Among those who have suffered, along with their Latin American brothers and sisters, have been priests, pastors, and other religious persons working for social justice and respect for human rights of all persons.

The Washington Office on Latin America is an organization which enjoys broad support from many of these religious groups. Working in Washington for several years, we have sought to assist the religious community to express its deep concern for human values throughout Latin America. We are hopeful that you will be able to arrange a meeting where you could share your valuable experience from your recent trip with representatives of these groups. We are acutely aware of your pressing schedule, but would appreciate your serious consideration of this request.

With warm regards,


Joseph T. Eldridge, Director
Washington Office on Latin America

JTE:hg

Enclosure: List of individuals and organizations which have indicated their interest

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 29

to Marc Tanenbaum -- cc. W. Katz, H. Applebaum, L. Alexander,
E. Dubow, M. Plax
from Robert Jacobvitz

subject Possible conference on Religious Roots in Human Rights, Louisville, Kentucky

On June 22, in a visit to Louisville, I was asked by Nancy Frank, a Chapter Board member, to meet with her and Father Raymond Treece, Executive Vice-President of Bellarmine College.

Father Treece it seemed was interested in having a yet to be defined conference in Louisville in spring, 1978, on a topic based on either religious or moral values.

As the meeting developed, Father Treece expressed a growing interest in holding possibly a one day conference or seminar on The Religious Roots of Human Rights (as they are presently being reflected by the current concern for international human rights eg. the Helsinki accord, etc.). He would like you to be the main speaker (I also suggested the possible use of Sister Ann as an additional speaker.).

Father Treece indicated that he wanted to involve not only other Catholic colleges in Louisville, but also the local Baptist and Presbyterian seminaries.

There was no discussion about the exact conference format or scheme.

Bellarmino has a conference center and printing facilities for all needed publicity. Father Treece did say that Bellarmine would be responsible for the costs of the conference and only asked that AJC pay your plane fare. He also said that the college could pay a small honorarium.

Of course, this is a most preliminary inquiry as to your interest and availability for such a conference.

Please share your thoughts with me, so I can get back to Father Treece and Mrs. Frank soon.

Regards,



Robert

RJ/kas



COPY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

June 29, 1977

Bellarmino College
Newburg Road
Louisville, Kentucky 40205

Dear Father Treece,

It was a sincere pleasure meeting you this past week.

I have written to Rabbi Tanenbaum describing our discussion and plans for a conference this coming spring. When I receive a reply from Rabbi Tanenbaum, I will be in contact with you.

Nancy Frank, as you well know, is a delightful person, and I am pleased to have her as an AJC Board member. Hopefully we will be working together again soon.

Sincerely,

Robert Jacobvitz
Area Director

b.c.: Plax, M. Tanenbaum, N. Frank

RJ/kas

M. Tanenbaum

COPY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations

165 EAST 56 TH STREET NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

PARIS OFFICE

30, rue La Boétie

Paris VIII^e

JUL 6 - 1977
July 1, 1977.

David Geller
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York - N.Y. 10022

Dear David:

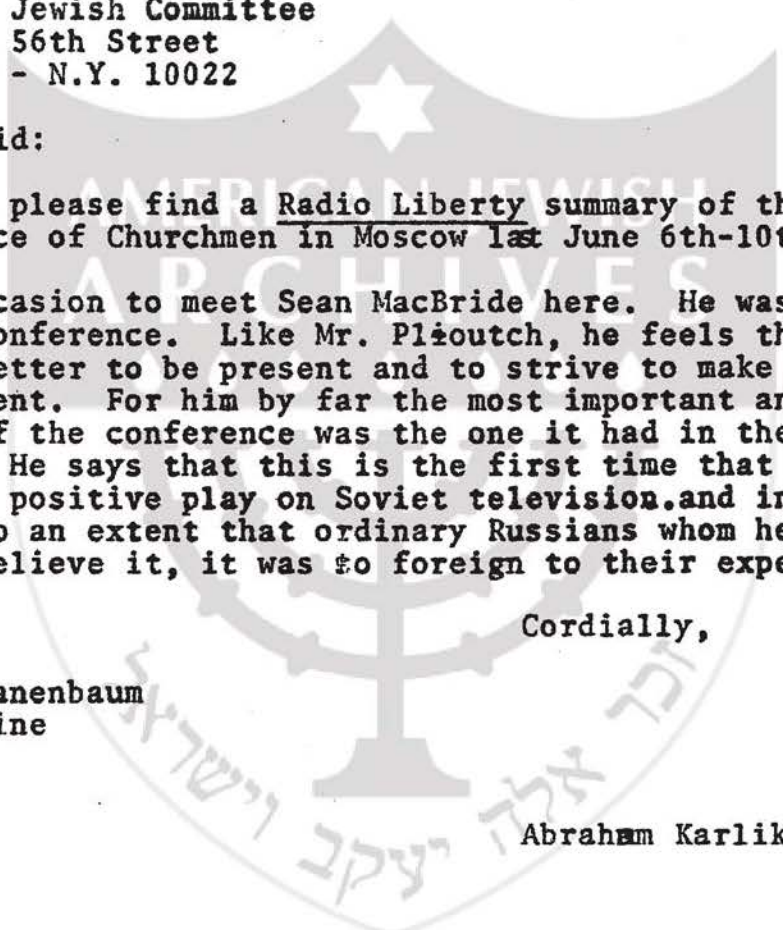
Enclosed please find a Radio Liberty summary of the World Conference of Churchmen in Moscow last June 6th-10th.

I had occasion to meet Sean MacBride here. He was present at the conference. Like Mr. Plioutch, he feels that it is always better to be present and to strive to make one's points than absent. For him by far the most important and interesting effect of the conference was the one it had in the Soviet Union itself. He says that this is the first time that religion got such positive play on Soviet television, and in the Soviet media, to an extent that ordinary Russians whom he met simply didn't believe it, it was so foreign to their experience.

Cordially,

cc: M. Tanenbaum
M. Fine

Abraham Karlikow



WORLD CONFERENCE OF CHURCHMEN

Before the preliminary session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) that began in Belgrade this week, a World Conference of Churchmen for a Durable Peace, Disarmament, and Just Relationships between Peoples took place in Moscow. Held from June 6 to June 10, the meeting in the Soviet capital was, according to TASS, attended by "some 700 delegates and guests from 107 countries"; a Reuter dispatch reported that "over 400 delegates from thirty-one countries participated in the Conference."¹

The idea of organizing the Conference of Churchmen was originally suggested by the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, Pimen, and found support among the representatives of churches and religious denominations of the Soviet Union who met in September, 1975, in the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius in Zagorsk (diocese of Moscow) to discuss "current aims of activities for cooperation among people of various religions in serving the cause of peace in the world."² An International Committee chaired by Metropolitan Juvenal (USSR) was formed to organize the Conference of Churchmen, and the Soviet press gave extensive coverage to the preparations for the meeting. Numerous articles were written on the subject, and a press conference for Soviet and foreign newsmen was held in Moscow to promote the undertaking.³

According to the advance statements of the organizers, the purpose of the Conference was to discuss the role of religious workers in securing peace and furthering disarmament. As it turned out, however, the Conference was used as a forum for condemnations of capitalism, colonialism, and Zionism and for boosting certain elements of Soviet foreign and domestic policy. For instance, a Russian Orthodox priest called for an international agreement renouncing a first use of nuclear weapons, a proposal that was put forward by the Warsaw Pact last year. A Polish theologian attacked Radio Free Europe, and an Indian Christian suggested that Third World guerilla movements should be supported.⁴ On the other hand, the representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Saint Albans, Dr. Robert Runcie, reported after his return to England that there were also speeches on human rights and even some that mentioned the imprisonment of believers in Eastern Europe.⁵

1. Cf. TASS, June 10, 1977; Reuter, June 9, 1977.
2. Golos Rodiny, October, 1975, p. 5.
3. TASS, April 1, 1976.
4. Reuter, June 9, 1977.
5. The Observer, June 13, 1977.

The Russian Orthodox Church played a special role at this conference. An Austrian newspaper reported that Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Pimen praised the Kremlin's foreign policy in his opening speech to the gathering and that some parts of the Patriarch's speech echoed ideas that have been put forward by CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. The Patriarch referred, for example, to the reunification of Vietnam and the changes that have taken place in Angola and Mozambique as positive results; at the same time, he criticized the exploitation of the Third World by Imperialists, whom he said practiced interference in the internal affairs of these countries.⁶

The participants in the Conference addressed a message to their governments proposing the convocation of a World Disarmament Conference and expressing satisfaction with the negotiations in Vienna on mutual force reductions (MFR). They also recommended that the governments of the USA and the USSR continue negotiations on strategic arms limitation. In addition, the message called for the dismantling of foreign military bases, the conclusion of nonaggression pacts, and the creation of zones free of mass destruction weapons.⁷ The message confirmed the right of peoples to fight against Fascist dictatorial régimes and urged governments not to support Fascist and racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.⁸

During the Conference, which reflected a remarkable unity of religious and political sentiments on the part of persons of diverse faiths from widely different countries, only a single voice was raised in discord. A foreign correspondent in Moscow reported:

Shortly before the start of the Conference, Orthodox priest Gleb Yakunin, who heads a group of dissidents monitoring the treatment of believers in the Soviet Union, accused the Kremlin of repressing religion. In an Appeal to the delegates, Father Yakunin called for the release of Baptist Georgii Vins and other religious workers, who, he said, had been jailed for their beliefs.⁹

Yakunin's remarks contrast markedly with official Soviet statements made in connection with the World Conference of Churchmen to the effect that "there is neither division of citizens by religion, nor persecution for religious convictions. Believers are citizens of the Soviet state enjoying all rights."¹⁰ (OA)

6. Die Presse, June 8, 1977.

7. TASS, June 10, 1977.

8. Ibid.

9. Reuter, June 9, 1977.

10. TASS, in English, May 30, 1977.

July 1, 1977

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Marc:

Thank you for participating in the meetings convened to explore the usefulness of some kind of follow-up to the 1974 Aspen Interreligious Consultation. This was a shorthand billing for an informal discussion of wider ranging and more fundamental questions, including notably:

- a) Are we in the United States and elsewhere approaching an "open moment" during which it might be possible to mobilize the "will" for an effective address of the worst aspects of global poverty within the coming generation, i.e., by the year 2000?
- b) If so, is there a special role for religious groups in determining the response at this time in history?
- c) Is there a special role for interfaith cooperation at this open moment?
- d) What special efforts might be required, including local, regional, and national consultations?
- e) What particularly useful contribution, if any, might ODC add at this time?

Our discussions provided a useful opportunity to explore these issues and to share information and insights about ongoing programs related to global justice in the nation's churches and synagogues. They also provided a chance to consider ways that the various religious groups and organizations might coordinate their actions in the area of basic human needs and human rights.

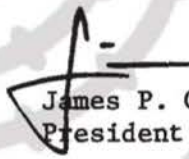
Discussions at both the June 21st meeting in New York and the June 28th meeting in Washington seemed to indicate that this may indeed be a propitious moment to embark on some cooperative interreligious effort, but the nature, timing, and thrust of that activity still needs some defining. Several people at both meetings underscored the importance of moving beyond the hunger issue to a direct examination and confrontation of the structural issues both domestic and international, which contribute to the situation of poverty and injustice in the world, and to "grounding" these discussions in Biblical truths which draw the various faith groups together.

Moreover, the focus of any activity should be action, not merely "statements of concern."

In response to these concerns it was decided at the Washington meeting that three people - Bryan Hehir of the U.S. Catholic Conference, Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee, and Gene Stockwell of the National Council of Churches, would further explore these issues both formally and informally within their respective institutions and related organizations and get back to one another no later than July 15th with some decision as to the "next steps" that might be taken to plan an interreligious effort on global justice and basic human needs. If you have any additional thoughts on the subject please do not hesitate to contact Bryan, Marc, or Gene to share your ideas. Equally as important, it was decided that any such program or coordinated effort must be "owned" by the interreligious community itself in order to be both legitimate and effective in rallying congregants on these issues. Any effort should definitely be integrated with ongoing programs at the same time that it seeks to expand the horizons and involvement of people in these programs. We, at ODC, feel this is a very good decision. At this point, I feel we have met our initial mandate to convene two exploratory meetings and now leave the details of such an interreligious effort in your hands. We remain willing to assist you in any way that we can and look forward to working with you in the coming months.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,



James P. Grant
President

Enclosure



LIST OF PARTICIPANTS IN TWO EXPLORATORY MEETINGS

New York, June 21, 1977
Washington, June 28, 1977

New York, June 21st

Rabbi Ben Zion Bokser
Synagogue Council of America

Jerald Ciekot
World Hunger and Development Project

Stephen Coats
Bread for the World

James P. Grant
Overseas Development Council

Rev. Boyd Lowry
Church World Service

Sister Annette Mulry
Maryknoll Sisters

Claire Randall
National Council of Churches

Ronald Sider
Messiah College

Eugene Stockwell
National Council of Churches

Lucius Walker, Jr.
National Council of Churches

Jayne Millar Wood
Overseas Development Council

Washington, June 28th

Jane Blewett
Center of Concern

James P. Grant
Overseas Development Council

Rev. J. Bryan Hehir
U.S. Catholic Conference

Peter Henriot
Center of Concern

George Johnson
Institute for Jewish Policy Studies

Buff Main
Interreligious Task Force on
U.S. Food Policy

Martin M. McLaughlin
Overseas Development Council

Wes Michaelson
Sojourners

Larry Minear
Church World Service/
Lutheran World Relief

John W. Sewell
Overseas Development Council

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee

Patricia Young
Church Women United

Phone 866 2214.
210 W 101st St
NY City 10025
apt 5F

1)

July 9, 1977
Dear S. Fajenbaum:

I followed thru starting with June 27, 1977 when I had the privilege to meet Rabbi Trainin who was gracious and helpful. He promised to help me with some cash to ship my things (nothing materialized). He made an appointment for me with Mr. Miller at 28 E 21 on June 30, who turned me over to Mr. Harry Stone of the same address, who in turn turned me over to Mr. Harry Gold of the Federation Employment and Guiding Service at 215 Park Ave So, on July 7 who in turn told me that my case is unusually difficult. It all ended in successful failures. Rabbi Trainin is away on vacation. Just as with my Ticket to Israel, my local financial situation is at a total standstill the last few months. I had hoped to get some rent subsidy but this too ended in successful failure. The city housing authority told me that I am entitled

2)

to get \$150 a month if I lived alone but since I live with another family I get nothing. I tried to explain that at my age of 80 next July 15, I can't make my own bed or sweep because I have a bad back from my Rumanian accident, also the woman does my cooking and washing for 200 dollars a month. My social security is 232.10. My next alternative is to move out into another apartment where ^{according to the law} I cannot pay more than \$226 a month including gas and electricity. I wonder where I could find such an apartment, except in Harlem. I am very glad that I started this research to convince myself once and for all time before I was actually penniless (at present after I will meet my immediate plans and necessities I will be) that there must be another way - not the way we started in order to get help not only financially but also with my archive

3)

cataloguing and shipping it to
Yad Vashem, getting a ticket to
Israel, moving there permanently
thereby saving at least 50 dollars
a week on Tifa activities (stamps, carfare
Zero, phone calls stationary etc etc
and ^{not} living a little). I am convinced that
by leaving NYC the Tifa Case will
be deserted and will disappear with Tifa
laughing at the jaws. I am sure that if I
would not have notified you, ADL, Holzner
Silberg etc etc (indirectly Carter Bell Lipschutz
etc etc) Pau Tieu & Woods would not have
gotten the money to travel. Today I obtained
for Pau Tieu a Romanian Lawyer, now in
NYC who is willing to go all over in Romania
with Pau Tieu to search witnesses and docu-
mentation. He knows exactly where they are.
He will be in Romania from Aug 4 to ~~Aug~~ Sept
4th, gave me his Bucharest Phone number
and address ^{without} ~~with~~ any charge he will help

4

Vau Trein was thrilled and happy when I told him today
If I would get a free ticket. Vau Trein
is willing and ready to go first to
Israel where I would be with him
all the time, guiding him, introducing
him for I lived 2 years in Israel.
Every day I phone Mr Uri Ben Ari and he
gives me a new answer: I sent 2 cables
to Itzhak Arad in Gad Nashem and I am
waiting for an answer. I have sent 2 cables tonight.
I will have to decide very soon what to
do - my money is running out, I need
help to catalogue the archives and library
(I am convinced that the Federation could hire
(2 dollars an hour) a few college boys or high
school boys and they can do the work.
I will buy my self a ticket, ship the
things to Israel. But before I do this since
the establishment can't take care of my
immediate needs, I will sell whatever I have
and will contact the J. D. L. and
Rabbi Kahane. They will send me

boys to help me ^{to} catalogue ^{to} pack
 and Rabbi Kahane will find me
 a place in Israel. How well I recall
 when I could not get any help, when the
 Trifa Trial started in May 1975. I did
 not go to the A.S.C. (this was my mistake)
 I went instead to the A.D.L. Kahane
 had arranged 400 students to demonstrate
 in Detroit on the day the trial was to begin.
 He had printed an article in the Jewish
 News and when A.D.L. found out about it
 they phoned me and asked me to inter-
 vene to Kahane not to go because they
 will help. I contacted Rabbi Kahane
 to disregard this action. Believe me that
 if I knew then what I know now I
 would have encouraged him to demonstrate.
 I found out 6 months later that because
 Trifa's action is a civil one it is
~~OK~~ to demonstrate because he could not
 say in a civil case that he is being

tried by the media

I wish to see Trifa brought to trial, the trial started in the fall I would like to be here and help but it seems to me that God wills it differently. With 233,10 S-S income I can live well in Israel while here I can not exist and I cannot wait until I have to go on relief. I have tried everything. I intend when I will be far away from NYC. I shall write a pamphlet about the Jewish Establishment. My present dignity ^{FORBIDS} ~~forbids~~ me. I am no coward to face the music. I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for having troubled you with my problems. Sorry you are not here to tell you many other things. It is a disgrace that such a rich Community cannot help me to live in dignity and do my work offering me a grant ^{I am willing to work.} What has Will love in Zion and Shalom ^{to work.} ~~quest with Mr. Charles Silver meeting?~~ I Charles H. Kremer — Please answer.

Catholics, Protestants Attend 'Landmark' Meet

By RICHARD W. DAW

KANSAS CITY, Mo. (NC)—Thousands of charismatics from various churches gathered in Kansas City July 20-24 for an ecumenical conference described by its organizers as a landmark in the move toward Christian unity.

THE GATHERING, the 1977 Conference on Charismatic Renewal in the Christian Churches, brought together for the first time at this type of meeting members of widely differing traditions.

In addition to the predominant group of Roman Catholics, there were Baptists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Mennonites, Pentecostals, Presbyterians, non-denominational Protestants, United Methodists, Messianic Jews and scatterings of others.

Catholics and non-denominational Protestants made up the largest groups. Almost half those attending were Catholics. About 30 per cent were non-denominational Protestants.

CONFERENCE officials said about 50,000 people would participate in the event, and 45,000 gathered in Arrowhead Stadium Wednesday night (July 20) for the opening session.

While recognizing theological differences, conference leaders repeatedly struck a theme of unity.

The opening night crowd roared with applause when the keynote speaker, Dr. Kevin Ranaghan, told them: "Unity is a here and now reality."

Ranaghan is director of the nation-

al communications office of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal of the United States, South Bend, Ind.

"IN MANY significant ways, we are still a divided people," Ranaghan said. But he added "it is the will of God that we be one."

Calling the existing division among Christians "a serious scandal," Ranaghan said the charismatic renewal is serving to bring about unity.

"I believe the Holy Spirit brought us together in Kansas City to witness to the fact that this tremendous renewal is going on among us," he said. He said the gathering should serve "as a witness to our churches."

"It is not we who are challenging the churches," he said. "It is the Holy Spirit who is challenging the churches to let the Spirit have His way, and reform, and rebuild, and renew the body of Christ."

EARLIER IN the opening night program Bishop Joseph McKinney, auxiliary of Grand Rapids, Mich., had prayed that the conference would further Jesus' prayer that all might be one.

He referred to the gathering as "a new moment for God's kingdom."

Bishop McKinney is episcopal advisor to the national service committee of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal of the United States.

Ranaghan and other conference leaders said at a news conference before the opening session that they had seen great progress toward

unity as a result of the charismatic renewal.

"WE HAVEN'T solved all the theological differences, but our approach is unique," said the Rev. Larry Christenson, chairman of Lutheran Charismatic Renewal Services, San Pedro, Calif. He said the unique approach is that it is a grassroots movement in which "trust and love for one another" precedes theological discussion.

"We agree on the more important thing: that Jesus Christ is Lord."

Dr. Vinson Synan, General secretary of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, Oklahoma City, said the conference could serve as a catalyst for greater co-operation in local areas. He said what's happening "is a de facto unity ... no one can stop it."

The Rev. Robert H. Hawn, executive secretary of the Episcopal Charismatic Fellowship, Winter Park, Fla., said he is convinced that "intellectualism and rationalization alone" cannot bring unity. "Unity can come only through the action of the Holy Spirit," he said. "The Spirit can bring about what man could never do."

SYNAN LATER told the Arrowhead Stadium crowd that a gathering such as this "is a miracle."

Referring to the growth of the charismatic renewal in the Catholic Church and to the fact that almost half those present in the stadium were Catholics, Synan declared: "Of all the things God has done in this century, that's the most surprising to me."

ACK-FVI

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 8, 1977

to Marc Tanenbaum

from Mort Yarmon

subject

The attached seems to warrant some response, no?



Voice of the People

Writers should be as concise as possible. Give full names and addresses. Manuscripts are not returned. Space is limited; the right to condense letters is reserved. Address letters to Voice of the People, The Tribune, Chicago, Ill. 60611.

CHICAGO
TRIBUNE

8/9/77

Vatican envoy 'unfair'

HARVEY—I'm disappointed President Carter appointed a personal envoy to the Vatican. It's unfair to the over 250 other religions in the U. S. President Truman stopped the practice when he met with heavy opposition. Perhaps if enough people write to the White House protesting this action, it will again be stopped.
G. Nicolai

AMERICAN JEWISH
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ישראל

is, analysis, diverse opinion

Von Hoffman *CHICAGO*
TRIBUNE
8/9/77
**Catholic school plea
will fail**

By Nicholas von Hoffman

WASHINGTON—The Vatican's Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education recently issued a statement calling for government money for parochial schools. The request will go unheeded in the United States because there aren't enough pro-Catholic school voters to convince the Supreme Court a subsidy would not be unconstitutional.

The Constitution prohibits any law tending toward the establishment of religion, but no possibility exists of that coming to pass. America's 18th Century political thinkers had a precise definition of what constituted an established church, a definition which came from the miserable religious feudings of the previous two centuries. The closest we'll get to reliving the confessional atrocities of Bloody Mary or Charles I is the insertion of the phrase "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance.

In actuality, of course, Catholic schools do receive some state aid. They are tax-exempt and certain minor amounts of public money are licitly spent on Catholic school children. Why it should be constitutional to make such schools tax-exempt but unconstitutional to pay for the oil to heat them has never been satisfactorily explained. The realistic conclusion is that the constitu-

The failure of American Catholic education is that it has made its students socially docile and political conventional persons who bear a depressing resemblance to everyone else.

tional argument is a convenient one for judges and other pols to hide behind when being implored by churchmen for money and threatened by anti-churchmen if they dare give it.

THE VATICAN says that church schools ought to be helped "in the face of materialism, pragmatism and the technocracy of contemporary society." According to Rome, parochial education is alive with "those who are building a new world—one which is freed from a hedonistic mentality and from the efficiency syndrome of modern consumer society."

Any school system dedicated to imparting such values is worthy of support. But by their fruits you shall know them, and the products of Catholic education in the United States seem as enslaved to hedonism and the efficiency syndrome as Jews, Baptists, and pagans. The failure of the American Catholic education is that it has made its students socially docile and politically conventional persons who, far from being models the rest of us can look up to, bear a depressing resemblance to everyone else.

How many Catholic bishops' names come to mind when one thinks of the ecology movement or any of the many other efforts being made to combat the "materialism, pragmatism, and the technocracy of a contemporary society"? Only America's chiropractors are a more pedestrian group.

THERE ARE church schools in this country that do strive, in their own peculiar ways, to do what the Vatican wishes Catholic schools would do. The most notable are the Amish, the ancient Anabaptist sect which doesn't believe in buttons on their clothes or motor cars. For decades they've been resisting the pressure to have their children schooled like everybody else and have gotten precious little help from the Catholic hierarchy or religious muckety-mucks of other flavors.

Hence the first objection to giving money isn't constitutional, but skepticism as to what we're likely to get in return. What we can hope to get back is a small measure of diversity.

One of the objections which can be made to public education is that it is mainly designed to convert human beings into lock-stepped robots for the labor force. From Horace Mann forward, its use and necessity has been explained and advocated as a means of homogenizing and training personnel to be components of a social system. The effort hasn't been entirely successful. A certain number of recalcitrant young blacks and other similarly situated youths persist in throwing spitballs, but most kids conform to the shape of the school system's cookie cutter.

THE OBTVERSE side of the problem is whether the government can bring itself to give money to church-related schools without demanding the recipients adhere to Health, Education, and Welfare guidelines. The whole point in granting the subsidies is the hope the schools will be different, although not necessarily better, academically. There are more expeditious ways of pulling up the kids' reading achievement scores than passing out dough to church schools.

In the past, American cultural institutions have been hostile to most forms of diversity. Under the gun of the '60s, money was allotted to bilingual programs for Hispanics and African study projects for blacks. The tradition, though, has been to fear that from diversity comes disunion, and it is that, more than the 1st Amendment, that will keep the church schools from getting money.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 11, 1977
to Members of the Domestic Affairs Commission
from Sholom D. Comay
subject DAC Meeting - September 8, 1977

Dear DAC Member:

The looting and burning which followed the New York City black-out serve to remind us that the "urban crisis" continues as a principal national problem. At our DAC meeting on September 8th we will consider some of the elements of the continuing crises of our cities and our present and future responses to them. In particular I have asked Haskell Lazere, our New York Director, to report on the emergency services which he established at City Hall to assist merchants who were affected by the riot. Your guidance will be asked regarding a series of staff proposals for programs responsive to the urban predicament.

You will remember that at our Annual Meeting dinner we were addressed by a representative of the U.S. Catholic Conference Migration & Refugee Services, who urged our support for legislation which would legalize the status of "undocumented" (illegal) aliens. This issue is one of major complexity (see the attached clippings), particularly in view of our own historic commitment to compassionate immigration policies. Our task will be to recommend to the Board of Governors whether AJC should take a position on this matter and, if so, what that position should be.

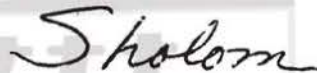
The question of how to most effectively respond to overt anti-Semites has long been with us. This was highlighted by recent efforts by neo-nazis to demonstrate in a section of Skokie, Ill. which was heavily populated by holocaust survivors. Emotions were high, first amendment debates were numerous and some Jewish leaders divided on how to respond most effectively. We were involved and our experience indicates the need for us to review AJC policy and guidelines for the treatment of such events. I have asked staff to prepare material for our consideration. We might also ponder the national (and international) danger of far-right extremism.

(over)

Finally, we are pleased to announce that our amicus brief in the Bakke Case has been completed and submitted to the U.S. Supreme Court. Following your instructions and those of the Board of Governors this brief enlarges on the pro affirmative action position we took on the DeFunis case while still arguing strongly against the use of quotas to overcome disadvantages of race, creed, color, national origin and sex. The brief is submitted by two Jewish organizations and six ethnic groups. Details will be reported upon at our meeting, as well as a proposed letter from AJC to President Carter.

This will be my first meeting as your new chairman. I look forward to greeting you all on September 8th. We will start at 5PM, take a dinner break at 6:15PM and adjourn at 8:30PM. If for any reason you cannot be with us but would like to have your views reflected please write to me at our headquarters address or speak to our director, Seymour Samet.

Sincerely,



Sholom D. Comay, Chairman
Domestic Affairs Commission

Atts.
SDC/sso

77-600-59



THE NEW YORK
TIMES
August 5, 1977

The Illegal Alien Tangle

By James Reston

WASHINGTON—The Carter Administration has finally produced a compromise plan to stem the flow of illegal aliens into the United States, but it lacks the two elements essential to an effective solution to this increasingly serious problem.

These are provisions for non-counterfeitable identity cards or work permits, and criminal penalties for employers who hire illegals. James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee agreed to civil penalties up to \$1,000 for offending employers, as did Attorney General Griffen Bell and Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall, but all three persuaded the President to reject the labor unions' recommendation of criminal penalties.

At the same time, the Cabinet committee on immigration policy reform refused to support the issuance of fool-proof national identity cards on the grounds that they would cost too much—the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare estimated the price at \$500 million—and also that such cards might violate the civil liberties of aliens and citizens alike.

All officials concerned agreed that jobs were the magnet attracting the aliens to this country—by official estimate they now outnumber the unemployed—but they could only agree on compromises which are almost impossible to administer and might actually increase the flow of aliens and their families.

For example, illegal or undocumented aliens who have been in this country since Jan. 1, 1970, would

WASHINGTON

be given the status of "permanent resident alien" with the right to work, benefit from welfare and other social services, and bring their families to the United States. But nobody knows how many would be in this category, or how the Government could prove that an alien had not been here before 1970.

Leonel J. Castillo, the new head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, estimates that there are about half a million aliens who have been here illegally since the 1960's. They would be allowed to bring in their mothers, fathers, spouses and children.

Mr. Castillo also thinks there are between 2.5 million and 5 million now here who have arrived since 1970 but before Jan. 1, 1977. These would be given the status of "temporary resident alien" with the right to a five-year work permit, but the truth is that nobody knows how many illegals are in the country or how many new aliens might come in under the Carter Plan.

There are other serious questions: ¶Will the announcement of these proposals encourage a new flood of illegals in the months before the Carter Plan can be passed—estimated at sometime next spring?

¶Will the "substantially" increased border patrol be able to police a Mexican border of over 2,000 miles and also deal with the illegal traffic from the Caribbean?

¶Though the status of illegals who entered the United States this year will remain unchanged, who is going to find them?

¶Mr. Castillo said it is likely that the courts will be flooded with appeals by aliens for a change of status or a review of the facts of their time of entry—a process that could take years. How will the courts handle these cases?

In short, this is probably the most complicated human and political problem before the nation today, for it touches not only millions of lives, but social concerns such as the cost of welfare and Social Security, and the rate of unemployment.

Not since the 1930's has any Administration worked harder than this one to get control of this problem. But the issue has been neglected for so long that many powerful interests, not only on the land but in industry and service occupations, have come to rely on alien labor and even to exploit it by paying lower wages.

Accordingly, there is considerable political pressure both for and against the Carter Plan and it raises some interesting questions for future elections. For example, the two major political parties estimate that by the Presidential election of 1980, Spanish-speaking Americans may very well outnumber blacks.

In presenting his message to the Congress, President Carter said that his program would "help markedly reduce the increasing flow of undocumented aliens in this country and to regulate the presence of the millions of undocumented aliens already here."

But these are precisely the points that are in dispute. For his program is definite about granting legal status to millions of illegals, but it is vague as to how employers are to know who is legal and who is not. And the penalties are not likely to deter many employers who have vast investments and often large savings involved in the illegal labor market.

