

become citizens of the Arab or Jewish State respectively, according to part I, section B, paragraph 9, of this plan.

The Trusteeship Council shall make arrangements for consular protection of the citizens of the City outside its territory.

*12. Freedoms of citizens.*

(a) Subject only to the requirements of public order and morals, the inhabitants of the City shall be ensured the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of conscience, religion and worship, language, education, speech and Press, assembly and association, and petition.

(b) No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the grounds of race, religion, language or sex.

(c) All persons within the City shall be entitled to equal protection of the laws.

(d) The family law and personal status of the various persons and communities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.

(e) Except as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government, no measure shall be taken to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of religious or charitable bodies of all faiths or to discriminate against any representative or member of these bodies on the ground of his religion or nationality.

(f) The City shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish communities respectively, in their own languages and in accordance with their cultural traditions.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the City may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. Foreign educational establishments shall continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.

(g) No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any inhabitant of the City of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

*13. Holy Places.*

(a) Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired.

(b) Free access to the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites and

the free exercise of worship shall be secured in conformity with existing rights and subject to the requirements of public order and decorum.

(c) Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall be preserved. No act shall be permitted which may in any way impair their sacred character. If at any time it appears to the Governor that any particular Holy Place, religious building or site is in need or urgent repair, the Governor may call upon the community or communities concerned to carry out such repair. The Governor may carry it out himself at the expense of the community or communities concerned if no action is taken within a reasonable time.

(d) No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the creation of the City. No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites, or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in relation to the general incidence of taxation than existed at the time of the adoption of the Assembly's recommendations.

*14. Special powers of the Governor in respect of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in the City and in any part of Palestine.*

(a) The protection of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites located in the City of Jerusalem shall be a special concern of the Governor.

(b) With relation to such places, buildings and sites in Palestine outside the city, the Governor shall determine, on the ground of powers granted to him by the Constitutions of both States, whether the provisions of the Constitutions of the Arab and Jewish States in Palestine dealing therewith and the religious rights appertaining thereto are being properly applied and respected.

(c) The Governor shall also be empowered to make decisions on the basis of existing rights in cases of disputes which may arise between the different religious communities or the rites of a religious community in respect of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in any part of Palestine.

In this task he may be assisted by a consultative council of representatives of different denominations acting in an advisory capacity.

#### D. DURATION OF THE SPECIAL REGIME

The Statute elaborated by the Trusteeship Council on the aforementioned principles shall come into force not later than 1 October

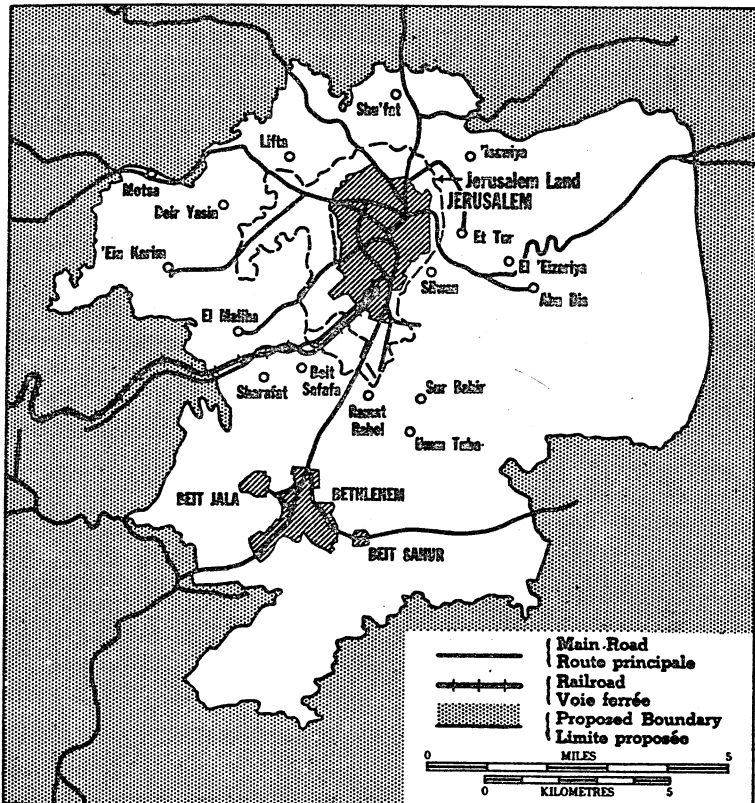
1948. It shall remain in force in the first instance for a period of ten years, unless the Trusteeship Council finds it necessary to undertake a re-examination of these provisions at an earlier date. After the expiration of this period the whole scheme shall be subject to re-examination by the Trusteeship Council in the light of the experience acquired with its functioning. The residents of the City shall be then free to express by means of a referendum their wishes as to possible modifications of the regime of the City.

*Part IV*  
*Capitulations*

States whose nationals have in the past enjoyed in Palestine the privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection, as formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, are invited to renounce any right pertaining to them to the re-establishment of such privileges and immunities in the proposed Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem.

# CITY OF JERUSALEM BOUNDARIES PROPOSED

BY THE AD HOC COMMITTEE  
ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION



# VILLE DE JERUSALEM LIMITES PROPOSEES

PAR LA COMMISSION AD HOC  
CHARGÉE DE LA QUESTION PALESTINIENNE



## **APPENDIX 4**

**POLICY STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNING  
BOARD, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.**

# **MIDDLE EAST**

## **Policy Statement**

**Adopted by  
The Governing Board  
National Council of Churches  
of Christ in the U.S.A.**

**Nov. 6, 1980**

***Available from:***

**National Council of the Churches of Christ  
in the U.S.A.  
475 Riverside Drive, Room 612  
New York, NY 10115**

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

### INTRODUCTION

The Middle East is a region of borders; borders of space and time, physical borders and borders of the spirit. Because Africa, Asia and Europe converge here, it has been from time immemorial a region where differing cultures touch and mingle, and where competing political and economic interests clash. History lives with a special intensity in the consciousness of Middle Eastern peoples. Much of that history is a record of conquest from without, betrayal from within. The very name we use for the region bespeaks a European and Western outlook. Many of the lines on its maps were placed there by builders of empires, makers of colonies, to advance the interests of distant capitals of commerce and in fulfillment of global strategies of domination. The situation today is not very different. Great powers, neighboring and remote, compete for political and economic advantage in the area, often with little regard for the needs and aspirations of indigenous cultures and peoples. The most recent development affecting the region — the deepening dependence of nations, large and small, outside the region upon its reserves of fossil fuels — works to exacerbate these tendencies toward intervention and exploitation. Economic rivalry is made more fierce, more destabilizing, by ideological contention and geopolitical maneuvering. The importance of the Middle East imposes a responsibility for continuing thoughtful reflection and for prudent and persevering action. What U.S.A. Christians say and do and think about the problems of the Middle East or what they fail to do may deeply affect their own future and the future of the world. It could make the difference between the achievement of justice and peace or continuing conflict and world-endangering war.

By the very nature of its vocation, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions are called to study and address the situation of the peoples of the Middle East and its implications for humankind. The issues inherent in the situation are not only ideological, economic, political and strategic; they are also issues of religious principle and profound moral consequence which demand a response from Christians — not least from the Christians of a nation that pursues its own interests in and has its own agenda for the region.

There is further reason for their special concern about the Middle East. Throughout the

centuries this region has been endowed with deep religious significance and spiritual value for Jews, Christians and Muslims. Further, Jesus Christ was born, walked and taught and suffered, died and rose from the dead there. Judaism, Christianity and Islam were born in the Middle East and coexist there still, often in an uneasy tension that is felt in the midst of U.S.A. religious communities as well. Recent events have made clear that differing religious loyalties and perspectives powerfully influence the course of events in the Middle East. Jews, Christians and Muslims form separate communities of faith in the one God, yet possess different understandings of how faith is to be expressed in life. Even within each religious community there are differences, particularly on issues of faith and nation. To some, for example, it seems natural and right that national structures provide a framework within which people of differing faiths may live, function and together shape national life and identity; to others, that the national life of a religious people should find concrete expression in law of people's fidelity to God.

This statement provides policy direction to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and is submitted to its member communions for guidance in their relationships with the Middle East. It recognizes that while the people of the Middle East must, of necessity, play the primary role in determining their own courses of action, issues of war and peace are of such crucial significance to all the world's people, that they too may have a role to play. This statement deals with the relationship of U.S.A. Christians to the churches of the Middle East and to people of other faiths or ideologies in the area. It also affirms the responsibility of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions to witness to the government of the United States and to corporations and other agencies as their policies affect the people in the Middle East.

This policy statement is founded upon our conviction that for all people there is "one God who is above all and through all and in all" (Ephesians 4:6; RSV). God to whom Christians point in Jesus Christ is at work in every society; we do not fully grasp the ways, but God is not without witness in any human community. Here Christians acknowledge a profound mystery: God's redemptive action for the whole creation in Jesus Christ. Through Christ's coming, Christians have been drawn together into a community, the Church, which exists to

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

be the first fruits of God's Kingdom, to be a sign and symbol of all humanity and to care for the creation. The Church, the Body of Christ, witnesses to the unity of creation with the Creator, and to the unity of all peoples in the Creator. When the Church is truly Christ's church, through it the grace of God heals the brokenness of human relationships, breaks down separating walls, reconciles estranged persons with God and one another. The experience of this grace imposes a mission: Christians bear responsibility for a prophetic, pastoral and reconciling ministry in the world. It is out of this Christian self-understanding that this statement proceeds.

The first section of the statement, "Relations Among the Churches," affirms for the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions a special concern for relations with Middle Eastern Christians, with particular concern to foster a greater spirit of unity and mutual understanding among U.S.A. and Middle East churches.

The second section, "Relations With People of Other Faiths," explores the relations of U.S.A. Christians with people of other faiths either living in the Middle East or concerned with its destiny. Affirming the need for mutual respect and understanding, it acknowledges the reality of strife; it seeks to identify the sources of mistrust and prejudice and to lay the basis for reconciliation.

The third section, "The Witness of the Church in Society," rises out of the responsibility of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions to participate seriously in moral discourse, along with other agencies and communities in the U.S.A., in the effort to understand specific problems and issues of the Middle East and to form sound and workable policies. The statement calls upon U.S.A. Christians to recognize the moral dimensions of political action, to give witness to God's justice, love and mercy, to build peace upon the foundation of justice. This section looks at four specific concerns of comprehensive regional importance.

These three sections each involve complexities of relationships and responsibility that require the people of the Church to have an awareness of historic opportunity, a willingness to engage in continuing, many-sided dialogue, and a patient firmness in the defense of human and transcendent values. This calling asks U.S.A. Christians to accept responsibility for action in the world. As Christians who have come together in the National Council of the

Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. as an expression of our unity in Christ and our common ministry in the world, we acknowledge that we are called to manifest more visibly our oneness in Christ, to seek unity in new ways with our Christian brothers and sisters in the Middle East, to reach out to our brothers and sisters of other faiths and to work with them for peace and justice. It is in that spirit that this document is offered.

## RELATIONS AMONG THE CHURCHES

In the Middle East the ministry and witness of the churches are carried on by four historic families of churches: Eastern Orthodox; Oriental Orthodox; Protestant and Anglican; Catholic, both Roman and Eastern Rite; and, in addition, the Church of the East (Assyrian). These churches vary greatly in size, resources and other characteristics. Most are reduced in numbers today as a result of emigration from the area; a few, however, such as the Coptic Orthodox Church (Oriental Orthodox) in Egypt claiming more than 7,000,000 members, are larger than most U.S.A. communions.

The majority of Christians of the Middle East, being of the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox communions, trace a continuous witness of their churches to the time of the apostles; they carry on a tradition that has nurtured the fellowship of Christian believers through two millennia.

The Protestant and Anglican churches, a small minority of the Middle East churches, inheritors of European reformation traditions, came to the Middle East as a product of the 19th century western mission enterprise. Motivations and interpretations that shaped the western missionary endeavor were diverse. Protestant and Anglican churches and institutions came into being as a result of that movement. Membership for these new churches came largely from Orthodox and Catholic churches, creating divisions in the Christian community which have left bitterness and scars. Whatever motivations and strategies may have accounted for this history, clearly, gaps in cultural and historical understanding among western missionaries, in spite of good intentions, contributed to bitterly held divisions among Christians in the Middle East.

Even today some missionary groups employ mission strategies that tend toward fragmentation rather than unity among the churches of the Middle East. The majority of the area's

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

churches, however, now place a high priority on the furthering of Christian unity in their continued life and witness. This spirit of reconciliation and healing found expression in the creation of the Middle East Council of Churches in 1974. The Council brings together three of the families of Middle East churches: the Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox and a majority of the Protestant and Anglican. Its founding represents a major historical development with great significance for theology and mission.

Just as the Middle East Council of Churches is contributing to a deeper sense of unity among its members, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions are increasingly aware of the contribution they can make as partner churches toward enhancing the spirit of unity in the Middle East.

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions are called to recognize that the basic principle guiding relations between Middle East and U.S.A. churches is that the Middle East churches provide the essential witness to Christ in the Middle East. One role of the U.S.A. churches is to understand and be supportive of the significant witness of Middle East churches. Among the member churches of the Middle East Council of Churches and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., this is a relationship of partners who are called to express their unity in Christ. The relationship presumes the equality of the partners in every respect and evokes a spirit of mutuality among these various members of the Body of Christ.

Given this basic understanding, it is clear that a chief responsibility of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. is to nurture a variety of relationships, formal and informal, designed to foster unity and mutual understanding between U.S.A. and Middle East churches. The geographical considerations that informed past mission comity agreements of the western Protestant and Anglican churches, while a sign of western Christian cooperation in their time, are no longer appropriate since Middle East evangelical churches have developed their own autonomy and relationships. Future relationships should give evidence of unity and mutual respect among the churches.

Further, these new relationships must be marked by a degree of mutuality seldom seen in the past. Just as U.S.A. churches may play a supportive role to Middle East churches in their own region, the National Council of the Churches

of Christ in the U.S.A. along with the Middle East Council of Churches should encourage a supportive role of Middle East churches to U.S.A. churches within the United States of America. Beyond existing bilateral relations, church-to-church contacts should be developed and conciliar relations strengthened. Efforts should be made to create mutual relations across the historic ties of the several families of churches.

As these new relationships develop, the rich traditions of the Middle East churches may enlarge the experience of U.S.A. churches as they learn Middle East churches' life in prayer, in worship, in doctrine, in suffering and survival, in preservation of the sacraments and traditions, in witness to justice.

Within this context, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. notes with deep concern the diminution of the Christian community of the Middle East in recent years. Vital, living churches which trace their beginnings to the earliest Christian era are finding their members are being deported or emigrating in increased numbers because of turmoil of various types in the region. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions should support actions which contribute directly or indirectly to the strengthening of the Middle East Christian communities.

Toward such a new period of mutuality, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. recognizes the following guidelines and tasks and encourages its member communions to adopt them:

- a) In any witness or work that may have a direct bearing on the Middle East Christians, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions have a responsibility to consult with the churches of the Middle East;
- b) The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. must take initiative along with the Middle East Council of Churches and its member communions to encourage joint planning by its member communions and the creation of a holistic, integrated approach to issues of justice and peace and the various tasks of service, evangelism, interfaith relations, education and theological study in relation to the Middle East;

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

- c) The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions have a responsibility to share in the U.S.A. the information, interpretation and insights drawn out of its relationships with the churches of the Middle East and to make known the rich heritage of Christian communities of the region;
- d) The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions along with the Middle East Council of Churches and its member communions should continue to work together through the World Council of Churches as well as in region-to-region relationships.

Of themselves, these guidelines, however helpful, will not create the community we seek unless they are observed in a spirit of love, trust and sincerity and with constant attention to the goal of witness to the churches' oneness in Christ.

### RELATIONS WITH PEOPLE OF OTHER FAITHS

The Middle East is the spiritual homeland of three major monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In the past few decades the attention of the whole world has been drawn in an unprecedented way to the vitality of all three faiths. At the same time these religions have encountered one another in new ways, both in context of peace and in the midst of violence.

For U.S.A. Christians, recognition of these new religious dynamics underscores the urgency of gaining fuller understanding of the three religious communities as they are present not only in the Middle East but also in other parts of the world. This awareness also presses Christians to gain a deeper grasp of their own faith and of its resources for dealing with Middle East issues. Recent events make clear that people of faith may have new roles to play in deciding issues of global consequence. These new understandings will require close attention to western Christian religious and cultural assumptions about the role of religion in the world and the relation of these assumptions to the Christian faith.

There are important similarities as well as differences among these three faiths. As for similarities, all three affirm God, who created the world and the people in it. Each acknowledges God is sovereign and sent prophets to

warn humanity against idolatry and to call for repentance. All find God's will revealed in holy scriptures and all see promise in history. These similarities offer some common theological ground for interfaith relationships.

Nevertheless, deep tensions have arisen out of Christian and Muslim convictions that the revelation granted them is a corrective fulfillment of that which was given to those before them, and out of the use of theological expression by all three faiths in their struggle for power. Further, in the first century, tensions developed between Jews and Christians as they tended to define themselves over against each other, and these have influenced their understandings of each other for nearly 2,000 years, often with tragic results, especially for Jews. Theological differences which produce tensions among Jews, Christians and Muslims today are concepts of land, mission, and the relation between religion and state.

In the name of truth and in attempts to defend God, theological commonalities have been subordinated to the particular interests of each faith community. A history of relationships where the emphasis has been on differences and where political actions have been defined theologically has led to people of differing faiths living in physical proximity yet for the most part isolated from one another. As a result Christians, Muslims and Jews often hold distorted images of one another and treat one another with contempt or hatred to the point of violence and oppression. Further, the people of the West have for centuries viewed the people of the Middle East through the prisms of prejudice, misunderstanding, stereotypes, and insensitivity. In part, these biases have arisen out of ignorance and xenophobia. Nevertheless, they not only have served to provide rationalizations for the imperialist and colonialist ventures of some countries, but also have fostered hatred of Islam as in the Crusades and anti-semitism as in the Holocaust.

The relations of Christians with Jews and Muslims are also complicated by the variety of theological positions held by differing Christians about people of other faiths. These positions vary all the way from the claims of some Christians that all other faiths are false to those who claim that all are true. Depending on the particular theological position, a variety of missionary efforts have been carried out with respect to Muslims and Jews, some of which have alienated both. The theological diversity found among Christians is paralleled by the diversity found

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

among Jews and Muslims. Taken in sum, historical relationships between these three communities and the variety of theological positions expressed by Christians, Jews and Muslims toward each other often adversely affect programs intended to contribute to the building of justice and peace.

Today, there is evidence of the necessity of responding to opportunities for new openness to each other by Jews, Christians and Muslims. It is urgent that the moment not be lost, but that people of different faiths seek new contacts, relationships, and ways of working together.

Moving in this direction makes many demands upon all people of faith. For Christians the call to repentance, implicit in God's gift of grace, must be a vital dynamic in their lives before it will be seen and received by others as message or reconciliation. Awareness of continuing need for God's grace should move Christians to be self-critical, an attitude that is wholly in keeping with the best of Christian self-understanding, with the command of Christ that His followers love their neighbors as they love themselves (Luke 10:27, c.f. Leviticus 19:18), and with the observation that one must first remove the log from one's own eye before one will be able to see clearly the speck in the eye of another (Matthew 7:1-5).

Christians also understand themselves as pilgrims in search of a deeper understanding of God and the truths given in Christ, a truth which they do not possess but which possesses them and opens them to theological insight and enrichment of experience that others can provide (Romans 1:20). In order to be open to this larger wisdom, the Christian community must be prepared to seek with greater clarity, candor, patience and sensitivity the theological similarities and differences which both unite and divide people of different faiths. An important first step would be for persons of the different faiths to join in explorations involving scholarly exchanges, existential encounters and to abjure the use of religious claims for dehumanizing and ulterior purposes.

People of all faiths must be aware of how theological and religious understandings and differences are affected by political, economic, cultural, ethnic, and social concepts. The search of peoples in the Middle East for national identities and boundaries, for economic viability and autonomy, and for cultural distinctiveness as opposed to the impact of western culture on that region is supported by religious affirmations. The national pride of the U.S.A., its readi-

ness to use the nations of the region to further its own national security, and its need for oil shape the attitudes of everyone involved including Christians, Muslims and Jews, both in the U.S.A. and in the Middle East. An awareness of the implications of all these factors will help Christians, Muslims and Jews to deal justly with such important issues as the sacredness of land, the nature of religious liberty, the rights of religious minorities, the relationships between religion and state, and the purpose and structure of mission.

These issues are important precisely because human lives and freedom are at stake in the Middle East in the clash over ethical and political norms and religious absolutes. Finally, Christians in the U.S.A. need to expand their associations with Muslims and Jews who are their neighbors. Here is an opportunity not only to gain directly a greater understanding of Judaism and Islam, but also to work toward cooperative relationships based on friendship and trust. Muslims and Jews are among those in the U.S.A. who suffer from acts of discrimination, prejudice, violence and deprivation of civil rights. Christians must work to eliminate these injustices. What happens among Christians, Jews and Muslims in the U.S.A. greatly affects the relations among people of those faiths in the Middle East, just as the conflict there affects relations here.

In practical terms, the considerations set forth above call upon the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. to take these steps:

- a) Encourage its member communions and related conciliar bodies to develop with the Council a more comprehensive, integrated and cohesive approach to relationships among people of different faiths at all levels of church life in the U.S.A.;
- b) Initiate studies which will examine the theological bases of Christian relationships with people of other faiths, articulating the similarities and clarifying so far as possible the differences of understanding;
- c) Advocate civil rights for people of all religious groups in the U.S.A.;
- d) Foster in consultation with the World Council of Churches and the Middle East Council of Churches those relationships with religious leaders and communities of

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

the Middle East which will enhance understanding and goodwill and will work toward the achievement of social justice and peace.

The creation of new programs, the allocation of resources and the assignment of personnel will not of themselves bring about a new era of interfaith understanding. Deepening interfaith understanding will depend in part upon whether, as they launch this effort, U.S.A. Christians fear encounter with other believers as risking dilution or disturbance of their own faith, or welcome it as assuring enrichment. It will also depend in part upon how fully they accept the relevance of their religion and other religions to the great questions of war and peace, justice and freedom that are posed for all humankind by the situation in the Middle East. If persons of different faiths out of their respective faith commitments seek relationships with each other, accepting the risks and welcoming the opportunities involved, a new sense of peace and unity may be given the world by the one God, Who is Lord of all. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. out of a clear commitment to Jesus Christ, the risen Lord, trusting in the Holy Spirit, wishes to begin that journey with brothers and sisters of other faiths.

### THE WITNESS OF THE CHURCH IN SOCIETY

The first and second sections of this policy statement have dealt with relationships within the religious communities. This third section approaches Middle East issues in the society at large from the angle of vision of the Christian and focuses on four major areas of discourse suggesting policy direction that should guide the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. The first two areas, self-determination and rights of minorities, are related to issues present in almost all existing Middle East states. Indeed, these issues have in large part resulted from the nation-state system in the form introduced into the Middle East by European colonial powers. The third area, the arms race, security and justice, deals not only with relations between states and peoples of the Middle East, but more importantly with the impact of great power interests in the Middle East. The

fourth area deals with a specific conflict with grave and immediate international consequences, that of Israel and the Palestinians and Arab states.

Historically, religious bodies in the U.S.A. society have accepted (even asserted) responsibility for initiating and sustaining moral discourse on public issues of justice and political responsibility. It would be arrogant to pretend they have always acted in unity, or that religious people and their institutions in interaction with the rest of society have shown themselves exempt from the various blindnesses that affect all people. Yet the religious community as such possesses an angle of vision which is different from that of the political party, the university or the research institute.

Specifically, the Christian community understands itself to be a community of conscience. Belief in a just and loving God is expected to have consequences in human relationships. The complexity of events, the sinful nature of persons and society, and human fears make it difficult to bring an informed conscience to bear on issues of policy; the more difficult, the more necessary. Christians, like other peoples, can sow the seeds of justice or of injustice. Nevertheless, the Christian community, responding to the God of love and justice, is called to identify and lift up ethical issues and to go beyond technical and material considerations in an effort to focus the public debate on human concerns.

This is not to say that "religion" supplies ready-made answers to policy questions. Religious people must struggle like all others for breadth and depth of comprehension and for a hearing. The Christian community, while not always united in its understanding of what faith requires in particular situations, is increasingly at one in accepting the relevance of faith to policy. The fact of division does not impose a duty of silence. It does impose a duty to reflect carefully, to listen sensitively to one another, to debate according to high standards and to be as clear as possible in ambiguous situations, recognizing that ultimately truth rests solely with God.

The response of the Christian community ought to be more than moralizing, more than the insertion of ethical principles into formulation of policy. At its best, the response of Christians is faith in, witness to, and praise of God's

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

sovereign and redemptive involvement in world history.

Fundamental definitions of world order, human rights and national integrity are being tested by the particular dynamics of the contemporary Middle East. These dynamics are marked by a confluence of oil wealth, a greatly strengthened emphasis on the religious roots of society, a desire to finally end foreign domination and to develop indigenous Middle Eastern models for government, economics and international relations. Continuing tensions and the frequent eruption of minor and major crises reflect the rivalries of both intraregional and great power blocs, of competing ideologies, of religions and of nationalities.

Examples of current, unresolved Middle East conflicts reflecting the turbulent changes of the area include the Israel-Palestinian-Arab states conflict, the multi-faceted struggle in Lebanon, the struggle of the Kurds and other ethnic groups for national existence, a divided Cyprus, sporadic warfare and reconciliation between the two Yemens, continuing ideological struggles between Syria and Iraq, open warfare between Iran and Iraq, and the revolutionary movement in Iran and the creation there of an Islamic republic. These conflicts must all be seen against the rich mosaic of the history of the Middle East, its geographic placement, its resources, and its religious significance for Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

The government of the U.S.A. has declared the Middle East region vital to U.S.A. interests — economic, political and military. The continuing U.S.A. involvement in the region has been intensified by the dependence of the U.S.A. and its allies on the abundant oil resources of the region. The Soviet Union, with borders contiguous to several Middle East states, has historically held the region to be vital to its interests as well. The projected need of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe for external energy resources within the next decade adds a further dimension to the great power conflict in the area. This highlights the urgency of the peaceful adjustment of great power interests with full respect for the people of the Middle East.

The challenge to the U.S.A. Christian churches to create a responsible public discourse related to the complexities of the Middle East carries a sense of urgency. This urgency is

caused by challenges to fundamental definitions of world order and international institutions including the United Nations. The role of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. is to seek with others peace, justice and reconciliation throughout the Middle East. This requires that the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. find new ways to help its member communions and, to the extent possible, all of U.S.A. society, to be more sensitive to the long range issues of the Middle East as well as the short range issues, to be informed about these concerns, and to consider seriously the needs and rights of the peoples of the Middle East as well as those of the U.S.A.

### 1. Self Determination

The Middle East is made up of states that came into being in a variety of ways: as portions of ancient empires, as tribal kingdoms, as the creation of western colonial powers, and as part of a process of peoples asserting their independence. In some cases the national boundaries of these states bear little resemblance to ethnic, religious or historical considerations. When some states were created, communities of natural affinity were put asunder. In some instances states lacking a sense of national identity were formed, thereby all but guaranteeing internal conflict and instability. Additional problems were created in some cases by the imposition of forms of government which did not reflect the consent of the governed.

In the wake of the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire and the intrusion of western colonialism, it was inevitable that these precariously constituted states would suffer crises of identity and conflicts over sovereignty. Established states are continually being challenged by groups sharing historic, ethnic, cultural or religious bonds and therefore harboring national aspirations. Though the inherent legitimacy of such aspirations is recognized in international law — "All peoples have the right to self determination"<sup>1</sup> — the international community lacks both adequate criteria to define this right in particular instances and adequate procedures to achieve peaceful and just implementation. In these circumstances, self-determination has too

<sup>1</sup> United Nations, "International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights," Part I, Article 1. Also in United Nations, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," Part I, Article 1, number 1.



## NCC MIDDLE EAST

often been a concept without real substance either in law or equity. This is particularly the case when aspirations to self-determination involve conflicting claims to territory. Therefore, a peaceful resolution of these conflicting aspirations lies in each party recognizing the right of the other to the self-determination it claims for itself. Recognizing this sense of "justice" is a first step in negotiations. Establishing criteria for determining the justice of competing claims continues to be a responsibility of the international community. Further legal mechanisms are needed to adjudicate and implement agreements involving conflicting claims. A willingness to negotiate and compromise is essential to finding peaceful solutions that are recognized as just and provide a basis for reconciliation.

Those claiming the right to self-determination usually perceive themselves as the oppressed. Giving voice to the voiceless and providing support for the powerless when their claims are believed to be just are practical ways the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. can express its commitment to justice. Therefore it is appropriate for the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions to assist those seeking recognition and protection of their rights to self-determination and those international bodies acting to affirm such rights. This assistance may include: providing forums wherein conflicting claims may be aired in an atmosphere of concern for justice and peace, monitoring developments, fact-finding, theological reflection, and advocacy for human rights.

Above all, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. seeks to provide a ministry of the reconciling love of Jesus Christ — not another combatant in conflicts in which the victims are the peoples of the Middle East.

### 2. The Rights of Minorities in Middle Eastern Cultures

The international community has developed a consensus recognizing certain basic human rights and obligations that all governments owe to their citizens. This body of international law is based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and other international and regional human rights agreements.

These rights fall into three broad categories. First are those concerning the inviolability and

integrity of the person, including such matters as freedom from torture or cruel and inhuman treatment or punishment, arbitrary arrest or imprisonment, denial of fair public trial and invasion of the home. Second are the rights to fulfillment of basic human needs such as food, shelter, health care and education. Third are civil and political rights including freedom of speech, press, assembly and religion, the right to leave one's own country and to return, and the right of freedom from discrimination based upon race or sex.

Virtually all governments acknowledge the validity of these rights. But, in no country is there full compliance with all the rights recognized in international law. Human rights, however, do not exist in a vacuum, sometimes may appear to be conflicting, and are understood differently in differing cultures. Situations of war and military occupation may particularly strain adherence to human rights principles. However, even when the context suggests explanations for the violations of human rights, their sanctity must be upheld.

A particular human rights problem in the Middle East concerns the rights of minorities. Where the distinction between organized religion and the state is not affirmed, and where peoples define themselves and their political and social structures in specifically religious terms, issues pertaining to religious minorities become urgent.

While it is neither right nor wise nor possible for the peoples of the West to attempt to define for others a single mode of dealing with the rights of minorities, these rights must nevertheless be protected. A secular pluralist society would imply to many Middle Easterners religious indifference or atheism. Historically, Middle Eastern states and societies whether specifically theocratic or simply dominated by one particular confession, have acknowledged the fact of religious pluralism by exercising tolerance for the communal and/or personal status of minorities. Religious minorities in Middle Eastern states have not usually enjoyed all the legal rights of citizens who are members of the religious majority. At issue today is whether a minority should exist by "toleration" or whether by right of birth into national citizenship they should enjoy the same rights as adherents of the majority religion. This debate is growing increasingly crucial as more states in the Middle East define themselves from a religious perspective.

