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MEETING OF CATHOLIC-JEWISH LIAISON COMMITTEE

Antwerp, Dec. 4-6 1973

22-23 27-28,
42, 47, 49-50, 61
69, 70, 71, 76, 79,
87, 90-91, 92-94,
106, 112

Sessions : begin on Tuesday December 4 at 9.30 a.m.

Place : Romi Goldmuntz Centrum, Nervierstraat 12, Antwerp.

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2. Discussion of Study Paper I. "Community, People, Land in the Christian and Jewish Tradition". p. 2
Preliminary discussion of Study Paper II., "Promotion of Human Rights and Religious Freedom". p. 67
3. Exchange of Information

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- b) Problems of defining religious and political matters in our relationship. p. 73
- c) Number of Jewish members of Liaison Committee. 78

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 - status of Liaison Committee;
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- b) Middle East Situation. p. 102
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First session- December 4 (11.00 hours)
 Chairman: Msgr. Charles Moeller

1. MINUTES OF MARSEILLE MEETING. December 1972.

After prayers were said in English and Hebrew by Msgr Moeller and Rabbi Siegman respectively, the chairman suggested to pass on to item 1 of the agenda and a discussion followed on the minutes of the Liaison Committee Meeting of Marseille held in December 1972.

For technical reasons the minutes of the Marseille meeting were not available to all participants in English due both to a prolonged illness of Sister Fournier and to the fact that most of the Jewish members of the Jewish delegation are not French speaking and were therefore unable to correct the text. The meeting decided that an English translation of the minutes should be made in Rome and sent to all participants who will undertake to return the corrected and amended copy to Rome not later than 4 weeks after receipt.

The Chairman proposes to proceed to item no. 2 on the agenda and to start a discussion of study paper no. 1, "PEOPLE, NATION, LAND: THE CHRISTIAN VIEW".

DUPUY: I remind those who were not present in Marseille that there already was a first version of this Catholic research on "People, Nation^{and} Land", which was presented in Marseille. This first version was prepared by an American Rev. Stullinger and myself, who worked on this subject but was issued by myself alone for lack of time and for the impossibility to meet. This text has already been presented in Marseille and quickly discussed. It appeared, from a Catholic point of view, as a research text opening a certain number of perspectives for dialogue. But it would be more useful to start our discussion to have a very classical, a very traditional opening, the notions of People, Nation and Land in the Catholic teaching. This is why Rev. de la Potterie and myself have gone over the new work which represents our way of thinking, teaching such as that given in University faculties, concerning People, Nation and Land. This paper can be considered as having a higher authority than the previous text and it has to be considered very seriously even if we could think that seeing the research taking place in the Christian world it opens a larger dialogue with the Jewish world.

I would also like to point out that if on the word 'people' it seemed to us that what was expressed here was a unanimous agreement on the research of Catholic teaching, the same does not refer to the word 'nation', which is not traditional in the Christian world and does not have any specific expression in Catholic teaching. Therefore it does not receive a unanimous agreement on behalf of all Catholic exegetes. As far as 'land' is concerned, I think it is exactly what is taught but considerable research is being however made on this point.

PEOPLE, NATION, LAND: THE CHRISTIAN VIEW

These three notions have been appropriately chosen as the basis of a dialogue between Christians and Jews. In Judaism, all three are essential; for Christians the notion of people is equally important, while the terms nation and land no longer have the same importance for them. It is also true that the three words are understood differently by one side and the other. But in order to make a dialogue between Christians and Jews a fruitful exercise two things are necessary: first, one must show that the Christian concept is the development of a biblical and genuinely Jewish concept; secondly, one must indicate everything that Jews and Christians have in common, particularly in the manner of living in a state of hope.

A. PEOPLE

1. For Christians and Jews alike, this notion of "people of God" is fundamental. It comes straight from the Bible, where it is based on election of God and on the Covenant. . . God himself, out of love, has chosen Israel to be his own people from out of all the peoples of the earth (Dt 7:6); Israel is therefore a people consecrated to the Lord (ibid), "a kingdom of priests and a consecrated nation" (Ex 19:6). By means of the chosen people, God wishes to reveal his will to men and to sanctify his name. Israel is therefore called to be God's witness before the nations (Is 44:8); and so all the nations of the earth will share in the blessing promised to Abraham (Gen 12:3), who will become the father of a multitude of peoples (Gen 17:4).

The choosing of the people had for its ultimate purpose the establishment of the eschatological people of God. But since Israel had broken the first Covenant, God promised to make a new Covenant with his people, one different from that which went before (Jer 31:31-34): henceforth the Law would be written in the hearts of men, for God would communicate to them his Spirit (Ez 36:26). This future people will be composed of descendants of the race of Abraham (cf. Is 41:8), but the nations would join the people of the God of Abraham (Ps 47:10). Thus there appears in the Bible the more and more universal character of the people of God: all the nations will go up to Jerusalem, to the Temple of the God of Jacob (Is 2:3-5; cf. Jer 12:16), where they will come to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles (Zach 14:16). "And many nations shall join themselves to the Lord in that day, and shall be my people; and I will dwell in the midst of you" (Zech 2:11; cf. also Jer 12:15-16; Zeph 3: 9-10; Is 42:1-6; 45:20-25; 55:3-5; 60:1-9.)

Thus the unity of all men which had been destroyed at Babel will be brought

again; it will be re-established at Jerusalem; and Jerusalem will be a "new land", in which the people of God will enjoy heavenly peace (Is 65:17-25). When and how are these promises to be accomplished?