Accordingly, there will be a major Congressional battle before this becomes law, pitting those who think the President has gone too far against those who believe that, without identity cards and criminal penalties, he has not gone far enough.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*

ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*

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TOM WICKER, *Associate Editor*

Coping With the Invisible Immigrants

Illegal alien: The words bring to mind a lonely wader in the Rio Grande, night flight from the sirens of the border patrol, stoop work in the lettuce fields. But reality has outdistanced the image. Ten percent of the population of Mexico is now in the United States unlawfully. Illegal aliens also fly from South America and the Caribbean to metropolitan airports. Pakistanis with Commonwealth passports arrive by ferry in Detroit. In New York City there may be as many as 350,000 illicit entrants from the Dominican Republic alone. The statistics are necessarily sketchy, but estimates of the total run from six to ten million, somewhere near the number of Americans unemployed — though unemployment would not vanish if the illegals all went home. Most of these immigrants work for substandard wages at jobs American workers usually disdain, but more than a million work at semiskilled pay levels.

The problem is not only economic but social. Illegal immigration is believed to be increasing at a rate of about a million entrants a year. The children of the present illegals may number 15 million in ten years, adding to the burdens of cities that have yet to adjust to the postwar immigration from the rural South.

The United States has admitted 3.5 million legal immigrants in the last ten years, and continues to take in about 350,000 annually. With the goal of holding all immigration to legal channels, a Cabinet group has recommended that President Carter adopt a program that includes increased manpower for border patrols, civil actions against employers who hire illegal aliens, and amnesty for some of the illegals already in the United States. Congress will take up the matter this month.

The migrants come to our country for one obvious reason: They are poor and the United States is rich. Unlike other industrial nations, we live close to poor countries and have long, undefended borders. Barbed wire and searchlights are repugnant to us; increased border patrols may increase the number of illegal migrants caught and deported—now 500,000 a year—but they cannot solve the problem.

Some of the aliens want to earn money and return home; others seek to stay. The Carter Cabinet group recommended amnesty for those "with an equity in the society"—for example, people who have worked here for five years with good records. While amnesty would avoid the international tension of mass deportations, finding,

identifying and deporting all the illegal aliens already here would be almost impossible. Amnesty, in fact, would only increase the problem unless it is coordinated with new controls. And what of the majority of aliens, who do not seek citizenship? The Labor Department says simply that they remain a police problem.

The Carter Cabinet group also suggests efforts by the State Department to encourage the countries of origin to stem the flow of migrants. Economic aid and concessions to create jobs in the poor countries might help, but such moves would be resisted by organized labor if jobs were lost in the United States as a result.

Perhaps the most important recommendation of the Cabinet group was that employers be forced to stand watch on immigrants. A bill now before the House would prescribe fines and imprisonment for employers who hire illegal immigrants. The idea sounds just, but it invites discrimination against all Spanish-speaking workers unless the Government can create an identification system that distinguishes between the legal immigrant and the illegal.

One key to such a system would be a foolproof, forge-proof identification card. The Economic Development Council has proposed universal Social Security numbering at birth, with the numbers retired at death. Since Social Security numbers are already required for all jobs and bank accounts, this would impose no new burden or stigma. But this, too, is no immediate answer; the necessary data system would not be ready for years. Moreover, the prerequisite documents for acquiring numbers, such as birth certificates, can be faked.

Finally, an identification system could work only if forge-proof cards were issued to all Americans. This, in turn, would arouse fears that the "work card" might become a kind of internal passport, facilitating other restrictions. Obviously any national identity card carries unpleasant connotations and is not popular with Congress. But in fact, Social Security cards have never been known to restrict the civil liberties of Americans.

If not such a system, what then? Until now, the fast-growing problem of illegal aliens has been virtually ignored by the Federal Government. The true costs are just being recognized. At last, Cabinet departments have begun to discuss the matter and to consult each other. Those who reject their gradual approach must assume the burden of proposing an alternative.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 15, 1977
to Staff Cabinet
from Ira Silverman
subject Programming to Combat Arab Influence

In our efforts to combat the negative impact of increased Arab involvement in the United States (described in greater detail in my program strategy memo of June 22), we can use the following general means:

- 1) exposing Arab influence here so as to discredit it, as being inconsistent with American values and traditions of fair practice;
- 2) undermining this influence by discrediting various aspects of the Arab world behind it, such as the widespread oppression of minorities and women within the Arab world;
- 3) gaining the understanding and sympathy of the leadership of key sectors of American life which are the target of Arab influence -- business, universities, churches -- so as to make them less responsive to it;
- 4) combatting actual violations of American law and standards of fair practice, through public exposure, protest, litigation, etc.;
- 5) more marginally, developing understanding among some Arab-Americans of Israeli or Jewish positions, through dialogue with Arab-American groups and use of the pro-Israel sympathies expressed by some Christian Arab-Americans in the wake of the 1976 Lebanon war.

Over the next 18 months, the steps which I believe we can usefully take to implement these objectives include:

I. Information/Public Relations

- A. Staff and chapter education. Distribution of selected materials about the Arab world, Arab involvement in the U.S., the Arab boycott, Arab-Americans, etc.

Over --

- B. Stimulation and distribution of articles. By meeting with journalists, writers and scholars, we will try to generate articles on aspects of the subject, and reprint and distribute them widely, using chapter assistance.
- C. Newsletter on Arab influence. We will issue a bimonthly newsletter to bring AJC membership and other key recipients, including media, up to date on problems and cases of Arab influence.

II. Monitoring/Opinion Research

- A. Monitoring will entail the systematic development of locally-based chapter committees and the expansion of the national Trends Analyses Division in order to track more effectively the increase in Arab influence, through monitoring of local media and other information sources.
- B. Opinion research will entail the use of public opinion polling to assess more fairly the actual impact of the evident increase in Arab involvement in this country.

III. Business

- A. Promotion of compliance with anti-boycott laws.
 - 1) working on Commerce Department rules and regulations
 - 2) issuing updated brochures on the boycott and anti-boycott legislation
 - 3) serving as a watchdog over federal enforcement of the rules and regulations
- B. Foreign investment
 - 1) a national study of Arab investment in the U.S.
 - 2) promotion of federal legislation to monitor and selectively limit foreign investment
- C. Business cooperation

Local AJC chapter committees will liaison with top business leadership in their regions (especially in Fortune-500 type corporations in selected industries, such as construction or petrochemical) to gain information about their contracts and trade

with the Arab world, their knowledge of Arab investment here, their practices with respect to the hiring and assignment of Jewish employees, their dealings with Israel, etc. Beyond gaining information, these contacts could sensitize these companies to our concerns and yield positive steps taken to avoid even the appearance of unfair practice.

IV. Universities

- A. Assessment. A national study on the extent and nature of Arab influence on American university campuses, focusing on university contracts with Arab countries, grants from Arab countries, Middle East Studies departments, faculty employment and deployment, Arab faculty and student groups, and Arab propaganda on campus.
- B. Development of guidelines for university practices in dealing with grants, contracts and other special programs with foreign countries and corporations.

V. Churches

- A. Assessment. Two studies will be conducted, one on Arab influence in American Christian churches and among American Christian clergy, and one on the Moslem population in the United States.
- B. Interfaith communication. Under the auspices of IAD and/or IPGI, we will attempt constructive communication with the leadership of some selected Arab-American Christian groups reported to be mildly sympathetic to Israel in the wake of the 1976 Lebanese war, to determine whether we may have grounds for mutual cooperation on some issues; attempts will also be made to test the potential utility of revived contacts ("dialogue"?) with Moslems in America.

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The American Jewish Committee

Date September 8, 1977

From: Inge Lederer Gibel

To: MARIE H. TAUBMAN

Wayne Cowan, the editor of Christianity and Crisis, has asked if I want to send him a brief response to the attached interview on Israel and the Middle East by Robert Lekachman from the Christianity and Crisis issue of August 15th. Although I plan no response, I thought you would find this most interesting and might not otherwise see it. There are several references to Committee and particularly Commentary.

Shana Tovah!

165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

The Middle East Conflict

Making Room for Reason

Robert Lekachman

A longtime concerned observer of Middle East issues here sets forth for the first time his analysis of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Robert Lekachman, a Contributing Editor, is Distinguished Professor of Economics at Lehman College, City University of New York. The author of a number of books, including Economists at Bay, Inflation and The Age of Keynes, Professor Lekachman has been a consultant to presidential candidates Robert F. Kennedy and Fred Harris, the Committee on Economic Development, the Ford Foundation and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. He serves on the editorial boards of Dissent, The New Leader, Civil Liberties Review and The Journal of Economic Issues, among others, and has contributed to Harper's, Atlantic, Encounter, The Nation, The New York Times, Washington Post, Columbia Law Review, Journal of Economic Literature and other periodicals. This interview was conducted by Wayne Cowan and Robert Hoyt.

We'll ask you to begin with some discussion of your interest in Israel and the issue of Soviet Jewry.

I suppose I should say to start with that my interest is political and civil libertarian and Jewish in approximately that combination. I never have been and am not now a fervent Jew, but I found myself increasingly moved by the condition of the Soviet Jews; when I was invited by Hans Morgenthau to join his Academic Committee on Soviet Jewry, I did so and have contributed a little to their work.

As far as Israel is concerned, I was never a Zionist, at least if one defines a Zionist as someone who believes that Jews have a religious claim to a biblical

homeland. I suppose that this nonZionism is a logical corollary of my general lack of formal religious attachment. Nevertheless, once more on political and Jewish grounds, the development of Israel has concerned me. I worry about some of the disturbing trends within Israel and yet by contrast with its neighbors, Israel is a democratic state. It is flawed, of course, by the semi-theocratic influence of the Orthodox faction on the state, but it is still a democratic society and a humanly appealing society. For these reasons, but with the Jewish intensification, I have found myself increasingly concerned with the condition of Israel. Organizationally I've worked with the American Jewish Congress, not very intensely, and I follow events quite closely.

Has there been a difference in the degree of your interest over time?

It is almost unanimous among Jews of all varieties that I have known that this interest has increased as the peril of Israel has become more intense.

I remember your saying something about the effect of the 1956 Suez incident.

Yes, that occurred while I was teaching at Barnard College and it is still vivid in memory. When the combined English/French/Israeli operation against Egypt began, almost universally it was condemned by moderates and liberals as a last gasp of imperialism. I remember going into the Barnard lunchroom the day after the operation began and being struck by the fact

that suddenly I was a minority of one. I thought the invasion was a splendid thing, and I realized that I was looking at it intuitively from an Israeli standpoint. Israel was pushing back its great declared enemy, Gamal Abdul Nasser. So I neglected the larger issue which agitated my friends and colleagues, the issue of the relationship between colonial powers and the developing countries, what we now call "Third World Powers." It strikes me that my reaction was banal and yet at the same time you have to feel it for yourself: Society, despite one's personal vainglory, defines the identity of its members, at least for the most part.

Discovery of Perspective

I suppose from that time forward I have become somewhat more self-consciously Jewish, more willing to admit that I look at problems partly from a Jewish standpoint. This is familiar enough in American society where Irish, Italians, many ethnic groups—Middle Eastern, Middle European, and so on—continue to define some issues at least out of an ethnic perspective—and blacks, of course. It was part of the wishful thinking of people like me prior to 1956 to think that we could look at issues entirely from a general humane perspective. We were clearly wrong. So now I admit to myself—and even to others—that I look at some issues, certainly Middle East issues, with a Jewish emphasis.

What was the impact of the 1967 war for you?

Another example of conflict between special concern and general principle. I am not a pacifist, but I deplore violence, and I dislike the organized form of violence which we call war. Yet at the same time I was utterly delighted at the swiftness of the Israeli victory and its apparently low cost. I was sorry about the casualties on both sides but the Israeli casualties concerned me far more than the much heavier Arab casualties.

I would add something else, though. Once this ethnic fervor diminished a bit, I hoped that the Israelis would then make a strong move toward peace from their new "position of strength," as people tiresomely say now. I think that was a lost opportunity. If Israel had said soon after the Six Day War, "In exchange for a genuine peace we will return the newly-occupied territories," almost certainly the Arabs would have rejected the offer. Nevertheless it would have been better for Israel in several ways, not just as public relations but as a mark of internal health. But that opportunity has been lost forever.

This may be a good point at which to ask for your critique of the position of CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS on Middle East issues.

August 15, 1977

I have been thinking about that because I value my association with C&C and have every expectation that it will continue, so you will pardon me if I do a little textual analysis, just to pin down the vague uneasiness that I have had from time to time. The June 27 issue of C&C contains a rather foolish assault on you by Jerome Bakst of the Anti-Defamation League. That's a tiresome sort of way of responding to well-meant analysis and I have no patience with it. But let me turn to your response. You were properly sharp in commenting on Mr. Bakst—though I am not so sure that he is a bully as that he is an organization man under great pressures. I suspect he is defending a position in which his own confidence is rapidly diminishing. But let me read you a little bit of your substantive comment:

I regret equally that the PLO will not recognize Israel, and that Israel will not deal with the PLO. I also equally deplore Palestinian attacks on Israeli civilians and Israeli bombing attacks on refugee camps. I am disappointed by the PLO's failure to amend its covenant; I'm even more disappointed by the Israeli policy of permitting/encouraging Jewish settlement on occupied Arab lands. I've stopped deploring the pre-'48 Irgun terrorism against the British and the Arabs but I go on deploring the inability of Mr. Bakst and others like him to recall the Irgun's role in history.

I'll tell you what disturbs me about that. It is the conspicuous adherence to the Anglo-Saxon tradition of balancing propositions on both sides. It is the sort of thing which in the past has occasionally gotten the English accused in tones of mounting exasperation either of fair-mindedness to the point of idiocy or of aggravated hypocrisy.

Why do I say this? Because the balances are wrong. The London *Economist*, not by any means a pro-Israeli journal, says in its current issue that obviously any movement toward the Palestinians, "cannot begin to be implemented until the Palestinians formally forego that part of their homeland which has been Israel's since 1948." The recognition by the PLO of the legitimacy of Israel is simply a precondition to conversation, it seems to me. It doesn't do to balance it with Israeli refusal to recognize the PLO.

Faulty Equations

As for comparing the Palestinian attacks on Israeli civilians and the Israeli bombing of refugee camps, the Israeli position, which I think has merit, is that these are mixed settlements of families and terrorist camps. Nor is it accurate to equate Irgun and Palestinian terrorism. I wouldn't have joined the Irgun if I had been in the place and time when it was operating, but take the two incidents which are

commonly cited by critics of the Irgun. On the bombing of the King David Hotel, the evidence is pretty clear that the British foolishly avoided a direct warning that there was going to be such a bombing. The Irgun claims it always gave such warnings. On the matter of the Deir Yassir incident, a book that has just come out by Dr. Bowyer Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, makes it clear that the operation was not designed as an atrocity. Now maybe this is a distinction without a difference, particularly if you are talking about the women and the small children who were slaughtered, but it bears thought because the ethic again was to warn the villagers and to leave a road open for them to depart, but it got messed up as combined military operations often do. It ended in a slaughter, no question.

In other words what I suggest is that the equations are too facile: Arab intransigence, Israeli intransigence, terrorists—at least in the past—on the Israeli side, terrorists in the present on the PLO side. That leads me to another point. You continue, and I am quoting once more:

Within the PLO there are some intelligent and sensible politicians, some loudmouth zealots, and some fanatics aware only of their grievances. Something similar can be said of the Israeli Knesset and the US Congress. Which group within the PLO will prevail depends heavily on which policy seems to work. . . .

Well, I wonder about that; clearly, there is indeed diversity in all three of the groups which are identified. But that again seems to me too complacent an analogy. The PLO may be beginning to move from its central focus on terrorism or, more politely, irregular military activity, but its failure to amend the covenant last March, which you properly deplored, implies that they haven't moved very far, at least publicly.

The parallelisms then lead to another set of political comparisons which are to me troublesome. In effect, what C&C argues is that peace in the Middle East is going to demand the return of all the territories occupied in 1967. Israelis are likely to say among other things that the pre-1967 boundaries were also unsatisfactory to the Arabs. Why do you think that we will have peace if we go back to those boundaries?

It's true that one can point to some cheerful signs: The preference of the Saudis for stabilization of the area, not out of love of the Israelis but out of a fear of radical movements in the Arab world; their pressure upon the Syrians and the Egyptians to move toward peace; the ambiguous position of Sadat. It looks as though there is movement on the Arab side and the opportunity should be seized, yes—but how? It seems to me that C&C is a little bit too ready to accept evidence of Arab moderation and discard the histor-

ical record of 30 years of unwillingness to accept even the original 1947 partition of Palestine.

Carter's original position was not a bad one, in my view, but it doesn't strike me as quite the same as C&C's. Let me describe what I sense to be the difference. What Carter was saying was this: If we take proper account of the history of conflict, distrust and hatred in the Middle East, then as the Israelis surrender territory there must be concrete steps in parallel taken by the principal Arab countries. That is to say, when pieces of land are surrendered the Arabs should do specific things. For one example, Israeli cargoes now pass through the Suez Canal, Israeli merchant ships might be allowed to pass through the Canal. In general, if we are going to persuade the Israelis that peace depends upon the return of the territories, we must say concretely to the Arabs that non-belligerency is not enough, that there is no assurance of peace in the area until what Henry Kissinger (I never thought I would be citing the man!) used to call the "structure of peace" is established. Kissinger used that term mostly in the context of Russian-American detente, and by it he meant increasing trade relationships, increasing movement of individuals, cultural groups and religious leaders back and forth between the countries, a movement toward more normal human relationships. Until very recently Sadat specifically denied this possibility for a generation. Now he has suggested a five-year transition period.

But you see the problem. From the Israeli standpoint the fear is that the land which is specific will be taken away but the peace which is a collection of intangibles will not be provided, not even intangible by intangible. I can understand and share that fear. If you reply that there is now not only the necessity of surrender of territory but also an opportunity for peace, I hesitate about the extent of the opportunity. I think C&C is too impatient. It is true that for quite a while the Israelis have been protected by Arab intransigence from the necessity of movement but C&C is a little bit unfair, perhaps a bit utopian, in expecting the Israelis to respond quickly to overtures which are ambiguous and fragile.

In all of this, I impugn nobody's good faith, nor am I all that confident of the utter accuracy of my own diagnosis. For that matter, I, too, believe the Israelis have to move. I think that Begin himself, intransigent as in many ways he is, has to recognize this. But speed? How long have the Arabs been reasonable or even presumptively reasonable? I am not quite sure how genuinely reasonable they are now.

When we first discussed this, you indicated that you felt pessimistic over the situation of Israel.

I think "pessimistic" is an understatement. I put it this way. The Israelis are as aware as any of us can be of the demography of the Middle East. They know that in the long run countries develop, technical skills improve and ability to operate sophisticated military equipment increases. Not forever, probably not even for another decade, can the Israelis count on the sophistication of an essentially Western society against a still mostly Oriental society. The 1973 war was traumatic from that standpoint because even though the Israeli army would have destroyed a large Egyptian force if the cease-fire had not occurred, still the Egyptians did perform a technical feat that no Israeli would have thought possible before the war—they crossed the Suez Canal. Fortunately for the Israelis, they didn't know what to do after that. But this can't be counted on, obviously, in the future.

Internal Pressures

Left-wing Israelis are worried about a couple of other demographic and political events within Israel. Right now, the Israelis, some three million of them, are in semi-colonial relationship with 600,000 Arabs in the occupied territories. The 500,000 Israeli Arabs who have full voting rights are becoming increasingly restive. The birth rates of the Arabs are essentially higher than of the Israelis. There is the danger from the Israeli standpoint that Israel will become a less and less Jewish state. There is an additional danger seen by the people on the left, with whom I am sympathetic, that the character of the state is being transformed for the worse by the experience of this colonial relationship with the Arabs of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and—though less so and more ambiguously—with the Israeli Arabs.

These are legitimate concerns, and yet, if one then says, "Good, why not give up the West Bank and Gaza which are 99 percent Arab, dispose of an internal problem, improve your situation with the world, assure yourself of Western support and make for a more viable Jewish state than Israel is turning into?" the predictable answer is, "You can't trust the Arabs." Sure, the conditions of modern warfare make it easy, even with the present borders, to hit Tel Aviv and Haifa, let alone Jerusalem, with modern weapons. At first blush that seems to mean that boundaries aren't important any longer. But there are wars and wars. There are wars of infiltration and wars of attrition, as well as terrorist attacks that start from bases near your territory. The further away the bases are, the better. If you are doing a war of attrition, better along the Suez Canal than ten miles from Tel Aviv. It is natural that the Israelis have not been willing to give up much territory. Even those of the left

have trepidation, though they are close to the C&C position. As for the Arab side, the moderate Arab states—moderate in the context of Arab politics, not necessarily moderate within an Anglo-Saxon/American context—may now be grudgingly willing to accept the existence of Israel. Suppose that you credit Sadat and Assad and Arafat with such a grudging acceptance. Who is to say that Sadat will remain in power? Given Syria's unstable history, it will be a miracle if Assad is around another seven years. Arafat? Who knows which faction in the PLO is going to be dominant? Hence it is terribly precarious to return to the old borders. Even if you accept that Israel is a small island in an Arab sea and that the situation is desperate in the long run, it makes no sense to increase its desperation in the short run.

Take the Arab view of the situation. Why should the Arabs settle for anything less than the return of everything taken in 1967 plus the creation of a separate Palestinian state, and give as little in return as possible? Their strength is growing and their affection for the Israelis is no greater than it ever was. The "moderate" Arabs appear willing to settle for a shrunken Israel, isolated as a pariah in the Middle East. That is not a very cheerful prospect, and it is hard to see how any Israeli government, whether run by the Labor alignment, by Yadin's new party or the actual Begin administration, could accept that sort of



settlement. The prospects for peace are dismal. A great gulf divides Arabs and Israelis still. The parties on the one side are too apprehensive, and those on the other too conscious of their own growing power in the world for any settlement to be achieved. And I omit one enormously relevant factor, the great power rivalry between Russia and the US—which is a further complication.

Has Prime Minister Begin's visit to Washington changed your assessment?

Begin's visit left the outlook for peace neither better nor worse. Carter and Begin apparently got along well as people or, what amounts politically to much the same thing, spread the word that amity reigned. For the moment Israeli and American policy on the negotiating status of the PLO coincides.

The crunch may come when or if the PLO so modifies its covenant as to concede the legitimacy of an independent Israel within some set of boundaries. Such a concession appears likely to mollify the State Department. The tone of Begin's comments implies that a great deal more will be required by his administration before Israel accepts the PLO as a negotiating partner. For obscure reasons, Mr. Carter declared himself encouraged and termed the prospect for a reconvened Geneva conference in the autumn improved. One hopes that he knows something the rest of the world does not.

Israel's Isolation

Do you see any hope of decreasing Israel's isolation?

This is hard. Former Senator Fulbright, who is universally regarded by Israelis as an enemy, at one juncture proposed a formal treaty, a mutual alliance between the US and Israel. This has been almost automatically rejected by a good many Israelis and I wonder how it would fare in the US Senate. Any mutual defense pact, if it means anything, involves the use of armed force by both parties in the case of war.

Are Americans willing to issue such a guarantee? Yet this may be one of the more hopeful approaches in a desperate situation. Both the Arab countries and the Israelis need to be assured as far as is humanly possible that this country is committed to the continuing existence of Israel. Now, in fact, this has been the continuous policy of the US for 30 years, and I suppose you might say that if human beings were reasonable, all parties in the Middle Eastern conflict would say any policy that lasts for 30 years is a durable policy. Nevertheless, in the tradition of generalized paranoia which has characterized Arab-Israeli relationships, there is always going to be the question, "What are you doing for me today, what are you going to do for me tomorrow?" What you did for me yesterday is entirely beside the point. If in fact anything like political movement toward a settlement occurs it may be necessary for Carter to revive something like the notion of a formal treaty between Israel and the US, as much as a demonstration to the Arab world as to reassure the Israelis.

How do you assess such policies as the refusal of Israel to permit West Bank mayors to attend the Palestine National Conference in Cairo, and secondly the tolerance of and then apparent endorsement of Jewish settlements on the West Bank?

Both are disturbing to me, the second more than the first. The first I think is an element of probably temporary political obduracy which can be readily amended. The settlements are much harder to deal with, and that, of course, is one of the things that is most troubling to a secular admirer of Israel. It represents the disproportionate influence of the rigidly Orthodox sector of Israeli opinion on Israeli politics. Most Israelis are secular in orientation but the Orthodox have a lot of influence on civil administration. It is infuriating for an Israeli to have to go to Cyprus for a divorce. Marriages performed by Reformed and Conservative rabbis in the US are not recognized as valid in Israel. Much too much of Israeli



life is under the heavy influence of minority Orthodox opinion.

It is mildly encouraging that Begin's spokesmen have been drawing a distinction between the rights of Israelis to settle anywhere in the West Bank and the ultimate political administration of the West Bank. I have seen several suggestions to the effect that even if the West Bank or parts of it are turned over to Palestinian administration, there is no reason why Jewish settlement shouldn't continue in a climate of peace. I found this rather fanciful, but it has been expressed.

If the settlements are very distressing, so also is the formal annexation of East Jerusalem. It is clear that should peace come to the Middle East, the administration of Jerusalem is going to be one of the most complex of the issues that will have to be settled. It struck me on my visit to Israel this summer that here is a city where in a morning's walk you can trace the Stations of the Cross, you can see 13-year-old boys being Bar Mitzvahed before the Western Wall and you can visit the Dome of the Rock. Clearly a city where the religious symbols are not only so powerful but so close to one another is a city which has a truly unique status already. I think this again is one of the knots that the Israelis themselves have tied.

But let me instantly interpolate a qualification. If Israel were to say now, "We recognize the need to internationalize the status of Jerusalem, we are going to stop further settlements on the West Bank and we are going to try to persuade (some job!) some of the people who have already settled to come back"—I doubt that this would have very much effect on the present status of negotiations between the Arabs and the Israelis. At the end, if real negotiation does take place, something will have to be done about Jerusalem and about the settlements on the West Bank, but it distorts the politics of the present to think of these two issues as barriers to political movement in 1977. These are barriers about five miles down a road on which neither the Arabs nor the Israelis have yet seriously set foot. They are both skirmishing in the underbrush.

Role of the US

How can any negotiations begin if both sides keep refusing to show their cards?

Let me answer that obliquely by recalling one of my more illuminating experiences in Jerusalem. I had dinner with two interesting people, both teachers of philosophy at Hebrew University. One of the couple is a co-founder of the Shelli Party, a small splinter party on the left which is in favor of reconciliation with the Arabs.

August 15, 1977

Both of my new friends were very gloomy about the prospects for peace, and one of them said to me something like this. He said he feels that people like him (and I will describe his formal position in a moment) are in a no-win position. If Begin succeeds in pushing Carter off a full-scale settlement, then, so this friend says, Israel is going to go further down the imperialist line. Israeli administration of unwilling Arabs will become more oppressive, Israel will become a conservative, even reactionary state in which the religious influence (which he deplors) will grow stronger. On the other hand, he says, suppose that Carter remains adamant? Then he fears that Begin will actually start a war. This may be somewhat overheated, but that is his fear.

Well, what is his own position? (He estimates, by the way, that six to seven percent of Israelis share it.) He supports return of all the territories acquired in the 1967 war and conversion of Jerusalem into a city administered jointly by Jordan and Israel. And his hope is that in spite of everything Carter will continue to maintain pressure on Israel. Now this translates into a position which former Undersecretary of State George Ball has publicly taken. It is that a settlement has to be imposed, essentially by the US. At this juncture neither party is willing to negotiate, even in its own long-term interest. The US is the only country with the clout, not only in Israel but in the Arab world, particularly Saudi Arabia, to sketch a settlement which in the long run is in the interest of all the parties. That in fact seems to have been what Carter set out to do by stating the three elements of a settlement—a genuine peace, the return of the territories, some sort of a Palestinian homeland; those were the three central portions of his original statement on the Middle East. What went wrong was apparently the President's habit of speaking reassuringly to whoever is visiting him at the time. In conversation with Sadat, Hussein and Assad the President emphasized the return of the territories and was accommodatingly vague on the elements of real peace that are needed to complement the returned territories. In early July when he received a group of leaders of Jewish organizations, he emphasized the other elements of peace. This was reassuring to a good deal of American Jewish opinion as well as to Israelis.

He also defined the Palestinian homeland as part of Jordan, it appears.

So it seems. It would be better if Mr. Carter didn't speak on this sort of thing until it was actually clear in his own head what he wanted to say. Nevertheless, in a situation in which all the options are unpromising, it may be that the original Carter initiative, possibly coupled with a formal treaty of alliance between Israel

and the United States, is the least unpromising of the routes to follow in a situation where it is grimly certain that if nothing else happens a new war will break out.

How close is your own assessment to the position of the Shelli Party in Israel, which you just described?

Fairly close. I think that if reason prevails in the Middle East, the Israelis will settle for a small state in which they don't have to spend a third of the GNP on defense of the country. The Arabs will see advantages in borrowing technology and skills from the Israelis.

This certainly would be to our interest. But is it equally in the interest of the Soviet Union? This is something that moves in and out of any realistic appreciation of the Middle Eastern situation. Russia, for its own greater power as well as ideological interest, seeks influence in the Arab world. A peace created by the US, accepted by the Arabs as well as the Israelis, would almost certainly be regarded by the Russians as making the US the dominant power in the Middle East. Russia has an interest, as it views the world, in upsetting such an arrangement. Currently it does so by supporting whatever extremist set of voices it finds in the Arab world—Iraq, Libya, at times the PLO. Certainly Sadat has suspected the Russians of promoting coups against him.

What Kind of "Homeland"?

Would you comment on the situation of the Palestinians?

I think their aspirations have to be satisfied in some way, but there again we face a tough issue. The nature of the Palestinian "homeland" is crucially important. An irredentist, radical mini-state supported by Libya and Iraq, and perhaps covertly by the Soviet Union, would increase, not decrease, the prospect of another war. Would the PLO accept federation with Jordan? Presumably this is the most reasonable solution.

It is hard to see how the Israelis could sensibly return the entire West Bank to a militarized administration eager to destroy its neighbor. On the other hand, if a new Palestinian state is effectively demilitarized, it is less than a sovereign state. And as a practical matter, it is only this sort of state which for the next decade or two can be a tolerable neighbor for Israel. Such a solution is implausible without Soviet cooperation. We have little reason to anticipate sweet reason from the Russians on this issue.

Do you believe that the positions generally espoused by major Jewish agencies in the US have been in the interest of Israel?

Probably not at the moment. Let me, however, explain something of how I see the major Jewish agencies on this, I said a while back that at least until

very recently the Israelis have been able to use the intransigence of the Arabs as a kind of protection against political movement. Well, the major Jewish organizations in this country have had a somewhat similar protection against independent thought because Israel has been under constant, tremendous, external threat. The proper role of an American Jew then is to give Israel whatever support—financial, politically lobbying, any support—that is legal and effective. So the Jewish organizations have got in the habit of automatically endorsing whatever a given Israeli government is up to. That has been the easier, because until May 17 of this year it was the same Israeli government. Now there is a new problem, and the major Jewish organizations have just begun to cope. I don't take their somewhat hysterical response to Breira as a final response. It is what people like your hysterical critics do. When uncertainty grows, verbal vehemence doubles, triples even, while the shouters grope for a policy.

There is some evidence that they are indeed groping for a policy. Let me offer you two straws in the gale. The current issue of *Commentary*, which in its present phase, as you know, usually perceives Israel as beleaguered by American policy, contains an article, "Carter and Israel," by a writer unknown to me named Stephen Spiegel. Spiegel is identified as having been a member of the Brookings Institution Middle East study group, several of whose other members, notably Mr. Brzezinski, now hold key positions in the Carter Administration. By no particular coincidence they brought out a study which is rather similar to Carter's actual program and therefore rather similar to the program endorsed by the Shelli group in Israel. It is encouraging that *Commentary* printed an article by a member of this group, because even though the article is critical of Carter, it is not hysterical, and it sees certain virtues in Carter's original position—the balance, the three great pillars of peace. It may be that the American Jewish Committee, which sponsors *Commentary*, is beginning to think hard about its future relation to a Begin administration.