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. recognizes that its under-

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

standings of human rights and majority-minority relations grow out of the tradition that envisions an ideal of pluralism that is not fully realized in the U.S.A. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. does not deny the right of a majority to define itself as it wishes, whether this be in terms of the separation of church and state guaranteed in the Constitution of the U.S.A., or in religious terms. Nevertheless, whatever form may be chosen by the majority, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. believes that the burden is on that majority to provide full rights for citizens who may therefore be placed in a minority status. Included within these rights is that of a minority group to practice its religion with the same freedom as that enjoyed by the adherents of the dominant religion or ideology.

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. recognizes that particularly in the Middle East questions of rights of minorities and other human rights issues often touch on serious questions of interfaith relationships. Concepts such as "human rights" may not convey precisely the same meaning to all who claim sincerely to uphold them. Therefore, these questions should be approached in a spirit of open dialogue. An appropriate task of the religious community alone or in cooperation with others committed to justice is to monitor alleged violations of rights of minority groups and to call to task those governments and groups whose record demonstrates a disregard for minority rights. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. recognizes the need to apply similar standards of judgment to all countries of the Middle East in questions of human or minority rights, and to resist singling out only one country for particular focus without due recognition of other continuing human rights problems throughout the region. The best proof of the integrity of concern of the U.S.A. Christian community will be given when it attends to violations of rights by its own governments (national, state and local) and its own institutions. What people in the U.S.A. do with respect to human rights can well affect and influence the attitudes and actions of the people of the Middle East. It is the responsibility of individual Christians, churches and ecumenical bodies to persevere in raising these issues of violations of human rights both in the U.S.A. and throughout the world. Where the perceived interests or actions of the government or corporations of the U.S.A. may be contributing to the denial of full achievement of human rights in the Middle East,

Christians in the U.S.A. have a special responsibility.

### 3. The Arms Race, Security and Justice

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. has consistently emphasized that lasting peace with security depends on just international relationships. While security is a legitimate concern of individuals, of peoples and of states, the concept of security is often used to justify the escalation of armament technology and production at enormous expense in order to achieve military superiority.

Weapons in themselves can never produce genuine and lasting security. Concentration on the technical demands of the military without sufficient concern for political, diplomatic and economic contexts in which the nations relate is dangerous and can be counterproductive.

The achievement of peace with justice and security must rest ultimately on a recognition of the mutuality of interests, rather than on the domination of one nation or group by another, on the mutual enhancement of the quality of life of the peoples of these nations rather than on the exploitation of one by another. In this context, genuine security can only be founded on cooperative relationships of mutual trust. A U.S.A. Middle East policy guided by those principles would seek not so much to preserve the status quo, as to support processes of change in the direction of justice. It would reflect a broad conception of the U.S.A. national interest with a genuine concern for the well-being of the peoples of the Middle East. It would support and strengthen international agencies in efforts to overcome economic injustice, safeguard human rights and promote orderly and timely juridical and political processes.

The strategic location of the Middle East and its tremendous energy resources result in competition among the great powers for influence and a deepening dependence on these resources by large and small nations outside the region. The recent acquisition of great national wealth through increased oil income has created a lucrative market for arms sales. In this context, the temptation to offset balance of payments deficits by means of arms sales is strong.

The Middle East has become the most heavily armed region, apart from the major powers, far exceeding the rest of the world in almost every measure. Since the early 1960's the average annual increase in military expenditures in the

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

Middle East has been nearly 20 percent, or about seven times the world average.

The United States is not alone at fault. Other arms producing states, both East and West, compete for influence in the region by supplying arms and military training. Superpower rivalries, ideological conflict and maneuvering to assure oil supplies or strategic advantage lead to outside interference in the internal affairs of Middle Eastern states. Transnational corporations seek to influence government policies in their own interest and these tendencies are exacerbated by unprecedented wealth through petrodollars. All these factors, many of them in conflict, create destabilization and slow efforts to improve the quality of life of its people.

Ultimately, the people of the Middle East suffer severely from the economic and social consequences of military buildups. For example, Saudi Arabia ranks fourth in the world in per capita military expenditures and ranks 117th in literacy; Jordan ranks 48th in per capita military expenditures and 75th in literacy; Israel ranks third in per capita military expenditures and 38th in literacy.<sup>2</sup> So it is that the arms race imposes a massive injustice on the peoples of the Middle East.

The U.S.A., the Soviet Union and other arms producing nations justify arms supply and re-supply as a stabilizing factor in the Middle East. However, serious attention must be devoted to defusing the explosive mixture of oil, arms and power politics. Basic to development of a new context for security would be a firm agreement by outside nations that no one or any group of them will seek to impose itself as dominant in the region. Efforts to protect what the major powers understand as their vital interests, when carried on at the expense of the welfare — or even worse, the lives — of the people of the region, are unjust and immoral.

The potential for economic and social development of the Middle East is greater than ever before due to the same increased oil revenues now financing increased arms purchases. The entrance of the Middle East oil producing nations into world development organizations, as well as the creation of lending agencies by Arab countries offer new opportunities for cooperation in development of the resources of the region to benefit its peoples.

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions should therefore support efforts related to the Middle East which

- a) seek to reduce the perceived need for military preparedness and to subordinate it to the demands of justice and the work of reconciliation among peoples and nations;
- b) strengthen the peacekeeping and peace-making role of the United Nations;
- c) move rapidly toward substantial reduction and control of arms;
- d) encourage the establishment of a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the region.

In addition, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions, in cooperation with the World Council of Churches and the Middle East Council of Churches, should support programs and projects aimed at economic and social justice in the Middle East.

### 4. Israel and the Palestinians

A major destabilizing element in the Middle East continues to be the conflict between two nationalisms, that of the Israeli Jews and that of the Palestinian Arabs, as well as related conflicts involving surrounding Arab states, all of which affect the relations of the entire region and the world. This conflict, while regionally focused, poses sufficient threat to world peace to deserve special attention in any overall consideration of the Middle East. The resolution of this Israel-Palestinian conflict would not eliminate all tension nor potential conflict in the region, but would remove a major source of instability and a major threat to world peace.

At the heart of any solution of the Israel-Palestinian conflict is a recognition that the struggle is between two peoples over the same territory. Conflicting promises made to both Jews and Arabs at the time of World War I by the great powers set the stage for the struggle of these two peoples. Palestinians feel they have been deprived of their homeland and denied the right of self-determination. Israelis feel they have legitimately acquired their homeland for rebuilding a Jewish national life. Attempts at solution are complicated because within each society there are differing concepts of the nature of religious identification with the state

<sup>2</sup> Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1979*, Leesburg, Va.: World Priorities, 1979, p. 30. (World Priorities, Box 1003, Leesburg, VA 22075).

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

and the degree to which pluralism should prevail.

Numerous proposals have been put forth and forums suggested in which a solution to the conflict could be achieved. In 1967 the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 242 which includes "respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force," as well as "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent [June 1967] conflict." This resolution has been generally regarded as providing an acceptable basis for a resolution of the conflict between Israel and the Arab states. However, various parties to the conflict have found this resolution insufficient in itself, in part because it deals with the Palestinian people only as refugees.

In November 1974, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 3236 on Palestinian rights. This resolution affirmed the right of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, as well as their right to return to their homes and properties in what is now Israel. As a General Assembly resolution, this document does not have the same force as a Security Council resolution.

In October 1977, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, which together chair the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, issued a Joint Communique calling for a comprehensive negotiated settlement of the conflict. Specific reference was made to insuring the borders between Israel and neighboring Arab states and for "insuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." For various reasons several parties to the conflict found these proposals inadequate as well.

The 1978 Camp David Framework for Peace provided new hope and evidence that negotiation can bring an end to hostilities of long standing. The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty of March 1979, resulting from the Camp David Framework, at least temporarily reduced the likelihood of war in the Middle East in that the two strongest military powers in the area resolved to settle differences through peaceful means. This significant achievement provided the impetus for an important step of building trust and therefore security between two adversaries, Egypt and Israel, in the Middle East conflict.

While the Camp David Framework has pro-

vided a new climate of trust between Egypt and Israel, this has not been the case throughout the entire Middle East. This agreement has isolated Egypt from other Arab states and has not brought Israel closer to peace agreements with other Arab states or with the Palestinian people.

Further, the Palestinian people themselves have not been a party in negotiations, nor is there an agreed-upon mechanism to accomplish this. At this time, the Palestine Liberation Organization functions as the only organized voice of the Palestinian people and appears to be the only body able to negotiate a settlement on their behalf. Steps toward peace which would make possible direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians must include official action by the Palestine National Council, the deliberative body of the Palestine Liberation Organization, including either an amendment of the Palestine National Covenant of 1968 or an unambiguous statement recognizing Israel as a sovereign state and its right to continue as a Jewish state. At the same time, Israel must officially declare its recognition of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, including the option of a sovereign state apart from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and of its acceptance of the Palestine Liberation Organization as a participant in the peace negotiations. Further, each party should refrain from all hostile acts against the other. As long as each party demands that the other takes the initiative, successful negotiation seems unlikely. These reciprocal initiatives will remove doubt about the acceptance by the two parties of each other's right to a national existence.

Ceasefire and recognition do not come easily for either party. The Israeli government cites evidence that the Palestine Liberation Organization seeks the destruction of Israel, and, in some formulations, denies the existence of Jews as a people. The Palestine Liberation Organization cites evidence that Israel seeks the destruction of the Palestine Liberation Organization and, in some formulations, denies the existence of Palestinians as a people. Whether or not the critical steps in resolving these historic enmities can be achieved depends in large part on the ability of the international community to communicate its commitment to the survival of both peoples and to a broad vision that encompasses the aspirations of both peoples as compatible rather than mutually exclusive.

Whatever formula for the peace process develops, there should be reciprocal recognition of the right of self-determination. The

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

Jewish people have claimed and exercised their right to self-determination in the state of Israel. The Palestinian people claim and seek to exercise their right of self-determination by creating a Palestinian entity, including the option of a sovereign state.

In order to build upon the existing, but partial, beginnings of a resolution of the conflicts between Israel and the Palestinians and the related Arab-Israel conflicts, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. considers the following affirmations essential, recognizing that their sequence and timing will be matters of negotiation:

- a) Cessation of acts of violence in all its forms by all parties;
- b) Recognition by the Arab states and by the Palestinian Arabs of the state of Israel with secure, defined and recognized borders; and recognition by Israel of the right of national self-determination for the Palestinian Arabs and of their right to select their own representatives and to establish a Palestinian entity, including a sovereign state. In the meantime, unilateral actions in respect to such issues as settlement policy and land and water use in the occupied areas can only inflame attitudes, and reduce the prospect of achieving peace;
- c) Agreement on and creation of a mode of enforcement of international guarantees for the sovereign and secure borders of Israel and of any Palestinian entity established as part of the peace process. This would mean the implementation of the principles enunciated in United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 (1967);
- d) Provision for solutions to problems of refugees and displaced persons, Palestinian Arab, Jewish and other, affected by the Israel-Palestinian and related conflicts dating from 1948, including questions of compensation and return;
- e) Agreement on the future status of Jerusalem, a focus of the deepest religious inspiration and attachment of three faiths, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Existing international treaties (Paris, 1856 and Berlin, 1878) and League of Nations actions regulating the rights and claims of the three monotheistic religions to Holy Places should remain unaltered. At the

same time, the destiny of Jerusalem should be viewed in terms of people and not only in terms of shrines. Therefore, the future status of Jerusalem should be included in the agenda of the official negotiations including Israel and the Palestinian people for a comprehensive solution of the Middle East conflict. Unilateral actions by any one group in relation to Jerusalem will only perpetuate antagonisms that will threaten the peace of the city and possibly of the region.

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. has a particular responsibility in the U.S.A. which plays a key role in the resolution of the conflict. In helping create a responsible public discourse in the U.S.A. on the conflict of Israel and the Palestinians and other Arabs, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. should seek to uphold a perspective that is holistic rather than partial. It is essential that U.S.A. Christians recognize that peace and justice for both Israelis and Palestinians require peace and justice for each. This will depend upon bold initiatives by all parties seeking new options, risking courses of action which, while at one time appearing impossible, may provide a basis for a common vision of peace and justice. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions should remain open to such initiatives and seek to develop understanding and support for them within the U.S.A. Christian community and society at large.

Further, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. should use every available means to make possible constructive communication among the parties involved. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. has an important responsibility to promote understanding and discussion because of its associations with Christian institutions, with the churches of the Middle East through the Middle East Council of Churches, and with the Muslim and Jewish communities both in the Middle East and in the U.S.A. These relationships are a precious gift that must be nurtured, preserved and used to enhance a future of peace and justice for the peoples of the Middle East and to ensure that opportunities for peace not be lost.

### CONCLUSION

The Middle East is the place where the Church began its life. Current complexities in

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

the Middle East help U.S.A. Christians to face their own questioning of what it means to be a community witnessing to the world, and that their salvation must not be perceived only in individualist terms but in terms of the whole creation. U.S.A. Christians must not only proclaim the unity of creation and of humankind, they must also imagine and pursue ways of solidifying and celebrating that unity. U.S.A. Christians have much to learn from the churches and other peoples of faith in the Middle East in this task.

The people of God are called to be caretakers of creation. This is an active, not a passive or reactive, role. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its member communions, if faithful to this role, may facilitate a new era of human encounter in their relations to the Middle East. To be the Body of Christ requires an openness to the Spirit, an awareness of historic opportunity, a radical understanding of life within the Kingdom of God both present and becoming. It is a vision of unity expressed first and most powerfully in the sacrament of communion through which the incarnate Christ is revealed to the community and the community becomes that Body of Christ in service to the world.

FOR: 162 AGAINST: 0 ABSTENTIONS: 0

### Appendix I

to National Council of the Churches of Christ  
in the U.S.A. Middle East Policy Statement

**TEXT OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY  
COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF NOVEMBER 22,  
1967.**

#### Resolution 242

*The Security Council,*

*Expressing* its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East;

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

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

1. *Affirms* that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East

which should include the application of both the following principles:

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

#### 2. *Affirms further* the necessity

- a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;
- b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;
- c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

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

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

*Adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting.*

### Appendix II

to National Council of the Churches of Christ  
in the U.S.A. Middle East Policy Statement

**TEXT OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY  
COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF OCTOBER 22,  
1973.**

#### Resolution 338

*The Security Council,*

1. *Calls upon* all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

decision, in the positions they now occupy;

2. *Calls upon* the parties concerned to start immediately after the cease-fire the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all of its parts;
3. *Decides* that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations shall start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

*Adopted at the 1748th meeting  
by 14 votes to none*

### Appendix III

to National Council of the Churches of Christ  
in the U.S.A. Middle East Policy Statement

#### TEXT OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3236 OF NOVEMBER 22, 1974

*The General Assembly,*

*Having considered* the question of Palestine;

*Having heard* the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people;

*Having also heard* other statements made during the debate;

*Deeply concerned* that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has yet been achieved and recognizing that the problem of Palestine continues to endanger international peace and security;

*Recognizing* that the Palestinian people is entitled to self-determination in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

*Expressing its grave concern* that the Palestinian people has been prevented from enjoying its inalienable rights, in particular its right to self-determination;

*Guided by* the purposes and principles of the Charter;

*Recalling* its relevant resolutions which affirm the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination;

1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including:

- a) The right to self-determination without external interference;

- b) The right to national independence and sovereignty;

2. *Reaffirms* also the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their return;

3. *Emphasizes* that full respect for and the realization of these inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are indispensable for the solution of the question of Palestine;

4. *Recognizes* that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

5. *Further recognizes* the right of the Palestinian people to regain its rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

6. *Appeals* to all States and international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people in its struggle to restore its rights, in accordance with the Charter;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question of Palestine;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session on the implementation of the present resolution;

9. *Decides* to include the item entitled "Question of Palestine" in the provisional agenda of its thirtieth session.

*2296th plenary meeting  
22 November, 1974*

### Appendix IV

to National Council of the Churches of Christ  
in the U.S.A. Middle East Policy Statement

#### U.S. — U.S.S.R. JOINT COMMUNIQUE OCTOBER 1, 1977

Having exchanged views regarding the unsafe situation which remains in the Middle East, U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., A.A. Gromyko have the following statement to make on behalf of their countries,

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

which are cochairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East:

1. Both governments are convinced that vital interests of the peoples of this area, as well as the interests of strengthening peace and international security in general, urgently dictate the necessity of achieving, as soon as possible, a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This settlement should be comprehensive, incorporating all parties concerned and all questions.

... The United States and the Soviet Union believe that, within the framework of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem, all specific questions of the settlement should be resolved, including such key issues as withdrawal of Israeli Armed Forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict; the resolution of the Palestinian question, including insuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; termination of the state of war and establishment of normal peaceful relations on the basis of mutual recognition of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence.

The two governments believe that, in addition to such measures for insuring the security of the borders between Israel and the neighboring Arab states as the establishment of demilitarized zones and the agreed stationing in them of U.N. troops or observers, international guarantees of such borders as well as of the observance of the terms of the settlement can also be established should the contracting parties so desire. The United States and the Soviet Union are ready to participate in these guarantees, subject to their constitutional processes.

2. The United States and the Soviet Union believe that the only right and effective way for achieving a fundamental solution to all aspects of the Middle East problem in its entirety is negotiations within the framework of the Geneva peace conference, specially convened for these purposes, with participation in its work of the representatives of all the parties involved in the conflict including those of the Palestinian people, and the legal and contractual formalization of the decisions reached at the conference.

In their capacity as cochairmen of the Geneva conference, the United States and the U.S.S.R. affirm their intention, through joint efforts and in their contacts with the parties concerned, to facilitate in every way the re-

sumption of the work of the conference not later than December 1977. The cochairmen note that there still exist several questions of a procedural and organizational nature which remain to be agreed upon by the participants to the conference.

3. Guided by the goal of achieving a just political settlement in the Middle East and of eliminating the explosive situation in this area of the world, the United States and the U.S.S.R. appeal to all the parties in the conflict to understand the necessity for careful consideration of each other's legitimate rights and interests and to demonstrate mutual readiness to act accordingly.

### Appendix V

to National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. Middle East Policy Statement

### CAMP DAVID ACCORDS SIGNED SEPTEMBER 17, 1978

#### A Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David

Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and Menachem Begin, Prime Minister of Israel, met with Jimmy Carter, President of the United States of America, at Camp David from September 5 to September 17, 1978, and have agreed on the following framework for peace in the Middle East. They invite other parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict to adhere to it.

#### Preamble

The search for peace in the Middle East must be guided by the following:

— The agreed basis for a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Israel and its neighbors is United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, in all its parts. [The texts of Resolutions 242 and 338 are annexes to the document.]

— After four wars during thirty years, despite intensive human efforts, the Middle East, which is the cradle of civilization and the birthplace of three great religions, does not yet enjoy the blessings of peace. The people of the Middle East yearn for peace so that the vast human and natural resources of the region can be turned to the pursuits of peace and so that



## NCC MIDDLE EAST

this area can become a model for coexistence and cooperation among nations.

— The historic initiative of President Sadat in visiting Jerusalem and the reception accorded him by the Parliament, government and people of Israel, and the visit of Prime Minister Begin to Ismailia, the peace proposals made by both leaders, as well as the warm reception of these missions by the peoples of both countries, have created an unprecedented opportunity for peace which must not be lost if this generation and future generations are to be spared the tragedies of war.

— The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the other accepted norms of international law and legitimacy now provide accepted standards for the conduct of relations among all states.

— To achieve a relationship of peace, in the spirit of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, future negotiations between Israel and any neighbor prepared to negotiate peace and security with it, are necessary for the purpose of carrying out all the provisions and principles of Resolutions 242 and 338.

— Peace requires respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force. Progress toward that goal can accelerate movement toward a new era of reconciliation in the Middle East marked by cooperation in promoting economic development, in maintaining stability, and in assuring security.

— Security is enhanced by a relationship of peace and by cooperation between nations which enjoy normal relations. In addition, under the terms of peace treaties, the parties can, on the basis of reciprocity, agree to special security arrangements such as demilitarized zones, limited armaments areas, early warning stations, the presence of international forces, liaison, agreed measures for monitoring, and other arrangements that they agree are useful.

### Framework

Taking these factors into account, the parties are determined to reach a just, comprehensive, and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict through the conclusion of peace treaties based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 in all their parts. Their purpose is to achieve peace and good neighborly relations. They

recognize that, for peace to endure, it must involve all those who have been most deeply affected by the conflict. They therefore agree that this framework as appropriate is intended by them to constitute a basis for peace not only between Egypt and Israel, but also between Israel and each of its other neighbors which is prepared to negotiate peace with Israel on this basis. With that objective in mind, they have agreed to proceed as follows:

### A. West Bank and Gaza

1. Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the Palestinian people should participate in negotiations on the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. To achieve that objective, negotiations relating to the West Bank and Gaza should proceed in three stages:

a) Egypt and Israel agree that, in order to ensure a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority, and taking into account the security concerns of all the parties, there should be transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding five years. In order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants, under these arrangements the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas to replace the existing military government. To negotiate the details of a transitional arrangement, the Government of Jordan will be invited to join the negotiations on the basis of this framework. These new arrangements should give due consideration both to the principle of self-government by the inhabitants of these territories and to the legitimate security concerns of the parties involved.

b) Egypt, Israel, and Jordan will agree on the modalities for establishing the elected self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza. The delegations of Egypt and Jordan may include Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza or other Palestinians as mutually agreed. The parties will negotiate an agreement which will define the powers and responsibilities of the self-governing authority to be exercised in the West Bank and Gaza. A withdrawal of Israeli armed forces will take place and there will be a redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces into specified

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

security locations. The agreement will also include arrangements for assuring internal and external security and public order. A strong local police force will be established, which may include Jordanian citizens. In addition, Israeli and Jordanian forces will participate in joint patrols and in the manning of control posts to assure the security of the borders.

- c) When the self-governing authority (administrative council) in the West Bank and Gaza is established and inaugurated, the transitional period of five years will begin. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional period, negotiations will take place to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and its relationship with its neighbors, and to conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan by the end of the transitional period. These negotiations will be conducted among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. Two separate but related committees will be convened, one committee, consisting of representatives of the four parties which will negotiate and agree on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and its relationship with its neighbors, and the second committee, consisting of representatives of Israel and representatives of Jordan to be joined by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, to negotiate the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, taking into account the agreement reached on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza. The negotiations shall be based on all the provisions and principles of UN Security Council Resolution 242. The negotiations will resolve, among other matters, the location of the boundaries and the nature of the security arrangements. The solution from the negotiations must also recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements. In this way, the Palestinians will participate in the determination of their own future through:

- 1) The negotiations among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to agree on the final status of the West

Bank and Gaza and other outstanding issues by the end of the transitional period.

- 2) Submitting their agreement to a vote by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza.
- 3) Providing for the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to decide how they shall govern themselves consistent with the provisions of their agreement.
- 4) Participating as stated above in the work of the committee negotiating the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan.

2. All necessary measures will be taken and provisions made to assure the security of Israel and its neighbors during the transitional period and beyond. To assist in providing such security, a strong local police force will be constituted by the self-governing authority. It will be composed of inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. The police will maintain continuing liaison on internal security matters with the designated Israeli, Jordanian, and Egyptian officers.

3. During the transitional period, representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the self-governing authority will constitute a continuing committee to decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Other matters of common concern may also be dealt with by this committee.

4. Egypt and Israel will work with each other and with other interested parties to establish agreed procedures for a prompt, just and permanent implementation of the resolution of the refugee problem.

### B. Egypt-Israel

1. Egypt and Israel undertake not to resort to the threat or the use of force to settle disputes. Any disputes shall be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. In order to achieve peace between them, the parties agree to negotiate in good faith with a goal of concluding within three months from the signing of this Framework a peace treaty

## NCC MIDDLE EAST

between them, while inviting the other parties to the conflict to proceed simultaneously to negotiate and conclude similar peace treaties with a view to achieving a comprehensive peace in the area. The Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel will govern the peace negotiations between them. The parties will agree on the modalities and the timetable for the implementation of their obligations under the treaty.

### C. Associated Principles

1. Egypt and Israel state that the principles and provisions described below should apply to peace treaties between Israel and each of its neighbors — Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

2. Signatories shall establish among themselves relationships normal to states at peace with one another. To this end, they should undertake to abide by all the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. Steps to be taken in this respect include:

- a) full recognition;
- b) abolishing economic boycotts;
- c) guaranteeing that under their jurisdiction the citizens of the other parties shall enjoy the protection of the due process of law.

3. Signatories should explore possibilities for economic development in the context of final

peace treaties, with the objective of contributing to the atmosphere of peace, cooperation and friendship which is their common goal.

4. Claims Commissions may be established for the mutual settlement of all financial claims.

5. The United States shall be invited to participate in the talks on matters related to the modalities of the implementation of the agreements and working out the timetable for the carrying out of the obligations of the parties.

6. The United Nations Security Council shall be requested to endorse the peace treaties and ensure that their provisions shall not be violated. The permanent members of the Security Council shall be requested to underwrite the peace treaties and ensure respect for their provisions. They shall also be requested to conform their policies and actions with the undertakings contained in this Framework.

*For the Government  
of the Arab  
Republic of Egypt:*

A. Sadat

*For the Government  
of Israel:*

M. Begin

*Witnessed by:*

Jimmy Carter

*Jimmy Carter, President  
of the United States of America*

## APPENDIX 5

### ASSOCIATED PRESS ARTICLE ENTITLED "ARABS CRITICIZE MOROCCO FOR VISIT BY ISRAELI GROUP"

[From the Washington Post, May 16, 1984]

#### ARABS CRITICIZE MOROCCO FOR VISIT BY ISRAELI GROUP

RABAT, Morocco, May 15 (AP)—Some Arab countries today criticized Morocco's decision to invite a group of Israelis to attend a conference of Moroccan Jews, and Syria recalled its ambassador to Rabat.

Foreign Minister Farouk Charaa of Syria instructed the ambassador to return to Damascus immediately "for consultations," the official Syrian Arab News Agency reported.

The two-day conference, which ended with a state dinner last night, was a biannual meeting of Morocco's Jewish communities and was the first such session in which a delegation representing Moroccan-born Jews in Israel participated.

The conference was addressed by members of the Moroccan government, and Crown Prince Mohammed hosted the state dinner that was attended by the 35-member delegation from Israel. It was the first official social event hosted by a member of Morocco's ruling family that included Israeli guests.

As a member of the Arab League, Morocco is technically at war with Israel, although King Hassan II has long worked behind the scenes for an Arab-Israeli peace settlement.

Moroccan officials privately expressed dismay over Syria's decision and said Hassan had been assured by several Arab leaders before the meeting that they had no objections to his inviting the Israeli group.

The Israeli afternoon paper Yedio'ot Aharonot quoted Moroccan Minister of State Mohammed Boucetta as saying "We took into account in advance that we would be criticized in the Arab world for the steps we have taken. But this did not stop us. Everyone should know we have our own policy."

Among those consulted by the king were PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and King Hussein of Jordan, Moroccan officials said.

But a Saudi Information Ministry official denied that Saudi Arabia had any prior contact with Moroccan officials about the issue.

An official of the Kuwaiti Foreign Ministry also denied reports that Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Arafat had tacitly agreed to the invitation. Reuters news service reported the following from Jerusalem:

Israeli officials said the official Israeli participation in the conference appeared to signal an important development in Israeli-Arab relations.

The officials, while expressing caution, said the Israeli presence at the conference renewed their hopes for the emergence of a moderate Arab bloc, led by Egypt and Morocco, willing to talk openly with Israel about solutions to Middle East problems.

The Israeli delegation, including 11 members of Parliament, was the first ever to be invited to a meeting in Morocco. The state dinner was attended by virtually the entire Moroccan government as well as by King Hassan's two sons.

Moroccan Minister of State Ahmed Alaoui proposed to the conference the formation of an association for peace between Arabs and Jews "to promote peace in Palestine."

Officials in Jerusalem said Hassan appeared to be moving carefully—the word Israel was not mentioned in Moroccan statements—but that clear movement could be discerned.

Apart from recalling its ambassador, Syria has also called for the Israelis' participation to be discussed by Arab League foreign ministers in Tunis on Saturday.

Hassan heads the Arab League and is chairman of the 45-nation Islamic Conference Organization. Egypt, banned from the groups because of its 1979 peace treaty with Israel, was recently invited back into the Islamic Conference Organization with Moroccan help.

## APPENDIX 6

### MATERIAL SUBMITTED BY DR. RAYMOND BAKKE CONCERNING THE STATUS OF CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES



#### Palestine Human Rights Campaign

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Coordinators  
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June 28, 1984

National Director  
Rev. Donald Wagner

National Office  
20 E. Jackson #1007  
Chicago, IL 60604  
Tel. (312) 987-1830

The Honorable Lee Hamilton  
Chairman  
Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East  
House Foreign Affairs Committee  
Room B-359 Rayburn House Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman Hamilton:

Attached is a report to the Subcommittees on International Operations and Europe and the Middle East which is intended to answer questions that arose during the testimony of Dr. Raymond Bakke of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign on H.R. 4877.

Reverend Donald Wagner, national director of PHRC, and Dr. Dewey Beegle of the Wesley Theological Seminary and national board member of PHRC, have prepared the report and would be pleased to discuss its contents further with interested members of the Subcommittees.

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign currently is researching a number of human rights issues in Jerusalem at this time, and will forward you additional information when that team returns.

Sincerely,

Saba L. Shami  
Coordinator  
Washington, D.C. Chapter

THE STATUS OF CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM COMMUNITIES  
IN ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

REPORT TO THE SUBCOMMITTEES ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS  
AND EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE  
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BY

REVEREND DONALD WAGNER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR

AND

DR. DEWEY BEEGLE, WESLEY THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY  
AND NATIONAL BOARD MEMBER

PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

JUNE 28, 1984

This report is in response to Subcommittee Members' requests raised during testimony on H.R. 4877 presented by Dr. Raymond Bakke of World Vision and the Lausanne Committee on World Evangelism, and national board member of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, on May 16, 1984. Several Members requested further information regarding the persecution of native and foreign Christian populations in Jerusalem and other sites in the Holy Land. Specifically, this concerns allegations that foreign clergy and pilgrims have been regularly harassed and intimidated and that the native Palestinian Christian population is emigrating as a result of the forced Judaization programs in Israel, and the military occupation in the West Bank. In addition, foreign Christian institutions have also experienced restrictions on their activities which have greatly impeded their ability to conduct their programs.

### Judaization

"Judaization" is an official term used by the Israeli government referring to the formal settlement programs to move Jewish Israelis into areas predominantly inhabited by Christian and Muslim Israeli Arabs. This program has been particularly active in the Galilee, where there is a heavy concentration of Christian Palestinians, particularly around the city of Nazareth. For example, the Israeli government established "Upper Nazareth" to be a purely Jewish town with its own infrastructure and economic base. Israeli Arabs in old Nazareth have wanted to move to Upper Nazareth because of the heavy government subsidies and resulting superior municipal services. Yet, despite the fact that they are Israeli citizens, the Jewish settlers in Upper Nazareth have insisted the town remain purely Jewish, and have organized a public movement -- "Mena" ("Prevent") against integrated housing. This pattern of greater government financial support for Jewish towns in Israel over Palestinian towns, a separate Jewish infrastructure, and the Judaization of education for all Israelis (Jew and non-Jew), is designed to favor the Jewish population over the non-Jewish population.

Judaization, however, cannot be successful without a program of de-Palestinianization. Land for new Jewish settlements must be expropriated from the legal Palestinian owners unwilling to sell; jobs in the area must be reserved for the new Jewish settlers; scarce water resources must be diverted from the densely populated Arab centers to the sparsely populated settlements (where it is used primarily for landscaping and swimming pools). Agricultural production, the basis of the Palestinian economy, is severely restricted and kept off the market, partly to favor non-Arab agricultural production, and partly to destabilize the Palestinian economy. This destabilization creates a large pool of cheap labor for Israeli industry and ensures higher levels of Arab emigration. Other factors which contribute to Palestinian emigration are: job discrimination (Israeli Arabs are forbidden to work in the engineering and high-tech sectors of the heavily militarized

Israeli economy); academic discrimination, and cultural, ethnic and linguistic disenfranchisement.

### Jerusalem

It must be remembered that Jewish and Hebrew-speaking West Jerusalem is under "Israeli administration," and that Christian and Muslim Arabic-speaking East Jerusalem is under Israeli military occupation. Following the illegal annexation of East Jerusalem on June 22, 1967, the Israeli government instituted an intense Judaization program. There are two major elements to the program: (1) the massive, exclusively Jewish settlements in a barricade arc in the eastern suburbs of Jerusalem which physically and psychologically dominate the skyline, and (2) the aggressive expansion of the Jewish presence in the Old City.

The settlements were founded on lands that had to be cleared of their Christian and Muslim Palestinian inhabitants, which was accomplished through expropriation of lands and intimidation of the residents. According to Article 49(6) of the Fourth Geneva Convention, it is illegal for military occupation forces to physically or administratively alter the occupied land. Israel has altered the administration by expanding the eastern municipal boundaries so that more land could be taken by the annexation of the city, and it has greatly altered the physical nature of the land and removed its native Christian and Muslim population. Since 1967, the people of Jerusalem have witnessed three waves of land confiscation for "public purposes":

-- January, 1968: 1,000 acres of privately owned Palestinian land was confiscated for the construction of the first two residential colonies in East Jerusalem, French Hill and Ramot Eshkol. Over 6,000 apartments exclusively for Israelis have been built. Nearby, an industrial park was established, for the exclusive use of Israeli business.

-- August, 1970: 3,500 acres representing the largest confiscation of Palestinian land ever occurring at one time was done for the establishment of four residential colonies. Over 28,000 apartments have been built and the process of expansion in the area still continues.

-- March, 1980: 1,000 acres of privately-owned Palestinian land was confiscated for the construction of the exclusively Jewish colony of South Neve Yaccov comprising some 10,000 apartments.

With the completion of South Neve Yaccov, the Israelis will completely encircle the 110,000 Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem. At the same time, this Israeli policy effectively limits the growth of the Palestinian population within the annexed areas, since all the potential land available for construction is now confiscated for the exclusive use of the Jewish population.



The Judaization program in the Old City has gone beyond the much-needed rehabilitation of the Jewish Quarter. The Quarter itself has been greatly expanded to four times its original 1948 size at the expense of the Christian and Armenian Quarters. Only 20% of the Quarter was Jewish-owned in 1948; the remaining land has been expropriated and the last non-Jewish family was expelled forcibly in 1979. Synagogues and yeshivas have been provocatively and often illegally established in the Muslim Quarter. Yeshiva students, particularly from the Birkat Avraham Yeshiva, are frequently observed disrupting the Muslim Quarter and instigating provocative situations which have resulted in injury and destruction of Arab property. These actions have met with no official resistance or investigation.

Given the officially sanctioned policies to harass and remove the native Christian and Muslim Palestinian population, it is not surprising that the extreme elements in Israeli society would take it upon themselves to "accelerate" the expulsion process through terrorist acts. For example, in Jerusalem, such acts include the 1969 arson at Al-Aqsa Mosque on the Temple Mount (the Israeli fire department waited two hours to respond), and the 1982 tragedy when an American serving in the Israeli army opened fire with his machine gun killing two persons and wounding 60 worshippers at prayer. In January, 1984, Muslim guards at the Dome of the Rock (Islam's third holiest shrine) foiled an attempt by an Israeli terrorist group to dynamite the holy place. Other attacks against Christian holy places include the arson attack against the Jerusalem Baptist Church; the December 20, 1983, hand grenade booby traps found simultaneously at the Franciscan Monastery, the Greek Orthodox Monastery, the Russian Orthodox Church, and at a Mosque, where a Greek Orthodox nun and a Muslim clergyman were injured. Earlier in December, similar booby traps were found at three Christian Churches and a Mosque -- all the grenades were Israeli army issue. Christmas has become a traditional time for such attacks.

Land expropriation cases include Russian Orthodox church property in Jerusalem, and the open square facing the Wailing Wall, (which was Islamic Waqf -- community property) until it was expropriated and its 850 residents evicted and their homes bulldozed.

All of the above factors have resulted in higher levels of Christian and Muslim Palestinian emigration than would otherwise be the case. Since the Christian Palestinians are generally more educated and have higher incomes than the Muslims, they turn more readily to emigration as a solution to these problems. This is resulting in the decimation of the Christian community in the Holy Land. This account is confirmed by Bishop C. Charles Vache of the Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia, as reported in the February 18, 1984 edition of the Virginia Pilot. "In 1967 there were 29,000 Christians in Jerusalem -- now there are an estimated 9,000. If this trend continues another 20 years, Christianity is going to become a museum piece in Jerusalem." Bishop Vache blamed

the dwindling numbers, in part, on the policies of the Israeli government, which he said made it difficult for Christians to remain in Jerusalem and thrive.

#### Christian Pilgrims and Institutions in the Holy Land

In 1978, the Israeli government required all tour groups to be accompanied by a guide licensed by the Tourist Ministry. Since 1967, the Ministry has granted guide licenses only to Jewish Israelis. The effect of this regulation is that the movements and experiences of Christian pilgrims are closely controlled and regulated by Jewish Israeli guides.

Christian clergy who have participated in these tours report that the guides use the occasion for propagandizing and disseminating politically-motivated information. The pilgrims, many of whom have saved money their whole lives to visit the Holy Land, have had their religious sensibilities offended by the subordination of Christian history to Jewish history (i.e., Bethlehem is the "City of David," not the birthplace of Christ). The Jewish guides help ensure that the pilgrims remain unaware of the native Christian community and actively discourage fellowship between the native and foreign Christians: the tour groups stay in Jewish West Jerusalem and are told to stay away from East Jerusalem because the Christian Palestinians there are "terrorists."

When pilgrim groups come who are in touch with their denominations in Jerusalem they attempt to fellowship with the local Christians and use their own clergy there as guides rather than the expensive Ministry-licensed guides. As a result, the guide-priests are harassed and intimidated by the Israeli police because they lack a license. Pilgrim groups are also denied tour buses by the Israeli car rental firms. The Christian Pilgrimage Commission in the Holy Land complained of these practices to the Israeli government in a two page memorandum dated March 13, 1984. The memorandum charges that the Ministry is violating the freedom of pilgrimage which Christians have enjoyed for 2,000 years.

Another motivation for denying guide licenses to Christian Palestinians is to deny them their livelihood. This is clearly part of the intentional destabilization of the Palestinian economy alluded to earlier, for guiding pilgrims is, and has been, a traditional occupation among the native Christians in the Holy Land for centuries.

#### The West Bank

##### The Occupation and International Law

Israeli occupation policy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip has been judged to be in violation of international law by the U.S. Department of State, the International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International, and other organizations in both

Israel and the international community. Following the widespread abuses suffered by occupied populations during the Second World War, the world community agreed that a corpus of international law was needed which would protect the rights of persons under foreign military occupation. The most comprehensive of the resulting documents was the Fourth Geneva Convention, which outlines specific rights to which occupied persons are entitled and adjures occupying powers to respect them. Chief among these provisions are the following prohibitions: physical or moral coercion to obtain information; involuntary transfers of persons; introduction of nationals of the occupying power into the occupied territory; collective punishment; destruction of property which is not necessary for military operations; changes in the status of public officials; and general use of administrative detention after hostilities have ceased for a period of one year. Every one of these acts has been committed by the Israeli authorities in the Occupied Territories.

Israel has stated it does not recognize the Geneva Convention in its administration of the areas. Israeli administration of the Occupied Territories, instead, uses parts of the British Mandate Code, Jordanian law, or military orders -- depending on which code is more convenient and beneficial for Israeli uses according to each particular situation. A de facto annexation also occurs since domestic Israeli law is extended to the Jewish settlements in the West Bank.

#### Land Confiscation and Settlement Building

Both the Labor and Likud governments have endorsed and engaged in the illegal erection of civilian Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories, extending the Judaization program into the overwhelmingly Christian and Muslim West Bank. According to officials in the World Zionist Organization's settlement department, 104 such settlements have been built or begun since the occupation began in 1967. Article 49(6) of the Fourth Geneva Convention prohibits such demographic changes in the status of an occupied region. Some of the Israeli settlements have been constructed on community-owned Palestinian land which the military has expropriated, while others sit on private land which has been similarly seized without compensation. Current estimates indicate that over 60% of the West Bank is now under Israeli control. To date, 35,000 Jews have been moved into the Territories, with another 90,000 living in the "suburb settlements" ringing Arab East Jerusalem. By 2010, Zionist officials hope to have over one million Jews living in the Occupied Territories. Naturally, such an ambitious Judaization program necessitates an equally ambitious de-Palestinianization program.

Detention, Collective Punishment, Destruction of Property, Physical Mistreatment

Israel's various military orders grant virtually unlimited power to the occupation authorities. Such powers include authority over search and arrest; censorship; "restriction" (i.e., forbidding persons from leaving their towns and sometimes even their homes); indefinite administrative detention; deportation; seizure and demolition of property; declaration of "closed areas" (the forbidding of entrance into the area so "closed"); imposition of curfews; and powers to close down businesses or force them open. The military has used all of these powers against the Christian and Muslim communities living in the Occupied Territories. Israeli attorney Leah Tsemel estimates that over 200,000 Palestinians have been detained by the military at one time or another since 1967. Physical abuse of the prisoners is systematic, as documented by Amnesty International and the U.S. State Department Human Rights Report. Collective punishment is regularly employed against towns and refugee camps should someone in that locality be detained for a "security violation." Usually, the home of a "troublemaker" or the home of the family of such a person is dynamited before he/she is tried or convicted. The London Sunday Times reported that between 1967 and 1971 alone, 16,212 homes were destroyed in the Territories. Several complete towns have been razed.

Taking 1982 as an example, human rights violations included: Killings -- 32 Palestinians were killed in the Occupied Territories during 1982 by soldiers or settlers. In the West Bank alone, 15 people were fatally shot between November, 1981 and November, 1982. Ten were shot by Israeli soldiers, four by settlers, and one by other Israeli elements. Given the Israeli Defense Force's standing orders concerning a soldier's response to demonstrators, and given the Israeli police and judicial response to a number of these deaths, one concludes that such acts are implicitly, if not explicitly, condoned. Disappearances: according to Law in the Service of Man (LSM), a West Bank human rights organization, 12 Palestinians were kidnapped by Jewish settlers during 1982. Another threat faced by the local population of the Occupied Territories is the Israeli practice of arbitrarily arresting and detaining Palestinians. The Israeli authorities are not required to give out information about arrests, other than the agreement to notify the Red Cross by the twelfth day after an arrest has been made. Families, for example, are never informed of the arrest of one of their family members. Cruel and inhuman punishment: In 1982, there were 40 cases in which Israeli soldiers were prosecuted for grossly mistreating Palestinian suspects (17 of whom were convicted). These prosecutions came about only because of the efforts of a small minority of concerned Israelis.

The Israeli League for Human and Civil rights (ILHCR), exposed Israeli mistreatment of Palestinians at Far'a prison in the West Bank in a March 25, 1984 press conference. The ILHCR

Secretary described the facility as "a factory for extracting confessions."

Arbitrary arrest and imprisonment: Town arrest orders, usually valid for six months, but renewable for indefinite periods of time, confine the individual to his town or village and often require that he remain at home after sunset. In 1982, 81 such orders were issued. No reason for imposing the restriction was given other than the all-encompassing "security reasons."

Under Military Order No. 378, a soldier may arrest any person who commits, or is suspected of having committed, an offense. The detainee can then be held for 18 days, at which time he must be brought before a military court that can then extend his detention period for a maximum of six months. No charges need be made and most detainees are never charged.

All adult Jewish settlers (male and female) in the West Bank have army-issued machine guns and are deputized. They can stop and detain the native Palestinians and have them arrested without charge. Palestinians, however, are forbidden to own weapons of any kind.

#### Denial of Academic Freedom

All institutions of higher education in the Occupied Territories are subject to closing under Military Order 854. Bir Zeit University in Ramallah has been particularly hard hit by this order, having been closed by the military 10 times over the past 11 years. The following table indicates the disruptive nature the military authority closures have had on the academic efforts of Christian and Muslim Palestinian students:

<u>Date Closed</u>	<u>Date Reopened</u>	<u>Academic Time Lost</u>
Dec. 15, 1973.....	Dec. 31, 1973.....	2 weeks
March 26, 1979.....	April 1, 1979.....	4 days
May 3, 1979.....	July 2, 1979.....	2 months
Nov. 14, 1980.....	Nov. 22, 1980.....	1 week
Nov. 4, 1981.....	Jan. 4, 1982.....	2 months
Feb. 16, 1982.....	April 16, 1982.....	2 months
July 8, 1982.....	Oct. 8, 1982.....	3 months

Class schedules and matriculation examinations have been seriously disrupted, leaving many students unprepared or unable to successfully complete their courses and compete with Arab graduates in other countries. Foreign university professors at Palestinian universities have resisted, to date, pressures to sign a pro-Israeli "loyalty pledge" before they are able to obtain work permits to teach in the Territories. Najah University in Nablus has been similarly affected. In the first semester of the current term, 16 of 31 days were lost to forced

closure. In the previous academic year, it was closed for three months.

Christian and Muslim Palestinian students who are scheduled to take the Jordanian matriculation exam ("tawjiki") are often arrested prior to the exam and then released afterwards without any charges. This sacrifices an entire year of scholastic work and renders them ineligible for further study in Arab centers of higher learning.

#### Infringement of Water and Agricultural Rights

As part of the plan to alter the physical geography of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip while simultaneously crippling the economic viability of the populace, the military authorities have taken control of the region's water resources both by limiting the output of wells and forbidding the digging of additional ones without a permit. Only two permits for new wells have been granted since 1967 to Palestinians. Israeli settlements, however, have drilled seventeen modern wells in the West Bank. The Arab wells draw only 35 million cubic meters per year, while the Israeli wells annually draw over 1150 million cubic meters. Thus, 30% of West Bank water is being used by 2% of the population.

The effects of this water diversion has been devastating. During the first six years of the occupation alone, Palestinian grain production on the West Bank went down 28%. Vegetable yields suffered an 18% drop, with melon harvests down 89%. Permits are also required of the Palestinians should they wish to plant any fruit-bearing plants or trees or update any irrigation system. Palestinian farmers from the Territories are forbidden to export their produce across the "Green Line" into Israel if it competes with Israeli production, while the West Bank has become a captive market for produce from Israel.

#### Terrorism Against Christian and Muslim Palestinians

The recent arrest of 25 settlers and two Israeli army officers who were linked in an underground terrorist ring operating on the West Bank underscores the threat posed by organized settler vigilante groups. This particular group's activities included the maimings of two elected Palestinian mayors in car bombings; a machine gun and grenade attack on Hebron's Islamic College which killed three and wounded many; bombs set outside mosques, churches, and buses in and around Jerusalem; and a plot to blow up the sacred Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock shrines in Jerusalem. To these incidents must be added the increasing number of attacks directed against other Christian and Muslim Palestinian civilians, including the smashing of car windshields, store windows, and indiscriminate shootings into Arab homes and shops, which are carried out by individual settlers or gangs. A tragic but not unusual example was the killing of an eleven-year-old girl and the wounding of

her nine-year-old sister in Nablus in December, 1983. Both were shot by a settler who fired his machine gun into their father's bakery after other youths threw stones at the settler's car. The Israeli settler convicted of the murder received a 2 year suspended sentence.

### Conclusion

This report is not intended to be read as an attack on Israel, but as a factual document on valid human rights questions crucial to the Jerusalem issue that have not been discussed during months of testimony. Israel was not founded to be a secular western democracy, but a Jewish state where Jews were to be favored in an absolute numerical majority, a fact any Israeli will freely affirm. It was not founded to be a religious and ethnic polyglot where all groups would be equal. Thus, Israel promotes the Jewish character of the state by pressuring the native Christian and Muslim Arabs into leaving because their sizeable presence and high birthrate threatens the purity of the Jewish state. This issue is debated openly and frequently in the Israeli press. Our intent is not to accuse, but to emphasize that it is inappropriate for the holy and internationally revered City of Jerusalem to be subject to religious controls and its native Christian and Muslim communities to be displaced in a forced Judaization program.

Similarly, we do not document here the human rights violations in the Occupied Territories to try to make the Israelis appear as cruel or inhumane. Common sense tells us there cannot be a humane military occupation, and the domination of one people by another has always resulted in painful loss of rights. The point is to stress that the high level of emigration of Christians and Muslims from the Holy Land is largely due to these hardships, and we question U.S. acquiescence and assistance to these policies that are leading to the decimation of the earliest Christian community.

As American clergy who are in fellowship with our Arab and Armenian brothers and sisters in Christ in the Holy Land, we are greatly pained by the destruction of their historic communities. It is no less distressing that our Muslim brothers and sisters are also faced with mass expulsion. The traditional fellowship between the Palestinian Muslim community and the Palestinian Christian community is a source of joy and inspiration to all creeds in the Middle East and ecumenically-minded people everywhere. Indeed, we must work toward sustaining the hope around the world that the City will remain a living witness to the greatness of the three monotheistic creeds that revere it. As Christians, Muslims and Jews, we must work together to preserve the human dignity and freedom of all who live in the Holy Land.

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INTERNATIONAL

June 18, 1977 -- The Sunday Times -- London, England (extensive report on the widespread use of torture against Palestinians in Israeli prisons and detention centers.)

Amnesty International -- Report and Recommendations of an Amnesty International Mission to the Government of the State of Israel -- June, 1979





# Northern baptist theological seminary

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September 7, 1984

The Honorable Dan Mica  
Chairman, International Operations  
B358 Rayburn House Office Bldg.  
Washington D.C. 20510

The Honorable Lee H. Hamilton  
Chairman, Europe and the Middle East  
B359 Rayburn House Office Bldg.  
Washington D.C. 20510

Gentlemen:

On May 16, 1984 it was my privilege to appear before your joint sub-committees to offer testimony in the question of moving the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Unfortunately, the cover page of my written submission to you described me as "of Northern Baptist Seminary and World Vision International."

I wish to make it clear that I am a member of the faculty of Northern Baptist Seminary and a consultant from time-to-time for World Vision and other organizations.

In my testimony, I spoke as a board member of the Palestinian Human Rights Campaign and a person with some considerable experience in the matter before you. My statements were and are my own and should not and cannot be attributed to World Vision or any other organization for which I consult.

I am sending a copy of this letter to others who gave testimony so that there may be no misunderstanding.

Sincerely yours,

  
Raymond J. Bajke

sp

cc: Alleck Resnick  
Robert Goldman  
James Zogby  
Richard Hellman

Isaac Rottenberg  
John Badeen  
Tom Houston, World Vision

## APPENDIX 7

### REMARKS BY THE HON. CLARK CLIFFORD, CHAIRMAN OF THE HARRY S. TRUMAN CENTENNIAL



United States  
of America

# Congress

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF

Vol. 130

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, MAY 8, 1984

No. 58

## House of Representatives

### “Harry Truman and the Birth of Israel”

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the former Secretary of Defense, the former Special Counsel to the late President Truman, the Honorable Clark Clifford, who is the chairman of the Harry S. Truman Centennial. Clark Clifford.

Mr. CLIFFORD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, the Truman Centennial Committee wishes to present its deepest appreciation to the Congress for this magnificent ceremony honoring one of our most illustrious Presidents.

President Truman inherited from Franklin Roosevelt a deeply troubled Middle East and one of the major problems there was the question of whether or not there should be a homeland for the Jews. The President read a great deal, he consulted all of the available experts, and he reached the conclusion in his own mind that it should be the policy of our country to support a homeland for these people.

When he made that decision he brought upon himself the bitterest, the most venomous, unrelenting struggle that he had, I believe, during the entire time he was in the White House. There were powerful forces that were determined to see that this policy should not be carried out, and the most distressing one element of the entire controversy was the fact that most of the opposition came from within his own administration.

The State Department was absolutely determined that he should not succeed in carrying out his aim. The Defense Department at the same time felt that the decision was wrong because he was picking the incorrect side.

I remember one time having a conversation with James Forrestal, the first Secretary of Defense, and he said, “You fellows in the White House just don’t understand what is going on.” he said, “Soon 350,000 Jews will be pushed into the Mediterranean by 35 million Arabs.”

I reported that to the President and the President said, “This is not a question of numbers. This is a question of basic human policy.”

The contest went on. Over and over again he would start one move and it would be frustrated by those that worked against him in the State Department.

The great issue of the day was whether there should be trusteeship or whether there should be partition. If you favored trusteeship, you favored a plan that would postpone indefinitely and perhaps forever the establishment of a Jewish homeland. If you favored partition, then you were for the carving out of an area in Palestine and delivering it to those whom President Truman felt so richly deserved it.

Finally, this 3½ year old conflict, growing always and in bitterness as it developed, came to a climax because on the 14th day of May the leaders in Palestine were to announce that was that day that the new Jewish state would come into existence. The President called me in maybe 2 weeks prior to that and he said, “Now, I am going to have a meeting on the 11th of May.” And he said, “General Marshall will come over and Bob Lovett will come with him and they are experts.” And he said, “General Marshall is unalterably opposed to this policy.”

And he said, “I wish that you would start in and prepare. I would like you to present my views to these men,” and I remember his words; he said, “Accept it as though you were going to make an argument before the Supreme Court of the United States.” And I went to work on it.

What I did was go back over my notes, go back over his speeches to find out the positions that he had taken on previous occasions. Then I organized that, so that I could present to General Marshall what I knew to be the President’s own views.

The first point I made was the question of intolerance. The President said, “All my life I cannot bear intolerance. There is no more un-American attitude that exists. Why do some people feel that they are superior to others? And why must we have intolerance in our country?”

And he said, “In this effort to create a homeland for these people,” he said, “this will be a blow against intolerance.”

And second, he had talked many times about persecution. He said, “Why, over the centuries, must these people be persecuted? Why do other feel superior? What right do they have to segregate, to build ghettos and see that these people do not have the opportunity of others, the opportunity of right, of work, of religion, the freedoms that we appreciate so much?”

He said, “I think that this step on our part will be an opportunity to demonstrate our attitude toward persecution.”

And then he said, “Every individual in the world must feel some sense of personal guilt at the most bestial, the most unforgivable, the most unbelievable crime in the world, and that was the extermination of 6 million Jews.” And he said, “maybe we can, by urging this policy, make some feeble restitution at the agony that this has caused the world today.”

And then one of the other main points he made was that in all the world, after the close of the Second World War, there were hundreds of thousands and even millions of displaced persons and every one of them had a place to return to except the Jews.

And he said, “How unfair can history be? How unfair that even after the close of the great war that no provision is being made and these people must shift from country to country looking for someplace where ultimately they can develop a life?”

President Truman was a great Bible student. Interestingly enough, he loved the Old Testament. He contended that the Old Testament had made a commitment to these people that some day they would come into their right day and some day they would have a homeland of their own. He would refer from time to time to Isaiah, and he would refer to other prophets and their visions and their commitments.

And finally he said the British must

be held to account. He said, "In 1917 the Balfour Declaration was issued and the Balfour Declaration carried a promise to these people, if I ever read it."

This was the substance of the argument, then, that I was prepared with when the meeting came with General Marshall, Mr. Lovett, very estimable gentlemen and their assistants.

General Marshall made his first presentation and he told of the reasons why we should not even be considering recognizing the new state. Lovett backed him up and there were some additional matters.

Then the President said "Clifford will make his presentation" and I made it. And as I made it, General Marshall's face got redder and redder and redder, and finally at the end he exploded. He said, "I don't understand what is going on here." He said, "We didn't come over to have an emotional experience of these various elements; we came over to consider a complicated foreign policy problem and to consider certain international laws that are applicable to this issue."

The President made a few comments and then dismissed the meeting. And I said, "Mr. President, I am afraid that my effort didn't do very much." Well, he said, "Let us not be too hasty, let us let the dust settle just a little."

His prescience was interesting, because that afternoon Bob Lovett called and said, "I am deeply disturbed at the meeting we had this morning." And he said, "I wonder if you would drop by

my house on your way home," and I said "Of course." And we talked late into the evening.

He said, "What possibility is there in getting the President to change his mind?" I said, "Utterly none." He said, "We will have to go to work on General Marshall." He said, "It would be a tragedy for these two men at this time to break."

The reason it was so serious was because General Marshall felt so strongly about it. When General Marshall finished his second presentation to President Truman he said, "Mr. President, I feel obliged to tell you that if you go ahead with this act of recognition, I will be unable to vote for you this coming November."

So that not only was it based on policy, but it was based upon a deep personal feeling that General Marshall had.

Mr. Lovett went to work in the State Department and I will go over the next 2 days very quickly; but on the morning of the 14th, the day the announcement was to be made, General Marshall called President Truman and said, "Mr. President, I cannot support your action in recognition but I will not oppose it. I will say nothing at all." The President said, "Thank you, General Marshall. That is all that I need."

Mr. Lovett came over. We prepared the statement.

At 4 o'clock the new nation of Israel was declared and 11 minutes after 4,

the United States became the first nation in the world to recognize Israel.

Now some time later came a fascinating development. I will refer to it here briefly.

The Israeli Prime Minister was in the United States and he had a meeting with President Truman. It was Prime Minister Ben Gurion. And later, he wrote his book and his memoirs and this paragraph appears. He said: "At that time I had a meeting with President Truman. I told him that as a foreigner, I could not judge what would be his place in American history. But his helpfulness to us, his constant sympathy with our aims in Israel, his courageous decision to recognize our new state so quickly, and his steadfast support since then had given him an immortal place in Jewish history."

"As I said that, tears suddenly sprang to his eyes. And his eyes were still wet when he bade me goodbye. I had rarely seen anyone so moved. He left. A little while later, I, too, had to go out and a correspondent came up to me and asked, 'Why was President Truman in tears when he left you?'"

"I believe I know. He was in tears because he had fought for 3 1/4 years for a deep principle that touched every humanitarian nature in his being. I think he was in tears also because his God had seen fit to answer his prayer and grant him his wishes."

Perhaps you will understand better now why we loved him so. Thank you.

## APPENDIX 8

### COMMENTS SUBMITTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ON THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF H.R. 4877

#### CONSTITUTIONALITY OF H.R. 4877: A BILL "TO REQUIRE THAT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN ISRAEL BE LOCATED IN THE CITY OF JERUSALEM"

Summary: H.R. 4877 provides "that, notwithstanding any other Act, the United States Embassy in Israel and the residence of the American Ambassador to Israel shall hereafter be located in the city of Jerusalem." (A parallel bill, S. 2031, has been introduced in the Senate). If enacted, the proposed legislation would be an unconstitutional infringement on Presidential authority. Both the text and judicial interpretation of the Constitution make clear that the President is to be the "sole organ of communication" of the United States in its relations with other States. Incident to this exclusive power is the decision when, how and where to conduct diplomatic relations. In addition, the legislation conflicts with the President's exclusive constitutional authority over questions of recognition.

#### Background: The Jerusalem Issue

The location of the United States embassy to Israel in Tel Aviv rather than Jerusalem is the result of long-standing American Middle East policy.

When the Palestine question was considered by the United Nations General Assembly in 1947, the U.S. voted for Resolution 181 (II) of November 29, which recommended partition of Palestine into a Jewish state, an Arab state, and an international enclave or corpus separatum comprising the city of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and the surrounding environs, to be administered by the United Nations. This recommendation was not implemented, and in the fighting that ensued in 1948, the forces of Jordan seized control of the West Bank of the Jordan and the walled city of Jerusalem together with its eastern approaches, while Israeli forces seized the new sections of the city to the west of the walled city. Subsequent efforts in the United Nations to define a regime for the city failed, and in 1950 Israel proclaimed Jerusalem to be its capital. As a result of the 1967 war, Israeli military forces occupied the eastern sector of the city. Israel subsequently extended its law and administration there and in 1980 declared "United Jerusalem" to be the capital of Israel.

The United States recognized Israel on the same day that it was proclaimed an independent State, May 14, 1948.<sup>1/</sup> However, the United States has not acknowledged the claims to sovereignty of either Israel or Jordan over the parts of the

city of Jerusalem which they controlled. Moreover, the United States has not accepted unilateral actions by any State as affecting the status of the city. Instead, it has been consistent U.S. policy that: (a) Jerusalem should be undivided; (b) free access to its holy places should be assured for all faiths; and (c) the question of the final status of Jerusalem should be the subject of a negotiated resolution in the context of arrangements for a just and lasting peace in the region.<sup>2/</sup> Because moving the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem would be interpreted by many as prejudging the outcome of negotiations, the United States has not accredited its consulate in Jerusalem to any country, nor has it relocated the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The vast majority of States similarly have refused to recognize the sovereignty of any State in Jerusalem and therefore have not located their embassies there.

Since the introduction of H.R. 4877 and its companion bills, this Administration, like previous administrations, has made clear its view that a change in the location of the United States embassy to Israel would severely undermine the unique capacity of the United States to serve as a good faith mediator to help bring peace to the Middle East.<sup>3/</sup>

As early as 1949, when Israel began to relocate government ministries to Jerusalem, the United States explained that it could not accept Israel's unilateral claim to the city and would not move its embassy there. Again in 1960 the United States informed Jordan of its opposition to making the eastern part of the city Jordan's second capital. And in 1967, the Israeli actions to extend its law and administration to the eastern part of the city did not affect the U.S. commitment to a negotiated settlement of the status of Jerusalem. The U.S. embassy thus has remained in Tel Aviv for over three decades because each of eight American administrations has considered it a mistake for the United States to endorse or acquiesce in the effort of any State to determine the status of the city unilaterally. The Administration accordingly has expressed its firm opposition to any Congressional action which might interfere with these arrangements and thereby signal a change in United States policy towards Jerusalem. In addition, the Administration has indicated its constitutional objections to legislation concerning the location of the embassy, the issue which this memorandum addresses.

### Analysis

As is made clear by this case, where an embassy, consulate or other diplomatic mission is located may have independent foreign policy significance, affecting both the form and substance of U.S. policy. Legislation mandating establishment of a U.S. mission in a particular location therefore constitutes a challenge to the President's authority to conduct the foreign policy of the United States.