Preparing the Public

I offer you one other instance. I have a recent release from the American Jewish Congress, its Commission on International Affairs, called "The Begin Government, a Tentative Assessment," and I would judge the tone is very analytical, almost clinical. It is partly an effort to explain to American Jews the complications of Israeli politics, and the fact that the Likud itself is a coalition of parties with dissimilar views. It looks closely at Begin's record both as a minister in 1967-70, and his record in general. It

seems to be preparing its public for the surrender of West Bank territory.

Now the Congress is doing this within the context of loyalty, still, to a current Israeli administration. It is doing some lovely work of exegesis on Begin's record and statements. For example, it suggests that although Begin has said that there is a biblical guarantee of the frontiers of Israel to include Judea and Samaria, Begin has also said (or, more accurately, can be interpreted as saying) that although our claim is just and God-given, we may tear some of our flesh away in the interest of peace. I interpret this partly as wishful thinking but also as a preparation, it seems to me, of American Jews for the necessity to shrink the present boundaries of Israel.

Now, publicly I suspect nothing much is going to happen for a little while as far as the major Jewish organizations go. I think that while the internal argument continues, publicly they are simply going to support Begin and the present administration of Israel. But reluctantly—because it makes the politics of American Jews far more complicated—reluctantly they are beginning to see that the ancient simplicities of unqualified support of the policy of any Israeli government are no longer sensible. The times have changed.

Do you see any possibility of a plan being worked out for the international protection of borders or for international guarantees of Israeli security?

It is very difficult. The United Nations is no longer a plausible guarantor of borders, if only because there is an automatic Soviet-Third World majority in the Assembly. Well, in the absence of the UN, what is possible? I hate to see more American troops as human booby-traps. Yet this is their precise role in South Korea and in the Sinai as well. When all alternatives are miserable, one must select the least miserable of them. It may be that for the sake of effective separation of the Arabs and the Israelis for a period of years while events take a rational turn and normal relationships begin to develop, this may be prerequisite. Or there could be a joint Soviet-American presence, as at one point in 1973 Brezhnev suggested on the Sinai. I don't know.

Wouldn't Soviet participation introduce another element and make it that much more unstable?

Yes. But on the other hand, if you think that in the long run peace is possible only if it is perceived as in the interest of the Russians as well as the Americans, the Arabs and the Israelis, this may be one possibility. I do think there will have to be an American physical presence in the Middle East. And this of course bears on the point of Israeli isolation under the skirts of a single power who will protect her. The Israelis aren't

going to be thrilled by the notion of American bases in Haifa—guarantors seldom define their role narrowly. To turn yourself into a protectorate is to bring yourself under even stronger pressure from your powerful protector. This said, I wonder what alternative there is for the peace.

The Rule of Unreason

You see, one of the things that is so oppressive to me as we continue to talk about this, one of the reasons why people get so angry, is the hopelessness of reasonable compromises. A person might as well get angry at whomever he/she defines as the villain in the piece. When you enumerate all the irrationalities, all the alternatives and all the genuine perceptions and misperceptions of interest, it is far easier to see a new war than it is to see a genuine approach to peace.

I haven't even thrown in the complications that rise out of our own domestic politics. Suppose, for example, that Carter decides he needs to present a formal Israeli-American treaty to the Senate as a constituent element of the settlement. Think of the debate this would set off, the fear of new Viet Nams and new involvements. The debate would be profoundly divisive, and incidentally extremely frightening to the American Jewish community. Jews sometimes glimpse anti-Semitism where there isn't much evidence of it. In such a debate the evidence might be serious. So the politics of this situation are by no means simple.

The upshot? It may be that nothing much will happen soon that gratifies either side in the Middle East and that the situation will drift along. Begin has said that he wants the Geneva conference to reconvene in October and is willing to negotiate on any issue. Well, that may be no more than a bargaining tactic. Just a week before Begin showed up here, the *Washington Post* ran a lead editorial on the Middle East that was as despondent as I am about the prospect of a full-scale Geneva conference or real peace. They started by saying that Carter should leave his big proposal standing out there, but that neither side is willing to accept it now, so in the meantime, he might try to put into effect some of its separate parts—more Israeli withdrawals from Sinai and Golan, paired against such Arab concessions as an end to the state of belligerency. In other words, more step-by-step negotiation so that at least the situation doesn't solidify. Maybe that is the best of possibilities right now. In a world in which so little can be anticipated that is good, if you stave off a war for an additional 12 months by this sort of limited maneuver, you can hope for other change.

What is to be said about the effect of the oil factor?

The Iranians and the Saudis have entered into what is an almost symbiotic economic and military relationship with the US. We are now selling the Shah, that great democrat, aircraft so sophisticated that it is going to take a number of years and some thousands of American technicians to operate the stuff. In fact we seem to have gotten the amiable ruler of Iran into a situation where, in effect, we are semi-operating his high technology, military and civilian. The Saudis clearly see us as the big pillar in the world against communism; they are as anti-communist as Norman Podhoretz [editor of *Commentary*] or Senator Moynihan, and I can think of no stronger testimonial.

So I conclude that fears of new oil boycotts as far as we are concerned are probably not justified. This probably answers or at least bears on the answer to the question of whether American support for Israel is likely to be eroded because of the pressure of oil interests. I suspect that this is only a small possibility. Moreover, for the next three to four years there is going to be an oil glut, because the North Sea oil is coming in in a rush and the North Slope oil from Alaska is also coming in. So the ability, even if there were the will, on the part of the Middle Eastern OPEC countries to use the oil weapon is substantially diminished for that period.

There is also a longer-run thing. Not so very long ago, Arabs were exotics in the US; I'd guess that the thought of Arabs owning American real estate—let alone islands off the Carolina coast, banks in Detroit and Lord knows what else—the thought of their doing this would have seemed strange and rather dangerous to many Americans. Well, Americans are getting used to the Arab presence. Arabs largely inhabit that gaudy luxury apartment house hard upon St. Patrick's Cathedral on Fifth Avenue, and they are an increasing human presence. I think that is for the good in the long run. In the short run, of course, I suppose from a very narrow definition of Israeli perceptions anything that makes the Arabs look more like the rest of us and less like men with nine wives is a poor idea.

A Delicate Art

As an American Jew, what would you advise a political journal or a political movement or an individual American to support in the way of US Middle East policy?

I think that American Jews have a need at this point to get over their mingled sense of guilt and inferiority vis-a-vis Israel. The Israelis are good at implying or explicitly saying that American Jews engulf themselves in the fleshpots of materialistic life while the Israelis have held up the Jewish ideal. This has certainly worked as a fundraising device and as a means of mobilizing American opinion at critical

junctures in Israeli politics.

I think American Jews have got to learn the delicate art of criticizing both American policy and Israeli policy where they are convinced on reasonable ground that criticism is warranted, within the context of a continual attachment to the political survival and health of Israel.

I think the second objective—political health—has not always been as fully in the minds of the American Jewish organizations and some of their spokespersons as it should be. This is very hard to do and, as I said earlier in our conversation, the hysterical reaction to Breira is evidence that there is a long distance for Jewish opinion to travel before this posture can be realized.

Of course, if we are being candid about this, in ethnic politics there is always the dual loyalty problem. It should be possible on the whole for American Jews to avoid an agonizing choice because the American commitment to Israel is strong, in spite of the divergence between the Israeli and American positions.

Publicly, the major Jewish agencies have generally taken the Israeli position—I think they should stop doing so automatically. I think they should support the American positions when they promote Israeli and American interests even if at a given time an Israeli government differs. This is very hard. And it is even harder advice to argue that Jewish leaders in the US should exert some pressure on Israeli governments as well as accepting the pressure from Israeli governments. Again, this is strong medicine for Jews who have been accustomed to allow their thinking on Israeli issues to be done in Israel.

It is our understanding that this is the first time you have spoken on these issues. It would be interesting to know why you haven't spoken before, and why you do so now.

I have hesitated because for one thing I am obviously no Middle East expert, and for another I have suffered from the same difficulties that the Jewish organizations have. It is difficult to take a position which simultaneously is critical of existing policy and yet is not interpreted as supporting the enemies of Israel.

One factor here is a long association with C&C. I am not sure yet that I would want to do a full-scale article on Middle East issues for, say, *Harper's*, or any other place where I have scribbled from time to time. But it seems to me that particularly for the concerned community that C&C has traditionally attracted, it is enormously important for these issues to be exposed, discussed and written about within the context of good will, an attitude so frequently missing in this

realm. It is so easy to attack the motives of someone with whom you disagree rather than to confront what might have made you angry to begin with, namely the uncomfortably strong points of his/her position. *C&C* is the place where I hope this can go on.

I would frankly also like to be able to speak in the pages of *Commentary* to a Jewish community in much the same tones I am using here. Under the present editorship of that journal it is unlikely that I will soon enjoy that particular opportunity. □



Interreligious Affairs Department
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 East 56th Street
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You may find
the enclosed
of interest —
Jim Rudin



JEW'S FOR JESUS

Moishe Rosen, Chairman



August 23, 1977

Rabbi A. James Rudin
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Rudin:

I read with interest your article entitled "Onward (Hebrew) Christian Soldiers" in the current issue of PRESENT TENSE Magazine. The article is correct in many points, but in other areas it contains allegations which simply are not true. For example, on page 21 you say that in 1973 Jews for Jesus, along with B'nai Yeshua, took over the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America, changing its name. The name of the Hebrew Christian Alliance was not changed until 1975. We had no part in it, and the 35 of our delegates who were present at Messiah '75 avoided the business meeting because we didn't want to choose sides. To my knowledge no one from B'nai Yeshua was there.

On page 19 you relate that a former Jew for Jesus left the group in California when "They got us into speaking in tongues." Once again, you're very wrong. We are the group which does not speak in tongues. Furthermore, we never had a small, storefront operation in San Francisco, nor was Lisa Levi a former leader of Jews for Jesus in Miami. Esther Jungreis has trotted her around, telling a spurious story. We have never had a branch in Miami; we are just now getting one established. We never even had a chapter in Miami. We all read Lisa Levi's story in the JEWISH PRESS and enjoyed a good laugh. To my knowledge, no one connected with Jews for Jesus has ever renounced the faith.

Likewise, Susan Perlman felt that it was a cheap journalistic trick where, on page 21, you say she "told us," when it was, in fact, information you pulled out of a briefing bulletin.

But what troubles me the most is that I resent the continual insinuations and allegations which suggest that we are looking for soft and weak-minded young people. For the most part the crowd who comes to us are brighter, more creative, and

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August 23, 1977

have had more training in the Jewish religion than most. If we have had some success in dealing with young people, it's not because of blandishments or trickery, but we're able to communicate because we've always treated everyone as though they were intelligent enough to make their own decisions with regard to religion. It is the leaders of the Jewish community who talk continually about indoctrination and the teaching of Judaism as an "antidote" to the missionary work. Our chief means of operation is to put out the word that we're willing to talk; we always find enough to keep us busy.

Your article is shot through with inaccuracies and misstatements, but I'm not writing to underscore that fact to you. I told Marc Tannenbaum that since the American Jewish Committee postures itself as if you know something about Jews for Jesus, why don't you really try to get the knowledge you say you already have? You, or any representative of the American Jewish Committee, would be free to come to our headquarters here in San Rafael---to go over our books, our records, our files, in order to see who we are and what we do.

We don't count ourselves as any threat to the Jewish community, and we think the purposes of "truth" would be better served if there were less propaganda and more accurate reporting. You don't have anything to gain by perpetuating myths, and part of the reason why many Jews are willing to listen to us is because of the very apparent disparity between what they read about us and what they discover when they meet us.

Most sincerely yours,

Moishe Rosen

Moishe Rosen

MR/cc

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

CONFIDENTIAL

date August 23, 1977
to Phyllis Sherman
from George E. Gruen *GE*
subject Potential Issues in Israel-U.S. Relations
(Background for AJC Staff Cabinet Discussion, Sept. 8, 1977)

In determining its policy and program with regard to Israel and the Middle East, the American Jewish Committee in the coming months is likely to be confronted more acutely than in the past with difficult choices and hard decisions. The following list of problems is illustrative rather than definitive:

1. Israeli policy toward the West Bank and Jewish settlements in the occupied/liberated territories. Attached is a detailed background memorandum on this subject that we prepared for consideration by our FAC Steering Committee. (Pages 1-3 and 11-12 summarize past AJC policy and the issues requiring AJC decision.) In a sense the West Bank settlement issue is only the tip of the iceberg. Both President Carter and Prime Minister Begin have indicated that they are prepared to appeal directly to public opinion, both domestically and abroad, above the heads of the respective governments. The American Jewish community will thus be subjected to conflicting pressures to stand up and be counted.

2. U.S. attitude to the Palestine Liberation Organization. If the PLO accepts UN Security Council Resolution 242 and makes some statement to the effect that it would remove the anti-Israel provisions of its Covenant, contingent upon the successful outcome of Geneva negotiations, this may be enough to satisfy the Carter Administration to begin talking to the PLO. The Israel Government is already calling for an intensified campaign to prevent any erosion in the U.S. position regarding the PLO. Do we endorse the Israeli position that the United States should not talk to the PLO no matter what change it makes in its position?

Conversely, assuming we accept the Israeli argument that the PLO does not really represent Palestinian opinion on the West Bank and elsewhere, do we then actively call upon Israel to do more to encourage alternative Palestinian leadership to emerge, e.g. by allowing regional political organization on the West Bank, which has thus far been barred, and some scheme such as a UN or Israel-administered trusteeship arrangement, which would signify to the world that Israel did not intend permanently to rule the million Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza? (Begin rejected the latter idea when it was presented by Secretary Vance.)

(over)

3. Religion-state relations in Israel and the legal status of non-Orthodox religious bodies. American Conservative and Reform leaders have been making pilgrimages to Jerusalem to try to prevent the Begin government from making additional concessions to his Orthodox coalition partners. The Conservative and Reform movements may seek our support, either publicly or in private communication to Begin, to demonstrate that an important segment of American Jewry does not endorse the Orthodox hegemony. Although the number of AJC members who are Orthodox is relatively small, one question is whether AJC wants to reinforce the old stereotype among traditional religious circles and Sephardi Jews that AJC has a Reform if not assimilationist bias.

Aside from this tactical question, there are also some indications that the Begin government is no more eager than was Golda Meir or Yitzhak Rabin to force a public confrontation on the religious issue in view of the other pressing problems facing Israel. There are also many non-Orthodox Israelis who accept the present situation because they grudgingly admit that Orthodoxy kept the Jewish people from assimilation and that formal adoption of any secular formula, e.g. permitting civil marriages, would sharply divide the Jewish community and run against the overriding need for Jewish unity. Should we therefore stay out of this controversy?

4. Pluralism in the Jewish community. In a broader sense, the above are all illustrations of the more fundamental issue of pluralism versus unity in the Jewish community. There are likely to be increasing attempts by Israel and some American Jewish organizations to enforce unity and solidarity upon the Jewish community. How do we deal with this intellectually and emotionally? What should be our relationship to those affiliated and unaffiliated Jews who find they can not support the Begin policies? Should public dissent be castigated because it threatens to weaken Israel in her hour of need?

Or can we in effect make the distinction--which Abba Eban said is being made with increasing sophistication by members of Congress--between solid support for Israel as a nation and criticism of specific policies by a particular administration in Israel? As American citizens we do not hesitate to do this vis-à-vis our own Government, but as American Jews who are not Israeli citizens we are faced with a dilemma.

One example: Israeli leaders believe that only the anti-Semitic lunatic fringe doubts the sincerity of Israel's desire for peace. Yet a recent private Yankelovich poll shows that only 39 percent of the American public is convinced that the Israelis "are doing everything possible to achieve a peace settlement." Some 29% believe Israel's "attitudes and demands are unreasonable" and 32% are not sure which of the above characterizations of the Israeli position is correct. Moreover, 61 percent agreed with the statement that "the Palestinians have a right to a homeland as much

as the Jews do." (This poll was taken in March, before Begin's election!) If the poll were made public it could effectively be used by the domestic opposition to Begin in Israel to demonstrate that his policy was likely to lead to a confrontation with the United States and an erosion of American public support. However, the NJCRAC Israel Task Force, of which AJC is a member, decided not to make the poll findings public, because they might also strengthen the Carter Administration's determination to bring pressure upon Israel, confident that the American public would support the President against Israel.

GEG/ac

77-580-27



Background Memorandum On

Israeli Policy Toward the West Bank and Jewish Settlements

By George E. Gruen and Marc Brandriss

Issues for Consideration

In view of the reaffirmation by Prime Minister Begin that Israel does not intend to relinquish any part of the West Bank and Gaza, can we assume that this is only an opening bargaining position that may be modified during negotiations? Should the AJC consequently refrain from criticizing this so as not to undercut Israel's negotiating posture? The AJC's own position, as reaffirmed in its latest statement on the Middle East adopted at the Annual Meeting in May 1977, is that the territories are subject to negotiation and that the extent of Israeli withdrawal will depend upon Arab readiness for peace and Israel's requirements for security. While indicating that a link between the Palestinians on the West Bank and Jordan reflects "a constructive approach to a viable solution for Palestinian aspirations," AJC has carefully refrained from drawing any maps.

What position, if any, should the AJC take with respect to the establishment of Israeli settlements in the territories currently under Israeli administration? In July 1976, Elmer Winter and Bertram Gold informally raised the suggestion with Israeli leaders that they might declare a moratorium on new settlements for a specific time period as a sign to world public opinion that Israel is not expansionist and as a signal to the Arabs of Israeli readiness to compromise. Prime Minister Rabin did not accept the suggestion. In general the AJC has not taken an explicit public position on the Israeli settlements, but has supported the formulation of the NJCRAC 1976-77 Joint Program Plan which states as follows:

The Israeli policy of creating settlements in the West Bank area is an element in Israel's defensive strategy. It does not prejudice negotiation of a border as part of any forthcoming peace agreement. Overtures for such negotiations were repulsed by the Arabs throughout the years from 1948 to 1967 when there were no Jews, to say nothing of Jewish settlements, in the entire area from which Jews were expelled after the Jordanian conquest. Once peace is achieved, the presence of Jews as loyal citizens in an Arab state would be no more remarkable than the present existence within Israel of loyal Arab citizens of the Jewish state.

President Carter, during his election campaign, similarly turned aside questions about Israeli settlements by saying that he did not

consider them as obstacles to a settlement, since the official Israeli position was that they were not necessarily permanent and were subject to negotiation in a peace settlement.

The crucial question is whether the Begin government represents a fundamental change in the Israeli position. All the settlements approved by official Labor government sanction could be justified in terms of security. They did indeed follow the lines of the Allon Plan, which although not formally adopted, had been applied in practice. The plan, first proposed by Yigal Allon shortly after the 1967 war, envisioned an 8 to 12 mile "security belt" of settlements along the Jordan River and settlements in sparsely populated areas of strategic significance elsewhere on the West Bank. It would leave open for eventual return to Arab control in a peace settlement the densely-populated areas of the West Bank. However, the legalization by the Begin Government of the three settlements in the heart of the West Bank appears to signify a major departure from the previous rationale of the Labor government and a confirmation of the Begin thesis that all of the West Bank is part of the historic and divinely ordained Land of Israel.

The question for us is whether the legitimization of the settlements and plans for new settlements are simply an expression of the view that Jews have a natural and historic right to live anywhere--and particularly in their historic homeland; or whether these actions are meant to tell the Arabs and the world that Israel intends to exercise its political sovereignty and not relinquish any of the territory of the West Bank even to an ostensibly moderate Arab ruler, such as King Hussein of Jordan.

Foreign Minister Dayan has indicated in the past that while he would insist on Israeli control over the security of the West Bank, there is room for turning over the civilian administration of the territory to Jordan and giving the inhabitants of the West Bank the option of retaining Jordanian citizenship or accepting Israeli citizenship. At present, no clear long term policy for the West Bank has been announced. However, Prime Minister Begin has thus far been careful to refrain from stating that he would "annex" the territories or "extend Israeli jurisdiction" to them. This is in accordance with the self-restraint on this issue incorporated into the Government Coalition Agreement, reportedly at the insistence of Dayan. The Coalition Agreement notes that the Knesset had empowered the Cabinet to apply by administrative order "the law, judiciary and administration of the state to all territory of the Land of Israel [presumably including the West Bank]... "but then adds that the Government will not invoke this authority "so long as negotiations are being conducted on a peace treaty between Israel and its neighbors. The matter will be determined by the choice of proper timing, the political judgment of the Government and the approval of the Knesset after a special debate."

On August 14 the Israeli government announced that it was extending government economic and social services to the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in order to grant them "equal rights, the same as those enjoyed by residents of the State of Israel." A government spokesman denied that the legal status of the territories or citizenship of the inhabitants was in any way affected by the decision and that they would remain under military administration, with Jordanian law continuing to apply to Judea and Samaria (the West Bank). The following day, Mr. Begin explicitly stated that the move was "by no means the beginning of annexation but was motivated solely by a desire to improve the lot of the Arabs under Israeli rule."

Current Extent of Israeli Settlement

Whatever the ultimate Israeli intentions, the current number of Israeli civilian settlers on the West Bank has been, as President Carter himself has conceded, relatively insignificant "and quite small" when compared to the Arab population of 680,000. While the Israel Government has not provided current official figures on the extent of settlement, Israeli sources have mentioned the existence of 36 settlements on the West Bank with an Israeli civilian population variously estimated at 2,200 to 3,000. They also acknowledge the existence of a total of 70 settlements in all the occupied territories with a combined population of approximately 5,000 Israeli settlers.*

Other sources, such as Newsweek (August 7, 1977) estimate that 12,000 Israeli settlers are presently living in all the occupied territories, including the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and Sinai with up to half of the total on the West Bank.** However, Time magazine, also in its August 8th edition, alleges a total of 90 Jewish settlements throughout the occupied territories, containing an Israeli population of 60,000. Inquiries to Time as to the basis for their figure, resulted in the response by a Time researcher that their figure includes the Israelis living in nine communities in formerly Jordanian-held Jerusalem and its outskirts, which Israel since 1967 has incorporated within the enlarged Jerusalem municipality.

Development of Israel's Settlement Policy

The political basis for Israeli settlement in the occupied territories is complex. Some have referred to it as "creeping annexation"; others as "establishing facts"; and still others as legitimate security measures adopted by an occupying power concerned for its defense.

* The latest figures released by the Israel Foreign Ministry, in June 1973, gave a total of 42 Israeli settlements in all the territories, with a combined population of 4,200 of whom 3,150 were Israeli civilians.

** Bill Moyers in a CBS report on the West Bank on August 16, 1977 cited a total of 6,000 Jews.

In reality, Israeli settlement policy on the West Bank from its initial phase has been somewhat haphazard, partially due to the pressures and counter-pressures of domestic politics. In the early months after the 1967 war, it was assumed that most of the West Bank was to be returned to Jordan in exchange for a peace treaty, with the exception of East Jerusalem, which was to have a distinct status from the rest of the occupied territory. But by September 1967, the government came to the conclusion (after the Arabs had decided on "no peace, no recognition, no negotiations" at their Khartoum summit) that peace was not forthcoming. Many Israelis desired the total annexation of the West Bank. Some considered the West Bank as historically and religiously part of Israel. To them, Hebron or Nablus (Shechem) was just as much rightfully Israel's as was Tel Aviv. Others believed that from a strategic point of view, Israel's possession of the West Bank was vital to its defense.

The Herut Party historically favored Israeli expansion beyond the 1948 lines. This position was not confined to Herut. The Liberal Party, Herut's partner in Gahal (and now its major partner in Likud), had called for the retention of Judea and Samaria, as had the National Religious Party, a member of the governing Labor Party coalition. The Labor party membership itself was sharply divided. When the Movement for the Whole Land of Israel was founded in 1967, it included some members of the Labor Party.

The Labor Government was initially able to overcome these pressures and on the whole prevented Jewish settlement of the West Bank. Many others in the Labor-led coalition, such as the late Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir, were fearful of the demographic problem involved in annexing an area with such a large population of Arabs, known to have the highest birth rate in the region.

But by November 1967, the Whole Land of Israel Movement, enjoying the support of a wide and varied segment of the public, challenged the prevailing policy by supporting both morally and financially the efforts of those who were planning to reestablish the pre-1948 Jewish settlements in the Etzion Bloc between Jerusalem and Hebron, that had been captured and destroyed by the Jordanians during the War of Independence. The government gave in to these pressures and the settlements in the Etzion Bloc were restored.

Another challenge to government policy was successful when, in April 1968, a small group of religious settlers financed by the Whole Land of Israel Movement moved into the city of Hebron. (This too was an area of pre-Israel Jewish settlement, from which the Jews had fled after a pogrom during the 1929 Arab riots.) They were, for a time, confined to an Israeli military post within the city, but eventually the government decided to transfer the new settlement through the construction of a Jewish suburb and industrial complex known as Kiryat Arba (a Biblical name) in September 1971. At the same time that Kfar Etzion was resettled in November 1967, the government also decided to allow the rebuilding of Beit HaArava, a

kibbutz located prior to 1948 at the juncture of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea.

However, by May 1968, the government had decided to establish Jewish settlements throughout the entire length of the Jordan Valley, and not only in areas where Jewish settlements had existed in the pre-1948 period. All the Israeli Prime Ministers since the Six-Day War have stated that Israeli policy was to maintain the Jordan River as Israel's security border and the settlements along the Jordan Rift would help establish Israel's control. This approach kept open the option of negotiations between Israel and Jordan. The Nahal (fighting, pioneer youth) settlements established by the Israel Defense Forces in conjunction with the various kibbutz movements combine military training with farm work. Israel has claimed that these settlements are in substance military outposts like those manned by regular units of the Israel Defense Forces.

Those settlements which are essentially civilian in character have been established in areas which the government had hoped would be assigned to its jurisdiction by peace treaties. Various guidelines were adopted with regard to the location of these settlements. They were to be placed on unused land with full compensation paid to the Arab owners. (State-owned land held by the Jordanian Government prior to 1967 is presently under the control of the Israel Lands Authority.) Preference was given to strategically important and underpopulated areas. In the case of civilian settlements consideration was also given to the availability of arable land and water resources.

The policy remained essentially in effect as long as the Labor Party had been in control of the government, although certain modifications in emphasis were introduced in the face of domestic pressures and external events. Prior to the Yom Kippur War, and in anticipation of elections scheduled for October 31, 1973, the Labor Party adopted a program drafted by Minister Without Portfolio Israel Galili which seemed to represent a shift toward a more hardline stance. Under the Galili plan one and a quarter billion Israeli pounds was to be allocated for the development of the West Bank and Gaza and for the integration of Arab agriculture and industry with Israel's own economy. The plan also envisioned new Jewish settlements in all the occupied territories. It would, for the first time, entitle Jews to purchase Arab lands and property in the West Bank and Gaza.

After the Yom Kippur War, the Galili plan was shelved. In its place, the Labor Party adopted a new platform which contained a policy phrased in general terms stating that "all will be done to continue and strengthen land settlement in accordance with decisions which the Government of Israel will take from time to time, with priority given to considerations of state security." While the Alignment platform undertook to seek "defensible borders that will ensure Israel's ability to protect herself effectively," it expressed

a desire for peace based on "territorial compromise," in essence, a reaffirmation of the principles behind the Allon Plan. However, pressures for new settlements, outside the general framework of the Allon Plan have continued.

The Gush Emunim movement, in defiance of Labor Government policy set up a settlement at Kadum near the ruins of ancient Sebastia in December 1975. Prime Minister Rabin viewed the settlement at Kadum, in the densely Arab populated Samaria, as a challenge to government authority and threatened to remove it by force if necessary. This action, however, was never carried out although the government refused to recognize its legality and regarded it as temporary.

After Likud defeated Labor in the Israeli election in May 1977, its leader Menahem Begin set up a narrow coalition with the National Religious Party and General Ariel Sharon's Shlomzion Party, with the support of the Agudat Israel Party in the Knesset. All these parties support wider settlement in the West Bank. Begin had campaigned on a platform calling for the retention of Israeli control over Judea and Samaria, and the continued settlement of Jews on the West Bank. He rejected the concept of any area barred to Jewish settlement (made Judenrein). Shortly after the election Begin visited the settlement at Kadum and announced "we stand on the land of liberated Israel. We believe this is the land of Israel as a right. It belongs to the Jewish people," and called again for the establishment of new settlements. He continues to refer to the West Bank, or Judea and Samaria as he prefers to call it, as "liberated" rather than "occupied" territory.

Prior to his visit to the United States, Begin toned down his public statements on the territories and announced that everything would be subject to negotiation in peace talks with the Arabs.

Mr. Begin's visit with President Carter in July did not lead to the open confrontation many had feared as both leaders stressed the personal rapport they had achieved. Yet, the much heralded peace proposal Begin brought along with him to Washington turned out to be "a plan for the framework of the peacemaking process" rather than a specific proposal for the substance of a peace agreement. Begin did not publicly specify the extent to which Israel would be prepared to withdraw from occupied land nor did he commit himself to refrain from establishing new settlements on the West Bank. Leaks from the Knesset Committee on Defense and Foreign Affairs which was presented a memorandum containing Begin's proposals and published in the Israeli press, suggested that he was prepared for extensive withdrawal from Sinai and the Golan Heights, but would continue to insist on Israeli control of the West Bank.

Underscoring the lack of agreement with Carter on substantive issues, Begin, on his return to Israel, overruled the decision of the previous Israeli government and recognized three formerly unauthorized civilian settlements on the West Bank, including that at Kadum (renamed Elonei Moreh), as legal and permanent entities.

Legalization of these settlements in the heart of the West Bank appears to signify that the question of security will no longer be claimed as the sole or primary justification for settlement.

Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan defended the settlements as "productive and constructive for peace" because they bring Jews and Arabs together; therefore the West Bank settlements could be seen as assets rather than as obstacles to peace. It was Dayan, who as defense minister in the Labor government had successfully advocated the open bridges policy with Jordan and had also authorized the relatively free movement of Arab workers from the territories into pre-1967 Israel. So far there is not much social contact between the Jewish inhabitants of the settlements and their Arab neighbors, although there is growing economic cooperation.

The legalization of the three settlements was immediately criticized by Secretary of State Vance who called the action an obstacle to peace. Carter, at a press conference, agreed with this assessment but tended to downplay the significance of the Israeli action. Although Begin did not clearly state whether he would accede to Carter's request that he abstain from further settlement and denied that a freeze on new settlements was in effect, some observers gave the optimistic interpretation that Begin's action was a move to defuse the demands of his more activist supporters. These observers believe that by legalizing the three settlements and thus reaffirming the principle of support for Jewish settlement, Begin may now refrain in practice from starting any new ones until the Geneva talks are given a chance.

The decision, approved by Begin, to legalize the settlements was actually made by the Ministerial Committee on Settlements headed by Minister of Agriculture General (ret.) Ariel Sharon, and members of the Jewish Agency. The Committee reportedly has before it plans, not yet approved, for at least 16 new settlements in the West Bank.

According to a report in the Washington Post of July 13, 1977, there are four projects in the planning stage for the lightly populated Jordan Valley areas. At least seven new settlements are planned by the Gush Emunim movement in the more densely populated areas of the West Bank. (Leaders of the Gush Emunim announced at a press conference in New York on August 7, 1977, that 12 new Jewish settlements by their movement were in the planning stage.) Begin's own Likud Party reportedly has plans for the building of five new Jewish urban areas in the West Bank with a potential total population of 150,000 to be erected over a four-year period.