In this case, there is extraordinarily strong support for the proposition that the proposed legislation would be an unconstitutional incursion into the President's foreign affairs power. As a general matter, it is the President in whom the "executive power" of the United States is lodged, U.S. Const. Art. II, Sect. 2, a power which historically has encompassed the power to conduct foreign relations. Further, the President's authority over a particular foreign policy issue is especially clear where it is supported by the text of the Constitution or endorsed by the judiciary. This is such a case. The Constitution expressly confers upon the President the power to conduct diplomatic relations on behalf of the nation, and Supreme Court decisions leave no doubt that the President has responsibility for determining the recognition policy of the United States.

#### I. Relocation of the Embassy and Ambassador's Residence

It is well established that the power to conduct diplomatic relations includes the power to determine "how, when, where and by whom the United States should make or receive [diplomatic] communications."<sup>4</sup> The decision where to locate the United States embassy to Israel (and Ambassador's residence) is thus an integral part of the conduct of United States diplomacy with the State of Israel. The Constitution allocates this decision to the President.

A key purpose of the Constitution was to end the chaos in American diplomacy caused by the supremacy of Congress (and the absence of an executive) under the Articles of Confederation.<sup>5</sup> Article II delineates the new powers granted to the President, including authority over Ambassadorial and consular appointments. Art. II, sect. 2, cl. 2. The same article provides that the President "... shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers." Art. II, sect. 3. Through these provisions, the President is given the

basic constitutional authority to conduct diplomatic relations on behalf of the United States: He selects (and, as a consequence, supervises) the nation's diplomatic spokesmen, and determines when, where and how the United States will conduct diplomatic relations at home and abroad.

The drafting of the Constitution reveals this was a matter of careful consideration. As the Supreme Court has noted:

An interim version of the draft Constitution had vested in the Senate the authority to appoint Ambassadors, public Ministers, and Judges of the Supreme Court, and the language of Article II as finally adopted is a distinct change in this regard.

Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, at 129 (1976).

In consequence of this constitutional allocation of power, in the words of John Marshall: "The President is sole organ of the nation in its external relations, and its sole representative with foreign nations."<sup>6/</sup> See United States v. Curtis-Wright Export Corp., 299 U.S. 304, 319 (1936). The Executive accordingly has historically taken the position that Congress cannot dictate to the President decisions concerning the establishment of diplomatic facilities abroad.<sup>7/</sup> Both President Carter and President Reagan recently took this position with respect to legislation concerning the opening and closing of consulates abroad.<sup>8/</sup> Similarly, Presidents have historically resisted the attachment of conditions to ambassadorial nominees by the Senate in discharging its "Advice and Consent" function under Art. II of the Constitution,<sup>9/</sup> or by Congress as a whole through the appropriations power.<sup>10/</sup>

There are strong practical and policy reasons which support this Constitutional allocation of power. The President's judgment as to where United States facilities for conducting diplomacy are best situated may, as in this case, reflect highly sensitive issues of foreign policy implicating relations not only with the receiving state, but also with other States with which the President must conduct diplomacy. Sporadic and uncoordinated legislative intervention could threaten the entire network of diplomatic channels forged by the President to maintain communication with foreign nations. It also would not be practical for diplomatic and consular relations to be dictated by statute. To cite just one example, a shift in the character of U.S. relations with a foreign nation might require immediate adjustment of U.S. facilities before the Congress has

an opportunity to respond. The legislative process is too cumbersome to accommodate such shifting interests of American diplomacy.

## II. Recognition of a Particular Status for Jerusalem

H.R. 4877 raises additional, serious constitutional concerns because of its potential effect on United States recognition policy toward Jerusalem. From the legislative history of H.R. 4877 to date, it might be concluded that the bill is intended to alter the substance of United States policy towards Jerusalem. By its terms, the bill can be read to legislate a United States position that Jerusalem is "in" Israel.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, early statements by the bill's sponsors (and the sponsors of the companion Senate bill), evidenced an intent to compel the President to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's "capital."<sup>12</sup> (More recently, some sponsors of H.R. 4877 have indicated they do not believe the bill would compel a change in the United States position on Jerusalem and that the Executive could make such a declaration upon implementation of the bill.)<sup>13</sup>

To the extent H.R. 4877 is intended to compel a change in recognition policy toward Jerusalem, it is inconsistent with longstanding constitutional doctrine. "Almost since the origins of the federal government, the Supreme Court has acknowledged that *de jure* or *de facto* recognition of a foreign state is a political question to be determined solely by the executive branch." Transportes Aereos de Angola v. Ronair, Inc., 544 F. Supp. 858 (D. Del. 1982). See United States v. Pink, 315 U.S. 203, 229 (1942); Guaranty Trust Co. v. United States, 304 U.S. 126, 137 (1938); United States v. Belmont, 301 U.S. 324, 330 (1937); The Maretes, 145 F.2d 431, 442 (3d Cir. 1944).

When the President takes a position on the status of territory disputed between other nations, he is exercising his constitutional power of recognition. As the Supreme Court has observed, "[t]he refusal to recognize has a unique legal aspect. It signifies this country's unwillingness to acknowledge that the government in question speaks as the sovereign authority for the territory it purports to control." Banco Nacional de Cuba v. Sabbatino, 376 U.S. 398, 410 (1964). See Jones v. United States, 137 U.S. 202, 212 (1890). When the President speaks on such questions, his views are dispositive:

[C]an there be any doubt that when the executive branch of the government, which is charged with our foreign relations, shall, in its correspondence



with a foreign nation, assume a fact in regard to the sovereignty of any island or country, it is conclusive on the judicial department? And in this view, it is not material to inquire nor is it the province of the court to determine whether the executive is right or wrong. It is enough to know, that in the exercise of his constitutional functions, he had decided the question. Having done this, under the responsibilities which belong to him, it is obligatory on the people and the government of the Union.

Williams v. Suffolk Insurance. Co., 38 U.S. (13 Pet.) 415, 420 (1839). See also Banco Nacional de Cuba v. Sabbatino, 366 U.S. at 410.

In this case, not only this President, but all U.S. Presidents since 1947 have refused to recognize the claims by any State to Jerusalem. The proposed legislation potentially threatens that policy and therefore the President's constitutional authority concerning recognition.

Footnotes

1/ 2 Whiteman, Digest of International Law 168-69.

2/ See, e.g., 57 Dept of State Bull. 148 (1967) (Ambassador Goldberg in UN General Assembly); 61 Dept of State Bull. 76 (1969) (Ambassador Yost in UN Security Council); Letter of September 17, 1978 from President Jimmy Carter to Anwar Sadat, Dept. of State Bull. 7-11 (1978) ("The position of the United States on Jerusalem remains as stated by Ambassador Goldberg in the United Nations General Assembly on July 14, 1967, and subsequently by Ambassador Yost in the United Nations Security Council on July 1, 1969"); President Ronald Reagan, "A New Opportunity for Peace in the Middle East," 18 Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents 1081, 1085 (September 1, 1982) ("[W]e remain convinced that Jerusalem must remain undivided, but its final status should be decided through negotiations").

3/ See 20 Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents 446 (April 2, 1984).

4/ L. Henkin, Foreign Affairs and the Constitution 47 (1972) (emphasis added).

5/ Id. at 33.

6/ 18 U.S. (5 Wheat.) Appendix Note 1 at 26 (1820).

7/ E.g., 7 Op. Atty. Gen. 242, 250-253 (1855) (act requiring or forbidding appointment of consuls at particular places "would be without efficacy," since Constitution has entrusted appointment and location of consuls to "sole discretion" of executive; therefore "shall" in statute is to be interpreted as "may." Cf. V. Goldklang, "The President, The Congress and Executive Agreements," 24 Va.J.Int'l L. 755, 759 (1984) (location of diplomatic missions by executive agreements may not be modified or overturned by subsequent statute).

8/ Public Papers of the Presidents - Jimmy Carter 1434 (Aug. 15, 1979); Public Papers of the Presidents - Ronald Reagan 1060 (Aug. 24, 1982).

9/ 7 Op. of Atty. Gen. 186 (May 25, 1855). See Meyers v. United States, 272 U.S. 52, 163-64 (1926) (Congress may not limit President's executive power of appointment by seeking to control removal of appointees from office); Congressional Research Service, The Constitution of the United States of America 527-28 (1972).

10/ E.g., 7 Op. Atty. Gen. 186 (1855). L. Henkin, Foreign Affairs and the Constitution 109. Cf. 41 Op. Atty. Gen. 230 (1955) ("invalid" conditions may not be imposed through reliance on appropriations power).

11/ The bill provides that "the United States embassy in Israel ... shall hereafter be located in the city of Jerusalem." (emphasis added).

12/ See Con. Rec. E 5550 (Nov. 15, 1983); Cong. Rec. S. 15084 (Oct. 31, 1983). These statements are difficult to interpret because of the ambiguity of "capital". Sometimes it is used to denote that a city is sovereign territory of the government in question; it may also be used, however, as a purely empirical description of where a government locates its offices, i.e., a "seat of government." See The Random House College Dictionary 200 (1980).

13/ Statements to this effect were made at a Joint Subcommittee hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on June 21, 1984.

## APPENDIX 9

### SUPPLEMENTAL QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND RESPONSES THERETO

#### A. GENERAL QUESTIONS

*Question 1.* What do you see as the impact of this legislation on UN Resolution 242, the document which has been the cornerstone of U.S. peace efforts for 17 years?

Could the U.S. have succeeded in achieving the Camp David Accords had the U.S. adopted, or were perceived to have adopted, the position of either side on Jerusalem?

Answer. The status of Jerusalem is not an isolated question, but an integral part of the whole complex of issues in the Arab-Israeli conflict which the U.S. firmly believes should be resolved through negotiations. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 remain the basis of our approach to a just and lasting peace in the area. It is our view that the bill before the Congress would be perceived as prejudging the outcome of the negotiations called for by Resolutions 242 and 338, and in this way work against their implementation.

As stated in my prepared testimony, the U.S. would not have been able to achieve the Camp David Accords if we had adopted the position of either Egypt or Israel on the question of Jerusalem. This explains President Carter's separate letter attached to the Camp David Accords which reaffirmed the longstanding U.S. position on Jerusalem.

*Question 2.* Secretary Shultz has said that moving the U.S. Embassy could provoke a wave of anti-American violence throughout the Islamic world. What does he mean specifically? What do you see as the impact of this legislation in the non-Arab Islamic world in Asia and Africa?

Answer. The status of Jerusalem is a powerful religious, political and emotional issue in Islamic countries. Moving the Embassy would specifically be seen throughout the Arab and Islamic worlds as an American disavowal of Muslim interests in Jerusalem and clear evidence that the U.S. had decided the status of the city in Israel's favor. The impact of this legislation on the security of American personnel, citizens and facilities was discussed in the closed session briefings and I refer you to those assessments.

*Question 3.* Could you state as precisely as you can what the impact of this legislation would be on U.S. ties with states in the Arab world, especially Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia? What do you take to be the Egyptian Government's position on what it will do if this bill is passed? Do you think Egypt would cut its ties with the United States as it did when El Salvador moved its Embassy to Jerusalem? How should the U.S. react to such threats?

Answer.

#### *Egypt*

Moving our Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem as called for in this legislation would have a serious impact on U.S. relations with Egypt.

Clearly, this is an emotional issue for the Egyptians and passage of this bill would be a difficult issue in U.S.-Egyptian relations. The Egyptians strongly believe that moving our Embassy would seriously compromise the peace process. It would be impossible to speculate, however, on the exact nature of Egypt's official response.

#### *Saudi Arabia*

Both the Saudi Government and general public view the Jerusalem issue as a fundamentally religious one. Saudi Arabia's sensitivity on this issue is particularly acute since, as protector of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, the Government sees itself as having a special responsibility to defend Islam and its holy sites. Therefore, we can expect a strong, decisive Saudi Government response to any Congressional action, including a non-binding resolution, implying U.S. recognition of

Israel's claim to sovereignty over Jerusalem. Foreign Minister Saud has already affirmed publicly Saudi Arabia's obligation to comply with sanctions agreed upon by the Arab League and Islamic Conference Organization (headquartered in Jidda), including the severance of diplomatic relations.

While the Saudis usually follow the Arab consensus on important regional issues, King Fahd would probably feel compelled to take a lead among Arab and Islamic states on this one. If this expected break in our relations occurs, our ability to work closely with Saudi Arabia in the peace process framework, in which the Saudis' moderating influence and financial support for Jordan can play an important role, may be jeopardized. We also predict serious consequences to our substantial commercial interests in Saudi Arabia, our sixth largest trading partner worldwide. Many American companies, particularly those already facing financial difficulties in the depressed Saudi market, may be disadvantaged by discrimination as they seek to retain or obtain lucrative government contracts. Moreover, we would expect to have increased difficulty protecting the interests of some 65,000 Americans resident in the Kingdom as a result of sharply decreased diplomatic and consular access and Saudi public and private sector staunch opposition to what will be perceived as U.S. Government policy.

#### *Jordan*

If such legislation on Jerusalem were passed, Jordan would be obliged to join its fellow Arab League nations in whatever action the Arab League determines to be the necessary response. If that response is the severing of diplomatic ties with the United States (as we understand the Arab League anticipates), we can expect that Jordan will follow the Arab consensus. Jordan, like other friendly Arab states, has told us that a change in the location of our embassy to Israel will have the most serious consequences for U.S. relations with the Arab world.

#### *Morocco*

King Hassan has played a prominent moderating role in the search for a peaceful solution in the Middle East. A Jewish Congress took place in Morocco in late April in which participation by members of the Jewish community outside of Morocco, including several members of the Israeli Knesset, was sanctioned by the Government of Morocco. The King chairs the Islamic Conference's Jerusalem Committee and currently presides over the 43-nation Islamic Conferences, which last met in plenary session in January 1984 in Casablanca, Morocco. He also chaired a meeting of Islamic Foreign Ministers in Rabat in April.

Morocco has been instrumental in the effort of Islamic ambassadors in Washington to emphasize to both the Executive and Legislative branches the Islamic as well as Arab concerns which this proposed legislation has engendered.

Morocco's helpful posture and measured initiatives in support of the objectives of meaningful dialogue in the Middle East would be undermined by passage of the pending Jerusalem legislation. Despite the closeness and mutual benefit of U.S.-Moroccan relations, Hassan would be constrained by his leadership role to register his Arab and Islamic constituencies' strong disapproval of the legislation and its policy implications. If the consensus of the Islamic Conference supports breaking of relations should the embassy be moved, King Hassan would find it virtually impossible to go against this sentiment if he is to retain credibility with his conferees.

Thus, a move of the embassy would raise into question the many cooperative activities which our two governments share which are mutually beneficial, such as our security assistance program which includes joint military exercises under the rubric of the U.S.-Morocco Joint Military Commission (JMC), the joint trade and investment questions considered by our U.S.-Morocco Joint Economic Commission (JEC), the sale of agricultural commodities under the PL-480 and CCC blended credit programs, and other efforts. The concomitant deterioration in our relationship would be to the detriment of this program and that of broad U.S. policy interest.

#### *Tunisia*

Passage of this legislation would put considerable pressure on the government of Tunisia to break diplomatic relations with the U.S. Such an act would be undertaken only very reluctantly by Tunisia, but this type of official response has been discussed at several of the recent meetings convened by Arab and Islamic countries to discuss reaction to such legislation. Public reaction in Tunisia would also be severe.

*Question 4.* What do you see as the impact of this legislation in Turkey and Pakistan, two large, friendly, non-Arab Islamic nations?

*Answer.* Turkey has strong ties to the Arab Middle East which derive from historical, trade, and security

matic relations with Israel. This diplomatic contact between the two countries benefits the peace process because Turkey is both a close ally of the United States and a member of the Islamic Conference. Should the proposed legislation be adopted, the Turkish Government could be expected to sympathize with the Arab view that the United States had lost its impartiality and credibility as a mediator in the Arab-Israeli dialogue.

A resolution in favor of moving our Embassy to Jerusalem, would adversely affect our relations with Pakistan—a country with which we have recently reestablished a major security relationship in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In coordination with other Islamic states, the Government of Pakistan has made clear its opposition to such a move. Were HR 4877 to pass, we would expect a very sharp and unfavorable response not only from the Government of Pakistan, but from the general population as well. While we believe the Government would exercise its responsibility to protect our diplomatic installations and personnel in Pakistan, there is no guarantee that a popular negative reaction could be successfully contained. Such a reaction, of course, would also complicate further progress in a variety of very important areas of mutual U.S. and Pakistan national interest.

*Question 5.* Several options have been mentioned as possible compromises on this issue and I would like your comments on this:

- opening an annex of the U.S. Embassy in West Jerusalem;
- making the U.S. Consulate General in Jerusalem an extension of the Embassy in Tel Aviv and under the authority of the American Ambassador to Israel;
- moving the Embassy to West Jerusalem while keeping in force the present ban on U.S. Embassy personnel conducting official business in East Jerusalem;
- calling for negotiations between Jordan and Israel on Jerusalem by a date certain; and if Jordan refused to respond, move the Embassy.

How do you react to these suggestions?

Could any of them solve any of your concerns about the legislation?

Why do you resist any compromise on this issue?

*Answer.* The United States position on the status of Jerusalem is of crucial importance to Arabs and Israelis. Since 1948 the U.S. has not accepted any state's claim to the city or unilateral actions as determining its status. By committing ourselves to a negotiated resolution of the city's status, we preserve our ability to serve as a good faith mediator. The presence of the United States Embassy in Tel Aviv and an independent Consulate General in Jerusalem has come to represent the commitment of the U.S. to this position. The Administration accordingly has expressed its deep concern over any congressional action which might interfere with these arrangements and thereby signal a change in United States policy toward Jerusalem.

All the proposals mentioned in the question would involve a change in our diplomatic and consular arrangements for Jerusalem, a change which could only be interpreted as intended to signal a change in U.S. policy towards the city. Thus, proposals directed at moving all or part of the Embassy to Jerusalem, or subordinating the Consulate General in Jerusalem to the Embassy in Tel Aviv, would inevitably bring with it the widespread perception of an endorsement of Israel's position on the city's status. Similarly, setting a time deadline before moving the Embassy would clearly represent agreement in principle to a move of the Embassy without a negotiated solution. The Administration cannot agree to such proposals without abandoning the longstanding U.S. position on Jerusalem which has stood this country in good stead and which, in the Administration's judgment, is necessary to maintain our role in the region.

*Question 6.* Britain, France, and several other allies maintain Consulates General in Jerusalem, as does the United States. Their Consulates General, I gather, operate independently, as does ours. How would our allies react to this legislation, which, presumably, if enacted, could affect their own situation over time?

*Answer.* Some of our allies maintain Embassies in Tel Aviv and independent Consulates General in Jerusalem. We have seen no indications that they are thinking of changing their policy. While they have not publicly expressed their views on the proposed legislation, we understand that they consider it unwise. The Allies would not move their own Embassies to Jerusalem even if the legislation were enacted.

*Question 7.* In testimony before the subcommittees, there was some discussion about the Arab population of Jerusalem.

Has the Christian and Muslim population of East Jerusalem to your knowledge, declined considerably over the last 17 years? Can you give specifics?

What do you sense to be the mood of that population today?

Are there any infringements of their human rights today?

*Answer.* This question is somewhat difficult to answer. Since 1967, the Government of Israel has expanded East Jerusalem's municipal boundaries by about 250

percent, thereby including within the city Arab Christians and Muslims who do not consider themselves Jerusalemites. With this important fact in mind, we believe there are about 120,000 Arabs in East Jerusalem, about 12-15,000 of whom are Christians. This number would represent an increase over the best figures we have on the population of pre-1967 Jerusalem. Israeli authorities believe it represents an increase, and it may, though leaders of the Christian community claim that their numbers have decreased substantially since 1967.

As has been the case for the past 17 years, the Arabs resent the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem. The vast majority hope for early negotiations which would lead to peace between Israelis and Palestinians and the return of East Jerusalem to Arab control.

Our assessment of the human rights situation in East Jerusalem is fully treated in the Human Rights Report on Israel and the Occupied Territories submitted annually to Congress. I would encourage committee members interested in this subject to refer to the 1983 edition of that report.

#### B. UNITED STATES REPRESENTATION IN ISRAEL AND THE JERUSALEM CONSULATE GENERAL

*Question 1.* I would like to understand precisely what U.S. Government representation exists in Israel and the Occupied Territories of the West Bank and Gaza.

Is it correct that the U.S. Embassy exists in Tel Aviv but there is a USIA office in West Jerusalem?

Is the USIA operation in Jerusalem part of the Tel Aviv Embassy?

What other U.S. Government operations exist in Israel and where are they?

Are all West Bank and Jerusalem issues handled by the Jerusalem Consulate General?

Are any Jerusalem issues handled by the Embassy in tel Aviv?

Is it accurate that Gaza, an Occupied Territory, is handled by the Tel Aviv Embassy and the Jerusalem Consulate does nothing involving Gaza?

How would you account for the difference in the way Gaza and the West Bank are handled?

Answer. The United States Embassy to Israel is located in Tel Aviv. It operates a U.S. Consular Agency in Haifa.

The Consulate General in Jerusalem provides consular services and does local reporting within its area of responsibility, the city of Jerusalem and the West Bank. The Embassy in Tel Aviv does not have any responsibility for questions relating to the Municipality of Jerusalem.

There is a U.S. Cultural Center in West Jerusalem. The Cultural Center is supported by USIS Tel Aviv.

Following the termination of the Palestine Mandate and Egyptian military occupation of the Gaza Strip in 1948, the U.S. Embassy in Cairo provided consular services to Gaza residents. As a result of the 1967 war and the Israeli occupation of Gaza, this arrangement was interrupted and, as a practical matter, the Embassy in Tel Aviv took on responsibility for providing consular services to, and local reporting on, Gaza. Throughout this period the Consulate General in Jerusalem continued to provide service in its area of responsibility, the city of Jerusalem and the West Bank.

*Question 2.* Concerns have been expressed by many groups and occasionally by the Israelis over the way the Jerusalem Consulate operates.

What do you see as the role of the Consulate?

How well do you see the Consulate performing?

Why is an independent Consulate in our national interest?

What do you feel can be done within the context of existing U.S. policy to remove some of the irritants some Israelis see concerning the Jerusalem Consulate?

Answer. The role of the Consulate General in Jerusalem is to provide consular services and report on development within its area of responsibility, the city of Jerusalem and the West Bank.

The staff of the Consulate General perform their responsibilities professionally and efficiently, in furtherance of U.S. national interests.

This independent Consulate General is a concrete symbol of our longstanding position on Jerusalem. Since 1948 the Consulate General has not been accredited to any government and has reported directly to the Department of State, precisely because the status of the city has not yet been determined through negotiations.

As a result of their views on the status of Jerusalem, some Israelis have expressed reservations about the maintenance of an independent Consulate General in the city and its role within its area of responsibility. We have tried to alleviate these

concerns by making clear that the Consulate General operates under the direct supervision of the State Department in accordance with U.S. policy. This is the same policy followed by all our missions abroad, including our Embassy in Tel Aviv.

*Question 3.* As I understand it, the Consulate deals with both an Arab constituency in East Jerusalem and the West Bank and with an Israeli constituency, those Israelis living in Jerusalem and the West Bank.

Is that accurate?

Isn't the Consulate also responsible for all American citizens living in West Bank settlements?

Do all Israelis in Jerusalem with U.S. visa problems go through the Consulate?

From your experience, is roughly half of the Consulate's work with Israelis and American Jews, and half with Arabs or is it different?

Does the Consulate spend a lot of time on American Jewish citizen services?

*Answer.* The Consulate General provides consular services to American citizens, Israelis, West Bank Palestinians and others within its area of responsibility, the city of Jerusalem and the West Bank. All visa applications from this area are processed by the Consulate General. The Consulate General provides the full range of consular services to American citizens visiting and resident in its area of responsibility.

The Consulate General does not have a breakdown by religion of those for whom consular services are provided.

*Question 4.* Is it accurate that over the last several years, some concessions have been made to critics of the Consulate's independence and some U.S. Embassy control over the consulate exists?

Is it accurate that the Embassy and Consulate are coordinating their efforts in Israel and the Occupied territories more fully today than at any time since 1948?

Doesn't the U.S. Ambassador in Tel Aviv have a say on some senior personnel being assigned to the Jerusalem Consulate?

Isn't it also true that most major policy reporting of the Consulate is cleared through, or coordinated with, the U.S. Embassy and vice versa?

*Answer.* There is general coordination between the two posts to ensure that U.S. policy is efficiently carried out. Substantive and administrative cables bearing on the interests of both posts are routinely coordinated. Consulate General cables are not, however, "cleared" by the Embassy or vice versa. The Ambassador to Israel is not involved in personnel assignments to the Consulate General.

*Question 5.* Could you articulate for the subcommittees precisely what is U.S. policy on meeting Israeli officials in West and East Jerusalem?

What restrictions are there on meetings in East Jerusalem?

*Answer.* U.S. officials at all levels conduct business on a routine basis with the Israeli government in West Jerusalem. Senior executive branch officials do not call on Israeli officials in East Jerusalem.

*Question 6.* How do you respond to the recent statements by the American Jewish Congress that the Consulate appears to be "the would-be embassy to a PLO-Palestinian state" and the Consulate's independent status undermines U.S. interests in the Middle East?

What benefits are there to the United States of the continued independent status of the Consulate?

*Answer.* The Consulate General operates in accordance with the policy of the United States as determined by the President and the Secretary of State. For example, the President's September 1, 1982 initiative stated that the U.S. will not support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. Rather, it was our firm view that self-government by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan offers the best chance for a just and durable peace.

The independent Consulate General in Jerusalem, which has not been accredited to any state since 1948, reflects the commitment of the U.S. to a negotiated resolution of the status of Jerusalem. In this way the Consulate General plays an important role in furthering American interest in a negotiated peace in the area.

*Question 7.* For some time, it was U.S. policy for Consulate officials not to deal with the Israeli-supported Palestinian Village Leagues which operate in the West Bank.

Is this still policy?

Are U.S. personnel in the Consulate today dealing with a wider spectrum of Palestinians on the West Bank than was the case previously?



**Answer.** The staff of the Consulate General has a broad range of contacts and meets and does business with a wide cross-section of Palestinians on the West Bank, including officials of the Village Leagues.

**Question 8.** Roughly how many nations maintain Consulates in Jerusalem today?

Are any consulates in Jerusalem accredited to Israel?

To whom are the others accredited?

Why can't the Jerusalem Consulate be accredited to the Government of Israel?

**Answer.** Six states in addition to the United States maintain consulates in Jerusalem: the United Kingdom, Belgium, Spain, France, Greece and Italy. In addition, there is an Apostolic Delegate and an Honorary Swedish Consul in the city.

None of the consulates in Jerusalem are accredited to Israel or any other state. The Consulate General's area of responsibility is the city of Jerusalem and the West Bank. Since the final status of neither has yet been determined through negotiations, it would be inappropriate to accredit the Consulate General to Israel.

All the consulates in Jerusalem operate independently from their countries' embassies in Tel Aviv.

## APPENDIX 10

### INFORMATION SHEET REGARDING THE LOCATION OF U.S. EMBASSIES IN CITIES OTHER THAN THE HISTORICAL CAPITAL

#### JERUSALEM BILL

Information Sheet: Location of US Embassies in Cities other than the Historical Capital City.

Besides Tel Aviv, the United States maintains embassies in three cities that are not either the official or the historic capital of the country. In all three cases, the embassy's location is at the request of the host government.

#### 1. *Benin*

The official capital of Benin is Porto Novo. However, no country with a diplomatic mission in Benin has its Embassy in Porto Novo. All embassies, including that of the United States, are located in Cotonou.

#### 2. *Bolivia*

Although the constitution of Bolivia makes no designation of a national capital, Bolivians have historically considered Sucre to be a capital city and La Paz their de facto capital. La Paz is treated as the capital of Bolivia.

#### 3. *Netherlands*

The official capital of the Netherlands is Amsterdam. However, Dutch Government offices are located in the Hague, which serves as the administrative capital of the Netherlands. Therefore, foreign embassies are located in the Hague.

4. The following states maintain diplomatic relations with the United States, but the United States does not maintain an Embassy or Diplomatic mission on their national territories:

- A. The Federal and Islamic Republic of the Comoros
- B. The Commonwealth of Dominica
- C. The Republic of Kiribati
- D. The Republic of Maldives
- E. The Republic of Nauru
- F. St. Christopher and Nevis
- G. Saint Lucia
- H. St. Vincent and the Grenadines
- I. Solomon Islands
- J. The Kingdom of Tonga
- K. Tuvalu
- L. Western Samoa

## APPENDIX 11

### SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENTS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD



GERALD R. FORD

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, I am pleased to submit a statement for the record on H.R. 4877.

The Congress is considering proposals for legislation requiring that the U.S. Embassy in Israel be moved from its present location in Tel Aviv. I am concerned that these proposals, if passed, will do harm to our relations with many friendly nations, and will impair America's ability to encourage moderate Arab states in the search for an overall permanent, negotiated peace settlement.

The United States has been at the center of efforts to bring peace to the Middle East throughout the postwar period. Our close relations with states on both sides of the Arab-Israeli dispute have placed our government in a unique position to ensure that full advantage is taken of all opportunities for peace. The Israeli-Egyptian and Israeli-Syrian disengagement agreements of 1974, the Sinai II agreement of 1975, the Camp David Accords of 1978, and the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty of 1979 attest not only to our successes but also to the possibilities that lay ahead as we face further challenges in this troubled region.

I am hopeful and confident that other Arab states will be willing to enter the peace process when the political environment is favorable for doing so. There are many factors involved in producing such an environment, not the least of which is the perception that the United States is determined to maintain a fair and consistent approach to the key issues involved in this dispute.

The status of Jerusalem is one such issue that lies at the heart of the problems of the Middle East. The position of the United States consistently has been that the final status of Jerusalem should be determined through negotiations in the context of a general peace settlement. In the meantime, the U.S. has refused to recognize the unilateral claim of any party to sovereignty over Jerusalem. The long standing location of our Embassy in Tel Aviv and the independence of our Consulate General in Jerusalem reflect this position. Changing the arrangements concerning these two posts would be perceived as an abandonment of America's past policies toward Jerusalem, and our efforts to encourage other states in the region to participate in U.S.-sponsored peace efforts would suffer. Arab states willing to support the peace process would find it increasingly difficult to do so.

A legislative mandate by the Congress requiring that our Embassy to Israel be moved to Jerusalem, or that the American Consulate General in Jerusalem be made subordinate to the Embassy in Tel Aviv, would damage our relations with the Arab states and handicap U.S. efforts to move the Middle East peace process forward. Any road-block to the overall peace process will prolong the isolation of Israel from its neighbors.

I urge Congress not to pass H.R. 4877.



JIMMY CARTER

June 6, 1984

To Lee Hamilton

As requested by you, Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to give my opinion to the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs concerning the proposed move of the United States Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

In my opinion, such a decision by our country would be a devastating blow to the prospects for further progress toward peace in the region, would seriously damage relations between the United States and all Arab countries, and would be counter to the best interests of Israel. There is an additional Constitutional question concerning Presidential powers which I need not address.

The Democratic Party in convention in 1976 and in 1980 adopted such a plank because of political considerations during those presidential election years, and on both occasions I announced immediately that as the nominee of our party I would not honor this commitment if elected President. I regret that this issue has again made its quadrennial appearance, this time in the Congress.

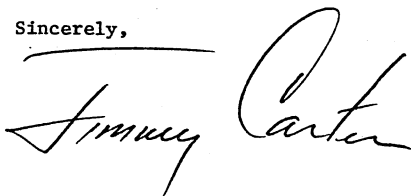
During the Camp David negotiations (which would have been impossible had the United States recognized Israel's claim that a unified Jerusalem was its capital), we had long discussions about the status of this holy city. Eventually, President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin agreed on the wording of a paragraph which all of us believed might provide some resolution of this most sensitive of religious and political issues. However, at the last minute both leaders requested that this portion of the agreement be deleted because it would overshadow the other items which were included. This experience indicates, I believe, that it is not entirely out of the question that good faith negotiations between Israel and Arab leaders might some day resolve this problem. It might also demonstrate the explosive reaction which might be expected among the millions of Moslems who would interpret such unilateral action by our country to be a betrayal of their beliefs and a violation of solemn American commitments made by administrations of both parties since the earliest days of Israeli occupation of the disputed territories.

There are many Israelis who still desire to have peace with their neighbors based upon U.N. Resolution 242 and the spirit and text of the Camp David accords. They realize that there must be some accommodation with their Arab neighbors based on withdrawal from occupied territories, Israeli security and a right to live in peace, and on the granting of basic human rights to Palestinians. These questions are being hotly debated and might be partially resolved in the July elections in Israel.

The final status of an undivided Jerusalem must eventually be resolved through negotiation. Although few Israelis would be willing to relinquish control of East Jerusalem, they know that an element of neutrality in the United States is a prerequisite to further peace talks and that moving our embassy to Jerusalem would, in effect, eliminate our country from its crucial role as peacemaker.

Endorsement of this proposal by the Congress, even if it were subsequently vetoed by the President, would be very harmful as an expression of national purpose. My hope is that your action on this legislation will be postponed, indefinitely if possible. This would do no damage to Israel and would not adversely affect the relationship between our two countries, but it would greatly facilitate any future efforts to bring peace with justice to the Middle East.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable  
Lee Hamilton, Chairman  
Subcommittee on Europe  
and the Middle East  
Committee on Foreign Affairs

N.Y.T. 5-29-81 page A.18

## Moving the U.S. Embassy Is 'Anti-Israel'

To the Editor:

For several weeks I have been following with great interest, and also great concern, news reports concerning the proposal to move our embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

I am deeply committed to the security of Israel, as demonstrated by my action in providing for the massive airlift to Israel during the 1973 war and the alert of our forces which prevented the Soviet Union from intervening in that war. It is because I am committed to Israel's security that I am opposed to the proposal to move our embassy.

Such a move would not contribute one iota to Israel's security. On the contrary, it would jeopardize it.

Israel has desperate economic problems, with an inflation rate of 200 percent and with 30 percent of its gross national product going for defense, the highest percentage in the world. The Israelis suffered casualties in three months in Lebanon which were the equivalent of what the United States suffered in 10 years in Vietnam. The conclusion is inescapable: Israel needs peace.

The United States is the only major nation which can play a positive role in

building a structure of peace in the Mideast. Israel cannot have peace if it continues to be surrounded by implacable enemies — not just the radical Syrians but more moderate states like Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia as well. It is better for the United States to be a friend of Israel's neighbors and potential enemies than to leave a vacuum which an avowed enemy of Israel — the Soviet Union — is thirsty to fill.

The ability of the United States to influence Israel's neighbors is at a low point, in part because of the tragic events in Lebanon. If the U.S. moves its embassy to Jerusalem, the situation would be dangerously exacerbated, and the U.S. would lose whatever influence it has today to play a constructive role in the area.

Congress will soon make its decision on the embassy proposal. So far, Congressional debate has presented the view that a vote to move the embassy is pro-Israel and that a vote against moving the embassy is anti-Israel. This puts the issue upside down: the exact opposite is the truth.

RICHARD M. NIXON  
New York, May 24, 1984



ראש העיר  
رئيس البلدية  
MAYOR OF JERUSALEM

May 25, 1984  
Iyar 23, 5744

The Honorable Jimmy Carter  
75 Spring Street SW  
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Carter:

It was sad to read your interview in the Kuwait el-Anbaa, which contained the statement that Jerusalem has become a "home for killing, hatred, provocation and misunderstanding".

You were our guest in Jerusalem during March 1983, and walked freely and openly through the streets of Jerusalem and in the market places, jogged on the Old City walls and ate in all parts of our United City. You saw with your own eyes what we have done and how, despite the turmoil that dominates the Middle East today, Jerusalem remains tranquil, its residents living in neighborly co-existence with freedom of access to all holy places and with each ethnic and religious community having equal religious, cultural and educational control of their own daily lives.

Never in the history of Jerusalem has such freedom existed and we are making every effort to ensure that this situation is maintained. It is difficult to understand how you who observed this from close by could describe our city in such terms.

With best wishes and warm regards to Mrs. Carter:

Yours sincerely,

Teddy Koryek

TK/lb

P.S. Just as this letter is being mailed, I see in The Jerusalem Post correspondence column a letter which may interest you.



STATEMENT OF FORMER SECRETARIES OF STATE  
TO THE CONGRESS REGARDING THE JERUSALEM ISSUE

We are three former Secretaries of State who have served in Administrations dating back to 1961. Each of us is a friend of Israel, and we are dedicated to the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

We share a common concern about the pending proposals to locate our Embassy to Israel in Jerusalem. This move, reversing more than three decades of U.S. practice, could only be interpreted as a shift in the position of the United States on the status of Jerusalem and could jeopardize critical United States interests in the region.

Jerusalem has a deep religious significance for people of the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim faiths. Its status is one of the fundamental issues that will have to be resolved if there is to be true peace in the Middle East. It remains a highly sensitive and emotional issue. For these reasons, since 1948 the United States has never accepted any State's unilateral claim to Jerusalem -- neither Israel's, nor Jordan's prior to 1967. The U.S. position is that Jerusalem should be undivided, but that its ultimate status should be settled through negotiations in the context of an Arab-Israeli peace. This

consistent theme in our Middle East policy has been crucial to our ability to play the role of impartial mediator in the peace process. The arrangements concerning our Embassy in Tel Aviv and our Consulate General in Jerusalem reflect a consistent, longstanding U.S. position on the unsettled status of Jerusalem.

Finally, we are concerned that legislation, even if restricted to a Sense of the Congress resolution, would infringe upon the power granted to the Executive Branch by the Constitution to conduct foreign policy. As former Secretaries of State, we are acutely aware of the need for a single, coordinated voice in the conduct of American diplomacy. For these reasons, it is our deeply-held view that it would not be in the national interest to change at this time the location of our Embassy in Israel, nor for Congress to express publicly a preference for such a change.

Dean Rusk

Cyrus Vance

Edmund S. Muskie

Testimony submitted to the

Subcommittee of the House Foreign  
Affairs Committee on  
Europe and the Middle East

on

The U.S. Embassy in Israel

by

Rev. J. Bryan Hehir

for the

United States Catholic Conference

May 1, 1984

I submit this testimony on behalf of the U.S. Catholic Conference (USCC), the public policy agency of the Catholic bishops of the United States. The testimony is also submitted in the name of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association.

The proposed legislation raises the question of the status of Jerusalem. This issue is always a highly sensitive one in the Middle East, in the state of Israel and here in the United States, because Jerusalem has a profound religious significance for the three great monotheistic faiths. In submitting this testimony the USCC wishes to be particularly sensitive to the delicate issues surrounding the Jerusalem question, not least of which are the strong and significant bonds which the Church in the United States has with the Jewish community. In spite of the delicacy of the issue, however, it is the conviction of the USCC that the transfer of the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem will not be a helpful contribution at this time to U.S. policy in the Middle East and for this reason we oppose it on practical prudential grounds.

I. The Holy See and Jerusalem: On any question touching the status of Jerusalem the Catholic bishops of the United States are guided by the position of the Holy See. Both Pope John Paul II and his predecessor Pope Paul VI have set forth the Holy See's position on the Middle East as a whole and on the specific issue of Jerusalem. In 1973 Pope Paul VI spoke of his duty,

to ensure that any possible solution touching the status of Jerusalem and the Holy Places in Palestine should take into account the exigencies of the special character of that city, unique in all the world, and of the rights and legitimate aspirations of those belonging to the three great monotheistic religions that have shrines in the Holy Land that are among those most precious and dear to their hearts. (Address to College of Cardinals, Dec. 22, 1973.)

In a meeting with President Carter on June 21, 1980, Pope John Paul II reaffirmed the Holy See's abiding interest in Jerusalem which "embodies interests and aspirations that are shared by different peoples in different ways." Following this meeting the Holy See submitted to the United Nations Security Council a statement of its position on Jerusalem and the Holy Places. Since this document, first published in the Osservatore Romano (June 30, 1980) sets forth the position of the Holy See in some detail, I request that it be submitted for the record of these hearings. The six core principles concerning Jerusalem are the following:

1. that the overall character of Jerusalem as a sacred heritage shared by all three monotheistic religions be guaranteed by appropriate measures;
2. that the religious freedom in all its aspects be safeguarded for them;
3. that the complex of rights acquired by the various communities over the shrines and centers for spirituality study and welfare be protected;
4. that the continuance and development of religious, educational and social activity by each community be ensured;
5. that this be actuated with equality of treatment for all three religions;
6. that this be achieved through an "appropriate juridical safeguard" that does not derive from the will of only one of the parties interested.

It is on the basis of this position of the Holy See that the USCC submits its specific views on the content of the proposed legislation.

II. The Middle East and Jerusalem: These hearings are not about the general question of Jerusalem but a specific aspect of U.S. policy. In addressing the issue of whether the U.S. Embassy should be moved to Jerusalem at this time, I suggest it is useful to step back and locate any such discussion in the broader context of the Middle East and U.S. objectives in that region.

Among all the problems of foreign policy, few are as complex as the Middle East. The relationship of local, regional and geopolitical factors is tightly interwoven. The fusion of religious loyalties and political choices is perhaps more intense than anywhere in the world. The obstacles to peace are daunting, the danger of war is great and the desire for a stable, just solution is universal. The current tragedy of Lebanon only intensifies the danger and difficulty of the present moment.

From the perspective of U.S. policy the need in the Middle East is not only for a comprehensive solution in the region but also for a specific strategy by which to move toward a comprehensive settlement. Such a specific strategy requires a sense of priority among issues - some steps must precede others in the making of wise policy.

The great delicacy of the Jerusalem question points decisively in the direction of addressing that question after other issues in the Middle East have found an agreeable settlement among the major parties in the Middle East. Preemptive moves which touch the status of Jerusalem only hinder an approach to the larger regional questions in the Middle East. Such moves endanger rather

than enhance the pursuit of a peaceful solution.

III. U.S. Policy: It is because of the special character of Jerusalem within the larger drama of the Middle East and because of the perspective on the practical priorities of U.S. policy outlined above that the USCC opposes the transfer of the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem on practical prudential grounds. In brief we find the proposal to move the embassy at this time an unwise prescription for policy, one which is not in the interests of peace in the Middle East.

## DIOCESE OF WASHINGTON



MOUNT SAINT ALBAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016

(202) 537-6550

THE RIGHT REVEREND  
JOHN T. WALKER  
BISHOP OF WASHINGTON

Testimony before the House Subcommittees on Europe and the Middle East and  
on International Operations, House Foreign Affairs Committee  
H.R. 4877 (to locate the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem)  
May 1, 1984

I find myself in a very difficult position today because of my close ties with the Jewish community on the one hand and the Muslim community on the other. For nearly ten years I have worked with both Jewish and Muslim leadership of the Capital Area seeking to achieve some reconciliation and unity between members of these historic religious groups. At no point has my commitment to the Israeli State and its right to exist been questioned. I would not want my opposition to this Bill (S. 2031) to bring that basic support of Israeli peoples into question. I have supported efforts of the Jewish communities in the United States and in Canada, to keep the American public in a high state of awareness of the Nazi Holocaust. To that end I have, with the Cathedral Provost and the National Cathedral Foundation Chapter, made the Washington Cathedral available for special Holocaust services. At the same time I have worked as the first President of the Interfaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington to enable members of the Jewish, Muslim and Christian faiths to work together on common problems and concerns.

My opposition to the move of the United States Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem is based on my belief that such a move would tend to prejudice, if not settle, the status of Jerusalem, at least for our life times. No one denies the ancient and historic interest that Israel has in the City of Jerusalem. At the same time it must be remembered that both Christians and Muslims have a long and strong interest as emotional in quality as that of our Jewish brothers and sisters. It is my hope that Jerusalem will be an international and open city and that any final settlement will involve all parties concerned -- Jewish, Muslim and Christian. I would support a negotiated settlement of the issue.

There are those who assume that the religious aspects of this matter are of little significance. This is a dangerous supposition and one that can lead to disaster. One need only look at the situation in Iran to conclude that in the Middle East religion plays a much greater and more important role than in the United States or any part of the West.

The Rt. Rev. John T. Walker  
Episcopal Bishop of Washington



# THE EXHORTERS, INC.

P.O. Box 492, VIENNA, VA 22180

May 7, 1984

698-6880

Con. Lee Hamilton  
Europe & Middle East Subcommittee  
B-359 Rayburn House Office Bldg.  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Att: Michael Van Dusen

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

I am interested in testifying on H.R. 4877 which involves moving the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

My position and reasons taken should be of interest to the Subcommittee since they are mainly Biblically based though running contrary to such other Fundamentalist Baptist such as Dr. Jerry Falwell. These are points that must be considered by Congress so as to avoid a very costly mistake.

I look forward to the opportunity to express these views before the Subcommittee.

Sincerely,



Stan Rittenhouse

P.S. Enclosed is a copy of  
my testimony for the  
Senate version, S. 2031.

Statement of: Stan Rittenhouse, President, The Exhorters, Inc.  
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Before the: *Europe & Middle East Subcommittee*  
 Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Hearings on: Locating the United States Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem,  
 S-2031. N.R. 4877.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

Thank you very much for the opportunity to express these views on a subject that encompasses Christianity, the Bible, Zionism and America's foreign policy.

On the surface it appears strange that a nation would voluntarily want to move its Embassy from the worldwide recognized capital city to another city within that country. Could it be that the host nation has made such a request or does some other factor come into play?

Because the nation Israel and the city Jerusalem play such a dominant role in the Bible, and because America was founded and structured upon Christian Biblical principles, it is understandable that a special relationship could develop between the two countries, even to the extent of it affecting America's foreign policy.

The very foundation of America is based on the Bible, both Old and New Testaments; America's very existence is based upon our Forefathers' desire to serve the Lord as witness the Mayflower Compact. This desire to serve the Lord Jesus Christ continued up through the American Revolution. For example, even though the Colonies were hard pressed for money, the Colonial Congress ordered more than 10,000 Bibles--Old & New Testaments--from Europe for the use of the American troops.

Today, however, that inherent desire to serve the Lord, to identify with the Bible could be misapplied in a way that results in legislation and a policy that is inconsistent with the Bible and thus detrimental to America's foreign policy. To move our Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem based, in part or in whole, upon the assumption that the present-day Zionist Jewish people are "God's chosen people" is in error. Ever since the coming of Jesus Christ the Messiah, and the rejection of Christ by Israel and the Jews, God has no longer been dealing with this particular nation and race. As a matter of fact, He does not have a particular or "peculiar" people except those "whosoever" (Jew or Gentile) may be of Christ; i.e., Christians, regardless of nationality or race. "But ye (Christians) are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a people of His own

(a peculiar people), that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into His marvelous light; Who in time past were not a people but are now the people of God; who had not obtained mercy but now have obtained mercy" (I Peter 2:9,10).

Remember, Christ came to His own and they received Him not. Consequently, today's Zionist state called "Israel" and the Zionist "Jews" are not of God but of humanistic man and so are not a Godly factor in this Day and Age of the Body of Christ or group of worldwide believers, commonly called the "Church."

This being the case, what the Bible points out is very relevant to what Congress should do regarding this bill since the basis of it is related to what the Bible says. And the Bible says that those who reject Christ are not God's chosen people; to pass this bill on this erroneous premise (that the Zionist Jews are God's chosen people and thus have a special claim on Jerusalem) would put Congress at odds with the Scriptures, a position our Forefathers would never want.

According to the New Testament, and speaking from a Christian point of view, to be of God, you must first be of the Son, Jesus Christ. "Whosoever (Jew or Gentile) believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God" (I John 5:1). "Whosoever (Gentile or Jew) denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father; he that confesseth the Son hath the Father also" (I John 2:23).

(Israel's rejection of Christ is even to the extent of having anti-Christian missionary laws on the books carrying severe penalties. To prove the point, when was the last time Billy Graham had an evangelistic crusade in Israel?? This anti-Christian attitude also is reflected in a loss of religious freedom in "Democratic" Israel to the degree most people have not yet realized. See chapter 19, Israel's Anti-Christian Law, of my book, "For Fear of the Jews", a quote from the Gospel of John.)

"Any one (Jew or Gentile) who goes too far and does not abide in the teaching of Christ, does not have God; the one who abides in the teaching, he has both the Father and the Son" (II John 9).

"Not as though the word of God hath taken no effect. For they are not all Israel, who are of Israel" (Romans 9:6). The American Standard Bible reads: ". . . For they are not all Israel who are descended from Israel."

It is evident from the New Testament--the same one that the Pilgrims, the Colonial Congress, and George Washington and his troops read--that any person (including Jewish people and Zionists) without Christ is not of God in the sense of being "God's chosen people," and thus has relinquished his or her--or Israel's--claim to any special Godly claim to Jerusalem. Yet, this bill, as well as the encyclopedias, base their bottom line position on that claim ("God's chosen people").

Yes, it would be a mistake if America were to move its Embassy to Jerusalem. To be consistent with the Bible, Israel should be treated as any other nation for there is no special favor today from God upon "Israel."

The Apostle Paul, a former Pharisee and terrible persecutor of the early Christians, defines very clearly just who are the sons of Abraham or Abraham's seed. According to the Bible--the same Old & New Testament Bible that George Washington and his troops read during the American Revolution--to qualify to be of the seed of Abraham, one must be of Christ. In other words, Christ is the common denominator; i.e., Abraham's children must have Christ in common regardless of their nation or nationality.

Even though this Biblical fact is rarely discussed, these Scriptures have been with us for nearly 2,000 years. "Know ye, therefore, that they who are of faith (in Jesus Christ; i.e., Christians - ed.), the same are the sons (or children) of Abraham. . . . Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, 'And to seeds,' as of many; but as of one, 'And to thy seed,' which is Christ. . . . For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise; but God gave it to Abraham by promise. Wherefore, then, serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed (singular, as in Jesus Christ) should come to whom the promise was made. . . ." (Galatians 3:7, 16, 18, 19).

Consequently, the Zionists' claim to Jerusalem by the law becomes invalid because they deny God's Son. This denial or disobedience (and remember, I'm speaking from a Christian point of view) from the time of Christ up to today has disenfranchised them from any claim to that land and that city - especially when they claim it as "God's chosen people." Both the Old and New Testaments point out that obedience is required to claim a promise. For example, see Deuteronomy 28: 9, 15, 58, among others. Thus, the "scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites" (see Matthew 23), the term Christ used for the equivalent of the

Zionists of His day, have no claim to Jerusalem in the name of "God's chosen people."

When there is a true Biblical return to Jerusalem, all will recognize and accept Christ for who He is, the Messiah. Israel's official denial of Christ proves that that day has not yet come and so Biblically they have no claim to the land or the city. And since this bill is based upon a Biblical premise, a conflict comes into play between S.2031 and the Bible. It's as simple as that, and that's reason enough to vote "NO" on this bill.

Who then are "God's chosen people" since Christ came to earth? They are the Christians, regardless of race or nationality. Thus, this disqualifies the Christ-rejecting Zionists who, in actuality, are more Khazars from Eastern Europe than descendants of the Middle East. The Apostle Paul tells us in Galatians 3:26-29: "For ye are all the sons of God (God's chosen people) by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. (Thus, a particular race or nation is not even a factor with God since the coming of His Son and the establishment of the Body of Christ, the Church. - ed.) And if you belong to Christ (as 'thee,' Christian Abraham), then you are Abraham's offspring ('thy seed'), heirs according to the promise."

In other words, the "Jews" cut themselves off because of their disobedience when they rejected the Son of God, Jesus Christ. The next time Jerusalem is correctly and Biblically established as a capital is when the Lord Himself returns and establishes Jerusalem Himself. Thus, man's humanistic efforts--be they of the Zionists or well-intentioned Members of Congress--to establish Jerusalem as a capital of Israel will be contrary to the Word of God. And should these efforts succeed (and they eventually will, momentarily), they will only prove to be in vain as I point out later.

As a matter of fact, if bills want to be passed by the Senate based in part or in whole upon the Bible, it would be wise for the Senate to leave Israel alone as long as its contempt for Christ continues. When Christ returns, according to the Bible, He will utterly and totally destroy Israel and Jerusalem.

"I will utterly consume ~~ALL~~ things from off the land, ' saith the Lord.  
 'I will consume man and beast; I will consume the fowls of the heavens, and the fish of the sea, and the stumbling blocks with the wicked; and I will cut off man from the land,' saith the Lord. (Destruction this complete has yet to happen. - ed.) 'I will also stretch out mine hand upon Judah, and upon all the inhabitants of Jerusalem . . . ' . . . That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of waste and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness. . . . Neither their silver nor their gold shall be able to deliver them in the day of the Lord's wrath, but the whole land shall be devoured by the fire of His jealousy; for He (the Lord Jesus Christ) shall make even a speedy ridgance of ALL those who dwell in the land" (Zephaniah 1:2-4, 15, 18).

The best policy is to keep the Embassy in Tel Aviv. In Zechariah 12:3, the Lord points out: "'And in that day (the day of the Lord's Return in wrath) will I make Jerusalem a burdensome stone for all peoples; all that burden themselves with it shall be cut in pieces, though all the nations of the earth be gathered together against it.'" After Jesus Christ comes back in His wrath and consumes ALL things from off this land and city, and makes it desolate (i.e., a complete purging of what will be there), then and only then will the Lord establish Jerusalem as His capital. It is after His Return that the Lord will then defend Jerusalem. But prior to His establishment of His Jerusalem, there will be nothing but trouble, destruction, Godly wrath, wars and rumors of war, etc., etc. Remember, the Lord's defense of Jerusalem comes only after His Return and His purging of the land; a purging that will include the anti-Christ Zionists as well as all other nations that come upon His Jerusalem.

In other words, God's wrath and destruction of Jerusalem will be directed upon those who reject and hate Him. His defense of Jerusalem will be on behalf of those who recognize and accept who He is (the Messiah). For America to get in the middle of all of this is foolhearty indeed.

Interestingly enough, many folks pray for the "peace of Jerusalem" but that will not happen until after Christ returns and the present-day Jerusalem is totally destroyed. Thus to pray for the "peace of Jerusalem" is to, in affect, first pray for its destruction since that must come before any peace.

Consequently, the Great Tribulation (the time of "Jacob's Trouble") must first come, and that means the desolation of Israel and Jerusalem will come prior to the peace that is being prayed for.

So, the best policy America can pursue is one of neutrality. Moving our Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem is not neutrality but a recognition and promotion of International Zionism.

What is being done today, apart from the Lord Jesus Christ, is a reflection of man's efforts, is a reflection of humanism. America, having used the Lord's previous blessings to promote and endorse a Christ-rejecting nation (that eventually the Lord will utterly and totally destroy in His wrath), could very well result in the holding back of His future blessings upon America. In other words, the passage of this bill could very well incur God's wrath upon America taking into consideration what He has promised to do to a Christ-rejecting "Israel" and its "capital city," Jerusalem. To sum up the point, why promote something now that the Lord will destroy later!!!

Has Israel over the years earned the right to this preferential treatment that America wants to bestow upon her? The Balfour Declaration of 1917 declares, in part: ". . . it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. . . ." Israel's Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel of 1948 says that it "will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture. . . ."

When one considers the bulldozing of Palestinian homes (and remember, there can be no human rights without property rights), the denial of water rights to water that once belonged to the Palestinians, the second class status of Arab people, the dual "justice" system on the West Bank, as reported in The Washington Post of a few weeks back, and Israel's blatant disregard for her agreements with the United States such as the use of cluster bombs, aircraft,

and last, but not least, her merciless attack upon the USS Liberty when Israel machined-gunned our life rafts, killing 34 Americans and wounding 171 others, it becomes obvious that Israel does not qualify for all this special treatment.

Israel's continuous violation of the Balfour Declaration and her Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel brings into question just how legitimate the country's government is and, if indeed, it is a "misbegotten" State. When viewed from the Bible, realizing the utter and total destruction the Lord will bring upon it, the present-day State of Israel will eventually be "misbegotten" by no one less than the Judge of the Universe, the Lord Jesus Christ Himself.

And could it be that the leadership of Israel is waiting for the U.S. to move to Jerusalem first? Since Israel's Knesset back in 1980 passed the "Basic Law" which formalized in Israeli law that Jerusalem is to be the capital of Israel, has the Zionist leadership been waiting for America to run her interference for her? It appears so.

But superseding the Knesset's vote is the very cold fact that Jerusalem is an international city by prior mutual agreement and cannot be decided unilaterally but rather negotiated and agreed upon by all the parties involved. For Israel to usurp more politics, power and property unilaterally will only result in more dissention and less peace. If her borders (they keep expanding) are not recognized by the international community, a unilateral move by the Knesset in violation of previous agreements will only tend to add fuel to an already explosive situation.

Considering historical behaviour and Biblical prophecy, America should not favor Israel but rather maintain a policy of neutrality; i.e., since the rest of the world recognizes Tel Aviv to be Israel's capital, so should we. Righteousness is making a distinction between the right and the wrong, and treating the two accordingly. Not to make this distinction is to become a party to those wrongs. Consequently, neutrality becomes the best policy for America. George Washington warned us years ago to "beware of foreign entanglements." This un-Biblical move to Jerusalem is an entanglement that will only bring grief and result in more problems for our Country - even the loss of more



American lives!

Should America be a party to such a move? "Can two walk together, except they be agreed?" (Amos 3:3). "No servant can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. He cannot serve God and man" (Luke 16:13). Since Christ is despised so strongly within Israel and among the Zionist community worldwide, it is pure hypocrisy to seek God's blessings upon America and at the same time keep afloat a nation so strongly against the Lord Jesus Christ. It is one or the other; it cannot be both. America now, more than ever, should be declaring, ". . . but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord" (Joshua 24:15).

Moving the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem will in no way serve the Lord Jesus Christ, be consistent with the Bible, contribute to peace, nor serve the best interest of America. I urge you to vote "NO" on S.2031.

And again, thank you for this opportunity to present these views and observations.

"Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it: except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain" (Psalm 127:1).



# Palestine Human Rights Campaign

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Coordinators  
Dr. Dewey M. Beegle  
Saba L. Shami

April 25, 1984

National Director  
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Mr. Michael Vandusen  
House Subcommittee on  
Europe & the Middle East  
B-359 Rayburn House Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20510

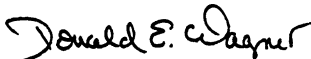
Dear Mr. Vandusen:

Enclosed please find a paper by Dr. Muhammad Hallaj, director of the Palestine Research and Educational Center, concerning H.R. 4877.

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign is pleased to forward this document to the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East for inclusion in the hearing record on H.R. 4877. We believe Dr. Hallaj's remarks most clearly represent the views of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign -- and provide an important perspective on the legislation which should be shared with all who have an interest in the issue.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

  
(Rev.) Donald E. Wagner  
National Director

Written Testimony on Proposed Bill H.R. 4877  
Submitted by Dr. Muhammad Hallaj

The proposed bill, H.R. 4877 deals with what appears to be a procedural matter, namely the relocation of the embassy of the United States and the residence of the ambassador in Israel. In reality it is a substantive issue which touches the essence of the Arab-Israeli conflict and introduces major shifts in long-standing U.S. Middle Eastern policy.

The adoption of the bill would signify the abandonment of U.S. policy on the sensitive issue of Jerusalem, to which every administration subscribed since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, and which was a part of the process of its establishment. It would amount to tampering with the U.N. partition resolution which sanctioned the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Contrary to the expressed wishes of its author, therefore, H.R. 4877 would compromise the primary instrument of the international endorsement of the founding of the state of Israel. At a time when U.S. policy is making a particular effort to broaden the affirmation of Israel's legitimacy, Israel's existence would become more explicitly anchored in its de facto control of territory.

More importantly, the passage of H.R. 4877 would compromise and intensify the difficulties which face the most concerted peace effort undertaken by the United States in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In my view, this is the overriding risk of the proposed legislation. Even if we leave aside for the

moment the very real possibility of intensifying the sensitivities and apprehensions, the feelings and emotions of the many and varied local, regional and international constituencies with real and perceived interests in the future of Jerusalem, the passage of the bill would surely compromise the peace initiatives made by the U.S. government in the past few years. It would confuse American policy as well as undermine and even delegitimize the main instruments on which it has been based. It would cast doubts on U.S. commitment to Security Council resolution 242 as well as the Camp David accords and the President's initiative of September 1982 which take it as their point of departure.

It should be clear that the proposed bill gives formal U.S. recognition to the Israeli annexation of Jerusalem and a substantial portion of the surrounding occupied West Bank. The bill does not, as its author said in its defense, recognize Israel's right to choose its own capital. It grants U.S. recognition to Israel's expansion of its territory to incorporate regions acquired by the use of force. Such an act would clearly constitute U.S. recognition of the contention that resolution 242, which is based on the principle of the inadmissibility of territorial acquisition by force, is inapplicable to the West Bank, a position repeatedly proclaimed by the Israeli government and consistently rejected by the United States and the rest of the world.

The United States government has made resolution 242 the cornerstone of its policy regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict, and consequently it has resisted all attempts to modify, amend, supplement, or repeal it. It has used it to oppose all peace

initiatives not derived from it, and has made it the foundation and point of departure for its own peace initiatives. It has become the rationale and the underlying principle for the Camp David accords, the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, and President Reagan's initiative of September 1982.

The passage of H.R. 4877 would not only violate resolution 242 which makes no distinction between East Jerusalem and the rest of the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, but would also violate an explicit and written U.S. commitment to the proposition that East Jerusalem is occupied territory, a position which not only has been consistently maintained by all U.S. administrations since 1967, but was also incorporated in the Camp David accords in the form of a letter from the President of the United States to the President of Egypt and the Prime Minister of Israel. The exchange of correspondence, which includes this particular letter, forms an integral part of the accords.

It is a part of the Egyptian premise, on the basis of which Egypt signed with Israel a peace treaty witnessed by the President of the United States, that the U.S. considers East Jerusalem part of the occupied territories whose future cannot be resolved unilaterally. The passage of the proposed bill, therefore, would be ground for reopening the debate on the validity of the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Needless to say, this would be a most threatening development in the peace process, and most destructive of the efficacy of U.S. policy in the Middle East.