Legal Considerations Under Security Council Resolution 242

The major legal arguments put forward by those who would demand Israel's complete withdrawal from all the territories that came under its control in June 1967 are based on the erroneous interpretation of the provisions of Security Council Resolution 242 which

calls for "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict" and the second paragraph of the preamble of the resolution which asserts the principle of the "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war."

U.S. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg and British delegate Lord Caradon, author of the final text, have both affirmed that the omission of the definite article before the word "territories" in the withdrawal clause was deliberate. The primary territorial objective of the resolution is the establishment of "secure and recognized boundaries." Resolution 242 does not legally require full Israeli withdrawal from all the territories it occupied in June 1967; yet, at the same time, it does not preclude a demand by the Arabs in negotiations for complete withdrawal.

The ambiguity of resolution 242 leaves room for both opposing demands during the process of negotiations between the parties, but does not require an Israeli commitment for full withdrawal as a condition for those negotiations. Nevertheless, as Goldberg recently indicated, while the resolution's sponsors contemplated "less than total withdrawal," they definitely expected substantial Israeli withdrawal on all fronts, including the West Bank.

A more complex legal question concerns the preamble's clause affirming the principle of the "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war." The Arabs and their supporters point to this clause of the resolution as the basis for their demand that Israel withdraw from all the territories occupied in June 1967 as a condition for the settlement of the Arab-Israel dispute. The Arab states, until recently, had demanded this even as a precondition for entering negotiations for a settlement.

The contrary Israeli argument as presented by Professor Yehuda Blum, Senior Lecturer in International Law at the Hebrew University in his book, Secure Boundaries and Middle East Peace, (Jerusalem, Hamakor Press, 1971, pp. 80-91), asserts that the pro-Arab view is based on a confusion between the acquisition of territories and their occupation. According to Blum, there is nothing under the UN Charter or general international law that would lead one to suppose that military occupation, especially when it is the result of a war undertaken in self-defense, is illegal. Consequently, the clause of Resolution 242 regarding the "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" cannot mean that a military occupier must withdraw before peace terms are agreed upon.

The real meaning of the clause, noted Professor Blum, is that it considers as inadmissible the attempt to base title to territory on conquest--that military victory itself does not give rights to territory, and that the future disposition of territory can only follow from an international agreement between the parties concerned. Thus if a future peace agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors provides for secure boundaries that depart from the military demarcation lines of the 1949 Armistice Agreements, those future

boundaries will be decided not on the basis of the mere physical presence of Israeli forces, but from an international agreement concluded by the parties concerned. (At Arab insistence, the Armistice Agreements explicitly state that the demarcation lines are not permanent political boundaries, and that the determination of the final boundaries between Israel and her neighbors would be left for the "ultimate settlement of the Palestine question.")

Legal Basis for Israel's Claim that the West Bank is Not "Occupied"

While these general legal considerations appear valid with regard to those territories occupied by Israel in June 1967 which lie beyond the boundaries of former Mandatory Palestine (the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights), other considerations are also pertinent with regard to those territories lying within the former Mandate area which had been invaded by Jordan and Egypt in 1948. In fact, the Egyptian occupation of Gaza and the Jordanian annexation of the West Bank, Blum argues, were unlawful in themselves, and in violation of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter which calls on all members to refrain in their international relations "from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any state." Consequently, the use of force by Egypt and Jordan having been illegal, it could not give rise to any valid legal claims or rights of sovereignty over any part of the former Mandatory Palestine--certainly their rights could not exceed those of Israel which assumed control over these territories in 1967.

The annexation of the West Bank by Jordan in 1950 can thus be regarded as invalid under international law. (Egypt never claimed sovereignty over Gaza.) Only two states, the UK and Pakistan, formally recognized the Jordanian annexation. After a lengthy squabble, the Arab League only saw fit to acknowledge the Jordanian annexation as a "trust" and "without prejudice to any final settlement of the Palestine question." Israel in May 1950, denounced the Jordanian action as "a unilateral act which in no way binds Israel" and that "the question of...territories west of the Jordan remains... open."

Prime Minister Begin repeated this argument recently in Jerusalem on July 27, 1977, on his return from the U.S. Responding to the State Department statement criticizing the legalization of three settlements on the West Bank, Mr. Begin said that Israel cannot be considered an occupying power in the West Bank in the legal sense because Jordan which had earlier held the territory had occupied it by aggression in the 1948 war.

In contrast to Jordan's 1948 occupation, Israelis contend that when Israel used force in 1967, it was legitimately used in exercise of its inherent rights of self-defense under the UN Charter. Since the boundary line with Jordan until 1967 was the armistice line of 1949, and not a recognized international border, when the Jordanians

attacked across the line into Israel in 1967, the action constituted a violation of the armistice and the armistice agreement then became invalid. This argument, however, leaves open the possibility of the Arabs also claiming the invalidity of the 1949 armistice lines and demanding a return to the 1947 partition lines recommended by the UN General Assembly, the only internationally-approved proposal for dividing former Mandatory Palestine.

The Legal Problems of Settlement on Occupied Territory and the U.S. Position

Other legal questions arise with respect to the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories. In the past, Israel has considered these areas (excluding Jerusalem) as that of territory occupied during war and it has not annexed any part. (In June 1967, East Jerusalem was "reunified" with West Jerusalem when the Knesset enacted a law extending Israeli administrative jurisdiction to an enlarged Jerusalem municipality.)

The United States currently claims that the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories is a violation of international law under the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 which declared illegal the type of population shifts employed by Nazi Germany during World War II. According to Article 49, paragraph 6 of the Convention, "The occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies." (Emphasis added.) Last year William Scranton, then the U.S. Ambassador to the UN, for the first time explicitly declared that the U.S. regarded Israeli settlements in the occupied territories as "illegal," and that they presented an obstacle to peace.

However, previous to Scranton, U.S. Ambassadors to the UN were not as explicit as he was in terming Israeli settlement policy in the occupied territories as illegal, and in the main their comments focused on the Jerusalem issue. Ambassador Goldberg, in referring to measures Israel had taken with respect to East Jerusalem, emphasized that the U.S. did not consider these measures other than "interim and provisional" which "cannot affect the present international status nor prejudice the final and permanent status of Jerusalem." Ambassador Charles Yost in July 1969 told the Security Council that the international law governing occupied territories also applied to East Jerusalem. In the U.S. view, he said: "The expropriation or confiscation of land, the construction of housing on such land, the demolition or confiscation of buildings, including those having historic or religious significance, and the application of Israeli law to occupied portions of the city are detrimental to our common interests in the city." (Emphasis added.)

By March 1976, Ambassador Scranton was asserting in the Security Council a new emphasis in U.S. policy with respect to Israeli measures in the occupied territories. On March 31, he quoted from article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention and then added: "Clearly,

then, substantial resettlement of the Israeli civilian population in occupied territories, including East Jerusalem, is illegal under the Convention and cannot be considered to have prejudged the outcome of future negotiations between the parties on the location of the borders of States of the Middle East." He went on to say that, "Indeed, the presence of these settlements is seen by my Government as an obstacle to the success of the negotiations for a just and final peace between Israel and its neighbors."

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance recently repeated this contention after Israel's legalization of three settlements on the West Bank in July 1977: "We have consistently stated and reiterated during our discussions here in Washington that we are of the opinion that the placing of these settlements is contrary to international law and presents an obstacle toward peace."

The Israelis, on the other hand, contend with respect to the West Bank and Gaza, that the Geneva Convention applies only to territory taken from another sovereign, and not from another occupier. They repeat the argument, noted above, that Jordan was never sovereign over the West Bank and had merely occupied it from 1948 to 1967, when Israel became the occupying power. Others claim that the civilians who have moved from Israel proper into the West Bank have done so on their own and that under the principle of freedom of movement international law does not prohibit citizens of one area from moving into another.

Political Considerations

Irrespective of the legal merits of the case, there are two issues of practical political consideration which we face. 1. Are the settlements in the West Bank a minor factor in the Arab-Israel conflict, or do they really present a major obstacle to a peace agreement? 2. How are we to prevent these issues from developing into a major crisis in U.S.-Israel relations and what role, either public or private, should the AJC play?

It seems apparent that President Carter is set on bringing about a Middle East peace settlement based on the three major principles of his Middle East policy despite the current Israel Government's opposition to two of them--the withdrawal of Israeli forces from almost all of the territory it occupied in June 1967 with only minor alterations in the pre-1967 borders, and the establishment of some kind of Palestinian homeland on the West Bank, preferably linked with Jordan. Only on the third component of Carter's outline for peace is there agreement with Israel--the acceptance by the Arabs of a real peace with diplomatic and trade relations with Israel.

In his news conference following the Begin visit, Carter indicated his awareness of the pressures within Israel for the

establishment of new settlements that Begin has to contend with. However, when asked in a Time magazine interview, published August 8, whether he would use "persuasion or pressure" if Israel's position at Geneva was quite different from his own, Carter responded in general terms but clearly implied that he would appeal to Begin's domestic and foreign opposition: "I would try to marshal the support of the leader, first of all. Secondly, the opinion of his people back home, the constituencies that might exist in our own country that would have influence around the world, opinion that exists in the European community, and in the Arab nations as well."

Thus President Carter appears determined to gain wide support for his own view of a fair territorial settlement. Prime Minister Begin has similarly indicated in recent days that he is prepared to appeal directly to American public opinion to oppose objectionable features in the Carter Administration's Middle East policy. If a confrontation with Israel develops, the American Jewish community will be subjected to conflicting pressures to take a stand on the crucial questions of Israel's continued control of the West Bank and its settlement policy in the territories.

August 17, 1977

77-580-24



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Confidential

date August 23, 1977
to Foreign Affairs Steering Committee
from George E. Gruen *GE*
subject Addendum to Background Memo on Israeli Policy Toward
the West Bank and Jewish Settlements

Since completion of the above mentioned memo, the Begin Government approved the establishment of three additional Jewish settlements on the West Bank. The State Department, on August 18, issued a strongly worded statement, whose text was reportedly approved by President Carter himself, reaffirming the U.S. position that these "unilateral illegal acts in territories presently under Israeli occupation create obstacles to constructive negotiations."

A second statement, issued at the same time, referred to the earlier Israeli announcement that services for Arabs in the territories would be raised to the level prevailing in Israel itself. While noting that Israel had emphasized the "humanitarian aims" of the decision and the "potential benefit" to the Arab population, the American statement pointed out that "the action creates an impression of permanence of Israeli occupation . . . that is not helpful." (The attached article by Joseph Polakoff in the JTA new bulletin of August 19, gives the U.S. statements in greater detail.)

At an off-the-record meeting of the Presidents' Conference on August 18, Ambassador Simcha Dinitz denied that Jewish settlements were illegal, citing essentially the same Israeli legal arguments as those contained in our memorandum. To rebut the American contention that the settlements constituted an obstacle to peace negotiations, Ambassador Dinitz made the following points:

1. All three new settlements were in close proximity to the 1949 Armistice Lines (the so-called "green line") and thus fell within the category of "minor modifications" that the United States had agreed could be made in establishing the final boundaries.

2. All three settlements, which had in fact already been approved in principle by the Labor Government earlier in 1977, could be justified by the need for "secure and recognized" boundaries. For example, Zur Natan B, was to be less than a mile across the green line from Petach Tikva, near Qalqiliya, from which Jordanian artillery had long shelled Israeli cities. Mevo Haran

(over)

Gimmel was similarly situated at a strategic spot along the old line between Latrun and Ramle. The third settlement, Yatir, was to be near the border between Hebron and Beersheba. All three settlements thus fit into the "Allon Plan."

3. No settled Arab land was being expropriated, no Arabs were being displaced, and no economic harm would be done to the nearby Arab communities.

4. Jewish settlement in Arab areas was no more improper than Arab settlement in predominantly Jewish Israel. Dinitz asserted that Prime Minister Begin had been even more explicit than had the Labor government in declaring that the settlements would not be an obstacle to peace. He quoted Begin to the effect that "in the outcome of final negotiations these and other settlements will not be the sole determining factor." The implication was that some settlements would not remain under Israeli sovereignty.

5. Dinitz presented his own view that the policy of establishing Jewish settlements was actually an inducement to peace. He noted that the prevailing Arab position was that they need not hurry to negotiate a settlement since eventually they would either become militarily strong enough to reconquer the territory or else the United States would abandon Israel and compel it to relinquish all the territory. By establishing new Jewish settlements and creating facts, Begin was in effect telling the Arabs that they had better settle the dispute sooner than later, because the longer they waited the less they were likely to get back. Dinitz conceded that he had not yet succeeded in convincing the American Government by this line of reasoning.

GEG/ac

77-580-26

U.S. RAPS ISRAEL FOR ITS WEST BANK SETTLEMENT POLICY, EQUALIZATION PLAN

By Joseph Polakoff

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18 (JTA)--The United States delivered today a double-barreled salvo at the Israeli government's move to establish three more civilian settlements on the West Bank and on its policy of equalization of services for Arabs living on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Undersecretary of State Philip Habib read two statements this morning to Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz and informed him that they would be presented to the Israeli government later today.

With regard to the settlements, the U.S. statement said: "Our position on the issue of settlements is clear. We reaffirm what we have said many times before that these unilateral illegal acts in territories presently under Israeli occupation create obstacles to constructive negotiations." With regard to the equalization action, the statement said that "the full impact" of the legal implications and details of the "implementation to be worked out in the coming weeks are not yet clear."

The statement then added: "The Israeli government has emphasized the potential benefit to the population in occupied territories as the humanitarian aims of this decision. At the same time, however, the action creates an impression of permanence of Israeli occupation of lands that came under Israeli control as a result of the June 1967 war, which is not helpful. In this connection, we have noted with regret the statement of the Cabinet Secretary (Arye Naor) when announcing the decision, that Israel cannot annex the land of Israel for the people of Israel since it already belongs to them."

Says Statements Okayed By White House

The statements were announced by State Department spokesman Hodding Carter to a crowded pressroom at the State Department. Some newsmen had been notified in advance that a tough position would be taken against Israel and television and radio equipment were set up to record the statements.

Carter said that the statements were both approved in the White House but he could not say whether President Carter had cleared them. Responding to questions, spokesman Carter said Israel's establishment of the settlements and the equalization are "illegal." He said that "both are obstacles to peace," and "contravenes our understanding" of international law.

Restatement, Not New Formulation

Carter conceded that there are "conflicting legal opinions on both sides on the status of the West Bank." He made this statement when it was pointed out that while the United States speaks of the West Bank as being "occupied," the Israelis refer to it as having been "liberated."

When it was noted that President Carter used the term "obstacles to peace" with regard to the first three new settlements last month, whereas today's statement spoke of them as "obstacles to constructive negotiations," spokesman Carter said this did not represent any significant differences. He said "our position has not varied from three weeks ago. It is a restatement of our policy. It is intended to be an explicit statement, not a new formulation."

The question was raised that President Carter himself did not use the term "illegal" in reference to the settlements, and the spokesman was asked, therefore, whether the State Department was not going beyond the President's position. The spokesman retained the view that they are illegal. In regard to an observation that the previous Labor government had set the policy on new settlements, spokesman Carter said "no matter whose policy it is, it is being implemented by this government."

Carter said that he could not respond immediately as to whether the U.S. has any assurances from Israel that no other settlements will be built or what would happen if the Israel government continued to establish them.

With regard to the equalization matter, the spokesman said "the full implication" of it is "not clear" and that he would not go beyond the statement he had made. Spokesman Carter also could not say whether Secretary of State Cyrus Vance made the two statements known to Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin in their almost two-hour discussion today about Vance's recent Mideast trip.

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO Marc DATE 8/24/77
SUBJECT Footnotes for your article

This afternoon we talked about the need for page numbers for your citations. I have enclosed a copy just in case you could not locate your carbon that Rita drew up.

I will look for your phone call on Friday, 8/26

Cordially,
Marv Wilson



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

August 11, 1977

Dr. Marvin R. Wilson, Chairman
Department of Biblical Studies
Gordon College
255 Grapevine Road
Wenham, Massachusetts 01984

Dear Dr. Wilson,

Listed below are footnote facts, as requested in your recent letter to Rabbi Tanenbaum, for the Baker Book House.

p. 1: Erich Fromm, *Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston (1973)

p. 2: Robert L. Heilbroner, *Inquiry into the Human Prospect*, New York, W. W. Norton & Co. (1973)

p. 4: Nathan Glazer, *The Universalisation of Ethnicity*, London, "Encounter", (Feb. 1975)

p. 4: Thomas P. Melady, *Burundi: The Tragic Years*, Maryknoll, N.Y., Orbis Books, (1974)

p. 9: Amnesty International, *Report on Torture*, London, Gerald Duckworth and Co., Ltd., (1973)

p. 16: Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *War Against the Jews: 1933-1945*, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, (1975)

pp. 18,19: Max Weber, *Essays in Sociology*, New York, Oxford University Press, (1958)

p. 23: Gordon W. Allport, *Nature of Prejudice*, New York, Doubleday, (1958)

Hope this is what you were looking for.

Sincerely,

Rita P. Reznik
Secretary to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

RPR

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 25, 1977

to AJC Area Directors, JCRCs, Federations, National Jewish Organizations
from Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Interreligious Affairs Director

subject REPORT ON THE 1980 OBERAMMERGAU PASSION PLAY

As you have undoubtedly noted in the press last week, a revised version of the Oberammergau Passion Play has been prepared for possible presentation in 1980 in that Bavarian village. The several press reports issued by the AP, UPI, Reuters, New York Times, Time Magazine, among other news sources in this country and abroad have been contradictory about its anti-Jewish content and have therefore led to some confusion.

The purpose of this memorandum is to seek to clarify the present nature of the revised Oberammergau Passion Play, and to report to you on the unique role that the American Jewish Committee has been invited to play in the current revision process.

The confusion has been manifested in the following manner:

The New York Times reported in its Aug. 16th edition a UPI dispatch headlined "Sins of Mankind Kill Christ in New Oberammergau Play." That story appears to have left the impression that the new version has been completely purged of anti-Jewish references and portrayals. It also suggests that the new version actually will be the one to be produced in 1980.

A subsequent AP dispatch in the New York Times of Aug. 19, however, bears the headline, "New Passion Play Draws Protest," and indicates that "angry townspeople sought today to block a new version of the town's world-famous Passion Play." They contend that "the new script is stilted, insincere and (contains) 'consummate anti-Semitism' worse than the original." The AP report also states that the "Oberammergau town council says it will decide later this year whether to use the revised script" or revert to the 1970 version.

What in reality is the present situation?

In mid-July, AJC's Executive Vice-President, Bertram H. Gold, received an invitation from Lufthansa German Airlines to send a delegation to preview a five-and-a-half hour presentation of the newly-revised version of the play.

After some consideration, it was decided to accept the invitation and an AJC delegation saw the play on Aug. 15 in the Oberammergau village. The AJC delegation consisted of Miles Jaffe, national chairman of the Interreligious Affairs Commission; Zachariah Shuster, our European consultant; William Trosten, director of our Resource Development Department (who reads and speaks German fluently); and myself.

more....

Our Interreligious Affairs Department, as you may know, has been engaged in efforts to purge the Oberammergau Passion Play (and other Passion Plays in this country, in Europe, and in Latin America,) of anti-Semitic content over the past several decades. In 1970, we published a comparative content analysis entitled, Oberammergau 1960 and 1970 - A Study in Religious Anti-Semitism that received widespread attention and became a significant factor leading to the decision for the preparation of the revised text.

Following our preview of the 1980 production - which began at 4 p.m. and concluded at 11:30 p.m. (with a two-hour dinner break), our AJC delegation was invited to meet with the central personalities responsible for the writing and the production of the 1980 Oberammergau play. These included the editor of the new version, Alois Fink, who is director of the Cultural Division of the Bavarian Radio and TV network; Hans Schwaighofer, director of the 1980 production; Helmut Fischer, who played the role of Jesus in 1970; the composer of the new musical score; several Oberammergau town officials, and representatives of the West German Government, the Bavarian Tourist Ministry, and Lufthansa. (Schwaighofer played the role of Judas in the 1950 and 1960 plays. The village named him to direct the 1970 version, but he resigned after the town council overruled his attempt to reform the play.)

The "dialogue" - which the Oberammergau officials characterized as "their first serious discussion with responsible Jewish representatives" - lasted until four o'clock in the morning! During this extraordinary frank and scholarly exchange, we set forth our concerns that this pageant - as we noted in our 1970 study - has traditionally been "a vehicle of anti-Jewish prejudice and an obstacle to Christian-Jewish friendship and cooperation." We also recalled that the text used every decade over the past 100 years, based on a script written in 1850 by the local parish priest, Rev. Josef Daisenberger, was acclaimed by Adolf Hitler at the height of the Second World War in these words:

"It is vital that the Passion Play be continued at Oberammergau; for never has the menace of Jewry been so convincingly portrayed." (Secret Conversations, 1941-1944; New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953, p. 457.) Under the Nazi Government, the Oberammergau Passion Play was classified as "a racially important cultural document," and on the occasion of the pageant's tercentennial, in 1934, a Nazified special performance represented Jesus and his disciples as Aryan heroes.

We also noted that the significance of the Passion Play as an instrument for influencing attitudes toward Jews and Judaism is to be seen in the fact that since the end of World War II, some one-and-a-half million people have come to performances; that in 1970 alone, 530,000 people came from 113 different countries to view the 102 performances.

In light of that history, we told the Oberammergau officials that we welcomed the forthright initiatives take by Mr. Schwaighofer, Mr. Fink, and those associated with them to abandon the offensive Daisenberger script, and to replace it with a modernized version of the text written in 1750 by the Benedictine priest, the Rev. Ferdinand Rosner, even though the latter version still contains a number of problems described below.

By agreement among members of the AJC delegation, we acknowledged that the new Rosner-Fink text contains a number of positive features that are encouraging:

First, the Rosner script is written as a medieval morality play cast in meta-physical terms of the eternal conflict between the forces of good and evil, symbolized by the conflict between Lucifer, the Prince of Hell, and Jesus. In that perspective, the role of the Sanhedrin and "the Jews" tends to be less central than in earlier Passion Plays.

Second, the Rosner text opens with a group of "Protective Spirits" who address the Christian audiences with this admonition:

"Don't say the Jews over there are betraying their own; all of us have done the same often enough."

Third, the several scenes involving the Sanhedrin and the Chief Priests show a relatively large group of "Rabbis" or "Jews" who seek to understand Jesus, therefore presenting "the Jews" in a much more differentiated way than in the past plays.

At the same time, we indicated, there remain a number of problems both in the revised text and in the actual production which we urged them to face and seek to resolve. These include, briefly stated, the following:

First, despite the morality play setting, there is a real danger that the Sanhedrin and "the Jews" will be perceived as "instruments of Lucifer" and are conspiring with Satanic elements against Jesus and Christians.

Second, there are four scenes of debate within the Sanhedrin about the blasphemy of Jesus which tends to underscore a far more prominent role of "the Jews" in contributing to the death of Jesus than in fact exists in the Synoptic Gospels. Several of the Sanhedrin scenes conclude with "all the Jews" on the stage crying out in a chorus, "It is decided; he must die, lest we and our reign perish!" We urged that these scenes be reconsidered, and that these provocative chorus lines be eliminated.

Third, Pontius Pilate is presented as a weakling who is manipulated by the Sanhedrin and a howling "Jewish mob" to make the decision to crucify Jesus. That portrayal, we noted, is contrary to our historic knowledge that Pilate was cruel and sadistic, and that he alone had the authority to decide on the crucifixion.

We discussed these and related issues in a serious and constructive spirit. At the conclusion of our dialogue, the Oberammergau officials formally requested of the American Jewish Committee that

- 1) We prepare for them a line-by-line analysis of the Rosner-Fink text, providing in writing the specific recommendations for editing and emendations that we felt were necessary;
- 2) We remain available as resource to help them bring about the maximum possible improvement through the removal of anti-Jewish references and negative dramatic imagery.

more.....

The AJC delegation agreed to do so, indicating our awareness that there is no guarantee that the Rosner-Fink text will finally prevail, and our recognition that even with improvements this is still a Passion Play in which Jews can never emerge ultimately untainted.

Nevertheless, we have concluded that the Jewish interest would be better served through encouraging the use of the Rosner-Fink text and by making whatever possible contributions we can to the most positive portrayals of Jews and Judaism in the 1980 production.

MHT:RPR

77-700-63





POLICY BACKGROUND

AUGUST 29, 1977

THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) AND INTERNATIONAL ORDER

"Abu Mazer, the Spokesman of the PLO, stressed on the 17th of August that the PLO rejects Security Council Resolution 242. Likewise, it rejects peace or recognition of the Zionist entity. He added that the firm position of the PLO remains full adherence to the resolutions of the Palestinian National Council."

Middle East News Agency
August 17th, 1977

TERROR

1. The "armed struggle" in the words of Farouk Kadoumi is indeed continuing. Since the beginning of the year more than 50 attempts have been made by PLO terrorists to explode bombs in Israel. Two people have been killed, more than 120 wounded.
2. Since 1967, hundreds of attempts to kill and maim civilians, and destroy property, have taken place, among them the bloody murders of children at Ma'alot and Kiryat Shmona. But murder and injury are not just newspaper statistics. In the words of Prime Minister Begin: "When we say wounded, we don't describe the reality. We should say legless, armless, eyeless, handless people, maimed for a lifetime; all of them civilians, men, women, and children." (August 15, 1977)
3. The PLO has not confined itself to terrorism in Israel. Its attempts to set up a state within a state in Lebanon brought about murderous anarchy and a bloody civil war in that country. In Jordan, the PLO has been a constant source of inter-Arab strife, the height of which was reached in the attempt to take over that country in 1970.
4. In the world at large the PLO has played a major role in an international terror conspiracy. Aiming at the stability of Western democratic countries, it has inspired and cooperated with the Bader-Meinhof gang on the Entebbe hijacking, and with the Japanese Red Army on the massacre at Lod Airport. It was directly responsible for the murder of two American Ambassadors in Lebanon and Sudan. Innocent civilians in tens of countries have perished at its hands.

THE IDEOLOGY BEHIND THE "ARMED STRUGGLE"

1. The PLO has sought to justify its war of terror through an ideology which negates the existence of the Jewish people and their right to sovereignty in a state of their own.

2. The basic document giving expression to the ideology of the PLO is the Palestine National Covenant, adopted in 1964, the year the PLO was created by the Arab States, and amended in 1968. The articles of the Covenant state that:

"Palestine is the homeland of the Palestinian Arab people and an integral part of the great Arab homeland." (Article 1)

"...when the liberation of its homeland is completed it (the Palestinian people) will exercise self-determination solely according to its own will and choice." (Article 3)

"Jews who were living permanently in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion (defined as 1917) will be considered as Palestinian." (Article 6)

"...the establishment of Israel is fundamentally null and void..." and "the Balfour Declaration, the Mandate Document, and what has been based upon them are considered null and void. The claim of a historical or spiritual tie between Jews and Palestine does not tally with reality, nor with the constituents of statehood in their true sense." (Articles 19 and 20)

REFUSAL TO CHANGE THE COVENANT

In short, the aim of the PLO is politicide: the destruction of the State of Israel and its people. The PLO has not changed in any way the terms of the Covenant. Thus, the final communique of the 13th Palestinian National Council on the 21st of March, 1977, called for "the liberation of Palestine from the Zionist racist occupation" and for Israel's replacement by "the democratic State of Palestine."

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338

1. Security Council Resolution 242 is the only formula which has found acceptance by the States parties to the conflict. Its basic concept, "the establishment of a just and lasting peace" in the Middle East through agreement between the States concerned, is founded on the precept that the matters in dispute must be settled between the States.

2. Security Council Resolution 338, adopted after the 1973 Yom Kippur War, called upon the parties to start immediate implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 through negotiations. It does not include references to any resolution other than Security Council Resolution 242.

3. Security Council Resolution 242 calls for a "just settlement of the refugee problem" in clear recognition of the fact that in addition to a Palestine Arab refugee problem there is also a Jewish refugee problem.

4. Neither in its philosophy, nor in its language, is Security Council Resolution 242 concerned with the creation of a 22nd Arab State on the ruins of one Jewish State.

THE PLO AND SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242

The concepts of peaceful settlement demanded by Security Council Resolution 242 clearly involve relinquishing the "armed struggle". The Political Statement of the 13th National Council on March 21st, 1977, "emphasized opposition to this resolution and refusal to negotiate on its basis," and called for an "escalation of the "armed struggle".

This is not only an attitude, but a policy of complete opposition to both the letter and spirit of Security Council Resolution 242. The dedication to the ideology of the Covenant and the concept of "armed struggle" remains the policy of the PLO.

U.S. POLICY, SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242, AND THE PLO

Secretary of State Vance at a press conference in Jerusalem on the 16 of February, 1977, expressed U.S. policy towards the PLO when he said:

"As long as they (the PLO) stand by the Covenant and refuse to accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 this provides no basis for participation in the Geneva Conference."

On May 12th, 1977, President Carter elaborated on this when he stated that the United States Government....

"promised the Israeli Government that we would not recognize the PLO by direct conversations and negotiations as long as the PLO continued to espouse the commitment that Israel has to be destroyed."

The remarks of both President Carter and Secretary of State Vance reflect the basic principles governing the policies of Israel and the United States which were incorporated into the written agreements reached between the two countries following the disengagement talks with Egypt in the summer of 1975.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Whilst the Arab States accepted Security Council Resolution 242, the first prerequisite for any peace treaty achieved on the basis of Security Council Resolution 242, nevertheless, is the requirement that the Arab States specifically and explicitly recognize the right of Israel to exist.

2. Even if the PLO would accept Security Council Resolution 242, this would not then mean recognition of the right of Israel to exist. The guiding document of the PLO still remains the Palestinian Covenant, according to which the existence of Israel is null and void and should be replaced by a Palestinian State in the entire area of Palestine.

Both the United States and Israel have often stated that the mere acceptance of Security Council Resolution 242 is neither sufficient nor could it serve as a basis for regarding the PLO other than as it describes itself, namely, an organization bent upon the destruction of Israel as an independent, sovereign Jewish State.

3. The PLO is, therefore, neither a party nor a partner to negotiations. Its philosophy and its deeds cannot lead either to peace or to reconciliation, but are a prescription for continued strife and warfare, which endanger not only Israel's security but inflame the area as a whole.

4. Israel continues to believe firmly in the necessity for direct negotiations, without prior conditions, between the States involved on the basis of Security Council Resolution 242 in its entirety. Her strength is dedicated to the achievement of peace which is the highest goal and the prime necessity for the people of the entire area. This is a task and a hope which she shares with the United States.



POSTSCRIPT

Following a meeting of the Palestinian National Council in Damascus, the following statement was released:

1. Condemnation of all the United States and Zionist maneuvers...the council reiterates its rejection of any attempt aimed at liquidating the resolutions of the Palestinian National Council and to change the Arab attitude, as decided during the Arab summit conferences of Rabat and Cairo.
2. The council stresses the resolution of the Palestine National Council adopted during its last session and the 15 point political program adopted at the time, especially the National Council resolution regarding United Nations resolution 242, which ignores the national rights of our people and which deals with our cause as a refugee case. The central council appeals to the Arab nations on both the official and popular levels to live up to the national responsibility and confront the plot forged by those powers that are the enemy of our people, such as Zionism and American imperialism, and to extricate themselves from the confines of hesitation into confrontation.
3. The council also insisted on the importance of increasing our continuous armed struggle against Zionist occupation

New York Times, August 27, 1977.