Finally, the endorsement of Israel's annexation of East

Jerusalem which the passage of H.R. 4877 would signify is bound to complicate American relations with a very large number of states throughout the world. The Palestinians and the Arab states, the Islamic states, as well as many other countries in Asia, Africa, Western Europe and Latin America, who have an interest and who have always demonstrated concern for the status and future of Jerusalem are not likely to view with equanimity such a departure from a universal and enduring consensus on an issue which affects the chances of war and peace in the Middle East.



# FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION

245 Second St. NE  
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March 27, 1984

Tom Bruce  
International Operations Subcommittee  
B358 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Tom Bruce:

Enclosed is FCNL's written statement on the proposed move of the U.S. embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. Please insert it in the record for hearings on H.R. 4877. Let me know if you need anything else (more copies, etc.) Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Carol Virginia Fern

enc

Robert P. Fetter	Clerk, General Committee	Lilian Watford	Clerk, Executive Committee	E. Raymond Wilson	Executive Secretary Emeritus
Edward F. Snyder	Executive Secretary	Frances E. Neely	Legislative Secretary	Ruth Flower	Legislative Secretary
Wilton E. Hartzler	Associate Secretary for Administration	Selig Goodman	Development Secretary		



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#### MOVING THE U.S. EMBASSY IN ISRAEL FROM TEL AVIV TO JERUSALEM

Both the House and the Senate are considering resolutions requiring "the United States Embassy in Israel and the residence of the American Ambassador to Israel....[to] be located in the city of Jerusalem." Senator Moynihan D-NY, the main sponsor of the Senate bill S2031, asserts that keeping the embassy in Tel Aviv "denies reality. Jerusalem is and will remain the capital of Israel." Representative Lantos D-CA, who put forth the House version, HR4877, argues that "the time has come to acknowledge that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel."

Supporters of the bill believe that moving the embassy is necessary to reiterate symbolically the United States' support for Israel. Lantos says we must reassure "our friends in the region....of the steadfastness of our support." Moynihan believes "our refusal to locate our embassy in Jerusalem....is seen as a statement by the United States that our attachment to the permanence of the state of Israel is tentative and subject to change."

These points of view are presumably shared by all 36 Senate cosponsors and 207 House cosponsors of these resolutions. The bills' supporters seem to believe that the move would merely recognize the "realities" of the situation in Jerusalem, and that the current policy is inconsistent or unreasonable.

"Recognition" by the U.S. of Israeli control of the city must be approached with caution and with sensitivity to the interests and rights of all concerned parties. The Middle East is characterized by complex interactions which must not be oversimplified if the U.S. is to play a constructive role in the region.

Very real tensions would be created by moving the United States Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. There are four main problems with the proposed move: 1) it is inconsistent with a U.S. policy which has been maintained throughout five administrations, 2) it would not contribute to the security of Israel or any other country in the region, 3) it would aggravate already tense relations between the United States and Moslem countries, including our Arab allies in the Middle East, and 4) it ignores the unique status of Jerusalem as a religious as well as political symbol in the Middle East.



#### Jerusalem -- an International City

In 1948 the United Nations worked out a partition plan for what was then the state of Palestine: two states, Israel and Palestine, were delineated to accommodate the desire of the Jewish people to return to their Biblical homeland, and to give the Palestinian Arabs autonomy from the British League of Nations mandate. Jerusalem was to be an international city administered by the United Nations. The Arab states resisted the partition, and in the ensuing war, Israel took control of West Jerusalem, and Jordan took control of East Jerusalem. Then, during the 1967 war, Israel annexed East Jerusalem.

The United States' position on Jerusalem since 1967 has been that the status of the city must be determined by negotiations among the interested parties. (In the Camp David Accords, these parties are identified as representatives of the Palestinians, and the governments of Jordan and Israel.) In 1967, US Ambassador Goldberg stated before the General Assembly of the United Nations that "the United States has never recognized.... unilateral actions by any of the states in the area as governing the international status of Jerusalem." In 1978, President Carter reaffirmed that commitment in a letter appended to the Camp David Accords. Since then, the Reagan administration has continued to maintain the position "that the final status of Jerusalem must be resolved among the parties concerned, in the context of a comprehensive, just and lasting Middle East peace." (2/13/84 Letter from Secretary of State Shultz to Senator Percy)

#### Symbolic Gesture Unnecessary

The United States has already amply demonstrated its support for Israel: 1) \$1.1 billion in economic support and \$1.4 billion in military aid have been allotted to Israel for FY85; 2) this year's aid to debt-burdened Israel is in the form of grants, rather than loans; 3) the sale of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Jordan and Saudi Arabia has been cancelled on the basis of the idea that such a sale would endanger Israel; 4) when Prime Minister Shamir visited Washington in early December, Reagan made for the first time an explicit "strategic cooperation" agreement with Israel. By comparison, the visits of King Hussein of Jordan and President Mubarak of Egypt this spring were fruitless.

Given these actions, it seems unlikely that reasonable Israelis find U.S. support "tentative." Moving the U.S. embassy would undoubtedly be gratifying to the Israelis as a gesture that the US tacitly concurred with Israel's control of Jerusalem. The maintenance of the status quo, on the other hand, might be inconvenient or annoying, but can not seriously be construed as a lack of support for Israel.

#### Comprehensive Peace Endangered

In a letter to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations March 5, 1984, Secretary of State Shultz noted that "the issue is not whether we support Israel....no fair-minded individual can doubt our commitment to its security." He also pointed out that "a

move of the Embassy would be taken as an effort to prejudice one of the key issues which must be freely negotiated between the parties and [would] perhaps fatally damage our credibility as a peacemaker."

The security of Israel ultimately and ideally depends upon the achievement of a comprehensive Middle East Peace. Moving the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem would hardly enhance the United States' ability to promote such a peace. As Under Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger stated before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 23, 1984, "the status of Jerusalem is an integral part of the Arab-Israeli conflict." In fact, Jerusalem may be the most sensitive of the issues to be negotiated in any Arab-Israeli peace.

Even moderate Arabs, like President Sadat of Egypt, find Jerusalem the most difficult of issues: in the Camp David accords, the parties had to deal with Jerusalem by appending separate letters stating their respective positions, because they could not reach agreement. Any move by the United States to "prejudge" the issue could antagonize the Arab nations, destabilizing the region and undermining Israel's real security.

#### Religious Significance of Jerusalem

To the Arab nations (such as Jordan and Egypt who certainly qualify as U.S. "friends in the region"), Jerusalem is of great importance, as it is to Israel, for religious as well as political reasons. Jerusalem contains sites sacred to Moslems and Christians as well as Jews. Moslems believe that in Jerusalem, the third most holy city in Islam, Muhammad was taken up by God for a vision of paradise.

Americans should not underestimate the intensity of feeling which Moslems have for Jerusalem. Already, according to the New York Times, American embassies in some Moslem countries find that the discussion in Congress about moving the embassy is arousing concerns in their capitals, and fear extremist actions if the bill passes. The unrest gives an indication of the significance which Jerusalem holds for the people of the Middle East--Christian, Jew, and Moslem alike. The United States should respect the rights and beliefs of all parties by maintaining a neutral posture vis-a-vis the status of the holy city.

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FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION

245 Second Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002

G-410 - 3/26/84

Ann M. Lesch  
29 Claremont Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10027

March 19 1984

Senator Patrick Moynihan  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Moynihan:

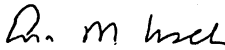
I am an American who has lived and voted in New York since 1946. In the mid-seventies I resided in Jerusalem and I am currently working in Egypt. Having experienced in depth the situation in Israel and the Arab world, and being concerned to preserve American interests in the region, I must express my deep concern and dismay at your proposal to move the American Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Given the close relationship between the U.S. and Israel, such a step is quite unnecessary as a further affirmation of our ties. However, it would be a sharp irritant in our relations with moderate Arab countries, notably Egypt. There is much goodwill toward the U.S. in Egypt, but this could be sharply undermined by such an action, which would insult the Christian and Muslim worlds. Indeed, it could provoke violent demonstrations against the American presence here.

I am not the only American resident in Egypt who is alarmed by recent US policy in the Middle East. The attached statement was signed by more than sixty Americans working here as professors, lawyers, or voluntary agency personnel. It has been sent to President Reagan, with copies to key members of Congress.

I hope that you will take this expression of concern seriously and will reevaluate your proposal before it is too late.

Sincerely yours,

  
Ann M. Lesch

AML:bb  
Attach.

Ann M. Lesch  
29 Claremont Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10027

March 19, 1984

Mr. Alphonse d'Amato  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator d'Amato:

As a voter in New York who is temporarily resident in Cairo, Egypt, I am deeply concerned by the damage that would be done to US interests in the Middle East by the proposal by your colleague Senator Moynihan to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Therefore, I have sent the attached letter to him along with a copy of the petition sent to President Reagan by a group of Americans working in Egypt.

I hope that you will not support Senator Moynihan's proposal and will work to promote a peace in the Middle East that will benefit all the peoples of the region.

Sincerely yours,

  
Ann M. Lesch

AML:bb  
Attach.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

As Americans living and working in Egypt, we are deeply dismayed by the Middle East policies being implemented by the US government.

The US has become embroiled in the internal affairs of Lebanon, supporting one faction and using military force to resolve what is fundamentally an internal political conflict. We call upon you to withdraw the US forces and actively support the establishment of an international peacekeeping force in Lebanon, drawn from nations perceived as neutral by the parties in Lebanon. Instead of military involvement, the US should support diplomatic initiatives to promote national reconciliation, democratic reform, and an equitable sharing of power in Lebanon. Only by such a policy can we contribute to the reconstruction of Lebanon.

Equally important for the sake of regional peace and stability is the need to resolve the critical issue of Palestinian rights. This problem has become even more acute as a result of neglect fostered by our involvement in Lebanon. We call upon you to denounce the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and the resulting trend toward annexation. We call upon you to oppose Israel's banning of Palestinian political activities and closing of Palestinian universities on the West Bank. And we call upon you to enter into a dialogue with the PLO as the internationally recognized spokesman of the Palestinian people.

Recent US policy toward Israel has been in direct contradiction to the American peace initiative of 1982. Although the Israeli government continues to engage in actions which your administration has denounced, the United States has increased military assistance and concluded a strategic alliance with Israel. These actions encourage Israeli intransigence and undermine the cause of peace.

As Americans we are alarmed by US interventions which contribute to the accelerating violence and tragic loss of life in the region. It is time to abandon gunboat diplomacy and assert America's role as a defender of human rights, social justice and peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Signed by 60 Americans (41 academics and  
19 from voluntary agencies or independent professions)  
Delivered to Ambassador Velonis on 12 March 1984

JUN 11 1984

June 7, 1984

Rep. Lee Hamilton  
2187 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Hamilton:

As representatives of religious organizations who are deeply committed to the existence of the State of Israel within peaceful, secure and internationally recognized borders, we are deeply concerned about the Congressional initiative to relocate the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. We feel that this proposal would not have the intended salutary effect. In our view, the move would exacerbate, rather than defuse, the escalating tensions in the region to which we all seek an end.

Sponsors of the congressional initiative have argued that the location of the embassy in Tel Aviv represents a weakness or a tentativeness in U.S. support for Israel. In fact, this administration has been unequivocal in its moral and economic support for a secure and prosperous Israel. The level of military and economic support which the Administration has requested and Congress has granted has been a dominant component of the U.S. foreign aid program for years. Annual assistance to Israel has grown steadily, and the terms of the support have become increasingly generous.

Continuing to maintain the Tel Aviv embassy location would demonstrate the United States' dedication to the democratic tradition of negotiation. Since the Israelis share this tradition, we believe that they can understand and respect the United States' adherence to a policy of negotiation regarding the status of Jerusalem. Throughout five administrations, including the 17 years since Israel declared Jerusalem its capitol, the United States has worked to maintain a "good faith" negotiating position in the region. Precipitously moving our embassy would endanger that position. As Secretary of State Shultz has noted, the proposed move would be perceived by many countries as an attempt to "pre-judge" the issue of Jerusalem's final status, which was set aside by the Camp David process for negotiation in the framework of a final settlement.

In addition to disrupting the negotiating process, we fear that moving the embassy could incite enormous hostility towards Israel among the Moslem countries in the region. Given the increasing militarization and high level of tension in the Middle East, violence could easily jeopardize not only Israel's security, but also the sanctity of shrines cherished by Jews, Christians, and Moslems around the world.

We hope Congress will abandon this course of unilateral action in favor of the sometimes tedious but indispensable process of negotiation.

Thank you for your consideration of our views. Inquiries or responses may be sent to the group in care of Nancy Alexander, Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE, Washington, DC 20002; (202) 547-6000.

Sincerely,

(signatures follow on page 2)

*James H. Matlack*

James H. Matlack  
American Friends Service Committee

*Leland Wilson*

Leland Wilson  
Church of the Brethren

*Nancy L. Alexander*

Nancy L. Alexander  
Friends Committee on National Legislation

*Edward R. Killackey*

Edward Killackey  
Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers

*Delton Franz*

Delton Franz, Director  
Washington Office  
Mennonite Central Committee

*Marjorie Tuite*

Marjorie Tuite, O.P.  
National Assembly of Religious Women

*James A. Hamilton*

James A. Hamilton, Director  
Washington Office  
National Council of Churches of Christ  
in the U.S.A.

*Paul A. Hopkins*

Paul A. Hopkins  
Liaison with the Middle East  
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

*Mary Jane Patterson*

Mary Jane Patterson, Director  
Washington Office  
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

*Robert Z. Alpern*

Robert Z. Alpern, Director  
Washington Office  
Unitarian Universalist Association

# נטורי קרתא

## NETUREI KARTA of U.S.A.

(212) 384-4661

Mailing address.

G.P.O.B. 2143

Brooklyn N.Y. 11202

Mr. Lee H. Hamilton  
Chairman, Subcommittee on Europe  
and the Middle East  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

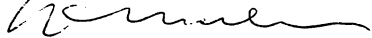
We would greatly appreciate if you can kindly permit us to testify at any hearings scheduled in the future concerning the Congressional Bill to transfer the American Embassy to Jerusalem.

As orthodox Jews and citizens of the U.S.A., who have special interest in any developments in the Holy Land, we sincerely believe and hope that our legitimate concerns be heard.

We would also be very grateful if you could please enter in the Congressional Record the enclosed testimony from Rabbi Uri Blau of Jerusalem, which was also submitted to the United Nations Security Council.

Please accept the assurances of our highest esteem.

Respectfully yours,



Rabbi Yosef Becher  
for Neturei Karta of U.S.A.



# נטורי קרתא

## NETUREI KARTA of U.S.A.

(212) 384-4661

Mailing address. 11202

G.P.O.B. 2143

Brooklyn N.Y. 11202

His Excellency,  
The President  
Security Council  
United Nations, N.Y.

The recent declaration by the Zionist regime regarding the status of Jerusalem is a grave step away from peace and towards further violence and gives us cause to reiterate our position and our request for the guarantee and existence of the Orthodox Jewish community in the Holy Land.

On behalf of hundreds of thousands of Orthodox Jews in the entire world and on behalf of tens of thousands of Orthodox Jewish inhabitants of the Holy Land and in particular those of the Holy city of Jerusalem, we submit the following appeal regarding the status of Jerusalem for your Excellency's consideration. These proposals have been formulated by our rabbis in the past and have been brought to the attention of the United Nations Organization continuously since 1947. All the outstanding Torah scholars of our time are in agreement with these request as presented to the United Nations by Rabbi Joseph Zvi Dushinsky, Chief Rabbi of the Holy Land, Rabbi Amrom Blau and Rabbi Aron Katzenellenbogen. (United Nations General Assembly A/AC. 14/44, 25th of November 1947 and United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine Committee on Jerusalem - Com. Jer. W. 30, 2nd August 1949).

In general, Orthodox Jewry was opposed to the formation of a Jewish state in Palestine and especially a state placed under the Jurisdiction of Zionists. Evidence to this effect was presented to the United Nations Special Commission during its sessions on July 16, 1947 by Chief Rabbi Joseph Zvi Dushinsky and Rabbi Zelig Reuven Bengis. When the United Nations voted for partition, Orthodox Jewry under the leadership of Rabbi Dushinsky requested that at the very least, Jerusalem not be included in the Zionist state.

Rabbis Dushinsky, Blau and Katzenellenbogen advocated, as recorded in the above documents that:

A) The city which is sacred to all the nations should remain unique and be above all national interests of all people by immediately proclaiming Jerusalem an international city and its citizens under the protection of the United Nations.

B) All parties accept the position that the Holy City be considered neutral. A greater Jerusalem, given the status of an international zone by international agreement, is the surest guarantee for its neutrality. All efforts should be directed to assure that in this Holy City there should be implemented the unity of international brotherhood towards all Mankind, and to prevent the underlying causes for disharmony and animosity, and to assure the rule of pure G-dliness and religious worship to all who dwell in this city.

C) Most definitely not to include any part of Jerusalem in the Zionist State or any state and not to divide the Holy City into separate entities. Any form of division and splitting up of Jerusalem will have the effect of underscoring the differences between races and religions, which contradicts the principles of harmony, tolerance and brotherhood of the inhabitants and imperils the peace of the city. Jerusalem must unify all of its residents. By guaranteeing these points there is every reason to believe that the Holy City shall be the seat of peace, security and international brotherhood.

Rabbi Yoel Teitelbaum, the Satmar Rabbi and respected leader of world Orthodox Jewry, Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem (1952-1979), eloquently expressed the Torah's opposition to the very establishment of any Jewish state in the Holy Land, and noted that the Zionist occupation of parts of Jerusalem was in opposition to express United Nations resolutions and therefore in direct contradiction to a Talmudic injunction. (T.T. Kesubos 111a - Vayoei Moshe volume 1, chapter 86).

The Zionist state has usurped without any justification, the holy name of Israel. Torah true Jews wish to live in peace and harmony with their neighbors and with the community of nations and deplore the policies carried out by those who misuse the name of Israel. The Zionists cannot speak for, and do not represent the Jewish people.

We further declare that the Jewish people do not want to impinge upon the rest of the inhabitants of the Holy Land and they certainly do not want to contest the rights of the other inhabitants to the places held by them.

(continued)

Therefore, in order to avoid further bloodshed and in the interest of peace, we, as citizens of Jerusalem, beg your Excellency to:

A) Appoint a responsible person or persons from among the members of the United Nations whose duty it will be to protect the rights and interests of Orthodox Jews, Arabs, and all other inhabitants of our Holy City; and to

B) Declare immediate United Nations sovereignty over Jerusalem-- holy to all mankind--which would be clearly superior to Zionist domination of all the people--Jewish and Arab--in the Holy City.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of our highest esteem.

*Rabbi Uri Blau*  
Rabbi Uri Blau  
for Neturei Karta of Jerusalem

# PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.)

General Assembly Mission Board • 341 Ponce de Leon Ave., NE • Atlanta, Georgia 30365  
(404) 873-1531

28.ix.84

The Honorable Lee Hamilton, Chairperson  
U.S. House Subcommittee on Europe & the Middle East  
Rayburn 2187  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

Greetings. As your subcommittee prepares to consider the question of the transfer of the Israeli capital to Jerusalem, next Tuesday, October 2, it is my responsibility to transmit for consideration by the Subcommittee the public policy position taken by the 1984 General Assembly, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) on this matter. Our General Assembly is the highest governing body of a denomination of approximately three and one-half million members.

The resolution on Jerusalem is part of a larger public policy statement on the crisis in the Middle East and reads as follows:

"12. Calls upon the United States Government:

.....

- d. To continue nonrecognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, pending international negotiations to determine Jerusalem's future; to refrain from any action that would recognize Israel's unilateral incorporation of Jerusalem under its jurisdiction, including the transfer of the United States embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, either by legislative or administrative action;"

The complete text of the public policy statement on the Middle East crisis of the 196th (1984) General Assembly, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), is attached (cf. pp. 58-62, CHURCH & SOCIETY, July-August 1984).

With my best wishes to you and your subcommittee, I remain at your service. Peace.

  
Gaspar B. Langella, Associate  
Office of Corporate Witness in Public Affairs

cc: James E. Andrews  
Vernon Broyles

encl: one

access to courts of law and other competent administrative authorities.

8. That asylum seekers shall be entitled to contact the office of UNHCR, UNHCR shall be given access to asylum seekers. UNHCR shall also be given the possibility of exercising its function of international protection and shall be allowed to supervise the well-being of persons entering reception or other refugee centers; and

Whereas, the 195th General Assembly (1983) called for:

- governing bodies and institutions of the church to "support programs for and with refugees" from Central America;
- continuing prayer "for the victims of the present tragedy in Central America"; and
- the program agencies of the church to provide educational materials for the governing bodies, "especially seeking to share the interpretation given by our Christian partners in Central America with special attention to the concept and practice of sanctuary"; and

Whereas, the practices of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service are not now in observance of the above recommendations;

Therefore, the 196th General Assembly (1984) calls upon the Attorney General of the United States to take such measures as necessary to ensure the safety of asylum seekers, the proper determination of refugee status, and the provision of services to temporary asylum seekers in accordance with the above principles for protection of refugees and asylum seekers.

## The Middle East

### Statement of Concern

The conflict in the Middle East has been of constant concern to the church. Recent events, in the aftermath of Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon and the further disintegration of the political situation in Lebanon, include the introduction of U.S. Marines along with other peacekeeping forces and the subsequent devastating attack on their headquarters, resulting in a high death toll, the internal struggle in the ranks of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the exodus of Yasser Arafat from Lebanon, the American bombing of Syrian positions, the retirement of Prime Minister Begin, and the recent further commitments of the United States to the Israeli government. These developments suggest the destabilization of clarifying the two streams of policy that the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has, assuring the cohesiveness of the church's position.

### Resolution

Whereas, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) is motivated by a desire for world peace in which security is based on trust, legitimate interests of nations and states are met, and justice, freedom, and compassionate order prevail; by a desire for the peaceful resolution of the multiple conflicts in the Middle East; by a specific desire for the achievement of a just peace between Israel and the Palestinians and a just, stable order in Lebanon; and by a desire to see an end to the individual suffering brought about by political, social, and religious conflict; and

Whereas, the General Assemblies of the former Presbyterian Church, U.S., and the United Presbyterian Church have addressed Middle East, and related issues on various occasions (1974, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982), in all cases seeking peace; and

Whereas, the 155th General Assembly (1983) of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) urged "the United States government to continue its efforts to bring about peace among the countries of the Middle East that will provide for Palestinian self-determination in their homeland and encourage the establishment of a strong and peaceful Lebanon . . ." (Minutes, 1983, Part I, pp. 98, 796); and

Whereas, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) is the inheritor of a historic, theological, and confessional commitment to reconciliation, to peacemaking, and to justice among peoples; and

Whereas, the Presbyterian Church has sought these objectives in the past in ecumenical consultation with the National Council of Churches, specifically in its Statement on the Middle East (1980), the World Council of Churches, and the Middle East Council of Churches; and

Whereas, the Presbyterian Church has asserted that resolution of the major conflicts in the Middle East is dependent on a mutuality of interests; mutual recognition of the rights of people to exist in peace, mutual renunciation of the use of violence in the accomplishment of objectives, and mutual commitment to live and work together for the social and economic betterment of all people;

Therefore, the 196th General Assembly (1984):

1. Affirms anew its commitment to work for peace, justice, and reconciliation among all parties in the Middle East and to work for an honorable, creative United States policy in relation to the Middle East peoples.

2. Reaffirms the basic principles as enunciated in 1974 as the foundation for a just peace in the Middle East:

The right and power of Palestinian people to self-determination by political expression, based upon full civil liberties for all, should be recognized by the parties in the Middle East and by the international community . . . The Pres-

inian people should be full participants in negotiations . . . through representatives of their own people.

The right and power of Jewish people to self-determination by political expression in Israel, based upon full civil liberties for all, should be recognized by the parties in the Middle East and by the international community. (*Minutes, UPCUSA, 1974, Part 1, p. 584.*)

3. Reaffirms its support for the United Nations as the prime instrument for bringing about peace in the Middle East and urges that consecutive unilateral or bilateral initiatives on the part of the involved parties be undertaken in the context of United Nations responsibility.

4. Reaffirms the basic principles of international law and order as necessary for the establishment of international law and order:

- a. The inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force;
- b. The right of self-determination of people in the context of inclusive negotiations and mutual respect;
- c. The right of return of peoples who have been displaced by conflict, or the necessity of compensation should return prove infeasible;
- d. The commitment to noninterference in the internal affairs of other states; and
- e. The recognition that no nation, group, or organization is above the law or free from the criticism and correction of the world community for its behavior.

5. Reaffirms its opposition to racism, bigotry, prejudice in all of its forms, whether in the denigration of people for their religious beliefs and traditions, as in anti-Semitism, or in the deprivation of the rights of people based on their ethnic origin, as with the Palestinians.

6. Regrets that, in relation to the Middle East questions, the charge of "anti-Semitism" has been used as a political weapon designed to stifle any legitimate criticism of Israel or its policies.

7. Calls for the acceptance by Palestinian people and by other Arab countries of the right of Israel to exist within the borders established by United Nations General Assembly resolutions, rejecting any larger territorial claims of Israel and reminding all parties that secure borders really depend on the willingness of peoples to live together in peace and cannot be achieved militarily in light of modern technology.

8. Calls upon the Palestinian people to reject violence as the instrument for attention or for change and to build their claims for justice on the rightness of their cause, not the terror that causes rejection.

9. Calls upon Israel:

- a. To discontinue its settlement policy in the West Bank and to provide for true self-determination, including the option of an independent state, for the Palestinians who live there and in Gaza;
- b. To cease in its harassment of the students and faculty of Birzeit University and other educational institutions;

c. To cease restrictions on Palestinian leaders in the West Bank who do not conform to Israeli policies;

d. To cease the economic restrictions that result in an underclass of Palestinians or that encourage emigration; and

e. To cease efforts to destroy the Palestinian cultural heritage.

10. Regrets the struggle within the Palestinian community that has caused further bloodshed and suffering, realizing that the longer justice is denied, the greater will be the division over leadership and methods for achieving desired ends.

11. Recognizes that the aspirations of the Palestinian people will remain and will be expressed, somehow, regardless of what happens to the PLO or to its present leaders, and that hostility will exist beyond every border until a just solution is achieved, no matter how far Palestinians are pushed from their homeland.

12. Calls upon the United States government:

a. To establish contact with representatives of the Palestinian people through the PLO, as the body recognized in this capacity by the world community, and through the United Nations;

b. To seek, along with the right of Israel to exist, the realization of the full rights of self-determination, including statehood, for the Palestinian people;

c. To continue opposing the Israeli settlements in the West Bank; pending nonrecognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, to refrain from any action that would recognize Israel's unilateral incorporation of all of Jerusalem under its jurisdiction, including the transfer of the United States embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, either by legislative or administrative action;

e. To forgo a policy that gives unqualified commitment to Israel, regardless of its agreements with the United States or its violation of international law or its oppression of other peoples;

f. To terminate its policy of military collaboration with Israel in Lebanon and in all places where that may be occurring; and

g. To recognize that a mediator cannot determine in advance the outcome of negotiations by exclusion of appropriate parties or by foreclosing potential solutions.

13. Calls for a cease-fire in Lebanon and the withdrawal of all foreign troops except those that should be arranged under United Nations auspices; and calls for an end to provocative or retributive hostilities, knowing that endless suffering is encompassed in such a cycle.

14. Calls for international efforts at the United Nations to bring about negotiations to end all major conflicts in Lebanon, between the Palestinians and the Israelis, and between Iraq and Iran.

15. Calls for an end by all parties to the arms trade that helps increase the levels of violence.
16. Calls upon the church through its agencies and governing bodies to:
  - a. Remain constant in prayer for peace, justice, and reconciliation for all who seek to bring about such results and for all who are suffering because of the conflicts that have divided peoples, destroyed lives, dimmed visions, and created despair;
  - b. Make the Middle East situation a special emphasis for study and advocacy for the two-year period of 1985 and 1986, calling on all governing bodies, particularly the presbyteries, to stress this emphasis, and urging presbyteries to assign responsibility either to an existing Peacemaking Task Force or to a special Middle East task force;
  - c. Strengthen all bilateral and ecumenical relations with church bodies working toward similar ends, especially with the National Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, and the Middle East Council of Churches;
  - d. Continue to provide financial and material support through its agencies for relief and reconstruction for Palestinian refugees and the victims of Lebanese conflicts;
  - e. Provide support, as possible, for legal defense and advocacy for Palestinians and others whose human rights are violated in occupied territories;
  - f. Seek constructive dialogue with American and Israeli Jewish leadership and with Muslim leaders, bilaterally and jointly, to learn, question, facilitate, and build toward reconciliation;
  - g. Provide interpretive material for constituency education on issues related to the Middle East; and
  - h. Encourage Presbyterians to support through their representatives in Congress public policy measures that support the goals of the General Assembly toward a just peace in the Middle East.
17. Calls upon the Stated Clerk to communicate this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, members of Congress, the Secretary General of the United Nations, and appropriate church and civil leaders in the Middle East.

(The Background Summary for this resolution appeared in Reports to Commissioners I, 23.185-23.201, and is available from the Advisory Council on Church and Society.)

## Concern for Rev. Benjamin Weir's Release

*The 196th General Assembly (1984) adopted the following resolution appealing for the release of the Rev. Benjamin M. Weir, Presbyterian missionary serving in Lebanon since 1953, who was abducted on May 8 in Beirut.*

The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) desires freedom for all those who are captive. However, we make special appeal to those who hold the Rev. Benjamin M. Weir precisely because he is a man who has dedicated his life to the service of God.

The man of religion has always been respected by the three monotheistic religions [Christianity, Islam, and Judaism]. The release of the Rev. Benjamin Weir will prove to all that this time-honored principle still holds true today as it did during the days of Mohammed.

## Opposition to Apartheid in South Africa

Whereas, 25 Presbyterian women, including the President of United Presbyterian Women, participated in "South Africa: Exchanges in Understanding" and traveled widely in South Africa, Namibia, and Swaziland, February 1-25, 1984; and

Whereas, the women have seen the separation of people in South Africa in living areas, education, employment, and the consequences of separation in alienation of the races from each other, poverty, fragmentation of family life, denial of human rights, denial of citizenship to many, denial of self-determination, and denial of political participation; and

Whereas, the "constructive engagement" policy of the United States toward South Africa in the past three years has been clearly ineffective, insufficient, and counterproductive because it is a policy that contributes to the maintenance of the apartheid system; and

Whereas, the spirit of God through the voices of Allan and Dorothy Bockak has revealed the continued pain and suffering of our Christian brothers and sisters in South Africa; and

Whereas, we have experienced in our hearts the reality of Paul's words that when one part of the body suffers we all suffer;

Therefore, the 196th General Assembly (1984):

1. Reaffirms the General Assembly's opposition to the system of apartheid.

## APPENDIX 12

### BIOGRAPHIES OF WITNESSES

#### MICHAEL H. ARMACOST

The President has nominated Michael Hayden Armacost, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister Counselor, as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. He would succeed Lawrence S. Eagleburger.