LEONARD C. YASEEN
375 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022
(212) 838-2033

September 6, 1977

Mr. Elmer L. Winter, Chairman
Comm. for Economic Growth of Israel
5301 North Ironwood Road
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Dear Elmer:

I am very much impressed with the booklet you were kind enough to send me--"Israel's Uncommon Market".

The incentive program is clearly stated, and the May 1977 supplement describing each incentive in detail indicates a true appreciation of the problems an industrialist faces when he invests in a foreign country. Israel certainly qualifies as a leader in providing tax, tariff, depreciation, grants and loans concessions. Additionally, while wage rates are not as low as claimed in the brochure, they are indeed somewhat lower than the United States, and productivity is relatively high.

Some of the more successful foreign companies in Israel, to my knowledge, are manufacturing for domestic consumption. Those that are exporting, depending of course upon the product line, are being terribly punished by the Arab boycott. The natural market, the surrounding Arab countries, is of course closed to Israel-oriented industry. Iran is a booming market, but goods must be water-shipped to Turkey and then transferred to trucks for Iranian destinations. Africa remains a reasonably good market. France and other common market countries are more concerned with securing their oil supplies than purchasing Israeli-made products.

Most raw materials are a severe problem, necessitating freight costs both in and out. Another disadvantage is the decline of the Israeli pound against foreign currency. I believe I am correct in estimating that the pound decreased some 25% against the American dollar within a period of a year. (Perhaps this is

COPY

Mr. Elmer Winter

-2-

Sept. 6, 1977

the reason that all costs in the May 1977 supplement are indicated in Israeli currency rather than U.S. currency, which would be much simpler for an American businessman to understand.)

Realistically, the political situation is the one true barrier to a significant and positive change in the Israeli investment climate. The continuation of the consolidation of the Arab position can only diminish Israel's economic strength.

I admire and commend you, Elmer, for your unflagging commitment to Israel, and only wish that this brief reaction to your letter could be more positive.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Leonard C. Yaseen

LCY:M



AGENDA ITEM IV

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: WHAT ROLE FOR AJC?

The American Jewish Committee's commitment to public school integration is linked to our concern for quality education. Tensions surrounding efforts to desegregate public schools have frequently been so extreme that the efforts to provide quality have been obscured. Inadequate funding has compounded the problem. It is obvious that school desegregation has to be done better if the goal of truly integrated education is to be achieved.

Marilyn Braveman has recommended that AJC should focus on the community relations problems surrounding desegregation suits, and chapters have been encouraged to devise a role consistent with their perceived assessment of the local situation.

In cities where there were findings of segregation and where courts have ordered school boards to develop desegregation plans, several chapters have been involved in a variety of supportive activities. In addition to litigation, they have participated in coalitions urging peaceable implementation of court orders, worked with media on the quality of press coverage, developed materials to clarify desegregation plans in order to help fact replace rumor and worked with community groups on policy and safety issues.

For example, the Philadelphia Chapter worked behind the scenes to try to modify a desegregation plan it felt was too extreme to gain community support and be successfully implemented. The Los Angeles Chapter did not take a position on a specific desegregation plan, but organized a coalition of business, police, religious, civic and ethnic leadership to rally the community in support of peaceful compliance with the court decision. At the same time, the chapter worked with the Board of Education on staff training for desegregation and introduction of a multi-ethnic curriculum. The Dallas Chapter worked on a desegregation plan and participated actively in a coalition for smooth transition and peaceable implementation. The Cincinnati Chapter is affiliated with a metropolitan area religious coalition and will develop education materials geared to the Jewish community.

Irving Levine, through IPGI, has emphasized the acceptance and introduction of a multi-ethnic framework as basic to what he has called "pluralistic education." He has emphasized that pupil desegregation is only part of the school integration process. "Integration," he says, "is a dynamic concept that cannot alone rest on quantitative factors of racial balance but must eventually deal with group identity factors that go beyond the black-white dichotomy."

Irving believes that a school desegregation plan is not complete, and will lead to irreparable community tensions and eventual re-segregation, unless multi-ethnic and other "educational components" are integral parts of any plan. He has spelled out these components in a number of memoranda and

proposals and is also developing a tool which he calls "Pluralistic Education Indicators" which could be used to evaluate whether a community was moving in the right direction to achieve a proper quantitative and qualitative balance. The "Pluralistic Education Indicators" approach is also designed to enhance community bargaining and to develop trade-offs that will provide acceptable compromises of diverse group interests.

Irving thinks that all of this can be achieved within the legal structure of past desegregation decisions. He believes that the "pluralistic education" concept would be especially useful in school districts that face "de facto segregation" suits. He also believes that a major feature of the "pluralistic education" concept can now be introduced and monitored (especially in places where there is no substantial desegregation controversy) by using the recent National Council For the Social Studies "Curriculum Guidelines for Multiethnic Education." He suggests that AJC chapters begin a widespread campaign to implement the Council's recommendations (copy of the guidelines is enclosed) which he considers to be the most advanced in the field.

Marilyn and Irving agree that these approaches are compatible and should be discussed in the framework of the following events:

- 1) The U.S. Supreme Court decision mandated that the State of Michigan share the cost of remedial reading, guidance, teacher training and testing in a moderate compromise desegregation plan developed by the Detroit Board of Education and approved by the lower court. The Board's plan had included additional components, similar to those listed in the "Pluralistic Education Indicators" plan, as necessary to their program.

COULD SUCH AN APPROACH, WHICH HAS BEEN SUPPORTED BY MANY OPPOSING FACTIONS IN DETROIT, SERVE AS A MODEL FOR A SUCCESSFUL SCHOOL INTEGRATION PLAN WHICH WOULD ENHANCE THE THRUST OF BOTH APPROACHES?

- 2) Urban-suburban interchange of students is being suggested as a strategy to desegregate schools. An earlier Supreme Court decision on the Detroit desegregation plan denied the urban-suburban solution but in other cases the Court has allowed cross district busing. AJC does not have a specific position on this issue and therefore abstained from the JCRC program plan favoring it.

WHAT SHOULD BE OUR POSITION? HOW CAN WE UTILIZE THE DISCUSSION TO HIGHLIGHT OUR CONCERNS FOR QUALITY, INTEGRATED EDUCATION IN URBAN AND SUBURBAN SCHOOLS?

-- Prepared By Harold Applebaum

HA:fdg
August 25, 1977

#77-900-101

Agenda Item I

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

MISSION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1. Protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad.
2. Insuring Israel's security by building understanding and support for Israel's needs and aspirations, and clarifying the relationship between Israel and other Jewry.
3. Advancing national and international efforts to protect human rights, *justice,* throughout the world.
4. Combatting *anti-Semitism* and discrimination and helping to develop mutual understanding among America's diverse religious, racial and ethnic groups.
5. Reducing intergroup tensions in America and strengthening American pluralism.
6. Enriching the quality of Jewish life by strengthening Jewish identity, increasing understanding of our history and heritage, helping to make Jewish communal institutions responsive to changing Jewish needs.

PROPOSED MAJOR NATIONAL AJC PROGRAM OBJECTIVES FOR 1977-78*

Primary Overall Objectives (Priorities for Interdepartmental Coordination and Chapter Involvement)

1. Building support for Israel's position in the Middle East by programs of public interpretation on Middle East issues and representations to U.S. government officials.
2. Furthering and interpreting human rights concepts and issues, including: upholding the rights of Soviet Jewry by stimulating public support (particularly within the Christian community) in behalf of the right of Jews to emigrate, and seeking effective application of the Helsinki Declaration to the cause of Soviet Jewry; combatting the denial of rights to Jews in Argentina and other Latin American countries; and increasing understanding of the UN Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, and Economic and Social Rights.
3. Countering ~~anti-Jewish and~~ anti-Israel Arab influence in the United States, and combatting the Arab boycott.
4. Advocating an effective national energy policy to help keep America's foreign policy free of outside influence and to protect this country's economic and social well-being, through the promotion of educational programs for members and the general public on critical national and local energy issues and options.
5. Alleviating the negative community relations impact of economic trauma by promoting full employment and seeking improvement in social programs, both to reduce intergroup conflict and to protect the interests of Jews.

Anti-Semitism - Nazism - Holocaust

* Subject to further review by the National Program Commissions and the Staff Cabinet. Moreover, decisions about year-ahead objectives may change in response to unanticipated current events.

6. Defining policy and guidelines for educational and advocacy programs that strengthen the Jewish family and enhance its role in furthering Jewish identity; and exploring issues of common concern related to the maintenance of the family and the role of national public policy in this area with other ethnic and religious groups.

Other Major Objectives (Additional Departmental Priorities)

The Foreign Affairs Department, in addition to the programs cited previously, will explore possible programs relating to the Third World, particularly Africa, and will continue its activities within the UN and NGO structures to combat the violations of UN rules and misuse of UN forums.

The Interreligious Affairs Department will continue to seek to strengthen Evangelical-Jewish relations and to develop mutual understanding among these groups. It will also examine the possibility of opening up constructive dialogue between Jews and Arab Christians and Moslems in this country. In addition, it will advance understanding of the negative impact of religious cults on Jewish youth.

The Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity will focus on (a) strengthening Jewish alliances with ethnic, religious and other groups around such issues as neighborhood revitalization, national family policy, and economic issues affecting employment, housing and welfare needs, etc., and (b) examining the implications of ethnic identity as it relates to the satisfactions of group interests and the structure of the American pluralistic society.

The Jewish Communal Affairs Department will complete the study on the effects of intermarriage on Jewish continuity and will expand the group study programs of the Academy for Jewish Studies Without Walls.

The Domestic Affairs Department, through its various divisions, will continue to direct attention to the activities of anti-Semites and extremists; to participate in litigation of concern to AJC; to promote programs for Black-Jewish cooperation; to seek to improve the civil status of women and to increase their participation in Jewish communal life; to increase job opportunities for Jews in the executive suite; and to minimize intergroup tensions in public elementary and secondary education around such issues as integration and school finances. The department is studying the issue of undocumented aliens with a view toward developing policies and strategies to deal with this problem from an intergroup relations point of view. Also to be explored with the DAC is the development of a program which will lead to understanding of the proper balance between dissent and restraint in a free society around such issues as the criminal justice system, pornography, vigilantism, and limits to freedom of expression, etc.

PS:mb
Aug. 1977

77-900-95

To: Phyllis Sherman
From: Marc Tanenbaum

Background for
Staff Cabinet Meeting
September 7-8, 1977

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Agenda Item IX (c)

The Holocaust

For a variety of reasons -- not the least among them, the growing patterns of violence, terrorism, and massacres in many parts of the world -- there appears to be a rising interest among many Christians as well as Jews in confronting the Nazi Holocaust. Recently WOR-TV programmed four nightly hour-long programs on "World War II - The Final Solution." In April 1978, NBC-TV will sponsor nine hours of prime TV time devoted to a Jewish "Roots" based on a dramatization of "The Holocaust" (AJC is serving as their Jewish consultant in the U.S.).

The ADL, other Jewish groups, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, among Christian and ecumenical bodies, have been conducting important and useful programs based on increasing knowledge about the "facts" of the Holocaust. Our concern is that the majority of programs we have viewed tend to confirm an impression that "the Nazi Holocaust" is a "Jewish obsession" and Christians who are called upon to participate in such activity feel they are being asked to do Jews "another favor" (support of Israel, Soviet Jewry, combatting anti-Semitism, etc.).

We believe that the Holocaust was a massive, systematic breakdown in the moral standards of Western civilization, and set a precedent and a temptation for governments to dispose of "surplus people" when they believe it suits their political purposes. Witness Uganda, Ireland, Cyprus, USSR, Cambodia, etc. Convinced that AJC has a distinctive contribution to make in helping the Christian world recognize that they have a vested interest in understanding more deeply the universal implications of the Holocaust and its dehumanizing consequences for society at large, we propose that AJC undertake a program during the next three years. Among the highlights of our approach would be the following:

- a) Convening a national conference that would examine the Holocaust on an interdisciplinary basis, in a comprehensive study involving political scientists, historians, social psychologists, and theologians. A major emphasis in this conference would be: what can we learn from the rise of Nazism, its ideology, German cultural and religious traditions, that would help us better understand anti-Semitism today, but also the dynamics that feed violence, terrorism, massacres and dehumanization.
- b) If such a consultation proves effective, a program and literature could be produced that would lend itself to replication at universities and seminaries in various parts of the country.
- c) An interdisciplinary curriculum could be developed that could be used on many other levels of adult and youth education based on a theme such as, "The Age of Violence - Implications and Lessons Derived from Nazi Holocaust Experience."
- d) An interdisciplinary bibliography could be developed for use from secondary education levels, to adult education, college, university, and seminaries.
- e) Such materials could be used as the basis of mass media interpretation -- newspaper, magazine articles, op-ed pieces, radio, TV, etc.

Such an approach could well lend itself to foundation funding both nationally and locally. (As a starter, it might be useful to read "Religious Values in an Age of Violence," by Marc Tanenbaum).

THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN INSTITUTE
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Agenda Item IX (D)

Proposal for a Program Relating to the Third World

Need and Aims

There is an urgent need for a systematic program to counteract the anti-American, anti-Israel and anti-Zionist attitudes (with anti-Semitic derivatives) that have taken root in some parts of the Third World. A related need -- associated with these attitudes -- is to promote in the Third World a sympathetic understanding of basic liberal values, including the freedoms of speech, assembly, association, religion, conscience, and movement -- which have served as the philosophical and legal underpinning of Jewish security and well-being in the Western societies.

It is also necessary to interpret to the Third World governments the proper meanings -- and the application to Jews and other minorities -- of various human rights to which they profess commitment, such as the right to self-determination and to protection against discrimination (and incitement to hatred) on grounds of race, religion or national or ethnic origin. These rights have obvious implications for the situation in Southern Africa during and following the transition from minority to majority rule, and is a subject of growing concern to the Jews of South Africa.

To enlist the interest of Third World peoples, to establish credibility with their political and intellectual leaders, Jews must show sympathetic understanding for their legitimate needs and claims, and if possible, help in realizing them. On top of the Third World countries' agendas are the elimination of what remains of Western colonialism and white racism -- this mainly in Southern Africa -- and help in their economic and social development.

Any AJC activity undertaken in this regard should be targeted initially to moderate governments and non-governmental groups (to the extent that they exist) in the Third World, which are more interested in solving real economic and social problems than in scoring ideological points. Also initially, it should focus on Africa and include the following objectives and elements:

a. To demonstrate sympathetic concern for Third World needs and aspirations by supporting selectively, in public and private, legitimate programs espoused by its spokesmen in the UN and other international forums.

b. To inform Jews about the history, institutions, values and concerns of the peoples of the Third World, especially those in Black Africa and Latin America.

Over --

c. To correct unfair attacks on the U.S. and distorted understanding of American policies, including those relating to the Middle East.

d. To correct distorted perceptions about Israel and Jews, by informing and interpreting to Third World governments and peoples Israeli and Jewish history, institutions, values, customs and concerns.

e. To engage the Third World -- through its religious leaders, scholars, intellectuals and other elites -- in a dialogue on human rights issues, with the object of understanding their concerns and priorities (e.g., in the economic and social areas) and of contributing to their appreciation and understanding of the American libertarian tradition in the area of civil and political rights. In this connection, to encourage discussion and sympathetic understanding of the concept of minority protection during and following the transition from minority to majority rule in Southern Africa.

Proposal

It is proposed to retain on a part-time basis a specialist on African affairs to help develop and carry out a program in implementation of the aforementioned aims. The budget envisaged is \$25,000 per year for a three-year experimental period, of which \$18-20,000 per year would go toward salaries (professional and secretarial) and \$5-7,000 to cover various program costs. The specialist would establish and maintain ongoing relationships with institutions and key personalities involved with Third World concerns. To begin with, we would embark on the following special programs: (1) a conference on "Africa and World Affairs"; (2) a series of public talks and other forms of dialogue before Jewish audiences on selected African countries and (3) an inventory of American Jewish businessmen, scientists and others engaged in commercial, educational, scientific and other pursuits in connection with Third World countries and (4) special publications as appropriate.

**

Conference on Africa and World Affairs

Purpose

It is clear to both Africans and the rest of the world that the African continent is undergoing a period of fundamental change, which will impact significantly on Africa's role in world politics. The newness of Africa's presence in world affairs poses a searching question regarding the real role of African states as actors in international politics. A conference bringing together specialists in various areas relevant to African diplomacy would enhance our general knowledge of African aims and strategies in

world affairs, including understanding of the cultural and religious factors affecting African foreign policy as well as the dilemma confronting African states as they assume a more pro-Arab stance while maintaining a hidden admiration for Israel. In this connection, it would provide the opportunity for an exchange of views on African-Israeli relations. It would also provide the occasion for an exchange of views on issues relating to protection of minorities during and after the transition from minority to majority rule in Southern Africa -- the latter being of increasing concern to the Jews of South Africa.

Topics

The conference would concentrate on four principal areas: A) Africa and the superpowers; B) Africa and the Middle East conflict; C) Africa and the United Nations, and D) Southern Africa.

A. Africa and the superpowers

Beginning with Ghana and Guinea in 1957 and 1958 respectively, the Soviet Union's interest in Africa became a matter of concern to the United States. And in the Congo crisis in 1960, the U.S. policy of "containing" Communism was demonstrated in the eventual success of the American-backed faction in the Congolese civil war and the eventual assumption of power by President Mobutu. The conference would examine the extent of the superpower involvement in Africa today as well as their respective methods of "selling" power and prestige in that continent.

B. Africa and the Middle East

Generally, the African approach to the Middle East problems represents the dilemma posed by cultural, religious and racial factors in international relations. Africa faces a dilemma in the Middle East. Too much support for the Arabs alienates Israel and deprives the African states of the much needed Israeli technical aid, and non-support of the Palestinian cause would be viewed as a betrayal of the Arabs. How the African states are trying to solve this dilemma is of great importance to Arabs and Israelis. The conference will discuss whether there is a constructive role for the African states in the Middle East.

C. Africa and the United Nations

The importance of Africa's role in the United Nations is evident from the fact that nearly one-third of its members are from the African continent. Since the 1960's, African states have played a major role in

the organization, particularly in the area of decolonization, and no General Assembly resolution could be approved without the support of the African bloc. The conference would examine how African states use their numerical strength in influencing the outcome of U.N. disputes on crucial issues, such as those relating to the Middle East crisis, economic development, and decolonization.

D. Southern Africa

An overriding objective of Black Africa is to complete the process of eliminating the remaining continent's bastions of colonialism and racism -- i.e., in Southern Africa -- by substituting majority rule for minority rule. An obstacle to achieving this justified objective is the concern of the white minorities in the region, including the substantial Jewish community in South Africa, about the impact on their situation of majority rule, especially during the transition from white minority domination. Their concern is heightened by recollection of the frightening experience of non-black minorities in Uganda and other black-ruled African countries. Despite the sensitivity of the subject at this time when the black majority is still cruelly repressed in the region, it is not premature to make it -- i.e., the protection of minorities during and following the transition to majority rule -- a legitimate subject of international discussion and concern.

Sponsorship

Because of the widespread interest in African affairs, there is reason to believe that various prestigious institutions would be receptive to an invitation to co-sponsor a conference of this nature, such as Columbia University's African Institute, the Yale Institute of International Studies, Princeton's Center for International Studies, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Program of Talks before Jewish Audiences

A second project would be a series of forums and other forms of dialogue focused on particular Third World countries, beginning with two or three African countries in the politically moderate category (e.g., Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Senegal, Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia).

In the initial contact with the prospective lecturer, who might be his country's ambassador to the U.S. or the U.N., we would explain our purpose to be the self-education of Jews about

his country's people, culture, governmental system, and economic and social problems -- and our hope, thereby, to be in a better position to exert a positive influence on U.S. policies toward his country.

The audience would consist of AJC members and guests. Each talk would be preceded or followed by an intimate dinner or cocktail reception at which the lecturer (possibly accompanied by colleagues) would meet with a smaller group of AJC members, previously briefed, to discuss selected issues of common interest.

Inventory

It would be helpful, as an aid in our Third World program, to have information about American Jewish businessmen, scientists, educators and others with Third World connections. Information of this nature is obtainable from various sources, such as business reference manuals, trade associations and academic and professional societies. We would undertake to develop such an inventory of persons who could prove invaluable to us for advice on program, for special conferences with Black African leaders, for collaboration on particular joint projects, etc.

SL:jr

May 18, 1977

77-900-97

AGENDA ITEM I (D)

NATIONAL PUBLIC POLICY ON FAMILY LIFE

In the past year IPGI has been active in pursuing programmatic and coalitional approaches based on the theme of "Family Policy in a Pluralistic Society."

Through conferences in Chicago and Washington, through published articles and through its contacts with the White House and with HEW, IPGI has succeeded in getting the question of the diverse nature of American society factored into the discussion on new national policy for families. It has also raised the issue of upgrading awareness of and support for the use of informal and natural helping systems as a vehicle for strengthening family life.

IPGI holds consultative status with the planners of the forthcoming White House Conference on Families and plays a similar role with the President's Commission on Mental Health.

IPGI helped form a 25 member "Coalition For the White House Conference on Families" made up of major national organizations.

This coalition adopted two planks recommended by IPGI which includes the following language: a. "---define the common needs of contemporary American families including the special needs that grow out of economic, cultural structural and life-style diversity." b. "---the White House Conference should give a focus to how these systems (informal and natural systems of self-help and mutual aid) can be strengthened by government policy."

During the next program year IPGI hopes, in cooperation with AJC chapters, to replicate the successful Chicago and Washington conference models. Such conferences are already scheduled for Philadelphia and Long Island.

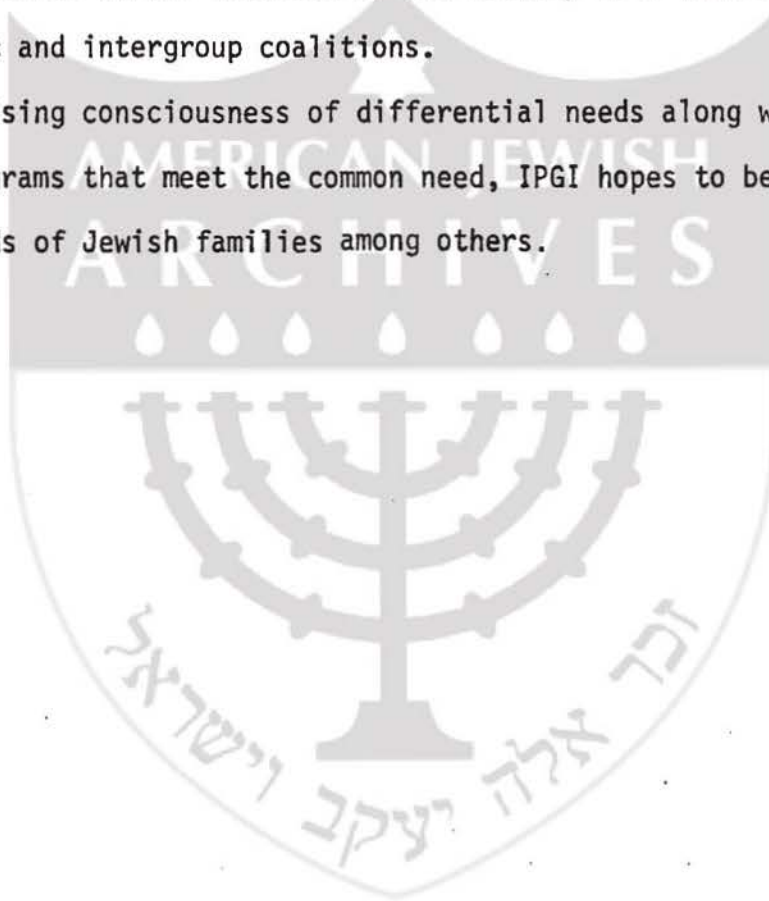
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IPGI will help stimulate the creation of local coalitions modeled after the national coalition.

IPGI will also publish a pamphlet on the pluralistic nature of American families to be issued just prior to the White House Conference.

Through these activities in the generic area of family policy, IPGI hopes among other goals to use the strong feelings for better support systems for American families in all sections of the society as a vehicle to build new multi-ethnic and intergroup coalitions.

By raising consciousness of differential needs along with strong support for programs that meet the common need, IPGI hopes to better legitimate the special needs of Jewish families among others.



Rebuilding the Cities: The Task for the Coming Decade

Introduction

The domestic life of America during the past ten years (1967-77) has been characterized by national dissension, racial violence, ethnic tension and economic strain. The underlying events which gave rise to this picture can be counted off: the riots and burning of the cities in 1967-8; the N.Y. school strike; the Vietnam war; Watergate; school busing; and others well-known. With the exception of Watergate, the issues noted are intimately related to economic matters and are primarily an urban phenomenon (with the possible additional exception of the Vietnam war which also affected rural and suburban communities.)

During the recent violence and looting which followed the black-out in New York, a resident of a burned-out area commented to a television reporter: "Brooklyn has been burning but no one paid attention." Whether the flames are actually levelling the cities at this very moment is a short-sighted view; our cities are dying, they are being levelled by a series of circumstances economic in nature, and compounded by years of hostility and neglect of a government that saw the cities as political enemies, and by the frustration of citizens and inaction of local government immobilized by financial stringencies.

As has been said many times: Jews have much to lose in the death of the cities. But they also have much to gain in their rebuilding. AJC has pointed out that Jews are essentially an urban people, bound to the cities by economic, social and cultural ties and by the presence of our existing institutions of learning, religion and service.

Jews and Jewish institutions are seriously affected by the problems of the cities. The greatest proportion of Jews are in the middle class and the problems of the cities impact severely upon them: a disproportionately large number of elderly, many still living in the cities; Jewish civil servants being dismissed in the financial crunch of government; self-employed businessmen, many in small businesses struggling to survive; unemployed young college graduates and academics. Of course, the poor Jews suffer with other poor people the effects of curtailment of welfare services, public health services, housing, family and children's services, and special services for the aged. And Jewish communal institutions and structures are impaired and often abandoned, diminishing and eroding the creative impulses that give vitality to Jewish communal existence.

Anti-Semitism is deeply embedded in western culture and religion and has been used in explosive ways under triggering circumstances. Continuing economic problems and the resulting urban turmoil could provide the trigger.

We dare not wait until it happens. The rebuilding of neighborhoods and the cities are in the Jewish self-interest and may indeed be the most "particularist" issue of all. In presenting these program projections we note that if we are to make an effective contribution to domestic tranquillity and Jewish security we must combine the efforts of the national agency and our chapters toward sound social policy, effective community activity and the education about these issues of staff, lay membership and the general public. We see this as a cooperative program.

Our program projections are presented in three major areas:

- I. Information and education of staff, members and the community
- II. National Program
- III. Community Program

* * * * *

Program

I. Information, education of members, staff, the community (National)

1. Pamphlet The Social Costs of Unemployment: How to help defuse intergroup conflicts
2. Slim-Jim Sad Tales of Intergroup Conflicts in the Cities: Vignettes and case histories that document the economic factors in these situations
3. Slim-Jim Where AJC Stands: Our history of involvement over the years in civil rights and how this became transformed into economic concerns. To be sent to all AJC members
4. Monthly Papers How Rebuild Our Cities: The Treasuries of Civilization
 - a. Work: Healer of the Cities
 - b. Welfare and the Poor
 - c. How Fund Our Schools?
 - d. Discarding Knowledge and Skills: Mandatory Retirement
 - e. At the End of Work - Social Security: Its problems and future
 - f. Economics and the New Radical Right: A look at the trends and new strategy concentrating on the disaffection of many Americans resulting from economic dislocation
 - g. Is There a Place for Youth? Unemployment and alienation
 - h. Minorities and Affirmative Action: What works?
 - i. Room at the Top? Executive employment for whom?

II. National Program

1. A one-day National Consultation (Nov. 1977-Jan. 1978). Social costs of unemployment in the Jewish community and in the general community. Some issues: what happens when father and/or mother are laid off? Effects

of lost income on mental health; on the aged; on the young college graduates; the social agencies. What's happening to our kids? (DAD)

2. National Full Employment Week (September 4 - 10) and activity following that date. AJC is part of the Full Employment Action Council. Richard Maass or Bert Gold to be part of a delegation expected to meet with President Carter in September. (DAD)
3. Creation of a National Committee for Effective Affirmative Action (NCEAA). (Fall, 1977). We will move to get ethnic, minority, labor, religious, civil rights, education, women and business groups and individuals to promote specific affirmative action programs that we believe can work and will counter the pressure of quotas. This plan is being undertaken to relieve and counter the pressure we expect partly as a result of the Bakke case which the Supreme Court will hear in the fall. (DAD and IPGI)
4. Hold a National Consultation to consider new methods of financing for school systems, that will move toward a more adequate and equitable funding and to relieve community tensions erupting around schools. The consultation will involve the Education Commission of the States. (National Education Committee).
5. AJC sent a letter to Pres. Carter giving general support to his recently announced welfare program. The Domestic Affairs Commission will establish an ad-hoc committee to analyze the specifics on which AJC might need up-dated policy. A policy statement on social services not necessarily related to cash grants; and other new issues are to be considered. (DAD)
6. Meetings with Federal officials to establish a Federal Resource Center, possibly in the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice, to expedite the flow of dollars and programs to those cities experiencing severe intergroup tensions. Such a program was instituted by President Johnson in 1965 and will serve as a model. (DAD)
7. Preparation of a document as a guide to the establishment of a Center for Community Development, following the successful N.Y. Chapter experience. This is to be addressed to local community groups, including AJC chapters, to encourage such programs in limited areas of the cities as demonstrations of how cities may begin to rebuild. (CCD)
8. We are currently involved in discussion with Federal officers (Labor Department and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) to secure governmental support for the use of unemployment insurance as a supplement to voluntary worksharing as a means of reducing friction between unions and minorities and women, who because of discrimination have traditionally been the last-hired and first fired. There are indications that the Labor Department will undertake a demonstration project in one state as a test of the viability of this approach. (DAD)

III. Community Programs

1. Field staff is asked to respond to the efforts involved in promoting National Full Employment Week in their cities and states by (1) spearheading a local Full Employment Coalition made up of ethnic, labor, women,

youth, business and civil rights groups; and/or joining such a local coalition. (Currently eight chapters are so involved; our goal is at least 20.)

2. Chapters will be asked to make special efforts to give wide distribution to the pamphlets, Slim-Jims, and monthly papers to be prepared by the Domestic Affairs Department. AJC members, the general community, civil rights organizations, columnists, newscasters, the media should be covered.
3. Following national efforts to create a National Committee for Effective Affirmative Action, we plan to help local chapters in key metropolitan areas where the issue is explosive to utilize a similar mechanism. No matter what the final Supreme Court decision may be, this may be the major vehicle to interpret the issues in the Bakke case which may be obscured by the emotions surrounding the case.
4. Following the national discussion on the existence of Jewish poverty in the United States which went on during the period 1971-3, there was evidence of community efforts to identify the poor and to provide services and referrals to appropriate agencies. Currently, there is some indication that with the economic situation of the past two years, there are now new groups of Jewish poor among younger people: single-parent families (a growing phenomenon); college graduates; drop-outs (these are the products of the late 1960s, now in their late 20's and early 30's: untrained, inexperienced, no work skills.) Chapters are urged to up-date their earlier knowledge of the community situation. This will be of enormous help in our planned national consultation.
5. Following the model set by the N.Y. Chapter in the Center for Community Development (Forest Hills and Coney Island areas) a selected number of chapters are to be asked to undertake a local community audit identifying the tension areas that are related to the problems of employment, welfare, housing, health, etc. The purpose of such an audit is to guide the local community in pinpointing issues that need addressing by local groups. The ultimate goal is to establish local Neighborhood Consultation Centers where small businessmen, landlords, and the community may come for guidance.
6. Following the recent looting in New York City, our area director volunteered his services in setting up 14 Neighborhood Business Assistance Teams staffed by volunteer lawyers, accountants, insurance specialists and bank representatives to provide technical help and counselling services to small businessmen. Our goal is to try to prevent the chaos that exists when a crisis occurs. These centers are seen as a method by which the community may begin to heal the wounds that already exist as a result of the experience of the last years.