Mr. Armacost has served as Ambassador to the Philippines since 1982. From 1980-82 he was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. In 1978-1980 he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, and in 1977-78 he was senior staff member for East Asia at the National Security Council. In 1972-74 he was special assistant to the Ambassador to Japan in Tokyo. He was a member of the Policy Planning Staff at the Department of State in 1969-72 and in 1974-77.

Mr. Armacost was lecturer at Georgetown University (1971-72), and at Johns Hopkins University (1907-71). In 1968-69 he was visiting professor of international relations at the International Christian University in Tokyo, Japan. He was assistant professor of government (1965-68) and instructor of government (1962-65) at Pomona College in Claremont, California.

Included among his awards are the State Department's Superior Honor Award and Department of Defense Distinguished Civilian Service Award. His distinguished academic career includes publications and commentaries on national security and foreign affairs. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Armacost graduated from Carleton College (B.A., 1958) and Columbia University (M.A., 1961; Ph.D., 1956). He is married, has three children, and resides in Bethesda, Maryland. He was born April 15, 1937 in Cleveland, Ohio.

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#### RAYMOND J. BAKKE

##### PRESENT POSITION

Professor of Ministry at Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, Lombard, Illinois, teaching courses in Evangelism, Missiology and Urban Church Ministries.

##### STUDENT ACTIVITIES

Graduate of Moody Bible Institute in the Pastors' course in 1959.

Graduate of Seattle Pacific College with a BA in History in 1965.

Graduate of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School with an M. Div. in 1969.

Graduate of McCormick Theological Seminary with an S.T.M. in Urban Church Planning in 1970.

Graduate of McCormick Theological Seminary with an D. Min., specializing in Urban Studies in 1977.

##### TEACHING ACTIVITIES

Taught Bible at Trinity College, Deerfield, IL 1970-73.

Taught Church History at McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago, IL as teaching assistant and Adjunct Professor 1969-76.

Taught Urban Ministry periodically as Adjunct Professor at Bethel Theological Seminary, St. Paul, MN and McCormick Theological Seminary 1975.

Professor of Urban Ministry and History of Urban Ministry in the Seminary Consortium for Urban Pastoral Education, Chicago, IL 1976.

Founders Lecturer for Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, IL 1980.

Lectured at: Acadia Divinity College (Wolfville, Nova Scotia); Andover Newton Theological Seminary; Calvin Theological Seminary; Denver Theological Seminary, Gordon Conwell Theological Seminary; Lutheran School of Theology; Moody Bible Institute; American Baptist Seminary; North Park Theological Seminary; St. Paul Bible College; Seattle Pacific University.

Speaker in numerous college and seminary chapel programs in the USA and in other countries.



## CONSULTING ACTIVITIES

Member of denominational, local, regional and national boards for Baptist General Conference 1970-, with numerous specialized assignments.

Consultant to Latin American Mission in Mexico 1976-, developing skills and strategies for ministry in Mexican cities.

Consultant to Ladjarita Cluster of Hispanic Presbyterian Churches in New Mexico, in contemporary ministry and evangelism.

Consultant to numerous groups in Urban Ministry and groups with special emphasis on Hispanic studies.

Consultant to the Greater Chicago Evangelistic Association for a yearlong Chicago church study 1979-80.

Consultant to Ohio Baptist Convention for the Urban Ministry Revitalization 1981-.

## MINISTRY ACTIVITIES

Assistant Pastor, Elim Baptist Church of Seattle 1959-63, Licensed to preach April, 1960.

Assistant Pastor, Dunlap Baptist Church of Seattle 1963-65.

Assistant Pastor, Edgewater Baptist Church of Chicago 1965-68.

Pastor, Fairfield Avenue Baptist Church of Chicago 1969-79.

Ordained June 16, 1970 as a minister at the Baptist General Conference.

Member of North Shore Baptist Church, Chicago 1979-

Award: Chicago Christian Education Director of the Year, 1966, by the Chicago Sunday School Association for work with street gangs.

A founder and chairman of Innercity Athletic Mission 1965-70.

A founder and officer of Lake View Evangelical Fellowship 1970-79.

Founder and chairman of Humboldt Park Ministers Fellowship 1976-79.

A founder and chairman of Seminario Biblico Hispanoamericano 1972-76.

Chairman of Evangelical Spanish Ministries 1972-76.

A Founder and chairman of SCUPE, a consortium of ten theological seminaries, 1976-78, currently board member and serves on the Long Range Planning committee.

Volunteer service on numerous committees in local public schools, community organizations and for two years on state-wide committee on crime and delinquency for Illinois (1971-73), a sub-committee of Illinois Law Enforcement Commission.

A member of a public board created in 1978 for oversight of "Access to Excellence" and other racial desegregation issues in a northside Chicago public school district.

A member of The Future of Chicago Committee Sponsored by T.R.U.S.T., Inc. 1982-.

A member of the Evangelism Task Force of American Baptist Churches, USA 1981-.

Chairman of the committee planning the "Conference on Old First Churches" sponsored by American Baptist Churches, USA, Scheduled for Pittsburgh November, 1983.

International Coordinator for Large Cities for the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization in which voluntary capacity he:

Planned and coordinated the Consultation on Urban Evangelism at Pattaya, Thailand, June 1980.

Edited the Thailand Report #9 called *A Christian Witness to Large Cities* in 1981.

Traveled and held Urban Evangelism Seminars in eight countries of South America in the summer of 1981.

Traveled and held Urban Ministry Conferences and Seminars in two cities of Europe and nine cities of Asia in the summer of 1982.

Will make follow up trips to Latin America in 1982 and will hold Urban Conferences in Africa, Asia and possibly Europe in 1983 and 1984.

## WRITING ACTIVITIES

Numerous articles in *The Standard*, the official denominational magazine for the Baptist General Conference. Two chapters in a book, *Metropolitan Ministry*, David C. Cook, 1978. Articles in *Covenant Companion*, *Light and Life*, *ICUIS Abstracts*, a journal published by the Chicago-based Institute for Church in Urban and Industrial Society, and the story of a black Roman Catholic Church in Chicago for *Gospel in Context*. He was the Consulting Editor for the missiology volume *Unreached Peoples*

1982: *Focus on Urban Peoples* (D. C. Cook). He has written book reviews and is currently writing a book on the urban pastor.

#### FAMILY ACTIVITIES

Married to Corean Jantz August 27, 1960.

Corean is a music graduate of Moody Bible Institute, studied music at the University of Washington, and graduated with the bachelors and masters degrees in piano from the Chicago Musical College of Roosevelt University.

Corean, Assistant Professor of Music, has taught piano at Moody 15 years and in recent years courses in cross-cultural worship and music theory as well. She has given several lecture recitals in churches, colleges and seminaries. She has also served as a voluntary art teacher in the Chicago Public Schools.

They have three sons: Brian (Davis) Adopted—Birthdate 9/1/61; Woody 10/16/61; Brian 8/7/63.

Family activities include many sports, family bike hikes, sea and ski trips, numerous cultural activities.

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#### HON. MICHAEL D. BARNES

EIGHTH DISTRICT.—Montgomery County: Cities and towns of Bethesda, Brookeville, Chevy Chase, Derwood, Gaithersburg, Garrett Park, Germantown (part), Kensington, Olney, Potomac (part), Rockville, Silver Spring, Takoma Park, Washington Grove, and Wheaton. Population (1980), 528,036.

MICHAEL DARR BARNES, Democrat, of Kensington, Md.; born in Washington, D.C., September 3, 1943; B.A. degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1965; postgraduate study in international economics, Institute des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Geneva, Switzerland, 1965-66; served in U.S. Marine Corps, 1967-69; J.D. degree with honors, National Law Center, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 1972 (member of The George Washington Law Review); special assistant to Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Muskie-for-President Committee, 1970-72; attorney, Covington & Burling, Washington, D.C., 1972-75; executive director, National Democratic Platform Committee, Democratic National Convention, 1975-76; Commissioner, Public Service Commission of Maryland, 1975-78; vice chairman, Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Commission, 1976-78; elected an assistant majority whip, 97th and 98th Congresses; married to the former Claudia D. Fangboner, of Chevy Chase, Md., June 13, 1970; two daughters: Sarah Dillion and Garrett Hatton; elected to the 96th Congress, November 7, 1978; reelected to the 97th and 98th Congresses; member: House Foreign Affairs Committee and House District of Columbia Committee; chairman, Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee; chairman, Federal Government Service Task Force.

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#### DOUGLAS M. BLOOMFIELD

Douglas M. Bloomfield is Legislative Director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

He joined AIPAC after nine years as a senior legislative assistant to Congressman Benjamin S. Rosenthal of New York. Prior to that, he was a legislative assistant and speech writer for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. Mr. Bloomfield has played a leading role in the major legislative and other Congressional initiatives affecting Israel and Soviet Jewry.

Mr. Bloomfield holds BA and MAS degrees from Ohio State University, where he also did postgraduate study in legislative government. He was the recipient of fellowships from the Ford Foundation to legislative government, the Washington Journalism Center, and the American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship and the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation. Prior to coming to Washington, Mr. Bloomfield was on the editorial staff of the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer and taught college journalism courses. His articles have appeared in a variety of publications.

AIPAC is the only registered lobbying group which works on behalf of legislation and other Congressional action affecting Israel. It is also active in other public action in Washington to improve the friendship and cooperation between the United States and Israel.

## HON. GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR.

**THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.**—Wayne County: Cities of Grosse Pointe and Grosse Pointe Park; Detroit City, that part beginning at the Detroit River and Detroit-Grosse Pointe Park City limits, thence north and east along city limits to Bedford, north to Ford Freeway, northeast to Whittier, northwest to McKinney, northeast to Yorkshire, northwest to Nottingham, northeast to Grayton, northwest to Roxbury, southwest to Yorkshire, northwest to Rossiter, southwest to Whittier, northwest to Kelly, southwest to Houston Whittier, west to Gratiot, northeast to Gitre, northwest to McNichols, southwest to Portlance, southwest to Conner, northwest to McNichols, west to Van Dyke, south to Canadian National Railroad, west to Lynch, west to Mount Elliott, south to Miller, west to Hamtramck and Detroit City limits, beginning going south along city limits—follow the city limits to southern Highland Park City limits and Detroit City limits, thence west and north along city limits to West Davison, west to Linwood, north to Pasadena, west to Lawton, north to Oakman Boulevard, west to Dexter, south to Pasadena, east to Wildemere, south to West Davison, west to Dexter, south to Courtland, west to Livernois, south to Canadian National Railroad, southwest to I-75, west to the Rouge River, north to city limits, beginning going southwest along the city limits—follow the Detroit City limits to the Detroit River, east along the Detroit River to Detroit and Grosse Pointe Park City limits to the point of beginning. Population (1980), 514,560.

GEORGE WILLIAM CROCKETT, JR., Democrat, of Detroit, Mich.; born in Jacksonville, Fla., August 10, 1909; attended public schools, Jacksonville; graduated, Stanton High School, 1927; A.B., Morehouse College, Atlanta, GA., 1931; J.D., University of Michigan Law School, 1934; honorary LL.D., Morehouse College, 1972; honorary LL.D., Shaw College, Detroit, 1973; lawyer; admitted to the Florida Bar in 1934 and commenced practice in Jacksonville; admitted to the following bars: West Virginia, 1935, with office in Fairmont; Michigan, 1944; U.S. Supreme Court, 1940; senior attorney, U.S. Department of Labor, 1939-43; hearings officer, Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission, Washington, D.C., 1943; founder and director, International United Auto Workers fair employment practices department; administrative assistant to UAW International secretary-treasurer; associate general counsel, International UAW, 1944-46; private law practice and senior member in interracial law firm, Goodman, Crockett, Eden & Robb, Detroit, 1946-66; elected judge, Recorder's Court, Detroit, 1966; reelected, 1972; elected, presiding judge, Recorder's Court, Detroit, 1974; visiting judge, Michigan Court of Appeals, 1979; acting corporate counsel, city of Detroit, 1980; founder and first chairman, Judicial Council, National Bar Association; member: National Lawyers Guild; National Bar Association; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity; elected to Phi Beta Kappa, 1981; Hartford Memorial Baptist Church, Detroit; trustee, Morehouse College; married to the former Harriette Clark, M.D., in 1980; three children by former marriage: Elizabeth Ann Hicks, George W. III, and Ethelene C. Jones; elected November 4, 1980 and sworn in November 12, 1980 to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Charles C. Diggs, Jr., and at the same time elected to the 97th Congress; reelected to the 98th Congress.

## THOMAS A. DINE

Thomas A. Dine is a specialist on American foreign and defense policy and has been Executive Director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee since October 1980.

The Washingtonian magazine in February 1982 cited him as one of the 100 most influential people in Washington. In March 1983, he was appointed by the Administration, along with 14 other distinguished citizens, to be a public member of the Commission on Foreign Security and Economic Assistance. And in its September 1983 issue, Esquire magazine featured him in an article on "the most powerful and persistent of the Washington establishment."

Mr. Dine's previous 10-year Senate experience includes: deputy foreign policy advisor to Senator Edward M. Kennedy; SALT advisor to Senator Edmund Muskie; director of the national security staff of the Senate Budget Committee; and, legislative assistant for foreign affairs to Senator Frank Church.

His articles regularly appear in various public affairs journals, the New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, and other newspapers. As a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, Mr. Dine co-authored the 1979 chapter on the defense budget in Setting National Priorities. In 1974-75, he held fellowships at Harvard University's Kennedy Institute of Politics, the Center for International Affairs, and the Program for Science and International Affairs.

Before coming to Capitol Hill, Mr. Dine served as personal assistant to Ambassador Chester Bowles at the American Embassy in New Delhi, India. He was U.S. Peace Corps congressional liaison and before that a Peace Corps Volunteer in the Philippines from 1962-64.

Born in Cincinnati in 1940, Mr. Dine has a B.A. from Colgate University and an M.A. in South Asian history from U.C.L.A.

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REV. JERRY FALWELL

The difference between mediocrity and greatness is vision.

These words tell the story of a 50-year-old Baptist preacher in the central Virginia city of Lynchburg where an equivalent of 25 percent of the population (21,000) hold membership in the Thomas Road Baptist Church which he pastors.

Dr. Jerry Falwell is a man with drive, determination, and dedication. In 28 years his leadership has directed the growth of an international television and radio ministry, a multifaceted Christian educational facility, and a worldwide missionary effort.

Dr. Falwell founded the independent Baptist church with 35 members in 1956 in an old bottling company building located on Thomas Road. Today the 21,000-member Thomas Road Baptist Church is the nation's second largest church. These statistics were compiled by Christian Life magazine.

Dr. Falwell annually logs some 250,000 miles traveling throughout the nation. The hard-driving pastor is a man of quick wit, a man with a great love of people, a sports enthusiast, a deeply spiritual man, and a strong family man.

As a boy, the native-born Virginian had aspirations of becoming a mechanical engineer. At 18, in his sophomore year at college, he was "converted" to Christianity and ironically a radio preacher, Dr. Charles E. Fuller, was instrumental in this decision.

Upon leaving a Virginia liberal arts college after his conversion, Falwell decided to enter the Baptist Bible College of Springfield, Missouri, to embark on a crusade destined to create one of the largest Christian congregations in the world, complete with its attendant fonts of learning.

With a love for his hometown, he committed to building a Christian ministry organization near the beautiful Blue Ridge Mountains. Taking over an abandoned building that had housed the Donald Duck Bottling Company, the 22-year-old neophyte minister, in his hometown, put his congregation of 35 adults to work scrubbing away the soft drink syrup stains left by the defunct soft drink firm and readying the structure for its first religious service.

Falwell did not allow diversity to deter him from reaching his objectives on, and sometimes ahead of, schedule. From a cinder block building on an urban hilltop, he has seen his dream expand to include a multimillion dollar educational facility on a mountaintop.

Today Jerry Falwell is the dynamic speaker and preacher on the Old-Time Gospel Hour carried on 392 television stations and a nationwide network of radio stations.

Millions of people hear his voice and see his face on a television-radio network which is among the largest in the world today. No program, sacred or secular, is carried on more North American radio and television outlets than the Old-Time Gospel Hour.

In 1970 the total church budget was only \$1 million. The budget during the present calendar year will approach \$100 million for the total ministry. The total ministry now employs some 2,100 people.

Currently more than \$300,000 is spent for weekly air time for his broadcasts. In addition to the broadcasts, Dr. Falwell publishes a nationally circulated magazine, *Fundamentalist Journal*.

Falwell is not the least bit shy about expressing his opinions and commenting publicly on issues. Seeking to buttress what he perceives as an eroding of the nation's moral fiber, he has lent his support to campaigns designed to alert the country to the need of returning to the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Without hesitation he has vociferously denounced the national liberal attitude toward life premised on promiscuous sex and unrestrained violence. He has lent his voice and prestige in backing those fighting to maintain the bulwarks of decency and brotherhood.

"If the leaders of Christendom in the nation don't stand up against immorality, we can't expect anyone else to lead," Falwell said. "I believe it is the duty of gospel preachers to set the pace. When sin moves to the front, preachers and Christians everywhere must speak out. I will as long as I have breath."

More recently Dr. Falwell has attacked the spread of communism and now has turned his guns on the immorality of television shows emphasizing and glamorizing illicit sex, and featuring homosexuality, divorce, moral depravity and unrestrained violence depicted in the most gruesome detail.

Falwell has been honored by the National Religious Broadcasters and other religious organizations and magazines. The Religious Heritage of America selected him as the 1979 Clergyman of the Year in America, and Food for the Hungry International honored him in 1981 as the Christian Humanitarian of the Year. During 1983 Falwell was selected by U.S. News and World Report as one of the 25 Most Influential People in America and by Good Housekeeping as the second most influential man in the U.S. The Conservative Digest selected him as the most admired man not in Congress in its 1983 annual poll.

Like the church, Falwell began the Christian schools at the lowest, yet most solid level. Starting with Lynchburg Christian Academy, housed in the Thomas Road Baptist Church, he has promoted his dream of providing the "best possible means to educate people" to the point he is now in the process of erecting a multimillion dollar college campus on the 4,000-acre Liberty Mountain property overlooking Lynchburg.

Falwell is Chancellor of Liberty Baptist College and Schools where members of the faculty, staff, and administration are committee Christians. "We believe anything representing Christ should be well done," said Falwell. "Our graduates should be as well educated as any other students from major colleges and universities. Our athletic teams ought to be the best. Our cultural programs should be the best."

The College received accreditation from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in December, 1980. Dr. Falwell desires Liberty Baptist College to become a major university, and in athletic competition face Division I schools in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). Its athletic program currently carries NCAA Division II status.

The College baseball program is directed by a former major league pitcher and competes against Division I schools. Football, basketball, wrestling, soccer, and track and field teams are coached by major college members and are involved in major competition.

"We want to be competing with top teams within five years," Falwell said. "We believe we should be the best for Christ."

With the television and radio network as the platform, Dr. Falwell has spearheaded the growth of Liberty Baptist Schools which have grown to a student body of more than 6,000 students in twelve years.

The 4,000-acre Liberty Baptist College campus includes nearly 40 buildings. All newly constructed buildings have been erected since 1977. And his expanded dream is realizing the creation of Liberty University to eventually educate 50,000 young people seeking to dedicate their lives to serve in every avenue of society.

Already hundreds of churches are now pastored by graduates of Liberty Baptist College and Seminary. The long-range goal is for 5,000 new churches to be planted in North America by Liberty graduates before the end of this century.

#### HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN

Howard I. Friedman, the 19th National President of the American Jewish Committee, is a prominent attorney, a longtime leader of AJC, and a well-known Los Angeles civic leader. He has served AJC as Chairman of its Board of Governors, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, National Vice President, Chairman of the Community Services Committee, and President of its Los Angeles Chapter.

Mr. Friedman, a partner in the Los Angeles law firm of Loeb and Loeb, has held many positions in the Los Angeles community. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish Federation Council of Los Angeles and of the Business Development Center of Southern California (formerly Interracial Council for Business Opportunity), Honorary Chairman of the Board of Overseers of Hebrew Union College's California School, Vice Chairman of HUC's Board of Governors, and a member of the Board of Directors of the University of Judaism.

Mr. Friedman was Deputy Attorney General for the State of California from 1955 to 1957, during precedent-making litigation over use of Colorado River water.

A native of Chicago, Mr. Friedman attended the University of Oklahoma, where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and received the Silver Letseizer Award as outstanding male graduate. He earned a Master of Arts degree in political science at the University of Chicago and a law degree at Yale University, where he was Note Editor of the Yale Law Journal. He was captain in the Air Force, serving in

the Judge Advocate's Division, and a teaching fellow at Stanford University Law School.

Mr. Friedman is a resident of Encino, California. He is married to the former Wilma Mann of Tulsa, Oklahoma, and is the father of three children, Lesley, Harry, and Beth.

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HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

TWENTY-SECOND DISTRICT.—Rockland County. Orange County: Towns of Chester, Crawford, Deepark, Goshen, Greenville, Hamptonburgh, Minisink, Monroe, Mount Hope, Tuxedo, Wallkill, Warwick, Wawayanda, and Woodbury; cities of Middletown and Port Jeris. Sullivan County: Towns of Bethel, Cochection, Delaware, Forestburgh, Highland, Lumberland, Mamakating, Tusten, and Thompson. Westchester County: Town of Greenburgh. Population (1980), 516,625.

BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, Republican, of Middletown, N.Y.; born in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., December 6, 1922; educated in the public schools of Middletown and graduated from Middletown High School, 1941; B.S., Wharton School of Business and Finance, University of Pennsylvania, 1946; LL.B., New York Law School, 1950; veteran of World War II, 20th Air Force, 19th Bomb Group; awarded Distinguished Flying Cross and Air Medal for 35 missions over Japan; appointed assistant attorney general, New York State Department of Law, 1953; formed the law firm of Gilman and Gilman, 1955, in Middletown, N.Y.; attorney for New York State's Temporary Commission on the Courts; served for 3 terms in the New York State Assembly from the 95th district, 1967-72; member: Southeastern Water Commission, National Law Committee, Veterans of Foreign Wars; Middletown, Orange County, New York State, and American Bar Associations; the Association of the Bar of the City of New York; New York Trial Lawyers Association, and the American Trial Lawyers Association; also a member of Orange County Republican Committee, American Legion, V.F.W., J.W.V., B.P.O.E. No. 1097, Hoffman Lodge of F. & A.M., A.A.O.N.M.S. of Cyprus Temple (Albany), International Narcotic Enforcement Officers Association, Zeta Beta Tau fraternity, Otisville Grange, Hudson-Delaware Boy Scout Council, Lamont-Doherty Geological Observatory Advisory Council, advisory committee of NYS Division of Youth's Start Center, Lt. Comdr. of Masonic War Veterans Beth El Post No. 29, past president of Capitol Hill Shrine Club, former board chairman of Middletown Little League, vice president of Orange County Mental Health Association, and Orange County Heart Association; Lt. Col. Civil Air Patrol, Congressional Branch; five children: Jonathan, Harrison, David, Susan, and (Ellen, deceased Nov. 10, 1976); elected to the 93d Congress, November 7, 1972; reelected to each succeeding Congress; member of Foreign Affairs Committee, Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Republican Task Force on Energy and Resources, Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, Congressional Advisor to Law of the Sea Conference; appointed to United States Military Academy Board of Visitors, 1973 to present; Presidential Commission on World Hunger; task force on the Handicapped, delegate to the United States-Mexican Interparliamentary Conference, ad hoc committee on Irish Affairs, House task force on POW's and MIA's.

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RICHARD A. HELLMAN

HELLMAN, RICHARD A., Attorney at Law, Hellman and Amyot, 2001 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Born in Niagra Falls, N.Y. to John B. and Jennie (Cerminara) Hellman. Married July 4, 1961, to Mary M. McNerney. Children: Signe and Kristin. Canisius College, 1957-61, B.S. in History; Georgetown U. Law Center, 1961-65, J.D. Entered U.S. Army Intelligence Corps as 1 Lt.; released as CPT 1967, with Bronze Star. Management Intern, Federal Aviation Agency; Program Analyst, Federal Power Commission; Asst. Solicitor for Water Quality, Interior Dept.; The Legislative Counsel, Environmental Protection Agency; Staff Director, Public Advisory Committee for the Stockholm U.N. Conference on the World Environment; the Minority Counsel, Senate Com. on Environment and Public Works; private legal consultant to the State of Israel under grant from the U.N. Environment Program; Innkeeper; Jerusalem, Israel; general practice of law. Admitted to Bar in D.C. and Md. Special Award, Interior Dept., 1970; Outstanding younger Federal Lawyer, 1971; Silver Medal, EPA, 1972. Author; *Stockholm and Beyond*, Washington, 1972; *Israel in the Mediterranean Ecosystem*, Jerusalem, 1978; "Development of Environmental Law in Israel", *Selected Papers on the Environment in Israel*, no 7, Jerusalem, 1979; among others.

CHARLES A. KIMBALL, DIRECTOR, MIDDLE EAST OFFICE, DIVISION OF OVERSEAS  
MINISTRIES, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.

#### AT THE COUNCIL

As director of the Middle East Office, Charles Kimball works closely with the Middle East Council of Churches in developing, funding, and overseeing programs undertaken with NCCC assistance in the Middle East. He deals with issues and problems of rehabilitation, reconstruction and refugees in countries such as Lebanon.

Gathering information about the Middle East and interpreting it for the council is an important part of Mr. Kimball's job. He monitors events which occur in this highly volatile region and helps the NCCC formulate a Christian response to them.

He also serves as liaison among the Jewish, Muslim, and Christian communities in the U.S., in conjunction with the NCCC Commission on Christian-Jewish Relations and the task force on Christian-Muslim Relations.

#### PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Interfaith Director, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, N.Y., 1982-83.

International relations consultant, promoted dialogue and facilitated peaceful resolution of the Iran Hostage conflict, 1979-81.

Instructor in the Dept. of Humanities and Languages, Suffolk University, Boston, Mass., 1981-82.

Teaching Fellow in the History of Religions, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass., 1978-80.

Minister, McHenry Baptist Church, McHenry, Kentucky, 1973-75.

Youth Director, Sequoyah Hills Baptist Church, Tulsa, Okla., 1971.

#### SERVICE TO ORGANIZATIONS

Middle East Studies Association

American Academy of Religion

#### EDUCATION

Candidate for Doctor of Theology in history of religions Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.

M.Div., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1975.

B.S., Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Okla. in sociology, 1972.

Special studies, American University, Cairo, Egypt, in Arabic and Islamic studies, 1977-78.

#### BENCHMARKS

Numerous articles published in major newspapers and periodicals.

Frequent appearances on national and local television and radio programs as interpreter of events in the Middle East.

Contributing editor, *Baptist Peacemaker* magazine.

Participant, Center for World Religions, academic institution and experimental living complex, Cambridge, Mass.

Member, American Friends Service Committee Middle East Panel.

Contributing writer and research assistant, *A Compassionate Peace: A Future for the Middle East*, published by AFSC.

#### AFFILIATION

Mr. Kimball is an ordained minister in the Southern Baptist Convention.

#### AT HOME

Charles and Nancy Kimball live in Nyack, N.Y. with their 2½ year-old daughter, Sarah. In his spare time, Mr. Kimball enjoys golf, baseball and fishing.

#### HON. TOM LANTOS

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.—SAN MATEO COUNTY: Cities of Belmont, Brisbane, Burlingame, Colma, East Palo Alto, Foster City, Half Moon Bay, Millbrae, Montara, Moss Beach, Pacifica, Redwood City, San Bruno, San Carlos, San Mateo, and South

San Francisco; and portions of Menlo Park and Daly City. SANTA CLARA COUNTY: City of Palo Alto and Stanford University. Population (1980), 525,937.

THOMAS PETER LANTOS, Democrat, of San Mateo, Calif.; born in Budapest, February 1, 1928; during World War II active in anti-Nazi underground; came to the United States in 1947 on academic scholarship; B.A., University of Washington, 1949; M.A., University of Washington, 1950; Ph. D., University of California, 1953, Phi Beta Kappa; professor of economics; consultant, TV news analyst and commentator; member, Millbrae Board of Education, 1950-66; administrative assistant, economic and foreign policy adviser, U.S. Senate; married to Annette Tillemann; two married daughters, Annette Tillemann-Dick and Katrina Lantos-Swett; two grandchildren; elected to the 97th Congress, November 4, 1980; reelected to the 98th Congress; member: Committees on Foreign Affairs and Government Operations, Select Committee on Aging.

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REV. JOHN T. PAWLIKOWSKI, OSM, PH.D.

Servite Priest; Professor of Social Ethics at the Catholic Theological Union, a constituent school of the Chicago Cluster of Theological Schools at the University of Chicago. Acting President of the Catholic Theological Union, 1975-76.

Author of six books including CATECHETICS & PREJUDICE (Paulist Press, 1973), SINAI AND CALVARY (Benziger, Bruce & Glencoe, 1976) and WHAT ARE THEY SAYING ABOUT CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS (Paulist Press, 1980). Author of a major new volume on Christianity and Christian-Jewish relations entitled CHRIST IN LIGHT OF THE CHRISTIAN-JEWISH DIALOGUE (Paulist 1982). Co-Editor (with Donald Senior) of a new commentary on The American Bishops' Peace Pastoral entitled BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE (Michael Glazier Publishers).

Contributor to thirteen edited volumes including "Judaism in Christian Education and Liturgy," in Eva Fleischner (ed.) AUSCHWITZ: BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA? (Ktav, 1977), "Christian Perspectives and Moral Implications," in Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton (eds.), THE HOLOCAUST: IDEOLOGY, BUREAUCRACY, AND GENOCIDE (Krause International Publications 1981) and "THE HOLOCAUST: ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR CHURCH AND SOCIETY PROBLEMATIC," in Richard W. Rousseau, SJ (ed.) CHRISTIANITY & JUDAISM: THE DEEPENDING DIALOGUE (Ridge Row Press).

Contributor to many journals including COMMONWEAL, CROSS CURRENTS, THE ECUMENIST, CHICAGO STUDIES, CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM, JOURNAL OF ECUMENICAL STUDIES, THE BIBLE TODAY, THE CRISTIAN CENTURY, JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF RELIGION, SIDIC, U.S. CATHOLIC, WORLDVIEW, AND WORSHIP.

Appointed by President Carter to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council in April 1980, a post he continues to hold in the present administration.

Member of the Advisory Committee, Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Member of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Christian-Jewish Relations and of the Christian Study Group on Judaism and The Jewish People (NCCJ).

Consultant to the International Council of Christians & Jews and the Israel Interfaith Association.

Has visited Israel and the Middle East on four occasions. Lecturer at the Ecumenical Institute for Advanced Theological Research in Jerusalem, Summers of 1973 and 1974.

Member of the Catholic Theological Society, Society of Christian Ethics, American Academy of Religion.

Founding member, National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry.

Chairperson of the Catholic-Jewish Commission sponsored by the Archdiocese of Chicago, The Chicago Board of Rabbis and the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago.

Member of the Academic Council of the National Institute on the Holocaust.