A.G.W.
8/16/77

AJC Staff Cabinet Meeting
September 7-8, 1977

Background Discussion Paper
Permissiveness, Restraint & the Social Contract

In its simplest form the concept of a Social Contract describes a system in which government is permitted to control behavior in return for which it agrees to protect lives and property. Increasingly we face circumstances, particularly in the urban centers of our nation, in which government is perceived as inadequate in carrying out its part of the agreement. At the same time substantial numbers of individuals refuse to conform to the controls of their behavior which government requires of them.

The increase in public concern over acts of terrorism, physical violence and crime generally, reduces respect for government which is seen as unwilling or incapable of controlling this frightening behavior. Further erosion takes place when certain societal values are challenged and government institutions, such as the courts, seem helpless in preserving the old ideals e.g. the breakdown of the family seems omnipresent as represented by increasingly high divorce rates, common law marriages, pornography and prostitution.

The disaffection for government is fed further by the awareness of its frailties and that nothing seems to work any more. It can't supply enough jobs for those who want to work, keep prices out of the stratosphere or keep its highest officials honest. "It can't even win a war anymore."

These are heady pickings for use by the bigot, demagogue and anti-Semite. Perhaps more importantly, portions of many of these views are held by our own members and probably, to a much larger degree, by others in the Jewish community.

Samuel Johnson once noted that "one of the best tests of an individual's perception was the number of paradoxes he or she could retain while believing that each contradictory premise was true." Numerous contradictions face us as we consider a domestic program for 1978. Let me briefly note several - AJC values in conflict.

1. We are committed to efforts to revive our cities. These efforts are stymied, at least in part, by the reputation that cities have for a high crime rate. Some of our members are publicly urging that we take a hard line on imprisonment as a means of protecting the innocent against the savages of the criminal. Should we support such a view?

2. Neighborhood stabilization is difficult at best. It is almost impossible when a neighborhood is seen as being devastated by the unsavory activities of "undesirable" individuals. Neighborhood racial integration has been the traditional fear. There are other events we have not been as close to. Porno shops and prostitution have served to stigmatize communities and hasten the destruction of some neighborhoods. Should we support establishment of "battle zones" as in Boston and Detroit? How about legalized red light districts? Are these really "victimless crimes" when young children are propositioned on public streets, or when merchants claim the ambience has destroyed their operations because customers don't wish to be hassled by the purveyors of exotic erotica? Is society itself threatened by the tribute paid to organized crime operations

Social
meanness

2.(cont.)

which control these activities.

3. We support school integration, in part, because we believe it enhances the quality of the educational experience. In the more than two decades since the Brown decision has there been hard evidence that integration has accomplished its goal of quality? Where busing is demanded or mandated by the courts does this serve to weaken neighborhoods we are committed to strengthen? If so, do we have any resources, ideological or functional to stem this deterioration?

4. Freedom of Speech is ardently defended by us in our statements of beliefs. Should we have castigated the holocaust survivors who destroyed a Nazi Book Store in San Francisco? Should we support the ACLU's defense of the right of Nazis to march in Skokie? Should we have supported Flynt in the "Hustler Case" or those in the women's movement who protested that that magazine and others like it defamed women?

5. Vigilante activity has had an honorable as well as a dishonorable history in this nation. If the Social Contract is inadequate to our need for safety of our property and our lives should we, at least for a time, support or oppose private efforts towards those ends: e.g. neighborhood patrols such as those of the Hassidim in Williamsburg; the JDL; mercenaries (Pinkerton guards)?

6. How much and what kind of dissent should we defend? Destruction of property? Occupation of public or private buildings? By the Hanafi? The JDL? How about disruptions in courtrooms or classrooms? Are protest parades ok..... even if they regularly take place in front of your house?

7. Is the future of the Jewish family, among others, threatened by "immorality" (in the classical sense of that word) e.g. increased use of alcohol and drugs; non-marital co-habitation; sexual promiscuity? If so, what role for AJC?

It is argued that Jewish liberal views on these issues leave us with unreliable allies while isolating us from emerging political forces e.g. Catholics, ethnics, and middle America. It is further argued that an AJC liberal posture alienates us from the majority of Jews. Is this true and if so, what responsibilities does this impose upon us re our domestic agenda?

Seymour Samet
8/12/77

77-900-94



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

September 8, 1977

Dear Friend:

It gives me great pleasure to invite you to attend the next meeting of our National Interreligious Affairs Commission to be held Thursday, September 29, from 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. at our AJC headquarters. A buffet lunch will be served. This will be our first meeting of the new program year, and we wish to consult with you on a number of important issues affecting American Jewry, Israel and other Jewish communities. Among these vital concerns are:

1. A report on the proposed revision of the 1980 Oberammergau Passion play, which was previewed last month by an Interreligious Affairs Commission delegation in which I had the privilege of participating;
2. A discussion of the latest developments in Israel -- including the West Bank Settlements, the PLO, and Jerusalem -- and their implications for our programs with Christian groups;
3. An examination of our projected program with Evangelical Christians -- including a report on Dr. Billy Graham's meeting with Hungarian Jewish leaders;
4. A proposal on an interreligious approach to the study of the Nazi Holocaust;
5. The Belgrade Conference on Helsinki and Human Rights -- implications for the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry.

Please call 751-4000 (Ext. 375) by September 26 to indicate if we may expect you on the 29th. Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum and the IAD, as well as I, look forward to seeing your attendance and active participation. We wish you and your loved ones a healthy, peaceful and productive New Year.

Cordially,

Miles Jaffe
National Chairman
Interreligious Affairs Commission

MJ/es
Enclosures

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77-700-66



הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו-יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

September 12, 1977

Dear Friend,

Speculation that the so-called PLO would, during a meeting held in Damascus last month, moderate its position calling for the elimination of Israel was obviously unwarranted. (The decisions of that meeting, rejecting UN Resolution 242 and peace, were mailed to you as a postscript to our recent policy background dated August 29).

Those who followed the statements (enclosed) of leaders of the PLO immediately prior to that meeting were not surprised. For the PLO had repeatedly rejected UN Resolution 242, peace and recognition of Israel, and demanded an end to her existence.

Is it possible that the expectation of a moderating approach in the PLO position, which did not materialize, resulted from a failure on the part of the U.S. media to give proper coverage to those PLO statements which clearly express their true intentions?

Sincerely yours,

Yaakov Levy
Consul of Israel

LET THEM SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES...

Arafat to BBC:

In an interview by David Frost, PLO leader, Arafat, stated:

"NON-RECOGNITION, EVACUATION OF JEWS FROM ISRAEL"

- Arafat: "I want the Palestinian rights, the rights of my people, the whole rights."
- Frost: "But do the whole rights mean that there cannot be a State of Israel?"
- Arafat: "The matter does not depend on me. The matter depends on the shape and the formula of the peace."
- Frost: "...Would that Palestinian state of yours recognize Israel?"
- Arafat: "The matter is not recognition. The matter is how will be the shape of the peace in the future...we insist to establish our independent state or independent authority in any part of Palestine from which the Jews were evacuated."
- Frost: "And...if you have a situation where there was a Palestinian state, let us say in the West Bank and Gaza and in a couple of other (Arafat interrupts:)"
- Arafat: "No, No, not to say Gaza or West Bank, any part of Israel, any part of the occupied territories from which they will be evacuated."

(London BBC Domestic Television Service, in English, 30 June 1977).

LET THEM SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES...

PLO Spokesmen:

PLO REJECTS PEACE: UN RESOLUTION 242

1. "The PLO rejects United Nations Security Council Resolution 242. Similarly the PLO rejects any kind of peace and recognition of the Zionist entity. The PLO fully adheres to the decisions of the National Palestinian Council."

Abu-Maiser, Spokesman of the PLO
Middle East News Agency, August 17, 1977

2. "We reject UN Resolution 242 not only because it treats the Palestinians as refugees. It is mainly rejected because it demands that we need to recognize the Zionist entity. The Palestinian masses will oppose any side which accepts this resolution (242)."

Bassam Abu-Sheriff, Spokesman
Popular Front (PFLP)
Beirut, August 23, 1977

LET THEM SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES...

PLO Spokesman:

PLO WILL EXECUTE EVERY ARAB LEADER
WHO RECOGNIZES ISRAEL

Basam Abu-Sheriff, spokesman of the so-called Popular Front for
the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) said on July 13, 1977:

"We are determined to undermine every settlement under
the auspices of the United States. Every Arab leader who
will recognize Israel will be executed. Not one of them
will escape the death sentence...If an agreement will be
reached speedily we will hit hard."

LET THEM SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES...

PLO Leader Farouk Kaddoumi:

CREATION OF PALESTINIAN STATE
IS ONLY AN INTERIM STAGE

In an interview to the periodical, El Mustakabel (published in Paris), Farouk Kaddoumi condemned all demands that the Palestinians should recognize so called "secure boundaries" for Israel. He said:

"We cannot contemplate such recognition as this would mean forfeiting part of our territories....Our interim aim is the creation of an independent State on every part of our territory which will be liberated. Throughout the world there have been similar developments. For example in Vietnam. The Vietnamese decided on the creation of North Vietnam as a start and ten years later they liberated South Vietnam."

(Quoted by Radio Cairo "The Voice of Palestine" on July 2, 1977)

LET THEM SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES...

PFLP leader:



AMERICAN JEWISH
"PUT AN END TO THE ZIONIST STATE"
ARCHIVES

"We will continue to fight for the setting up of a democratic, multiracial and multiconfessional Palestinian state. To achieve this, it is necessary to put an end to the Zionist state and liberate the whole of the occupied Palestinian territories."

(Interview in Algiers with PFLP Exec. Committee member Taysir Qubba'ah and members of Fatah "dissident wing", Salah Nasier and Abu Yuhud, reported by CAMBIO 16, in Spanish, 4-10 July 1977).

LET THEM SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES...

PLO Observer at the UN :

ELIMINATE ZIONISM!

Interviewed on the "Good Morning America" show aired on WABC-TV and the ABC Television Network August 4 1977, PLO Observer at the UN, Zehdi Terzi stated:

"What are we doing? We are playing our role also to eliminate one form of racism which is Zionism."

Note: Mr. Terzi repeated this theme when interviewed on WNYU radio station February 24, 1977. When asked: Why is the destruction of Israel still included in the PLO Charter? he said: "For the simple reason that Zionism has been defined as a form of racism."

LET THEM SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES...

Syrian President Assad:

NO TRADE, NO COOPERATION, NO
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

In an interview with a Copenhagen newspaper, Syria's President Assad stated that peace means an end of the state of war and not diplomatic recognition of the Jewish state. He is not ready for cooperation and trade. He pointed out that Israel must withdraw to the borders of the 1947 UN demarcation plan, that is, to an even smaller area than before the 1967 war, and accept the 'return' of all Palestinian refugees.

(interview by Danish journalist Mogens Kofod-Hansen for Copenhagen paper Berlingske Tidende, 4 July 1977).



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

Marc Tanenbaum
September 12, 1977

TO: Members of the Board of Governors
FROM: Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman

Reminder: Next Meeting--Tuesday, September 20, 1977 - 2:00 P.M.
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y.

Our meeting next Tuesday will begin promptly at 2:00 P.M. and adjourn at 6:00 P.M.

In addition to the items mentioned in the earlier announcement you received--namely, a special report by Daniel Yankelovich on his recent nationwide poll on attitudes toward Israel, and a consideration of the situation in Argentina, there will be several other items of importance on our agenda.

The officers are recommending a change in the Bylaws in accordance with the memorandum enclosed. It is hoped that this change might be acted on by the National Executive Council in Atlanta in late October upon recommendation of the Board of Governors.

The Ad Hoc Committee on Energy will present a set of recommendations to the Board concerning future policy and program for AJC. A background memorandum on the questions to be posed for our consideration is also enclosed.

I look forward to seeing you on the 20th, and if you have not yet notified the office of your intention to be with us, I hope you will do so promptly.

All good wishes to you and yours for a happy, healthy and peaceful New Year!

MIW/pcb
Encls.

Maynard

77-100-143

P. S. I commend to your attention the enclosed report on the 1980 Oberammergau Passion Play.

RICHARD MAASS, President ■
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■ BERTRAM H. GOLD, Executive Vice-President

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

For consideration by the
Board of Governors
Tuesday, September 20, 1977

At the June meeting of the officers, it was agreed that Section 1 of our Bylaws should be changed to permit resident aliens to become members of the American Jewish Committee.

Our Bylaws presently stipulate that "Jews, their spouses and children, who are citizens of the United States...shall be eligible for membership in the Committee." The officers have recommended the possibility of changing that section of the Bylaws to read, "Jews, their spouses and children, who are citizens or resident aliens of the United States...shall be eligible to become members of the Committee."

There are a number of individuals presently affiliated with the Committee--and a number who would like to be--who are not citizens, such as the Latin American Associates group, loosely related to our Washington, D.C. chapter, and a number of individuals who are Canadian citizens who have been residing in this country for some time and who have been associated with various chapters of the Committee.

Upon checking with other American Jewish organizations we find that none of them restrict membership to American citizens. The B'nai B'rith requirements for eligibility are "anyone of the Jewish faith." The Bylaws of the American Jewish Congress state that "any Jew over 18 who agrees with the principles of the organization" is eligible to join. The Zionist Organization of America states, "every Jew 18 or over residing in the United States or its territorial possessions," is eligible for membership. The National Council of Jewish Women states that "any person who is interested in the purposes of the organization may become a member upon payment of dues."

The officers request that the Board of Governors consider and approve such a change in our Bylaws at this meeting so that the Board's recommendation may be acted upon by the National Executive Council in Atlanta at the end of October.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.
September 12, 1977

To: Board of Governors

From: Harris L. Kempner, Jr., Chairman
Ad Hoc Committee on Energy

In accordance with the recommendations made by a significant number of you at the June 14th Board of Governors meeting, the Ad Hoc Committee on Energy met over the summer in an attempt to arrive at policy recommendations on several specific aspects of the President's Energy Plan, which are now being debated in Congress.

The Ad Hoc Committee on Energy deliberated at some length about whether AJC should take an advocacy position on specific energy issues. It did not lean decidedly on either side of this question, although a slight majority did favor our taking a stand. The Committee felt that a final decision on this matter should be left to the Board of Governors, and further decided that it would make no recommendation to the Board on this question.

However, if the Board were to decide that AJC should take a position, the Committee felt that it had the responsibility to give the Board its views on three domestic production issues which it deemed to be central to an effective national energy policy. The Committee chose to start with domestic production incentive issues because this is the portion of the President's plan about which we are most critical.

The three issues the Committee considered were:

- (1) Deregulation of new natural gas as compared with the President's plan which puts a cap of \$1.75 on most new natural gas. The Committee overwhelmingly preferred deregulation of new natural gas as compared to the President's plan. The Committee recognized that there is a range of options between deregulation of new natural gas and the President's plan, but it framed the question in this manner so as to sharpen the issue.
- (2) The President's plan for a crude oil wellhead tax as compared with the present legislation which provides for gradual, scaled escalation of the average price of oil. The Committee was overwhelmingly opposed to the President's plan for a crude oil wellhead tax.
- (3) The speedup of offshore drilling on the outer continental shelf, provided there are adequate onshore environmental safeguards. The Committee overwhelmingly favored this proposition.

In each instance, the Committee's decision was based on the belief that the actions recommended would be more likely to increase domestic production at lower cost

to the consumer than would the alternative. The Committee's preferred positions would thus meet AJC's stated objective to reduce U.S. imports of energy from foreign sources at lower costs to the consumer, when possible.

On September 20th the Board will be asked to act on the following questions:

- (1) *Should AJC enter the national debate on energy issues by taking advocacy positions on specific aspects of U.S. energy plans?*
- (2) *If so, (A) should AJC favor the President's plan or deregulation of new natural gas? (B) Should AJC favor the President's plan for a crude oil wellhead tax or the present legislation? (C) Should AJC favor the speedup of offshore drilling on the outer continental shelf, providing there are adequate onshore environmental safeguards?*

As background for our discussion, the Energy Committee is providing you with the attached material on deregulation and the crude oil wellhead tax, which we urge you to read in advance of the meeting. On the third question, offshore drilling, no material is enclosed because it was felt that this issue is sufficiently well understood and we did not wish to burden you with more reading matter.

HLKJr:mb
Enclosures

77-900-110



Background for discussion
Board of Governors
September 20, 1977

A COMPARISON OF THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN FOR PRICING
NATURAL GAS WITH DEREGULATION (PROS AND CONS)

I. Fundamental Problem: The United States is dependent upon a cartel of foreign countries as the source for its marginal supply of energy. These foreign sources can effectively determine the price of energy in the United States and will do so unless the cartel is broken. Since we do not control our own costs, the highest probability is that the price of energy to the United States consumer will increase over the next ten to fifteen years no matter what policies are adopted.

II. The main goal of any United States' energy policy should be to take those actions best suited to break this price spiral as quickly as possible by reducing demand and increasing supplies. It must again be recognized that any action taken will be inflationary, to a greater or lesser extent.

III. Therefore, any analysis of the various energy plan components should not be considered in a vacuum, but rather must take into account the relative inflationary costs and effects on supply of alternative policies. Within this framework we move to comparison of arguments covering the President's plan of initially capping the price at \$1.75 per MCF* on most NEW gas versus deregulation of NEW gas.

A. INFLATIONARY EFFECT OF DEREGULATION VS ALTERNATIVES

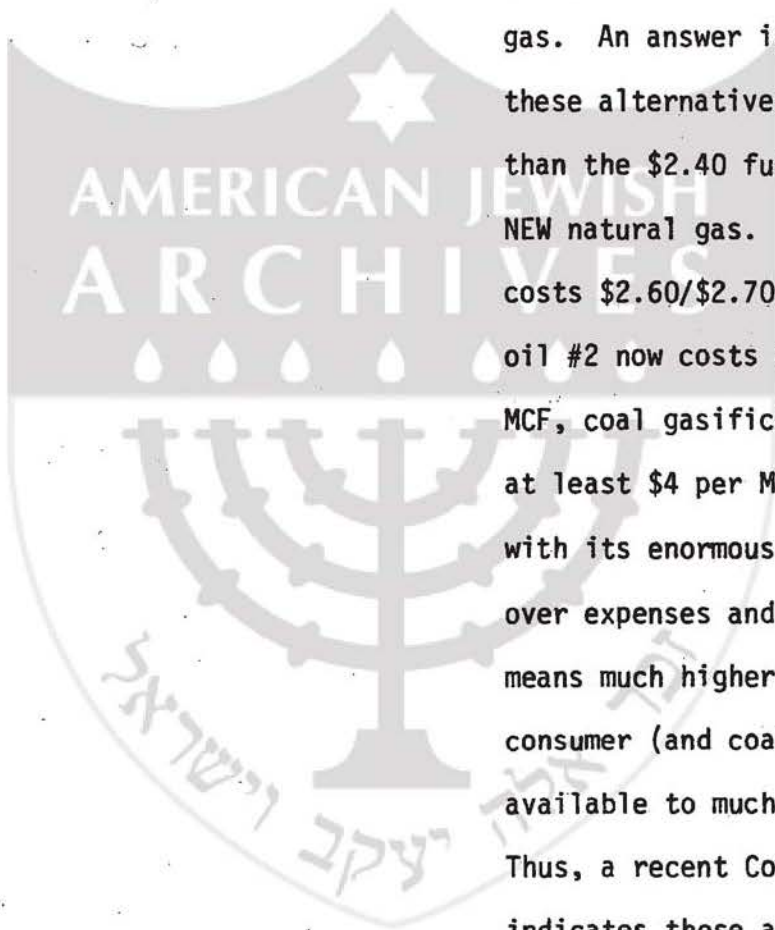
The President's policy which initially places a cap of \$1.75 on most NEW gas will increase the cost to consumers, but much less than deregulation. Some have estimated a cost increase of \$100 Billion in the next 15/20 years if there is deregulation.

This is highly debatable. Remember that alternatives must be analyzed and that only newly-found gas is to be deregulated. If one assumes that more gas will be found under deregulation, the generally estimated average price that the incremental NEW gas would reach is about \$2.40 per MCF over the next six to twelve months.** Without this NEW

* Thousand cubic feet

** It is estimated that this will amount to 7% of the flowing gas/year.

gas, the consumer must use alternative sources. An often unstudied question about these alternative sources is whether the consumer would pay more for them than for deregulated United States natural gas. An answer is that most of these alternatives cost more NOW than the \$2.40 future estimate of NEW natural gas. Gas from Mexico costs \$2.60/\$2.70. Imported fuel oil #2 now costs about \$3/\$3.50 per MCF, coal gasification would cost at least \$4 per MCF, and coal, with its enormous capital, change-over expenses and ecological costs, means much higher costs to the consumer (and coal is not readily available to much of the country). Thus, a recent Congressional study indicates these alternative will cost the United States consumer \$48 Billions more than domestic natural gas under deregulation over the next 15/20 years. (See Attachment No. 1)



B. BUT, WILL GAS PRICE INCREASES INCREASE SUPPLIES

Dr. Schlesinger and the FEA contend that few, if any, domestic gas deposits are to be found, and that therefore the \$1.75 price will produce about as much gas for the American consumer as deregulated prices.

They back their statements with government studies, the most famous of which is the CIA Report.

The MOPPS study (See Attachment #2) produced and apparently suppressed by ERDA, disagrees. It indicates that substantial incremental amounts of gas would be made available from conventional sources at higher prices than \$1.75. Whether or not this is true, the President's plan makes it impossible for us to find out, since it reduces the incentives for searching for more expensive conventional sources. Furthermore, for the last year average prices of gas in major producing states has been at or above \$1.75 at the well-head (\$1.84 during the first quarter of 1977). It is probably that the \$1.75 price will act as a substantial DISINCENTIVE to producers in states such as Texas and Louisiana, which produce over 50% of the nation's gas at the present time.

C. THERE ARE SOME PRICE INCREASES BUILT INTO THE PRESENT PLAN

If more gas is found at higher prices, the President's plan provides for some general price escalations based on rising OPEC prices. Some estimates are that gas might go to \$2.40 by 1980/81.

Furthermore, unlike previous energy programs, the Secretary of Energy may direct "incentive prices" in specific areas where he considers them necessary to encourage production.

Why should the United States price of gas be based on OPEC prices when that is what we are trying to avoid (See II. above). This is especially true if the MOPPS study is correct and substantial amounts of NEW gas can be found at free market prices. Initially, the price of deregulated domestic gas will also be related to OPEC prices. But deregulation advocates believe that new supplies that may be found can more quickly reduce domestic prices below OPEC's. We would thus be less dependent upon OPEC's whims.

The Secretary of Energy's potential action to "propose incentive pricing" will be the subject of a guessing game on a gas-field-by-gas-field basis. Drillers will thus find it difficult to plan future work, particularly in high-risk, high-cost areas.

D. DEREGULATION EXISTS, AND IT DOES NOT WORK

Deregulation exists in Texas and Oklahoma, and there have been steady decreases in natural gas production.

This analysis is tenuous. It takes at least three to five years of certainty of prices to result in the capital outlay for surveys, drilling, pipe lining of new fields, and/or deeper wells in old fields. For example, early indications are that there has been a turnaround in Texas -- its production of NEW gas in calendar year 1977 will possibly equal or exceed that of 1976.

E. KEEP IT FOR THE FUTURE

Even if NEW gas can be found, it is better to leave it in the ground, producing it gradually over a period of time, thus saving it for future generations.

Why? The whole thrust of the President's program is to shift to coal and "exotic" sources over the next decade or two. It is during the next ten to fifteen years that we will face the most serious crisis. If we withhold domestic hydrocarbon production by pricing mechanisms during this period, we run the risk of spending so much money on imported hydrocarbons that our economic and social state will be severely depressed and the hydrocarbons thus will be less useful than they are now.

F. OIL AND GAS COMPANIES WILL PROFIT TOO MUCH

The oil and gas companies will make unconscionable profits under deregulation. "The Domestic producing companies as the villains" is one of the theories that is operative here.

If gas is found in the United States by United States' oil companies, their revenues can be taxed by the United States. If searched for and found by United States' workers, they have the jobs. Every MCF found here and not substituted for by overseas oil or liquified natural gas is thus an MCF that benefits the United States directly.

Every MCF (barrel) imported means the United States pays a tax to a foreign government and creates work for foreign labor, except for a few American citizens who tend to spend their money overseas where they make it. Responding to the producing companies as villains theory is the theory that "the domestic producers are the best tools to do the job that must be done."



G. DRILLING IS AN ECOLOGICAL HAZARD

On- and off-shore drilling is a serious enough ecological hazard so that the U.S. should hesitate stepping it up. Deregulation will encourage increased drilling on- and off-shore, which will cause ecological problems. This in and of itself is reason enough for some to oppose deregulation.

H. DRILLING COSTS WILL SPIRAL

At a recent conference, a Federal official cited the increased cost of drilling and stated that these costs would be escalated to an alarming extent if deregulation comes about, i.e., increased demand for drilling materials would not cause an increase in available drilling materials.

Yes, but thirty years of experience in off-shore drilling in Texas and Louisiana indicate that there are less ecological problems associated with drilling than with tankers -- the ARGO MERCHANT, etc., is an object lesson in this regard. Drilling and pipeline techniques can be controlled but we have no effective control over foreign tankers. More subtly, the major emphasis under the President's plan is for the use of coal instead of gas. Coal is the most ecologically damaging of the fossil fuels, even with the latest scrubber techniques.

There are dozens of companies competing in every phase of drilling materials in this country, from mud to pipes. Historical evidence indicates these companies will produce the materials to meet the demand and that costs will level off.

I. ALASKA

Alaskan gas is a special case, and there are large amounts. It probably will be deregulated. This is one solution to the gas supply problem.

Already, the Alaskan pipeline has been stopped five times by explosion and mistakes. The Alaskan/Canadian proposed gas line would be much longer and much more susceptible to failure and sabotage. To put most of our eggs in that basket is bad policy.

J. DISBELIEF OF PRODUCERS' CLAIMS

Many do not believe that the costs of producing gas are as much as claimed by the companies; why not use costs to justify prices for NEW gas?

Producers may be willing to do this IF the definition of "cost" would include the five to ten dry wells drilled for every producing one, and the cost of new wells is used, not an average cost of old wells. Also, it should be remembered, no matter what profits are made by domestic companies, they can be taxed.

Overseas governments cannot be taxed. This comes back to the basic argument in Item F.

K. PRODUCING STATES WILL BENEFIT UNFAIRLY

Deregulation of NEW gas will continue to support the producing states which are already rich on oil and gas revenues.

Most individuals living in "consumer" states do not realize that they pay less for gas than do the people of Texas, Oklahoma and Louisiana.

The price difference of course is that most "consumer" states use government restricted natural gas (interstate). The most severe price impact of deregulation would thus be on the consumers of the producing states. This is because consumer states would average in the price of NEW gas deregulated with the present controlled prices, while producing states start from a more expensive base. Consumer states would continue to have substantial cost advantages over the producing states. Producing state industry also pays higher prices per MCF for gas now than does industry in New York, for example. Under deregulation, industry in the Northeast and South would maintain their gas cost advantage over Southwest industry. Furthermore, more drilling would take place in the producing states, with the attendant ecological and dislocation problems.

L. GAS PIPELINES NEEDED

There is no point in trying to increase domestic gas production because there are insufficient gas lines to transport existing production to the areas most in need.

Producers claim that there are now sufficient lines to allow for the increased production. Moreover, new gas lines cost must be compared to comparable new transportation costs required to haul coal or pipe oil. Slurry pipeline legislation is now bogged down in Congress.



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REVIEW & OUTLOOK

A \$48 Billion Presidential Error

When the House Commerce Committee two weeks ago voted 22-to-21 against deregulation of new natural gas, President Carter and his energy people celebrated a victory. The White House had come down to using the argument that deregulation would give producers a "windfall" of more than \$71 billion in revenues. This is over and above what they would get from the \$1.75 per thousand cubic feet (mcf) price ceiling in the Carter plan. Perish the thought, even though producers would probably invest almost as much in exploration and production as they receive in revenues.

Mr. Carter's energy people have been shamelessly playing with numbers like this all year to support their case for continued regulation, scaring people with the idea that deregulation will cost consumers a lot more money. What they carefully avoid mentioning is that continued regulation will cost even more.

In a careful, conservative study that bends over backward to be fair to the White House, two Republican Congressmen this week estimated that the Carter plan will cost \$48 billion more than deregulation between now and 1990. Here is how Rep. David Stockman of Michigan and Rep. Clarence Brown of Ohio came to this conclusion:

They first reject the incredible White House assumption, implicit in its numbers game, that at a price above \$1.75 per mcf zero gas will be produced. The study instead reckons that over the 13-year period, an additional 25 trillion cubic feet (tcf) will be produced as a result of deregulation. Current production is about 20 tcf a year, and the estimate of 25 tcf from deregulation is highly conservative. More production, of course, would mean more savings from deregulation.

If American consumers are denied 25 tcf of natural gas, they will have to get the energy instead from oil or liquified natural gas or synthetic gas from naphtha or coal. All are more expensive than gas is likely to be under deregulation. The cost of these fuels adds \$168 billion to the energy bill. And by moving 25 tcf less gas through the pipeline system, the distribution charges rise per unit to the consumer. This comes to another \$44 billion cumulatively. The administration simply ignored these

hidden costs in making its case.

The 13-year energy costs under deregulation are then calculated by Stockman-Brown at \$414.2 billion. The parallel figure under the Carter plan is \$461.8 billion with the gap between the two widening every year thereafter.

If there is any error in these numbers, the Carter plan gets the best of it, considering the length to which Reps. Stockman and Brown went to be fair. For example, they hold OPEC pricing constant through the 13 years. But obviously, if the United States must substitute for 25 tcf of domestic natural gas, it most likely will have to import the energy equivalent. This increase in demand would permit OPEC to increase its oil price by at least \$1 per barrel for all oil. This adds an average of roughly \$33 billion to the U.S. import bill during the 13 years, and adds \$100 billion to the import bill of Europe, Japan and the Third World. The Stockman-Brown \$48 billion estimate charitably ignores these costs.

Even if the increased demand has zero impact on OPEC pricing, it would still mean the United States would have to increase imports of Arab oil by nearly 500,000 bbl. per day when compared to a deregulated scenario. The Stockman-Brown study figures the Carter plan will mean an extra \$26 billion in the U.S. import bill over these years even without a price increase.

The Carter people will no doubt want to quibble with these numbers, if they can't find a way of ignoring them altogether. But there is absolutely no logical way deregulation can cost consumers more than the Carter plan. The only way the President's people can defend their position is by sticking to their assumption that there is no gas to be found above \$1.75. It is hard to see how any serious person can accept such an assumption. Even the most pessimistic of the three estimates in the ERDA MOPPS study, for example, found twice as much gas at a price of \$3.25 than at \$1.75.

Mr. Carter is supposed to be good with numbers and logic, and ought to sit down with his own slide rule, taking the administration's gas deregulation position as seriously as the B1 or the neutron bomb. It's inconceivable that a good engineer would make a \$48 billion mistake.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Jimmy Carter on the Run

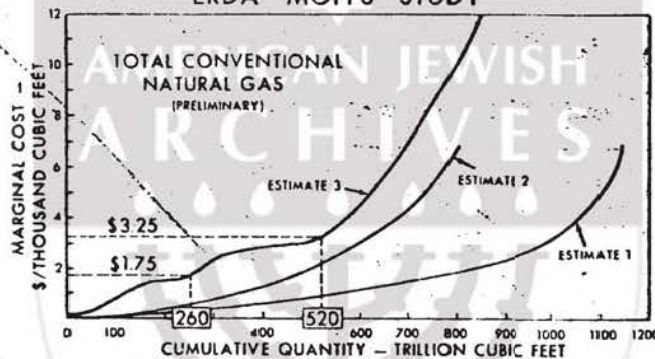
So President Carter is reduced to bewailing the "special interests" picking apart his energy program in Congress and winning House subcommittee votes to deregulate the price of natural gas. It really is a bit much, coming as it does from someone who only a few months ago won the presidency by carrying Texas and Louisiana on a pledge to deregulate the price of natural gas. But then, Jimmy Carter is on the run, badly losing his "moral equivalent of war."

As Congress discovers that the President's sweeping energy plan was stitched together with bailing wire, he responds by taking press conference swipes at the "inordinate influence" of special interests and making speeches against the oil and auto companies. He sends

in embarrassingly high. So they tried again, and on April 6 found less gas, and on June 3 less still. But even with the most pessimistic estimate, what have they found? That potential reserves at \$3.25 per thousand cubic feet (mcf) will be double the reserves at Mr. Carter's ceiling price of \$1.75. If there is really an energy crisis, why is Mr. Carter opposed to having twice as much gas?

Note well that the chart covers only conventional supplies; potential supplies from unconventional production are even greater. ERDA has just brought in the first geopressurized methane well, bringing that absolutely immense resource a step closer. The third MOPPS estimate projects unconventional sources of natural gas at

ERDA MOPPS STUDY



his press secretary, Jody Powell, out to give Ziegler-like performances, for example referring to the liberal Republican Ripon Society as "the ripoff society."

Mr. Powell has even been putting silly words into his boss's mouth, telling newsmen that President Carter believes "that even if we increased the price of oil to provide an additional \$20 a barrel, there would be little, if any, increase in our production." Even sillier, he added, "the same is true in the price of natural gas."

If Mr. Carter really believes this we're really in trouble, for there is so much evidence to the contrary it would mean the President simply does not want to be confused by the facts. We'd prefer to believe he has been temporarily confused by his energy bureaucracy, which has been hiding energy to make its case.

Now, though, the cat is out of the bag. The famous MOPPS study has been coughed up by Mr. Carter's Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA). Although Jody Powell still won't believe it, ERDA did its best to back up his statement. But try as hard as its experts could to prove that higher prices wouldn't bring forth more energy, they just couldn't do it.

As the accompanying chart reveals, a group of 70 or so ERDA people in the Market Oriented Program Planning Study approached the question three times. The first time, April 1, the estimates came

600 trillion cubic feet at prices below \$3.25 a mcf. At worst, the good people at ERDA have found us 55 years worth of natural gas at a reasonable price.

And to tell the truth, MOPPS executive director Harry Johnson says he isn't sure the higher estimates weren't the correct ones. Instead of talking of an "energy crisis," he talks of a "liquids crisis," meaning you can't make gasoline out of natural gas. And Philip White, MOPPS chairman, told The Washington Post that the original estimate might have been "a pretty good guess."

Our own guess, based on talks with independent gas producers, is that deregulation of natural gas would bring in so much of the stuff it would soon force down the price of its nearest substitute, No. 2 fuel oil, which now sells at the equivalent of \$3 per mcf. Which is to say, deregulation of gas prices could very well break the OPEC cartel.

There's hope. We doubt that Mr. Carter's "special interest" rhetoric will incite the public against Congress, since a year ago the Harris Poll showed the public favoring deregulation by 51% to 17%. Representative Krueger of Texas last week got a deregulation bill approved by a House Commerce subcommittee. If he could get the environmentalists and consumerists to wake up to the fact that their causes would be served by deregulation, he could take it all the way, cleaning up with MOPPS.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Background for Discussion
Board of Governors
September 20, 1977

THE CRUDE-OIL WELL-HEAD TAX

The centerpiece of the Administration's energy proposal is the so-called crude oil well-head tax. The purpose of this tax is to raise the domestic crude oil prices paid by U.S. refiners to world levels. The Administration would impose this crude oil tax at the well-head, so that the oil producer would not benefit from the increased price. At present, a barrel of imported crude oil costs about \$14.00 at U.S. East and Gulf ports. Domestic oil, on the other hand, sells for an average of about \$9.00, although this average is composed of many different prices ranging from \$5.25 for "old" oil to \$11.25 for "new" oil. With the average value of the tax being about \$5 per barrel, the government would collect about \$14 billion annually when the program becomes fully implemented in 1980. The revenues from the tax would then be recycled back to the consumer, through rebates or other tax credits. A special exemption has been proposed for users of home heating oil who would presumably be bearing a disproportionate share of the higher oil costs.

The President has proposed this approach on the grounds that conservation requires higher prices, but that sellers of oil should not earn excessive profits as a result. Thus, the Federal government would interpose itself between buyer and seller of oil to make sure everyone is treated fairly. Unfortunately, higher taxes will not buy

us one additional drop of domestic oil, whereas market prices for oil would inevitably stimulate domestic supply. And the Government's program would not induce very much conservation either, since the final price paid by the consumer would not be much higher than it is now.

It is a simple truth of resource economics that when incremental supplies become scarce, those who own existing and less expensive supplies stand to make windfall profits. If these profits are reinvested in additional productive facilities, they serve a useful purpose. To the extent that they are not reinvested, however, many would argue that taxing them away would be appropriate. It would be logical (and easy) to devise a program to encourage reinvestments of these profits in new productive facilities by taxing that portion that is not so reinvested. Instead the Federal Government proposes to preempt any such windfalls and donate them to the consumer through a complicated scheme of wealth redistribution. This is bound to raise substantial controversy, concerned less with energy than with our tax and welfare goals.

There is another and even more fundamental question about the approach. Namely, continued regulation distorts market allocation. It's not just a question of price levels, but of regulating who gets the oil, how much and when. The Federal government has devised an elaborate allocation and entitlements scheme for oil, not only to control the price but also to insure that all purchasing refiners are treated equally. Historical allocations lock in buyer and seller,

giving them little flexibility to change and little incentive to become more efficient. The system of entitlements encourages oil imports and discourages domestic oil production. (See Appendix I).

As a result, the complex regulatory mechanism which the Administration proposes to continue should be done away with. There are better and more easily administered mechanisms for controlling U.S. oil prices.



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Appendix I

The Energy Conservation and Policy Act of 1975 (ECPA) was a compromise between the Republican Administration's desire to remove price controls from domestic crude oil and the Democratic Congress's desire to hold down the price of crude oil in the U.S. in the interest of protecting the American consumer. The resulting law forced down average U.S. crude oil prices to \$7.66/bbl., and permitted an escalation of these average prices by a maximum of 10% per year through 1979. Although the price of Alaskan oil was exempted, it seems probable that a similar formula will be applied to it as well. To implement the ECPA, the Federal Energy Administration has constructed a new multi-tier system of domestic crude oil prices, where so-called "old" oil (from wells producing prior to 1/1/73) can sell at prices no greater than \$5.25/bbl., while various tiers of newer oil and "stripper" oil (oil from wells producing less than 10 bbls./day) are permitted to sell at significantly higher prices but still generally below the world market. The administration of this program has become so confusing and costly that by itself it is presenting a strong impediment to increased U.S. crude oil production.

An even more serious indictment of the regulatory mess is the imposed system of "entitlements" whereby the FEA has attempted to equalize the cost of crude oil to all purchasing refineries. An oil company with access to a larger than average amount of cheaper domestic oil must pay a premium to refine that oil. The premium is paid to refiners which have access to a smaller than average amount of cheaper domestic oil. An exchange of funds occurs when refineries with large amounts of cheaper domestic oil buy "entitlements" from firms with less than average amounts; only by purchasing these entitlements can they refine more than an FEA determined average amount of domestic crude oil. This system has markedly increased U.S. oil imports. To avoid being penalized for processing domestic crude oil, companies with both overseas and U.S. production have a strong incentive to import more foreign oil and produce less domestic oil than they would under market determined prices. Refiners with little access to domestic crude use the premiums paid to them for the entitlements to increase their imports. Since their increased imports enlarge the ratio of foreign to domestic oil that determines the amount of their entitlements, it further increases the subsidy which they receive from their competitors.

The entitlements system, coupled with crude oil price controls and historical allocations, is locking the entire crude oil market into a fixed pattern of purchases and sales, guaranteeing substantial windfalls to those who produce more domestic oil. As a result, imports are encouraged and domestic production is discouraged.

This heavy hand of regulation on what was a reasonably open market has severely distorted expectations of both profit and loss. New investment in the oil business has always been based on the anticipation of both high risks and high rates of profitability. In the exploration and production end of business, the geological risks are high, while rising capital costs have substantially increased the business risks. In the refining business, the elaborate control system has seriously impeded investment in new capacity. Unpredictable regulations have added a further degree of uncertainty. Market incentives have become severely diluted, and competition has been blunted. The drive for more efficient ways to do business has been stifled by fear that future regulations will penalize those who take a chance to get ahead of their competition. The state of expectations in a market oriented economy is not easily measurable, it is very real to those whose capital is at risk.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 25, 1977

to AJC Area Directors, JCRCs, Federations, National Jewish Organizations
from Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Interreligious Affairs Director

subject REPORT ON THE 1980 OBERAMMERGAU PASSION PLAY

As you have undoubtedly noted in the press last week, a revised version of the Oberammergau Passion Play has been prepared for possible presentation in 1980 in that Bavarian village. The several press reports issued by the AP, UPI, Reuters, New York Times, Time Magazine, among other news sources in this country and abroad have been contradictory about its anti-Jewish content and have therefore led to some confusion.

The purpose of this memorandum is to seek to clarify the present nature of the revised Oberammergau Passion Play, and to report to you on the unique role that the American Jewish Committee has been invited to play in the current revision process.

The confusion has been manifested in the following manner:

The New York Times reported in its Aug. 16th edition a UPI dispatch headlined "Sins of Mankind Kill Christ in New Oberammergau Play." That story appears to have left the impression that the new version has been completely purged of anti-Jewish references and portrayals. It also suggests that the new version actually will be the one to be produced in 1980.

A subsequent AP dispatch in the New York Times of Aug. 19, however, bears the headline, "New Passion Play Draws Protest," and indicates that "angry townspeople sought today to block a new version of the town's world-famous Passion Play." They contend that "the new script is stilted, insincere and (contains) 'consummate anti-Semitism' worse than the original." The AP report also states that the "Oberammergau town council says it will decide later this year whether to use the revised script" or revert to the 1970 version.

What in reality is the present situation?

In mid-July, AJC's Executive Vice-President, Bertram H. Gold, received an invitation from Lufthansa German Airlines to send a delegation to preview a five-and-a-half hour presentation of the newly-revised version of the play.

After some consideration, it was decided to accept the invitation and an AJC delegation saw the play on Aug. 15 in the Oberammergau village. The AJC delegation consisted of Miles Jaffe, national chairman of the Interreligious Affairs Commission; Zachariah Shuster, our European consultant; William Trosten, director of our Resource Development Department (who reads and speaks German fluently); and myself.

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Our Interreligious Affairs Department, as you may know, has been engaged in efforts to purge the Oberammergau Passion Play (and other Passion Plays in this country, in Europe, and in Latin America) of anti-Semitic content over the past several decades. In 1970, we published a comparative content analysis entitled, Oberammergau 1960 and 1970 - A Study in Religious Anti-Semitism that received widespread attention and became a significant factor leading to the decision for the preparation of the revised text.

Following our preview of the 1980 production - which began at 4 p.m. and concluded at 11:30 p.m. (with a two-hour dinner break), our AJC delegation was invited to meet with the central personalities responsible for the writing and the production of the 1980 Oberammergau play. These included the editor of the new version, Alois Fink, who is director of the Cultural Division of the Bavarian Radio and TV network; Hans Schwaighofer, director of the 1980 production; Helmut Fischer, who played the role of Jesus in 1970; the composer of the new musical score; several Oberammergau town officials, and representatives of the West German Government, the Bavarian Tourist Ministry, and Lufthansa. (Schwaighofer played the role of Judas in the 1950 and 1960 plays. The village named him to direct the 1970 version, but he resigned after the town council overruled his attempt to reform the play.)

The "dialogue" - which the Oberammergau officials characterized as "their first serious discussion with responsible Jewish representatives" - lasted until four o'clock in the morning! During this extraordinary frank and scholarly exchange, we set forth our concerns that this pageant - as we noted in our 1970 study - has traditionally been "a vehicle of anti-Jewish prejudice and an obstacle to Christian-Jewish friendship and cooperation." We also recalled that the text used every decade over the past 100 years, based on a script written in 1850 by the local parish priest, Rev. Josef Daisenberger, was acclaimed by Adolf Hitler at the height of the Second World War in these words:

"It is vital that the Passion Play be continued at Oberammergau; for never has the menace of Jewry been so convincingly portrayed." (Secret Conversations, 1941-1944; New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953, p. 457.) Under the Nazi Government, the Oberammergau Passion Play was classified as "a racially important cultural document," and on the occasion of the pageant's tercentennial, in 1934, a Nazified special performance represented Jesus and his disciples as Aryan heroes.

We also noted that the significance of the Passion Play as an instrument for influencing attitudes toward Jews and Judaism is to be seen in the fact that since the end of World War II, some one-and-a-half million people have come to performances; that in 1970 alone, 530,000 people came from 113 different countries to view the 102 performances.

In light of that history, we told the Oberammergau officials that we welcomed the forthright initiatives take by Mr. Schwaighofer, Mr. Fink, and those associated with them to abandon the offensive Daisenberger script, and to replace it with a modernized version of the text written in 1750 by the Benedictine priest, the Rev. Ferdinand Rosner, even though the latter version still contains a number of problems described below.

By agreement among members of the AJC delegation, we acknowledged that the new Rosner-Fink text contains a number of positive features that are encouraging:

First, the Rosner script is written as a medieval morality play cast in metaphysical terms of the eternal conflict between the forces of good and evil, symbolized by the conflict between Lucifer, the Prince of Hell, and Jesus. In that perspective, the role of the Sanhedrin and "the Jews" tends to be less central than in earlier Passion Plays.

Second, the Rosner text opens with a group of "Protective Spirits" who address the Christian audiences with this admonition:

"Don't say the Jews over there are betraying their own; all of us have done the same often enough."

Third, the several scenes involving the Sanhedrin and the Chief Priests show a relatively large group of "Rabbis" or "Jews" who seek to understand Jesus, therefore presenting "the Jews" in a much more differentiated way than in the past plays.

At the same time, we indicated, there remain a number of problems both in the revised text and in the actual production which we urged them to face and seek to resolve. These include, briefly stated, the following:

First, despite the morality play setting, there is a real danger that the Sanhedrin and "the Jews" will be perceived as "instruments of Lucifer" and are conspiring with Satanic elements against Jesus and Christians.

Second, there are four scenes of debate within the Sanhedrin about the blasphemy of Jesus which tends to underscore a far more prominent role of "the Jews" in contributing to the death of Jesus than in fact exists in the Synoptic Gospels. Several of the Sanhedrin scenes conclude with "all the Jews" on the stage crying out in a chorus, "It is decided; he must die, lest we and our reign perish!" We urged that these scenes be reconsidered, and that these provocative chorus lines be eliminated.

Third, Pontius Pilate is presented as a weakling who is manipulated by the Sanhedrin and a howling "Jewish mob" to make the decision to crucify Jesus. That portrayal, we noted, is contrary to our historic knowledge that Pilate was cruel and sadistic, and that he alone had the authority to decide on the crucifixion.

We discussed these and related issues in a serious and constructive spirit. At the conclusion of our dialogue, the Oberammergau officials formally requested of the American Jewish Committee that

- 1) We prepare for them a line-by-line analysis of the Rosner-Fink text, providing in writing the specific recommendations for editing and emendations that we felt were necessary;
- 2) We remain available as resource to help them bring about the maximum possible improvement through the removal of anti-Jewish references and negative dramatic imagery.

more.....

The AJC delegation agreed to do so, indicating our awareness that there is no guarantee that the Rosner-Fink text will finally prevail, and our recognition that even with improvements this is still a Passion Play in which Jews can never emerge ultimately untainted.

Nevertheless, we have concluded that the Jewish interest would be better served through encouraging the use of the Rosner-Fink text and by making whatever possible contributions we can to the most positive portrayals of Jews and Judaism in the 1980 production.

MHT:RPR

77-700-63



September 4, 1977

U.S. Jewish Committee Will Scrutinize Revision Of Oberammergau Play

The American Jewish Committee will take a "line-by-line" look at a proposed revision of West Germany's famed Oberammergau Passion Play in a search for anti-Semitic passages.

The committee's decision came after a four-member delegation visited Oberammergau last month. The group, headed by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the committee, previewed a five-and-a-half-hour presentation of the proposed revised ver-

sion of the play, which will next be presented in 1980.

Its consensus was that while the revised text contained "a number of positive features that are encouraging," a number of problems remained.

Among the problems, according to Rabbi Tanenbaum, was the fear that the Sanhedrin and the Jews might be perceived as "instruments of Lucifer" conspiring with Satanic elements against Jesus and Christians.

Pontius Pilate's Presentation

Another was the presentation of Pontius Pilate as a "weakling manipulated by the Sanhedrin and a howling Jewish mob" to decide to crucify Jesus.

Rabbi Tannenbaum described the delegation's dialogue with Oberammergau as "serious and constructive."

He said the Oberammergau producers

requested the committee to "remain available to help bring about the maximum possible improvement through the removal of anti-Jewish references and negative dramatic imagery."

Oberammergau officials will decide the fate of the proposed revision at a later date.





הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו-יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

September 12, 1977

GREETINGS FROM PRIME MINISTER MENAHEM BEGIN TO WORLD JEWRY
ON THE OCCASION OF ROSH HASHANAH, 5738

From Jerusalem, our eternal capital, I extend my heartfelt greetings to my fellow Jews the world over on the occasion of Rosh Hashanah, 5738.

This New Year marks the Thirtieth Anniversary of the independence of Israel. The soul searching, which we, as individual Jews and as a people, are traditionally commanded to perform with the coming of each New Year, requires of us not only to mark the achievements along our path to national redemption, but also the obstacles and - yes - our weaknesses.

Of the some twelve million Jews around the world - which is the approximate size of our people - no more than one-quarter has ingathered into our reborn homeland. This good land cries out for our return to Zion, from west and east. The majority of our brethren in the Soviet Union are deprived of this right. It is incumbent, therefore, on the Jews of the free world to renew and intensify the human struggle for the right of repatriation to Zion of our fellow Jews in the Soviet Union - and in Syria - who seek to reach Zion and freedom. We must act together, vigorously and visibly, on their behalf.

In the democratic countries our Jewish brethren are able to embark on aliyah of their own free will. I call upon them today, in this Jewish season of recommitment. I call particularly upon our younger generation: Arise and come, build up the land - for your sakes and ours - and for the sake of the coming generations.

There exists a further challenge: Here, in our small Jewish homeland, there prevails a problem of poverty that is intolerable to a nation which, from the time it emerged onto the stage of history, was commanded: "Thou shalt pursue justice." I speak of the lot of 45,000 families in Israel who live in housing conditions that are insufferable to us, as a Jewish society.

My appeal, therefore, is directed to my fellow Jews in the Diaspora who have given so magnificently over the years - to the UJA and the Keren Hayesod and for the purchase of Israel bonds. I ask of them on the occasion of Israel's Thirtieth Anniversary to double, this year, their contributions and purchases. The extra sums will be totally earmarked for the construction of decent new houses for the tens of thousands of families in Israel living in distressful conditions. It is my prayer that this appeal will meet with an affirmative response.

Let each fellow Jew - once in 30 years - double his contribution for the upbuilding of our land, thereby providing the necessary funds to liberate our nation, once and for all, from poverty, and eradicate its scourge from within our society to whom liberty and social justice are supreme Jewish values.

The study of Hebrew as the second spoken language, throughout the communities of the Diaspora, is the third challenge of our generation. I call upon my fellow Jews to do all in their power to ensure that their daughters and sons not only study the language of our ancient reborn culture but also to speak Hebrew as a living language of daily communication. Hebrew is the key to a profounder understanding of our Jewish heritage, our sources, our history, our life. To give to your children this knowledge is to rescue them from an assimilation that is eroding and eating away at our fine youth, leading them to estrangement, so that each year thousands and tens of thousands simply vanish. In order to preserve and protect the Jewish image - and self image - of our youth we are duty bound to work to deepen their attachment to Judaism and its heritage in all its greatness and sanctity.

And finally, we, the Jewish people, are in the throes of an historic struggle for the just cause of Eretz Israel. In the final analysis, this is a struggle to guarantee the lives, the security, the liberty, and the peace of our children and grandchildren.

Let us stand together, the whole Jewish people - in the homeland and throughout the Diaspora - as a wall of fortitude around the land of our fathers. In unity, we shall prevail.

Let us pray that this be a year that will bring peace to all peoples, a year that will bring peace to our own region, for this is our deepest aspiration and yearning.

May G-d bestow his blessings upon the whole house of Israel. From the heart we utter our petition to the Almighty. On this, the eve of Rosh Hashanah, 5738, let the tribulations of the past be banished. Bring in a year that will be one of blessings and of peace.

Menahem Begin

GREETINGS FROM PRESIDENT KATZIR TO JEWISH COMMUNITIES ABROAD

ON THE OCCASION OF ROSH HASHANA, 5738

As the beginning of the year 5738 approaches, we hope, all of us, for the well-being of our families and communities, but we realize, at the same time, how overwhelmingly our private well-being is intertwined with the historic fate of the Jewish people. For, in this era of lightning-swift communications, none of us is isolated from the larger currents of the time. All of us are tied to the wheel of history and find ourselves deeply concerned, sooner or later, with the precarious lot of Jews in many an uneasy, storm-tossed country. We cannot forget the tyrannical hold upon the Jews of Soviet Russia and Syria. Above all, we are unceasingly involved in the struggle of the State of Israel for a secure peace that will allow it to develop as a sound, creative nation, heart of world Jewry and aid to all its neighbours.

It seems clear that 5738 will be a decisive year in the annals of the modern Middle East. Surely, for us, there are no easy answers. We who know with utmost clarity the basic requirements of Israel's survival, cannot condone trifling with them for the sake of greater acceptability and popularity in the outside world. As we face the uncertain and demanding months ahead of us, we realize that Israel is exposed to a complex of problems: the threat of terrorism; the menacing, colossal growth of Arab military and financial resources and the widespread Arab boycott endeavour; the grave effort we must make for humane co-existence in all the territory under Israeli administration; economic inflation and the constant endeavour to increase productivity and to narrow the gap in living standards; the environmental and energy crises from which Israel cannot be exempt.

Despite all this, the experience of the past makes us confident that there will be counterfactors, rewarding and promising developments, advances towards the conditions and achievements we hope and wish to see in Israel. We will be celebrating the thirtieth year of the independence of the State, and it is no less inspiring to recall the tiny, difficult, impoverished beginnings of 1948 and to note what incredible changes have been brought about in population, town building, agriculture, industry, education! Even in this last year of more limited immigration from the Soviet Union, Israel has been enriched by newcomers of admirable quality and experience. Others have come from other countries with energy and dedication that promise much. To those who remember the pre-State struggle for Jewish immigration, there is special reason for gratification whenever the members of threatened communities find a haven in Israel. And there was genuine happiness when some sixty tragic Vietnamese refugees were rescued by an Israeli freighter and settled in an Israeli development town.

The three decades of the State's existence have demonstrated the strength of the democratic tradition among us. This summer a sweeping change

of government was effected smoothly and with obvious intent not to tamper with, but rather to build upon, the foundations laid by previous governments. It is the hope of all of us that a distinct advance to peace in this area may be made under the new government.

One of the foundation stones of Israel's life is its constantly growing relationship with Jews abroad. In addition to the scores of international scientific, cultural and professional conferences held annually in Israel, conventions, meetings and pilgrimages of Jewish groups bring the Diaspora to Israel and Israel to the consciousness of the Diaspora. Israelis have come to know, at first hand, most of the great Zionist, religious and communal organizations of the Jewish world. Thus, for example, two opposite poles of Jewish life were most recently represented in the Tenth Maccabia, which brought together thousands of young Jewish athletes from many countries, and in the comprehensive sessions of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies. There was something very moving in the fact that all the scholarly lectures of the Congress were given on Mount Scopus, that Jerusalem mountain on which the Hebrew University had begun its work and from which it had been exiled during the nineteen years of Jordanian occupation.

Quite as life and function have returned to Mount Scopus, a new growth and beauty have come to all of Jerusalem during the ten years of its re-unification within Israel. Surely we may hope that positive accomplishments and mutual interest will bring the various elements in Jerusalem's population constantly closer to each other.

To see each other as human beings may well be the beginning of wisdom and cooperation in this Middle East crisis. This has been happening at the Good Fence on the Lebanese border, and it is Israel's prayer that the Good Fence may be the prelude to true, fruitful peace between Israel and its neighbours. Certainly, the Good Fence underlines the sad lesson that destructive forces are at work, with no respect for human life and with undeviating hostility both to the Christian core of Lebanon and to the Jewish State.

In the search for peace, we are particularly appreciative of the efforts of the United States Government - and of men of good will everywhere. How noble an achievement it would be to restore peace to the land where the vision of international peace was first expressed by the prophets of Israel so many centuries ago!

It is axiomatic that Israel is deeply appreciative of the help, concern and involvement of world Jewry. But our true desire is for real partnership that will express itself in joint educational, cultural and social projects reflecting the moral and intellectual values of the Jewish heritage. The Hebrew language, the challenge

of aliya - these must be shared by Jews everywhere, and these will enrich the life of both community and individual.

In hope and determination, we of the House of Israel everywhere look to the year 5738.

Leshana tova tikateivu!

Ephraim Katzir



Jerusalem, August 1977
Ellul 5737



A Recent Press Release
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 23, 1977

On Sunday, Sept. 18, 1977, the First Baptist Church of Dallas, Texas, was the scene of a magnificent "Salute to Israel." Over 3,000 were in attendance and several hundred thousand others participated by radio.

"Evangelicals United For Zion" was launched on this auspicious occasion as a significant Christian witness to the truth of Gen. 12:3, "I will bless them that bless thee... ."

EUZ, founded by concerned evangelical leaders unites Christian support for Israel in keeping with God's prophetic plan. By this means, Christians everywhere are offered a vehicle for their public witness and an opportunity to demonstrate their faithfulness to Biblical injunctions.

EUZ, with a board of directors that is a veritable "who's who" of the evangelical world, including Dr. W. A. Criswell, Dr. Harold L. Fickett, Jr., Dr. Douglas B. MacCorkle, Dr. Earl D. Radmacher, Dr. Larry Ward and Dr. John F. Walvoord, had its root beginning on July 3, 1976, at a great Bicentennial Conference on Prophecy in Philadelphia. At that time a Proclamation of Support for the rights of the Jewish people to their homeland was signed as a gesture of love and solidarity by leading evangelicals.

- more -

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President, Barrington College, Barrington, RI
Kubach, Mr. John J.
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Samson, Mr. George
Communications Consultant
Straub, Mr. James W.
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Chancellor, Philadelphia College of Bible
Methom, Mr. John E.
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President, Western Conservative
Baptist, Portland, OR



Pg. 2

Several months later, at a luncheon in Washington, D.C., the signers presented the Proclamation to Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz. Today the Proclamation rests in the Archival History Building in Israel.

Sept. 18, 1977, was also the occasion for a special presentation to Dr. W. A. Criswell, Pastor, First Baptist Church of Dallas. Mr. Michael Pragai, Consul Advisor on Church Relations of the Israeli Government, honored Dr. Criswell, as an original signer of the Proclamation, with a reduced framed facsimile of the scroll as a memento of love from the people of Israel.

Mr. George Samson, President of EUZ spoke briefly, describing Dr. Criswell as a man uniquely gifted by God, a living testimony by his actions of the truths he preaches, a consistently staunch friend, supporter and advocate of the Jewish people and their rights as ordained by God. He regards Dr. Criswell as a living example, as signified by God's blessings upon him, of the truth of God's words addressed to Abraham's seed in Gen. 12:3 and explained that it was to be this kind of testimony of which Dr. Criswell is a living embodiment the EUZ was formed, giving Christians the vehicle for this kind of public witness.

Mr. Samson outlined some of EUZ's future plans. EUZ will sponsor working visits for evangelical college students to kibbutzim in Israel. EUZ also plans a great "Love" in-gathering in 1980 in Israel. Featuring Jewish leaders and evangelical Christians from around the world, the week-long conference will center

- more -

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Baptist Seminary, Portland, OR

Pg. 3

on common ground: Israel. It will conclude with the reading, once again, of the 1976 Proclamation of Support for Israel at Masada.

Also planned are ceremonies honoring original signers, Dr. Douglas MacCorkle and Dr. John Walvoord in October and November of this year.



AMERICAN JEWISH
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LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

September, 1977

TO: Executive Committee, National Council and Key Contacts

FROM: Morrie Amitay, Executive Director
Ken Wollack, Legislative Director

Congress has been in recess from August 6 to September 7. The following issues are expected to be on the Congressional agenda this month.

THE FOREIGN AID BILL

APPROPRIATIONS

Both the Senate and House have passed its versions of the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act for fiscal year 1978. Both bills total approximately \$8 billion of which \$1.805 billion is earmarked for military and economic assistance to Israel.

However, the House had adopted an amendment by Rep. Clarence Miller (R-Ohio) stipulating a five percent across-the-board reduction in the bill. The Senate version, however, has no equivalent provision. This issue, therefore, must now be reconciled in a joint House-Senate conference committee. It is hoped that the Senate position will prevail because retention of the Miller amendment could result in a substantial reduction in assistance to Israel. AIPAC is contacting the conferees accordingly.

F-15s TO SAUDI ARABIA

As was mentioned in the August "Update", the Administration is seeking to sell 60 F-15 fighter bombers to Saudi Arabia. But as yet there is no official notification to the Congress of the sale. If it does, Congress will have thirty days in which to block the sale by the passage of "resolutions of disapproval" in both the House and Senate. It is unclear at this time whether the Administration will submit the official letter of offer to Congress in September or in early 1978 (Congress is expected to adjourn in mid-October until January). It is our hope that Congress will disapprove the sale when and if it is proposed. The F-15 is the most advanced fighter bomber in the world and will neither promote American interests nor enhance regional stability. Rather, the presence of the F-15s in Saudi Arabia will tilt the military balance against Israel. We will send you a detailed memorandum on the F-15 issue if there is official notification.

ARMS TO EGYPT

The Administration in September is expected to submit to Congress letters of offer to supply Egypt with military equipment totaling approximately \$250 million. The equipment will include reconnaissance drones (pilotless aircraft) and 14 additional C-130 cargo transport aircraft. Because this equipment is considered not to possess lethal or offensive capabilities, it is not expected that Congress will act

(OVER)

to block these sales. However, many members of Congress will probably take the opportunity to put the Administration on notice that any sale of offensive or lethal equipment to Egypt will be opposed by the Congress.