Frequent appearances on U.S. radio and television on Christian/Jewish Relations and Social Issues. Media appearances in Australia, Ireland, Israel and on Vatican Radio.

Participant in Scholars Project on Religion and American Public Life, at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago.

Official Member of the Bilateral Catholic/Presbyterian-Reformed Dialogue in the U.S.A.

Member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (USA)



Member of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel.

Member of The National Polish-Jewish Dialogue.

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HON. JOHN EDWARD PORTER

**TENTH DISTRICT.**—COOK COUNTY (PART) AND LAKE COUNTY (PART): Beginning at the intersection of the Lake Michigan Shore and the Illinois-Wisconsin State line, thence west along the Illinois-Wisconsin State line to the west Benton Township line, thence south along the west Benton Township line on a line extended south along the west Waukegan Township line to the North Libertyville Township line, thence west and south along the North Libertyville Township line and on a line extended south along the west Vernon Township line and the west Wheeling Township line to the south Wheeling Township line, thence east along the south Wheeling Township line to Wolf Road, thence south on Wolf Road to Princeton Street, thence east on Princeton Street to North 8th Avenue, thence south on North 8th Avenue to Evanston-Elgin Road, thence east on Evanston-Elgin Road to North 5th Avenue, thence south on North 5th Avenue to Seeger Road, thence southwest on Seeger Road to the Northwest Highway, thence southeast on the Northwest Highway to the C.&N.W. Transportation Co., thence northeast on the C.&N.W. Transportation Co. to Rand Road, thence southeast on Rand Road to Des Plaines River Road, thence south on Des Plaines River Road to Rand Road, thence southeast on Rand Road to Ballard Road, thence east on Ballard Road to Potter Road, thence north on Potter Road to Emerson Street, thence east on Emerson Street to Margail Road, thence north on Margail Road to Noel Avenue, thence west on Noel Avenue to Potter Road, thence north on Potter Road to Evanston-Elgin Road, thence west on Evanston-Elgin Road to the Tri-State Tollway, thence north on the Tri-State Tollway to Willow Road, thence east on Willow Road to Landwehr Road, thence north on Landwehr Road to Floral Street, thence east on Floral Street to Pfingsten Road, thence north on Pfingsten Road to Techny Road, thence east on Techny Road to Waukegan Road, thence southeast on Waukegan Road to Willow Road, thence west on Willow Road to the C.&N.W. Transportation Co., thence southwest on the C.&N.W. Transportation Co. to the west Glenview corporate limits, thence south and east along the Glenview corporate limits to Lake Avenue, thence east on Lake Avenue to Shermer Road, thence southeast on Shermer Road to Central Road, thence east on Central Road to Harms Road, thence north on Harms Road to Lake Avenue, thence east on Lake Avenue to Ridge Road, thence south on Ridge Road to Isabella Street, thence east on Isabella Street to the north Evanston corporate limits, thence north and east along the Evanston corporate limits to Sheridan Road, thence north on Sheridan Road to the north Evanston corporate limits, thence east along the north Evanston corporate limits to the Lake Michigan Shore, thence north along the Lake Michigan Shore to the place of beginning. Population (1980), 519,015.

JOHN EDWARD PORTER, Republican, of Winnetka, Ill.; born in Evanston, Ill., June 1, 1935; attended public schools and graduated from Evanston Township High School, 1953; attended Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., 1953-54; B.S., B.A., Northwestern University School of Business, Evanston, Ill., 1957; J.D. with distinction, University of Michigan Law School, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961; (Michigan Law Review); served in U.S. Army Signal Corps (Reserves), 1958-64; engaged in the practice of law in Evanston, Ill.; admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States, United States Court of Claims, and the Illinois State Bar; attorney, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1961-63; member, Illinois State Legislature, 1973-79; member or officer of many civic and philanthropic organizations; member: American, Illinois State and Chicago Bar Associations; member, First Presbyterian Church, Evanston, Ill.; married to the former Kathryn Suzanne Cameron, 1974; five children: John, David, Donna, Robin, and Ann; elected to the 96th Congress, by special election, January 22, 1980; reelected to the 97th and 98th Congresses.

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HON. NICK JOE RAHALL

**FOURTH DISTRICT.**—Counties: Cabell, Logan, McDowell, Mercer, Mingo, Raleigh, Wayne, and Wyoming (8 counties). Population (1980), 487,526.

NICK J. RAHALL, Democrat, of Beckley, W. Va.: born in Beckley, May 20, 1949; graduated, Woodrow Wilson High School (Beckley), 1967, A.B., Duke University, Durham, N.C., 1971; graduate work, George Washington University, Washington,

D.C.; Colonel in U.S. Air Force Civil Air Patrol, and is commander of C.A.P. Congressional Squadron; business executive; sales representative, WWNR radio station; president, Mountaineer Tour & Travel Agency, 1974; president, West Virginia Broadcasting; named: "Coal Man of the Year", Coal Industry News, 1979; "Young Democrat of the Year", Young Democrats, 1980; delegate, Democratic National Conventions, 1972, 1974, 1976, and 1978; member: Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee; member: Rotary, Elks, Moose, Eagles, NAACP, A.F. & A.M., R.A.M., Mount Hope Commandery, Shrine Club, Beni Kedem Temple in Charleston; Beckley Presbyterian Church; chairman, Congressional Coal Group; member: Congressional Steel Caucus, Automobile Task Force, Congressional Rural Caucus; serves on: Interior and Insular Affairs, Public Works and Transportation, Standards of Official Conduct Committees; married to the former Helen McDaniel; two children: Rebecca and Nick Joe III; elected to the 95th Congress, November 2, 1976; reelected to each succeeding Congress.

#### ALLECK A. RESNICK

Alleck A. Resnick is a distinguished attorney and a principal in a major law firm in the Baltimore area. He is a respected philanthropist and a dedicated communal leader in Jewish educational and civic affairs. He was unanimously elected the 26th National President of the Zionist Organization of America at its Biennial Convention on May 1, 1983 in Pittsburgh, Pa., which marked the 85th Anniversary of ZOA's involvement and leadership in the American Jewish community. ZOA's roster of past illustrious leaders include the revered Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Justice Louis D. Brandeis and Dr. Emanuel Neumann, whose leadership and inspiration made possible the mobilization of public support, which ultimately led to the political acceptance of the State of Israel. Prior to his election to the presidency, Mr. Resnick served as Chairman of the ZOA National Executive Committee, which is the highest legislative body of the organization between National Conventions.

The ZOA owns and maintains important projects in Israel: ZOA House in Tel Aviv, which is a cultural and educational center, and the Kfar Silver educational complex located near Ashkelon, one of the foremost educational institutions in Israel. It is situated on 520 acres with a student population of over 700 youngsters from many countries of the world. Among its facilities are the Aviation High School, Science and Agriculture High School, Sylvia and Alexander Hassan Technical High School, Mollie Goodman Academic High School, Nursing Program, Junior High School and the David and Lillian Stern American-Israel Youth Institute.

Mr. Resnick was a delegate to the 29th and 30th Zionist Congresses in Jerusalem. Since 1978 he has been a member of the Zionist General Council of the World Zionist Organization and the Executive of the World Union of General Zionists.

The Prime Minister's Medal, the highest lay award of the State of Israel was conferred upon Mr. Resnick. He was also the recipient of the distinguished Justice Louis D. Brandeis Award of the Zionist Organization of America, which is presented to those special individuals who epitomize the essence of Zionist commitment and selfless service to our great nation, as emulated by the late Jurist.

Mr. Resnick's leadership was recognized by numerous organizations. From 1972 to 1975, he served as President of the Baltimore District of the Zionist Organization of America. In 1975 he was appointed to the National Administrative Board of the ZOA. That same year he received the first Szold Award presented by the Oheb Shalom Temple, Baltimore, Maryland.

He was President of the Hebrew Free Loan Association, Maryland Chairman of the Israel Bond Committee, member of the Board of Directors of the Associated Jewish Charities of Baltimore and President of the Jewish National Fund from 1967 to 1970. He was a member of the Board of Directors of Provident Hospital and also Oheb Shalom Temple.

Alleck Resnick graduated from Forest Park High School and entered Western Maryland College in 1941. His education was interrupted by service in World War II, during which he was captured and held a prisoner of war in Germany. Upon returning to the United States he resumed his higher education at Western Maryland College, became Student President and was named in Who's Who in American Colleges. He earned an LL.B. Degree at the University of Maryland. From 1956 through 1958, he was National Alumni President of the college and National Alumni Fund Chairman 1971-72. Mr. Resnick is a Life Trustee of Western Maryland College and a member of its Executive Committee. In 1981 he received an Honorary Doctor of Law Degree from Western Maryland College.

He holds the following positions:

ZOA Representative to the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Member, National Board American Zionist Federation.

Member, Board of Trustees United Israel Appeal.

Member, Board of Governors of the Israel Bond Organization.

Member, Board of Directors Jewish National Fund.

Member, World Jewish Congress Plenary Council.

Mr. Resnick is married to the former Harriet Toor. They have two children—Eilene Resnick Perlow and Lee Resnick—and two grandchildren.

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ISAAC C. ROTTENBERG

*Birthday:* July 11, 1925

*Citizenship:* U.S.A.

*Family Background:* I was born in Harrow on the Hill, England. My parents were naturalized American citizens at the time. On my father's side, I hail from an Eastern European Jewish family and on my mother's side from a Dutch Calvinistic family.

*WWII experiences:* I spent the war under Nazi occupation in The Netherlands. My father died in the concentration camp Mauthausen. For two years I was hidden on a farm in the province Friesland.

*Education:*

1939-1946 Gymnasium, The Hague, Netherlands (education interrupted for several years because of Nazi occupation).

1946-1948 University of Leiden—Candidate of Law degree.

1950-1952 Hope College—B.A. degree.

1952-1954 Western Theological Seminary.

1954-1955 New Brunswick Theological Seminary—M.Th.

1957-1958 University of Utrecht, Netherlands, graduate studies.

1965 Took courses at the School of Journalism, Rutgers University.

*Publications:* *Redemption and Historical Reality*, published by Westminster Press in 1964. Translated two works from the Dutch language for Westminster Press. Have written articles for *Worldview Magazine*, *Moment magazine*, *Christianity Today*, *The Christian Century*, *The Reformed Journal*, *Sojourners*, and many other magazines and journals. Have written and produced a variety of educational brochures for the Reformed Church in America.

My latest book, *The Promise and the Presence: Toward a Theology of the Kingdom of God*, was published in April, 1980. I am now editing a book of essays by an international group of Christian scholars on the theme "Modern Zionism and Biblical Faith."

*Professional experiences:* I have served as a local pastor (High Bridge, NJ 1954-1957 and Tinton Falls, NJ 1958-1968), as the Director of Communications, Reformed Church in America (1968-1978) and, on several occasions, as visiting lecturer at New Brunswick Theological Seminary.

I have broad experience in ecumenical relationships and have been particularly active in the area of Christian-Jewish dialogue. Presently I serve as the Executive Director of the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel, a coalition of Christians from many different denominations who work for the security and well being of Israel.

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DAVID J. SADD

Mr. Sadd was appointed Executive Director of the National Association of Arab Americans in October, 1980. He had previously served the organization as Treasurer and member of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee. He has had extensive involvement with Middle East issues and with Arab American relations.

*Education:* U.S. Naval Academy, BS in Naval Science, Minor in Electrical Engineering; George Washington University, MBA Finance & Investment/International Business.

*Background:* Served as a U.S. Naval Officer from 1966 to 1969. From 1969 to 1980, Mr. Sadd was associated with prominent Wall Street firms representing them in various investment banking and securities trading capacities. Mr. Sadd has provided financial consultant services to governmental institutions.

He has served on the Board of Governors of the Army-Navy Club, Washington, DC, the Board of Directors of American Near East Refugee Aid, Washington, DC, and the Industrial Development Financing Authority of Loudoun County, Virginia.

Mr. Sadd is married with four children and resides in Maryland.

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JOSEPH J. SISCO

EMPLOYMENT

Partner, Sisco Associates, National and International Consultants, Washington, D.C., 1980 to present.

President, subsequently Chancellor, The American University, 1976-early 1981.

Under Secretary for Political Affairs, February 1974-July 1976 (Number three post in the State Department and top Career post in the Service) in President Ford's Administration.

Principal Advisor and Negotiator on Middle Eastern Issues, negotiated Egyptian-Israeli Cease Fire, 1970.

Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, 1969-1974 in President Nixon's Administration.

Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, 1965-1969 in President Johnson's Administration.

Acting U.S. Representative in UN Security Council, 1968.

U.S. Representative to Fifth Special Session of the General Assembly on the Middle East, 1967.

Political Advisor to U.S. Delegations to UNGA 1951-1976.

ACADEMIC

BA Knox College, 1941—Magna Cum Laude, Phi Beta Kappa

MA—1947; PH D—1950—University of Chicago, International Relations—1950, Specializing in Soviet Affairs.

AFFILIATIONS—CURRENT

Board of Directors GEICO, Tenneco, Raytheon, Gillette Company, The Interpublic Group of Companies, Inc., Boles World Trade Corp., Agro Genetics International Ltd.

Foreign Affairs Analyst—Cable News Network

MILITARY

U.S. Army—1941-45, First Lt. Infantry

HONORS

In 1960 received Department of State's Superior Service Award

In 1966 named by National Civil Service League as one of the ten outstanding career officers in Government Service

In 1971 was one of six federal career officers named as winners of the Rockefeller Public Service Awards. Mr. Sisco's award was in the field of Intergovernmental Operations

In 1973 named winner of AMVETS Peace Award for Middle East Negotiations.

MARITAL STATUS

Married the former Jean Churchill Head, Corporate Executive. Two daughters: Carol, Jane.

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HON. HAROLD H. SAUNDERS

For 20 years, Hal Saunders worked continuously at the National Security Council in the White House (1961-1974) or the State Department (1974-1981) at the center of Washington policy-making toward the Middle East and Southwestern Asia areas. Before leaving government with the recent change in administrations, he was Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (1978-1981) and had served as the State Department's Director of Intelligence and Research (1975-1978). He was a key member of the small negotiating team that helped produce five Arab-Israeli agreements 1974-1979—including the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty—and the release of the American hostages from Tehran in 1981.

He is now a Resident Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, which published his book, *The Middle East Problem in the 1980s*, in early 1982. He writes frequently on the Arab-Israeli-Palestinian conflict and is producing a book on the policies of Presidents from Truman to Reagan toward that conflict. He also serves on the Executive Committee of the Institute for East-West Security Studies in New York and participates regularly in meetings with Soviet and European specialists on security in Europe and in developing nations where U.S.-Soviet conflict could be triggered.

He speaks often on subjects relating to the Middle East, negotiation and peace-making, changing relations between the U.S. and the developing world, policy-making and decision-making in Washington, the role of intelligence and analysis in policy-making, the President and foreign policy.

#### PRESENT POSITION

Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research in Washington, D.C. since February, 1981.

#### GOVERNMENT

Department of State, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, 1979-1981 (Camp David Accords, Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, Tehran hostage crisis and the Algiers declarations that led to their release). Senior policy-making and executive official in a bureau of 700 Americans and 1000 foreign employees in 37 diplomatic and consular posts in 24 countries and 110 employees in Washington

Department of State, Director of Intelligence and Research, 1975-1978. Senior executive of an analytical bureau of 320 employees providing a worldwide analytical base for policy-making

Department of State, Deputy Assistant Secretary, 1974-1975, responsible for the Near East (all the Kissinger shuttles) and North Africa

National Security Council Staff in the White House, 1961-1974, responsible for the Near East, South Asia, and North Africa

Central Intelligence Agency, 1958-1961, intelligence analyst

#### EDUCATED

At Princeton U. (A.B. 1952 in English) and Yale U. (Ph.D 1956 in American Studies). Doctoral dissertation in U.S. intellectual history, 1880-1930

#### MILITARY

U.S. Air Force 1956-1959, First Lieutenant, Commendation Medal

#### TEACHING

Lecturer in U.S. history and U.S. diplomatic history, 1958-1964, George Washington University, College of General Studies

#### AWARDS

Phi Beta Kappa, 1952

President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service, 1978—the U.S. Government's highest award for civilians

Distinguished Honor Award, 1981—Department of State's highest award

#### PUBLICATIONS

*The Middle East Problem in the 1980s* (1982) and articles on the Arab-Israeli-Palestinian conflict

#### BORN

December 27, 1930 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

#### PERSONAL

Widower with teenage girl and boy, Ruling Elder, Presbyterian Church, Former Director, Langley School and Lewinsville Retirement Residence, McLean, Virginia, Director, Institute for East-West Security Studies.

## ADDRESSES

Home: 2119 Great Falls Street, Falls Church, Virginia 22043 703/532-2825.

Office: 1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 202/862-5800.

Hal Saunders worked continuously in the U.S. Government for 20 years at the apex of policy-making on the volatile and strategic Middle East and Southwest Asia area from Morocco through Bangladesh. He played a central role in all the major crises and negotiations of that period—first while serving 1961-1974 as a member of the National Security Council Staff in the White House and for the past seven years in the State Department. In 1978, he received from President Carter the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service—our government's highest award for civilian employees—for his work on the Camp David Accords. He resigned as Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs with the January 1981 change in administrations.

As a senior member of the NSC Staff, as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State (1974-1975), and as Assistant Secretary (1978-1981) for the Near East and South Asia, he was involved in Washington policy-making during a period when the Middle East became critical to global economic stability and to the global strategic balance. He was a principal drafter of the five Arab-Israeli agreements signed 1974-1979, headed the Iran Working Group during the hostage crisis, and participated in the negotiations that ended in the hostages' release. He was centrally involved in the American strategic buildup in Southwest Asia. Specifically, he played a central role in formulating policy during the 1967 and 1973 wars, the oil embargo of 1973-1974 and the following energy crisis, the Kissinger shuttles, the Camp David summit, the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, the Bangladesh secession, the Lebanese civil war, the evolution of the complex U.S.-Saudi strategic, political and economic relationship, the Iranian revolution, the war in the Western Sahara—to list the highlights.

As director of Intelligence and Research for the State Department (1975-1978), he provided a worldwide analytical and intelligence base for policy-making. He represented the Department on the U.S. Intelligence Board, the interagency body responsible for advising the Director of Central Intelligence on management of the Intelligence Community and on final approval of national intelligence estimated. He has traveled with Presidents Nixon, Ford, or Carter or with Secretaries Kissinger or Vance on trips to the Soviet Union, China, East Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and Latin America.

As Director of Intelligence and Research, he was the senior executive in a research organization of 320 employees and was responsible for the Department's external research program. As Assistant Secretary, he administered a budget of \$60 million in support of 37 diplomatic and consular posts in 24 countries with 700 American and 1000 foreign employees abroad and a bureau of 110 in Washington.

In private life, he has served as a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church and has been a director of the Langley School and the Lewinsville Retirement Residence in McLean, Virginia. He lives in Falls Church, Virginia and is a widower with a teenage girl and boy. He grew up in Philadelphia and was educated at Princeton (A.B.) and Yale (Ph.D.).

His present position is Resident Fellow of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research in Washington, D.C., where he is working on studies of the challenge to American interests in the Middle East and Southwest Asia in the 1980s.

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HON. ARLEN SPECTER

ARLEN SPECTER, Republican, of Philadelphia, Pa; born in Wichita, Kans., February 12, 1930; attended College Hill elementary school, Wichita; graduated, Russell High School, Russell, Kans., 1947; University of Pennsylvania, 1951, B.A., international relations, Phi Beta Kappa; Yale Law School, LL.B., 1956; board of editors, *Law Journal*; served in U.S. Air Force, 1951-53, attaining rank of first lieutenant; member, law firm of Dechert, Price & Rhoads before and after serving two terms as district attorney of Philadelphia, 1966-74; married the former Joan Levy, who was elected to the city council of Philadelphia in 1979; two sons: Shanin and Stephen; served as assistant counsel to the Warren Commission, 1964; served on Pennsylvania's State Planning Board, The White House Conference on Youth, The National Commission on Criminal Justice, and the Peace Corps National Advisory Council; elected to the U.S. Senate, November 4, 1980, for the 6-year term beginning January 5, 1981; member: Senate Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Agriculture and Related Agencies, Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, Subcommittee on State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary, chairman, Subcom-

mittee on the District of Columbia; Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Criminal Law, Subcommittee on Agency Administration, chairman, Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice; Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee.

SISTER ROSE THERING, O.P., Ph.D.

#### CURRENT

Professor, Department of Secondary Education, School of Education, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J.

#### EDUCATION

Bachelor's degree from Dominican College, Racine, Wisconsin. Master's degree from The College of Saint Thomas, Saint Paul, Minnesota; Doctor of Philosophy degree from Saint Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, 1961.

#### RESEARCH

Completed research in six areas:

1. Doctoral research in inter-group relations entitled, "The Self-concept Potential in Catholic Religion Textbooks", 1961.
2. Study of "Race Relations and Education", National Religion Education, 1964.
3. Research "Inner City Activities of Religious Communities", Center of Applied Research Activities, 1967.
4. Assisted in a National Survey—A self-study of Religious Women in the United States, 1967-1968.
5. Evaluative Study of the National Defense Education Act Programs for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth for the Project *Aware*, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1966.
6. Researched Catholic institutions of higher learning—"A Five-year Study of Academic institutions' Implementation of the Vatican Statement on the Jews, 1965-1970".

At present, engaged in a follow-up of the above research, and constantly evaluating new manuscripts of religious teaching.

#### BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE

1. Elementary and secondary school teacher, and administrator of urban and rural schools.
2. Associate Professor of Education and Chairman of the Department of Education, Dominican College, Racine, Wisconsin, 1961-1965.
3. Visiting Professor of Education at Seattle University, Summer, 1974.
4. Director of a National Defense Education Act federally funded, nine-week institute for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth, Summer, 1965.
5. Director of Special Programs, Catholic Adult Education Center of the Archdiocese of Chicago, 1965-1968, in these special areas:
  - a. Catholic-Jewish Relations.
  - b. Institutes of Jewish Studies.
  - c. Summer Biblical Institutes.
  - d. Ecumenical Affairs.
  - e. Black Studies Institutes.
  - f. Research.
6. Program Co-ordinator of The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University, 1968-1973.
7. Delegate to the National Conference on Religion and Race, Chicago, Jan., 1963.
8. Lecturer on education issues, race relations, Catholic-Jewish relations, Israel, Soviet Jewry.
9. Author of articles for scholarly magazines.
10. Invited to be and appointed official Catholic observer at the 49th Biennial Convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Montreal, Canada, 1967; and 50th Biennial Convention, Miami Beach, Florida.
11. Delegate to the National Catholic Council for Interracial Justice Convention, Kansas City.
12. Planned and directed the Menorah Institute to Israel, 1972, sponsored by The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J.

13. Planned and directed Seton Hall University, School of Education's First Annual Study-Tour to Israel, May-June, 1974, August, 1975, May, 1976, May, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1984.

14. Planned and directed the University Professors Pre-Planning Mission to Israel, Nov., 1974.

15. Planned and directed the Seton Hall University Priests' Mission to Israel November, 1980; February 1981; November, 1983.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES

1. Appointed Consultor and Adviser to the U.S. Bishops Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, 1968 to present.

2. Committee Member of the Leadership Conference of Women Religious on Ecumenism and Catholic-Jewish Concerns, 1972 to present.

3. Board member of the National Coalition of American Nuns.

4. Board Member of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, 1973 to present.

5. Serves as Vice President, America-Israel Friendship League, Inc., New York, December, 1975 to present.

6. Member of the Newark Archdiocesan Subcommission on Catholic-Jewish Relations, Sept. 1975 to present.

7. Fellow consultant of the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies and Consultant for the new degree program of the Institute.

8. Life member of Hadassah, Maplewood, N.J., Chapter.

9. Life member of HIAS—Women's division.

10. National Religious Education Association; various educational organizations.

11. American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.

12. Common Cause.

13. Network.

14. National Assembly of Women Religious.

15. The National Inter-religious Task Force for Soviet Jewry.

16. Christians Concerned for Israel.

17. Member of the Israel Study Group.

18. New Jersey Clergy for Israel Group.

19. Member of Professionals of New Jersey for the Survival of Israel. (Ad hoc committee)

20. Vice President—The National Christian Leadership Conference on Israel.

21. Board Member, Resource Center for Holocaust/Genocide Studies, Ramapo College.

#### AWARDS

Edith Stein Award "for work in pioneering the study of Catholic Teaching Materials about Jews and Judaism", 1968, from the Edith Stein Association, New York.

The Louise Waterman Wise Award from the American Jewish Congress, Women's Division, May, 1972, "for distinguished service in the field of Christian-Jewish Relations".

The 25th Anniversary Medal Award from the Israeli Government "for recognition of work done in behalf of Israel", 1973.

The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies Citation Award, "for your years of devoted service to the cause of a new Jewish-Christian Encounter in the light of Vatican II", October, 1973, from the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University.

The Freedom Award "for your efforts in behalf of Soviet Jewry and the cause of human freedom", Dec., 1973, from the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry.

The Baal Shem Tov Citation "for your inspirational acts exemplifying love of man and spiritual love of man and spiritual truth in the tradition of the Baal Shem Tov", The Little Synagogue, March, 1974.

The Myrtle Wreath Award "for your untiring work in behalf of Jews, Judaism, and the State of Israel", March 27, 1974.

The Leonard C. Yaseen Interreligious Award "for pioneering contributions to the advancement of understanding and mutual respect in the field of Jewish-Christian relations", April, 1974.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai Brith Award "for your many years of devoted efforts on behalf of Israel, Soviet and Syrian Jewry and Catholic-Jewish relations", Nov., 1974.



Delegate to Meeting at Paris sponsored by the Committee of Intellectuals for the Universality of UNESCO. March 15, 1975.

Recognition "Award for her work in ecumenism and Christian-Jewish relations" given by the Wisconsin Council of Catholic Women, March, 1975.

A Garden of 100 trees planted in Shahariya, Israel "in recognition of her response to the call for liberty and justice and awareness of the decency and righteousness of Israel's cause and her rallying to the side of Israel in its gallant stand for survival", March 28, 1975, awarded this by the Jewish War Veterans Post #10, Jersey City, New Jersey.

"Abraham Flame Award" given by B'nai B'rith, District Grand Lodge, #3, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia—"in tribute to your selfless devotion to the dignity of man and woman and your deep understanding of obstacles to survival which Jews have had to overcome and indeed still face" given at District Three Convention, Concord Hotel, Keamesha Lake, New York, June 1, 1975.

"Woman of the Year" award to you "whose convictions that human rights are the cornerstone of a free society and whose efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry, The State of Israel, and the cause of greater Christian-Jewish understanding have inspired people everywhere who revere justice" recognition given by Women's Division of HIAS, October 20, 1975.

Award of *Myrtle Wreath* "for distinguished service to humanity, to the Jewish People, and to Israel, January 28, 1976" given by Northern New Jersey Region of Hadassah.

Award—"One Square Cubit on Mount Zion, City of Jerusalem" has been subscribed in your honor for your dedication to the State of Israel by Queens Council of B'nai B'rith, December, 1975.

Award—"Three Square Cubits on Mount Zion, City of Jerusalem" have been subscribed in your honor for your devotion and love of Israel by Cliffside Park Lodge No. 3024, March, 1977.

"Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award" given May 7, 1978, "for your countless contributions to all human beings irrespective of race, color, creed or nationality".

A Woodland of Two Thousand Five Hundred Trees "for unwavering kinship with Israel and dedication to the enhancement of Judaeo-Christian Harmony", January 14, 1979 by Jewish National Fund.

Human Rights Award from Jewish Federation of Central New Jersey, December 10, 1980, "for her unceasing efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry and oppressed peoples."

Pearl Wilkenfeld Humanitarian Award "in recognition of her worthy deeds for the Oppressed People of the World", by Dept. of N.J. Ladies Auxiliary Jewish War Veterans, March 8, 1981.

Education Award "in recognition of your untiring efforts on behalf of Judaeo-Christian unity", given by B'nai B'rith Metropolitan Educators, May 5, 1981.

B'nai B'rith Women-Heritage Council Award "for efforts in sharing and caring whenever someone needs her" presented at the Children's Home in Israel Branch, Hasbrouck Heights, December 6, 1981.

Invited by Prime Minister Menachim Begin to Israel to participate in and deliver a paper at the Prime Minister's World Conference on Tourism January 27-February 3, 1982.

Humanitarian Service Award for 1982, presented by the Jewish Community Center of Paramus for "her untiring efforts and leadership in the cause of human understanding and brotherhood," May, 1982.

Appointed by Governor Thomas Kean to serve on the Governor's Advisory Council for Holocaust Education in the Schools, Dec. 1982-Dec. 1985.

Delegate to World Congress on Soviet Jewry, Jerusalem, March 10-18, 1983.

Personal prayer-filled pilgrimage to Auschwitz, March 18-22, 1983.

Annual Life Enrichment Award "for the advancement of human rights and the enhancement of life's equality through both your public and private actions," May 15, 1983, awarded by N.J. Region of B'nai B'rith Women.

Distinguished Service Award "for your outstanding contributions to all humanity", given by the Zionist Organization of America, June 13, 1983.

Distinguished Alumni Merit Award given by Saint Louis University, "in recognition of her distinguished achievement in Higher Education and Ecumenical Relations, she is thereby entitled to the gratitude, respect, and esteem due to one who has given signal evidence of the University's influence in promoting God's Greater Glory and the welfare, temporal and eternal, of men and women," given October 23, 1983.

The Americanism Award given "in recognition of your dedication to American ideals of human dignity," by the Northern New Jersey Council of B'nai B'rith, February 1, 1984.

Special Service Award given "in recognition and appreciation of her outstanding performance and selfless service to humanity, by New Jersey Third District of B'nai B'rith, March 11, 1984, at the Executive Meeting, Hershey Hotel, Philadelphia.

Hadassah Merit Award given "in recognition of her deep devotion to learning and efforts in teaching the lessons of the Holocaust," given by Hadassah Chapter of Great Neck, Long Island, April 4, 1984.

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#### JAMES J. ZOGBY

James Zogby is a co-founder and Executive Director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

Married, with five children, he received his Ph.D. in 1975 from Temple University in Philadelphia in the area of Islamic Studies, from the Department of Religion. For seven years Dr. Zogby taught religion and philosophy, his last position being Associate Professor of History and Philosophy at Shippensburg State College in Pennsylvania. In 1977 he co-founded the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, a national coalition of church, peace and human rights organizations and in 1978 he left college teaching to begin full-time work in Washington as the campaign's National Director.

In 1980 Zogby joined with former Senator James Abourezk to launch the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. In 1982, in the midst of the war in Lebanon, Zogby again joined with Senator Abourezk and Dr. William Monsour of Pittsburgh to found Save Lebanon, an effort to bring wounded Lebanese and Palestinian children to the U.S. for medical treatment.

In the past 6 years Zogby has lectured and written extensively on a number of subjects including: the crisis in Lebanon; the question of Palestine; U.S. Middle East policy; and the political maturation of the Arab-American community. Dr. Zogby has been an invited speaker before a number of U.N. Conferences both in the U.S. and Europe, and has testified before numerous House and Senate Committees.