ANTI-BOYCOTT LEGISLATION

Secretary of Commerce Juanity Kreps has received different recommendations from American Jewish organizations and the business community on how to enforce the new federal law limiting compliance with Arab boycott demands.

The Jewish organizations want the new law strictly enforced with all potential loopholes plugged. The business recommendations, on the other hand, oppose such strict enforcement of the law. Thus, it will now be up to the Commerce Department to issue its rulings. These rulings are expected in September.



Sept. 1977

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Elul 5737

SEMINARY VICE CHANCELLOR HONORED

*Dr. Simon Greenberg
Receives Rothberg Prize*



Avraham Harman, President of the Hebrew University and Rector Gidon Czapski look on as Professor Moshe Davis reads the citation awarding the Samuel Rothberg Prize to Dr. Simon Greenberg (right).

Dr. Simon Greenberg, vice-chancellor of the Seminary and chancellor emeritus of the University of Judaism, has received the Samuel Rothberg Prize for Jewish Education, the most prestigious award in the field. The presentation was made at the July 4th convocation of the Hebrew University, held in the Mount Scopus amphitheatre in Jerusalem.

The citation to Dr. Greenberg, in honoring him, also honors the institutions to which he has devoted his life. *Bulletin* is proud to reprint it in full.

"One of a small elect group privileged to have been numbered among the first students of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1925, Simon Greenberg has devoted his life to Jewish education in the United States of America, teaching successive generations of Conservative rabbis since 1932 and leading the Seminary, first as its Provost and subsequently as Vice-Chancellor, since 1946. His place in the annals of Conservative Judaism's educational endeavour is assured: he helped establish the University of Judaism, on the West Coast of the U.S.A. in 1947, and is today its Chancellor Emeritus; he became Professor of Homiletics and Education at the J.T.S. in 1948, and has served long and creatively as the Vice-President of its Faculty, assuming direction of the Seminary's Israel programme in 1972.

"A pioneer of creative Jewish education, he was the moving spirit behind the setting up of the Conservative movement's impressive day school system, including the nationwide Solomon Schechter Day School network and the Ramah camps. Their success bears eloquent testimony to his rare ability to adhere to Jewish traditional values while translating them into terms that are deeply meaningful to the youth of today.

"Simon Greenberg has been among the senior architects of the Conservative movement, guided always by a deeply abiding love for his people and a sense of the reality of their mission in the modern world. He has seen Israel as Jewry's true spiritual centre and has taught his countless disciples and students to share that view and draw from it their inspiration and cultural enrichment.

"An ardent Zionist, he has been active in the World Zionist Council and serves today as a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization.

"The continuing strength of the great American diaspora owes much to his energetic pursuit of his mission — to teach understanding of and pride in Judaism, and love for its supreme expression today in the State of Israel, where he has made his home."

PROVERBS AND MORALS: TWO EDUCATIONAL STUDIES UNFOLD

Dr. Joseph Lukinsky, associate professor of education at the Seminary, reported the presentation of two exciting doctoral studies to his seminar last spring. Both Joseph Reimer and David Resnick, who received doctorates from Harvard and Columbia Universities respectively worked with young children in their studies of cognitive and moral development.

Dr. Resnick, who is principal of the Seminary's Prozdor program, was concerned with the transmission of society's values through symbols. "A good example of the importance of symbolism in education can be found in religious education. Many religions have a wealth of myths, parables and proverbs which are to be communicated to students as part of their schooling." He decided to concentrate on the proverb, the second shortest symbolic literary genre after the metaphor, to determine how an individual masters the use of figurative language. His study was entitled "The Development of Children's Comprehension of Proverbs." After compiling a list of increasingly difficult proverbs (from "A stitch in time saves nine" to "Crooked logs make straight fires") he presented them to 5th-7th graders in New York City public and private schools to determine comprehension. Although children at age 8 tend to take proverbs quite literally, a change occurs somewhere between 8 and 12 years, and by age 13, children not only show little difficulty comprehending proverbs, but can apply them appropriately. The focus of Dr. Resnick's study was not analytical but cognitive, and he found that several interacting factors account for the growth he measured, rather than a monolithic theory.

Dr. Reimer intermittently lived and worked as a participant observer on several kibbutzim in Israel from November 1972 to January 1974 to study the moral development of kibbutz adolescents. Three groups of adolescents on two kibbutzim were studied, including two kibbutz-born youth groups and city-born youths living and studying on a kibbutz. Each group was interviewed twice using the Kohlberg Moral Judgment Interview translated into Hebrew. To further test moral development, students were asked to discuss their perceptions of how specific kibbutz norms operated within the context of

their high schools. Dr. Reimer wanted to research "how adolescents' moral reasoning develops over time as it interacts with certain features in the environment in which they live, work, and study."

"The question being investigated was to what extent did youths carry over their moral reasoning about hypothetical dilemmas to their reasoning about dilemmas which arose in the context of their daily lives on kibbutz." Dr. Reimer found a high degree of carryover from the moral reasoning in hypothetical dilemmas to the perceptions of daily life. The study bore out the cognitive-developmental assumption that the extent of social participation and role-taking opportunities increases as does moral development. "The kibbutz was said to have provided a moral atmosphere which was perceived by its adolescents as operating on a level parallel to their conceptions of how a social system ought to be run."

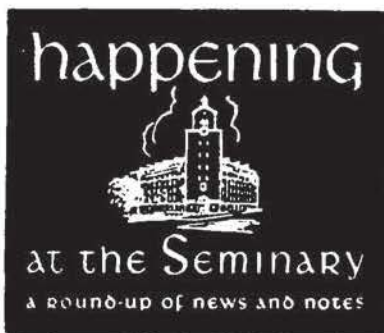
ADDITIONAL APPOINTMENTS ANNOUNCED

Chancellor Cohen has announced the appointment of Rabbi Ronald D. Price as assistant dean for academic affairs for the coming academic year. Rabbi Price was ordained in May, and is continuing his graduate studies in the field of curriculum development. He expects to receive a masters degree in education in December from Teachers College, Columbia University.

While a student at the Seminary, Rabbi Price received the Alexander Lamport Prize in Talmud, the William B. Hackenburg Prize in Midrash, and the Alumnae Association of the Women's Institute Prize. During 1974-5, he served as president of the Rabbinical School Student Organization. His summers have been spent as a teacher at Ramah in New England and as a group leader of the Ramah Seminar in Israel.

Rabbi Price is a graduate of the University of Maryland. He has served as rabbi in Congregation Bnai Shalom, Olney, Maryland.

Dr. Cohen also announced the appointment of Rabbi William B. Horn, spiritual leader of the Jewish Community Center in Summit, N.J. as an associate in practical rabbinics. Rabbi Horn will join Rabbis A. Nathan Abramowitz, Myron M. Fenster, Simon Glustrom, Albert L. Lewis, David Panitz, Israel C. Stein, Saul I. Tepnitz, and Arthur Turetsky, whose appointments were announced previously, in sharing congregational experience with rabbinical students.



WOMEN PATRONS TO MEET

The National Women's Patrons Society will host a luncheon Thursday, October 20 at The Jewish Museum. All contributors of \$1000 and over are invited to the affair which will feature an address by Chancellor Cohen and a tour of the Chaim Gross Retrospective at the Museum. Mrs. Syd Goldstein is chairman. Mrs. Milton Perry, Women's League President, and Mrs. Sol Henkind, National Torah Fund/Residence Hall Chairman also are scheduled to speak.

HELPING FAR-FLUNG COMMUNITIES

Leaders Training Fellowship, known for its recruitment of promising Jewish youth in the United States, has found itself recruited by leaders of two prominent Jewish communities in Latin America.

Rabbi Marcelo Rittner, spiritual advisor of Congregacao Israelita Paulista, in Sao Paulo, Brazil, wrote LTF last fall to say how impressed he had been with the LTF booklet, "The Ethics of Law" by Rabbi Chaim Potok. Were other publications available, asked Rabbi Rittner, noting that his responsibilities at the 2,600 family congregation included reorganization of its 1,000 student youth movement.

"Our main problem in Brazil," he wrote, "is the shortage of literature on educational, cultural and camping programs, due to the practically nonexistent material on Jewish Themes in South America."

At the same time, a similar request was received from Rabbi Marshall T. Meyer, Rector of the Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Pointing out that the 15-year-old Seminary is the "center of Conservative Judaism in Latin America," Rabbi Meyer wrote, "It is really very important for our students to use this material, and for their community work."

RABBINICAL SCHOOL GRADUATE HONORED

The festivities surrounding ordination extended beyond commencement and across the country for Rabbi George Schlesinger. Congregation Adat Ari in North Hollywood, California, planned an entire weekend to celebrate the ordination of their teacher and leader of youth activities. The congregation participated in a specially prepared service of responsive readings to honor Rabbi Schlesinger on Friday night, May 27 and a gala Oneg Shabbat followed the service.

LECTURE PUBLISHED

"On The History of The Political Judgement of the Jew," the Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture delivered by Dr. Ismar Schorsch last year, has been published by the Leo Baeck Institute. Dr. Schorsch is Dean of the Seminary's Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and a member of the Board of Directors of the Leo Baeck Institute, which is devoted to the study and preservation of the history of German Jewry.

MUSEUM'S "BAZAAR" STREET FAIR APPLAUDED

Among the myriad attractions at the 92nd Street Fair sponsored by the Jewish Museum on Sunday afternoon, June 4, was open admission to the Museum itself. Joan Hartman, director of Public Information, worked the Information Desk and reported to us the enthusiasm with which New Yorkers greeted the festival. "This was a wonderful experience!...I just got back from Israel, and of course they have marvelous collections, but your Judaica collections are superb....It was a privilege to be invited.... I've lived in New York 27 years but I never knew this museum existed. It's wonderful!"

Joan continued, "I had the impression that people felt the museum represented them with dignity, that it is a distinguished institution, of substance. They were proud of it and asked innumerable questions regarding the collections, museum hours, membership fees, changing exhibitions, and couldn't wait to buy posters and catalogues. I found it a heartwarming experience, well worth the tremendous effort put forth by all..."

IN THE FAMILY...

Hana Lukinsky, daughter of Rabbi Joseph Lukinsky, Associate Professor of Education at the Seminary, tied for second place in the advanced Hebrew division of the National Bible Contest,

IN THE FAMILY

sponsored by the World Zionist Organization. Ms. Lukinsky, who recently graduated from the SAR Academy in Riverdale, was only one point behind the first place winners. After seven highly competitive rounds of final eliminations, four contestants remained, tied for first and second places. Usually, the winner and runner-up celebrate their victory in Israel; this year, because of their unusually strong showing, all four winners will be sent to Israel next year. Mazal tov to all!

PROZDOR GRADUATES 18

On Sunday morning, June 12, eighteen Prozdor students received diplomas or certificates signifying completion of their course of study in the Seminary's high school program. Of the eleven women and eight men who were graduated, fourteen are bound for colleges from Israel to Buffalo, and points in-between.

Professor Lee I.A. Levine addressed the graduates, as he did ten years ago. Although he subsequently made aliya, he spent his sabbatical year at the Seminary, and his son David continued his Jewish studies in the Prozdor.

Six Prozdor alumni were honored at graduations this spring. Dr. Shlomo Silman, a staff member, received his doctorate in audiology and speech pathology from New York University. Lyle Fishman, Lionel Moses, Burt Visotsky and Robert Wexler all graduated from the Seminary's rabbinical school and were ordained as rabbi, teacher and preacher, and Martin Cohen received his M.A. at the Seminary commencement.

ALUMNI NOTES

After Rabbi Noah Golinkin (Seminary Rabbinical School 1944), pioneered a successful Hebrew literacy program which taught 200 members of the Washington, D.C. community Hebrew reading skills, Rabbi Asher Bar-Zev (Seminary Rabbinical School 1958) of Temple Beth El in West Palm Beach, Florida invited him south to train volunteer teachers and lay people from the congregation to inaugurate Operation Alef Bet, a mammoth campaign for Hebrew literacy. The program will run for

nine weeks, with two hour sessions five days a week. Classes will be held during all parts of the day to make scheduling easier for busy individuals and facilitate class make-ups. Registration is open to those who don't know an alef from a bet, and to those who have forgotten. Chairperson for the program is Dr. Haviva D. Langenauer (Seminary College 1958)

PROZDOR AWARDED GRANT

This fall, the unofficial faculty of Prozdor will more than double, thanks to a grant from the Development Fund for Jewish education, administered by the Board of Jewish Education. The funds secured from the School Initiated Projects Grant for the development and implementation of promising methods to improve the quality of Jewish education, will enable students to become teachers, for half a class, and then students again, as their classmates instruct, under a project entitled "Developing Peer-Mediated Instructional Materials in Mishna."

Because the more than 200 Prozdor students come from varied backgrounds of Hebrew preparation, and because of the small amount of time per week allotted for each subject area, an individualized, self paced form of instruction would maximize learning and student involvement. Rabbi David Resnick, principal of Prozdor, who just received his Ph.D. in Developmental Psychology from Teachers College of Columbia University, and Rabbi Murray Schaum, a doctoral candidate in Talmud at the Seminary, will develop new materials for studying Mishna to be introduced this fall. Based on Peter Rosenbaum's Peer-Mediated Instruction, practical study programs will allow students to work in teams of two, instruction, grading and evaluating each other's work, using cassettes, work sheets and other information resources. These materials will be integrated with traditional class sessions to round out the overall learning experience.

Evaluation of the method will take place systematically throughout the year, and students will be tested in their mastery of the material. If successful, this method could be expanded to include other areas of the curriculum.

UNITED SYNAGOGUE NEWS OF AMERICA

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES FORMALLY INDUCTED INTO WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

In June, a delegation representing all constituent agencies of the World Council of Synagogues attended the World Zionist Organization Actions Committee in Jerusalem, where the international representative of the Conservative Movement was inducted into the World Zionist Organization. Rabbi Mordecai Waxman delivered an address in which he defined the ideology and the Zionist aspirations of the Conservative Movement. We received an enthusiastic reception and were immediately admitted to all working committees of the World Zionist Organization.

"TRADITION-COMMITMENT-CHANGE" -- CONVENTION SET FOR NOVEMBER 13-17

The Call to Convention has gone out to all congregations, and we are pleased to announce that Dr. Gerson Cohen, Chancellor of the Seminary, will be the keynote speaker. In line with our theme, the Convention will attempt to develop strategies and programs to engage the alienated and the ignorant and to move the affiliated toward a deeper sense of commitment.

The Convention will explore the nature of Conservative Judaism; the future of synagogue-federation relationships; what is the Jewish impact on American politics. A Laboratory for Leaders and a special Conference for Synagogue Presidents will enable congregations to share techniques and ideas for leadership.

A weekend Torah Institute November 11-13 will precede the Convention itself. We urge all congregations to send delegates and alternates to what promises to be an historic convention at the Concord Hotel, Kiamesha Lake, New York. Information and reservation forms are available at our Convention Office, 155 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10010

NEW BOOK PUBLISHED

A new Hebrew book published in Israel interprets Judaism from the viewpoint of the Conservative Movement. Yahadut: Musage'ha ha'yeso'-diyim (Judaism: Its Basic Concepts) is by Rabbi Ben Zion Bokser. Published by Masada Press, it was prepared with

NEW CURRICULUM FOR CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOLS

By the end of the year, the Commission on Jewish Education will make available to our afternoon congregational schools a new curriculum. It will provide educators with a complete "package" of methods to use, evaluative materials and bibliographies.

The new curriculum will begin with grade 1 (aleph) and go through grade 6. Beginning with the third year, the school will select one of four optional study areas for emphasis: Judaism/Sources, Tefilah/Mitzvot, Hebrew language, and History/Community. Each special area of study will interconnect with the others at those crucial points which will serve to emphasize Kedusha, i.e., the uniqueness and sanctity of Jewish life.

The new curriculum is designed to provide each student with a major area in which depth and competence can be achieved, yet it will continue to provide the fundamentals necessary for a broad Jewish education. Further information is available from the Department of Elementary, Secondary and Adult Education at 155 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010

NOTES FROM THE CENTER FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM IN JERUSALEM

In May, the Center published the 50th issue of its newsletter. One glance at the activities reported indicates the Center's vitality. There was a week-long series of festivities to mark the 10th anniversary of united Jerusalem; special Shavuot study sessions; political forums prior to the Israeli elections; weekly seminars on public issues; art and poetry exhibits; and a women's minyan held in the new Beit Hamedrash Aharon.

Mrs. Miryom Shuman, Director of the Center's Absorption Desk, has been touring the United States where she visited ten cities, gave 75 talks and had press and radio interviews -- all to explain what opportunities are available to Conservative Jews in Israel and how her department can assist during the adjustment period.

* * *

the cooperation of the World Council of Synagogues.

The Youth Commission of the United Synagogue of America

USY SUMMER ACTIVITIES

This past summer's program saw the largest participation of USYers in our history. The USY Israel Pilgrimage had over 700 North American teenagers join with 50 Israeli USYers and 10 Iranian USYers for 6 weeks of intensive touring and study throughout Israel. This was the largest single group of young people ever to travel in Israel.

Over 250 USYers took part in USY on Wheels --traveling 6 different bus routes from New York to California and back again. For the first time in Wheels' history, 4 Israeli Madrichim (counselors) joined the buses as staff. Over 30 of our congregations hosted the Wheels' buses in various cities.

Twenty USYers visited Israel, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Switzerland on the highly successful USY Eastern European Pilgrimage. These USYers saw first hand the life of Jews in Eastern Europe today, and learned much about their own roots.

KADIMA AND USY ENCAMPMENTS

Ending the summer and beginning the New Year, 15 of our regions plan week long encampments with over 3000 USYers and Kadimaniks in attendance. Themes will include The Jewish Life Cycle, Family, Prayer, Zionism, Israel Today, and Death. Our youngsters will participate in a full range of camping activities including sports, swimming, crafts, music, dance, and drama. The encampments, which are staffed by USY advisors offer training sessions and classes for the advisors as well as leadership classes for USYers. Visits from the ATID Bookmobile are features of many of the encampments, permitting participants to select Jewish books, records, and religious items for their personal use.

KADIMA AND USY ADVISORY CONFERENCES

The first National USY Advisors Training Conference will be held in Philadelphia on October 16. Approximately 100 Advisors from many of our regions are expected to attend. The Second Annual Kadima Advisors Conference will be held October 30 at Brandeis University in Boston. Both Conferences will give USY and Kadima Ad-

visors a chance to learn the latest techniques of youth leadership and share ideas and programs with their colleagues.

THE USY ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

The USY Alumni Association, with approximately 7000 members, has already published two issues of its newspaper. Many regional alumni groups have held parties, dinners and reunions over the summer. The most exciting and outstanding of these was the August 10th reunion in Jerusalem. Approximately 50 former USYers either traveling or now living in Israel were in attendance.

A SPECIAL SHAHARIT

Word has just come, almost breathlessly, from one bus passenger on a USY on Wheels tour, of the special thrill of a morning service held at the Grand Canyon.

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LIBRARY MANUSCRIPTS MICROFILMED

A very attractive leaflet, "Judaica Collections from the Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America," is currently being distributed by University Microfilms International, of Ann Arbor, Michigan. Listed are 11 collections of manuscripts--ranging from five reels of polemical manuscripts to 76 reels of biblical manuscripts--which are now available to libraries and others--at a price. More detailed catalogs, Reel Guides, available to prospective purchasers enumerate the content of each collection.

Publication of the leaflet marks the completion of the task of microfilming the Seminary's manuscript collections. The complete series consists of 340 reels of microfilm, and sells at the special discount price of \$8,135. Individual collections range from \$150 to \$2,280. Bulletin office has a few copies of the leaflet on hand. Reel Guides must be ordered from 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106



Women's League for Conservative Judaism

48 East 74th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021

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ENDOWMENT OF SEMINARY SUKKAH TO BE LEAGUE'S 60TH ANNIVERSARY GIFT

When an individual celebrates a milestone anniversary, the occasion is usually a time for receiving presents. When an organization celebrates a milestone, it's a time for giving a special gift.

January 21, 1978 will mark 60 years since the founding of Women's League. The women who have been the beneficiaries of Seminary leadership and guidance for the six decades are, therefore, planning a very special thankyou gift.

Each year, the magnificent Sukkah erected in the Quadrangle of the Jewish Theological Seminary is described and pictured in national publications. Governors and Senators, U.S. Supreme Court Justices and renowned prelates of the Catholic and Protestant churches have been entertained in it. Here Seminary students and Jewish men and women from neighboring schools observe the mitzvah of eating in a sukkah. Students from Columbia, Barnard, the Union Theological Seminary and other neighboring academic institutions are among the many visitors who come to see and learn from this beautiful expression of Jewish life.

Each year, a campaign must be mounted, to secure the funds needed to erect and decorate the beautiful structure. As its anniversary gift to the Seminary, Women's League has launched a special once-in-a-lifetime gift campaign to endow the sukkah, insuring for posterity this beautiful symbol of the Jewish tradition.

Each contributor's name will be inscribed in a Sukkah Endowment Book which will be placed in the Seminary Archives. Contributions, marked for the Sukkah Fund, are being received at the Women's League office, 48 East 74 St., New York, N.Y. 10021. They may be designated to honor or memorialize an individual or occasion.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE INSTITUTE COURSES AT SEMINARY TO START OCTOBER 6

A new program of classes for women interested in continuing Jewish education at a challenging level is being launched at the Seminary this Fall, sponsored jointly by Women's League and the Seminary. The courses are designed for women who are planning to return to school, for young mothers interested in self-growth as Jews, for the corps of women who attend their local Adult Education courses regularly and will welcome the opportunity to study at the Seminary.

A pilot project which, it is hoped, will subsequently be replicated in other parts of the continent, the Institute in 1977-78 is offering two courses, each of two semesters. Set for 10 Thursdays each semester, the morning classes will be on "Textual Analysis of Selected Sections of Genesis and Exodus" with Ruth Zielenziger, a master Melton Method teacher, as instructor. The afternoon course will be taught by Dr. Neil Gillman, a "Survey of Jewish Thought from the Bible to Modern Times."

Fees for the year are \$130.00, payable \$65.00 per semester. The cost of luncheon each week, which will be served to the participants in the Student Lounge, is included in the total fee.

Enrollments, with deposit of \$25.00, should be sent to the League.

"JUSTICE BY THE BOOK" GOES TO A SECOND PRINTING

"Justice By the Book: Aspects of Jewish and American Criminal Law" which was launched at the Women's League Convention last November has gone into a second printing. The paperback edition of the volume by Helene Schwartz, who holds degrees from Brown University and Columbia Law School, has been a popular choice for innovative adult studies series as well as a gift item for interested Jewish attorneys. The hard cover edition has been ordered for libraries in many parts of the world.

"BA-OLAM" INCREASES BY 50%

Ba-Olam (In the World), the new Women's League newsletter summarizing world affairs of Jewish concern, is increasing the number of its issues, after just one year of publication. Launched experimentally in the Fall of 1976, four issues of Ba-Olam were produced by the Editors in 1976-77. The popularity of the concise, clear and complete coverage has led to the decision to issue it six times in the 10 months from September to June, 1977-78. It is distributed without charge to Sisterhoods affiliated with the League.

BAPTIST PROFESSOR STUDIES AT SEMINARY

Summer at the Seminary brings a certain novelty. The Summer Institute, a program for collegians with varying backgrounds in Jewish studies, always attracts a few foreign students, and a few American Jews to whom their heritage is itself an alien land. Increasingly, the graduate summer courses too are drawing some students unlike those who attend the Seminary during the winter term.

One such this summer was Dan Proctor, a teacher of Biblical Hebrew at Gardiner-Webb College in Boiling Springs, North Carolina. Gardiner-Webb is a Southern Baptist school, and some 200 of its 1400 students are religion majors.

Two factors motivated Mr. Proctor to come to the Seminary. One was the request from his college that he take over a course on Jewish civilization offered in the school's foreign language department. "The course is supposed to give the students an overall view of Jewish history and theology," he explained, "and I just didn't feel equipped to teach it."

A second consideration was the fact that Southwestern Baptist Seminary where Mr. Proctor learned his Hebrew, and from which he received the degree of doctor of theology, now awards the degree of doctor of philosophy as well. To convert his doctorate to the more widely recognized Ph.D., Mr. Proctor needed additional credits. Hearing about the course in liturgy which was being offered at the Seminary in the first semester of the summer term, he wrote to Southwestern Baptist Seminary, asking whether they would accept the course for Ph.D. credit. His alma mater studied the course description, examined the academic credentials of Rabbi David Freedman, the instructor, and granted permission.

The liturgy course, given in the philosophy department, concentrated on the daily morning service, and analyzed the rabbinic value concepts implied in the prayers. Mr. Proctor feels that it provided him with an excellent overview of Judaism, of Jewish history and of some of the little understood concepts of Jewish religion. "However," he said, "I think that I learned almost as much outside of the course as in it. Living in the Mathilde Schechter Residence Hall was an educational experience, as I learned about Kashruth, and observed it. Also, I attended Sabbath eve services at the Seminary, and on Sabbath mornings

visited other congregations with my fellow students."

Of the general atmosphere of the Seminary, Mr. Proctor's impressions were very positive. "People talk," he said, "of southern hospitality, but I have never been accepted any place with greater warmth or consideration." He summed up his feelings about the total experience with the perception that while Christians strive to create a Christian community, Jews are born into the Jewish community, and seek to give personal meaning and depth to that membership.

Mr. Proctor left the Seminary after the first term to return to Gardiner-Webb College, where he taught in the second part of the summer session. His students are fortunate indeed to have a teacher so open to new knowledge and experience, and so willing to continue to study and learn.

SCHOLAR RECEIVES GRANT

When Dr. Mayer E. Rabinowitz, associate dean for graduate studies and assistant professor in Talmud at the Seminary departs for his sabbatical leave this month, it will be to devote full time to scholarship--a vacation from teaching and administrative responsibilities. Dr. Rabinowitz's doctoral thesis dealt with tractate Gittin, and especially on the commentaries of Mordechai ben Hillel, which appear at the end of the Talmud. Mordechai, who died in the Reindflesch massacres, was a student of R. Mayer of Rothenberg. His importance in his chosen field can be gauged from the fact that abridgements of his work--perhaps an early equivalent of the contemporary paper back--appeared within a century of his death.

Dr. Rabinowitz will spend his sabbatical year in Jerusalem, working at the Seminary's Schocken Library, on a critical edition of Mordechai's work, which served Ashkenazic Jewry as its basic guide to halakha until the appearance of the Shulhan Arukh, in which it is quoted extensively. To aid him in his project, he has received a research grant from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture.

DEPARTMENT OF RADIO AND TELEVISION

Television - Directions
Sunday, September 11

ABC-TV Network
1:00-1:30 p.m. EDT

" A BRIDGE FROM EAST TO WEST "

Dr. Jacob Yuroh Teshima, who was recently awarded a doctorate by the Seminary for his dissertation, "Zen Buddhism and Hasidism, A Comparative Study," and Rabbi David Wolf Silverman, Chairman of the Department of Philosophies of Judaism at the Seminary and President of the Religious Education Association, are interviewed by ABC News correspondent, Herbert Kaplow.

The Eternal Light
Sunday, September 18

NBC-TV Network
11:30-12:00 noon EDT

" A CONVERSATION WITH DR. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN "

A rebroadcast of last year's inspirational High Holy Day program, in which Chancellor Emeritus Louis Finkelstein speaks with Sol M. Linowitz, former Ambassador of the United States to the Organization of American States.

Radio - Eternal Light, Sunday, September 4

Network: 11:30-12:00 noon EDT
New York City: 10:30-11:00 p.m.

" THE WORLDS WE LIVE IN: A REAPPRAISAL " Part X

Dr. Robert McAfee Brown and Rabbi David Wolf Silverman discuss "From Where We Stand: A Summation of Perspectives," the conclusion of the ten part summer series. The focus of the conversation is on conversion and women's rights.

***In New York City, because of a one week delay, part IX will be presented on September 4: "Waiting for the Messiah: Its Meaning for Jews and Christians." Part X will be broadcast in New York City on September 11, on the NBC radio network.

THE JEWISH MUSEUM

CHAIM GROSS: A RETROSPECTIVE - thru October 24, 1977

A major exhibition of the artist's work in sculpture, drawings, watercolors and prints.

ISRAEL KALEIDOSCOPE: Photographs by Morris and Edith Jaffe

- September 20 - December 18, 1977

A group of approximately 70 color photographs taken by Mr. & Mrs. Jaffe in 1974, illustrating the pulse of a vital land and its people.

FABRICS OF JEWISH LIFE: Ceremonial Textiles from the Jewish Museum Collection

- December 14, 1977 - April 30, 1978

Two hundred examples of textiles with Judaic themes, from the Museum's collections, restored and catalogued.

Guided Tours of major exhibitions are available Sunday through Thursday by advance arrangement. Groups of 10 to 50 people are welcome. Reservations are a must. Call (212) 860-1888.

Admission - Sunday 11:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.
Mon. - Thurs. 12:00 noon - 5:00 p.m.
CLOSED - Friday & Saturday

CHANCELLOR ADDRESS CONVENTION

Dr. Gerson D. Cohen, Seminary Chancellor, delivered the keynote address at the annual convention of the National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs. The delegates, representing 375 brotherhoods in congregations throughout the United States and Canada, assembled in Montreal on July 31 to address themselves to their convention theme, "Building Future Leadership for World Jewry."

Dr. Cohen praised the Men's Clubs for their concern with leadership, evidenced not only by their convention theme, but also, and most importantly, by their support of the Leaders Training Fellowship, the Conservative Movement's program for young people who demonstrate both commitment to Judaism and leadership potential.

Explaining that, as an historian, his perspective on the whole question of leadership and Jewish vitality borrowed heavily from the experience of earlier Jewish communities, Dr. Cohen distinguished between 19th century France, and 20th century Poland.

"Jewish leaders," he said, "are generated by a community that provides a specific type of climate. All the wealth and the freedom in the world could not create a vibrant Jewish community in 19th century France, for French Jewry suppressed its sense of Jewish fraternity - protesting that they were really good Frenchmen of Mosaic faith, not members of a people. They renounced a specific Jewish mission for French Jewry and consequently had no real ties with the Jewish past, no vision of any great Jewish future, and, alas, no ideal French Jew on whom aspiring French Jews might model themselves."

"Polish Jewry, on the other hand," he continued, "between the two World Wars, produced a remarkable leadership for itself, for Israel, for Jewish communities to which those who escaped migrated. Why could this happen in an environment that had so much stacked against it? Because from earliest life children caught the message that Polish Jewry wanted leadership and the best of them would be made leaders. Moreover, they were taught and they believed that the fate of the Jewish people depended on Polish Jewry. One young man who caught that message in the city of Brest Litovsk is today the Prime Minister of the State of Israel."

"The lesson of history, it seems to me, is clear," Dr. Cohen continued, "that leadership will emerge if it is stimulated and encouraged. Obviously, the encouragement cannot be a direct call to train for the mantle of leadership, but rather to the possibility of conquest of some ideal and of the necessity of that conquest. If young people are convinced early enough in life that there will be acceptance of their talents, and if they come to that perception strengthened by the sense of fellowship and kinship that a strong community provides, the likelihood is that strong creative leadership will emerge from their midst. A significant stimulus for the emergence of such leadership is the example of past experience being reenacted in the contemporary situation. Young people may not be critical historians or political scientists, but their intuition and insight often enable them to see quite unconsciously the crucial factors that go into the making of leadership."