2. For the Jews, they will be accomplished in the messianic age, which for them remains an object of hope. For Christians, however, they have been in essence realized in Jesus Christ. Concerning Christ's birth, Matthew writes, quoting two biblical texts: "from you (Bethlehem) shall come a ruler who will govern my people Israel" (Mt 2:6, cf. 2 Sam 5:2, Mich 5:1). The messianic people is now the community that gradually gathers about Jesus. In conformity with the Scriptures, this messianic people must welcome the nations. This is what James explains to the assembly in Jerusalem, referring to Zech: 2:15 and Am 9:11-12: "God first visited the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name" (Acts 15:14). The people of God is the Church made up of Jews and pagans (Rom 9:24).)

This doctrine will recur frequently in later tradition. Reference will be made to the Church ex graecis and ex iudaicis, or of the Ecclesia ex circumcisione and ex gentibus (cf. Y. Congar, "Le peuple de Dieu dans l'Eglise ancienne", Rencontre (Jewish-Christian discussion on the people of God), 6 (1972), 35-53). The liturgical texts as well often apply to Christians the term "people of God" (c.f. the numerous prayers beginning Populum tuum, Domine.....). And the Second Vatican Council, in the Constitution on the Church, after quoting the text of 1 Peter 2:9-10 (which itself refers to Ex 19:5-6 and Is 43:20-21), speaks of the Church as the "messianic people having Christ as its head" (Lumen Gentium, II, 9).

For Christians, membership of the people of God ("collectio fidelium") is determined solely by religious ties, faith and baptism, which is the very condition of an openness of this people to all men. In Judaism, the situation is different: one belongs to the Jewish people by birth. A physical link is therefore commonly considered essential for membership; on the other hand profession of the Jewish religion is not held by all to be essential. As J. Hamer recently noted, "this disparity has consequences particularly when Jews and Christians discuss the distinctions and connections between the religious domain and the political one" (Rencontre, 7. 1973, 94).

3. If this is the situation, what connection is there for Christians between the Church which for them is the people of God and the Jewish people the heir of Israel?

Following St Paul (Rom 11:29), the document of the French Episcopal

Commission on Judaism rightly recalls the fact that the gifts and the call by God are granted without regret. In contrast with the "nations", the Jewish people is still today not just one people among all the others but the people that God chose for himself. This call of God, with the mission that it involves, remains for ever addressed to the Jewish people. This is why, according to St. Paul, the integration of the Jewish people is essential to the eschatological and final constitution of the people of God: this integration will be like a passing from death to life (Rom 11:15). This is what gives full meaning to the astonishing persistence of the Jewish people down the centuries, in spite of the dispersion and persecutions.

Hence we see that Jews and Christians have a "common area" of hope, even if the manner of thinking of this hope is different. What unites the Jewish people and the Christian people is the fact that they are both moving towards the eschatological realization of the Kingdom of God, of the Israel of God. This is why both must "strive more and more together to realize in history the conditions of the Event which they are awaiting" (J. Hamer, art. cit.).

B. NATION

1. The ideas of "people" and "nation" are not synonymous. If one means by people what Fustel de Coulanges understands when he writes: "men feel in their hearts that they are one people when they have a community of ideas, interests, affections, memories and hopes" (quoted in Robert, V, s.v. "people", 299, no. 4), Christians, like the Jews, certainly make up a people. On the other hand, one can state, also in agreement with Robert (IV, s.v. "nation", 756, no. 5) that the nation is "a human group, in so far as it forms a political community, established in a definite territory..., and personified by a sovereign authority". In this sense Christians are not a nation; on the other hand the Jews constitute a nation, certainly since the formation of the State of Israel.

According to this modern use of the term, the human community called a "nation" is considered above all from the cultural, economic, social and even political point of view; what one then understands by nation comes very close to the notion of State. It is in this sense that the Constitution Gaudium et Spes of Vatican II often speaks of "nations" (e.g. in nos. 6, 8, 9, etc.)

The biblical usage is different. The distinction between the people of God and the nations is essentially a religious one: the "nations" (*goyim*)

means the pagans, the idolaters, What distinguishes them in contrast to the chosen people is well set out in Jer 10:25: "Pour out thy wrath upon the nations that know thee not, and upon the peoples that call not upon thy name." The same meaning is taken up in the N.T., in contrast with the people of God, which is now the Church, there appear the "nations". Like the Prophets, Paul describes them as those "who do not know God" (1 Thess 4:5). But the Christian people henceforth is open to the pagan nations; these last are called to enter the people of God; Christ has wished, starting with the Jew and the pagan, to "create in himself one new man in place of the two, so making peace, and ... reconcile us both to God in one body" (Eph. 2:15-16; cf. 3:6).

2. Thus it is clear that Christians as such do not consider themselves as a nation in the biblical sense, and still less in the modern and political sense of the term. The N. T., which uses the word ethnos 162 times, only applies it twice to Christians - in Rom. 11:13, to mean the Christians who had come from paganism, and in 1 Peter 2:9-10, in a quotation of Ex 19:5-6 and of Is 43:20-21: "You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation (ethnos goy), God's own people". The author here applies to the Christian community what was said of Israel: the latter had been chosen from among the pagan nations to become a "holy nation", by the Covenant. It is also significant that ethnos (nation) is never translated in the Vulgate N.T. by populus, but most often by gens or natio. "People" and nation are very different. The Christian liturgy does not use the word nationes, but several times it uses the word gentes, in the sense of ethne. In the N.T. it designates by this term the nations that have not yet received the message of salvation.

From the use of the word "nation" in the Christian context it thus becomes clear that this term, for Christians, does not have, and cannot have, a theological and religious meaning. This is why, by contrast with the word "people", the word "nation" has not been thematized. This is perfectly understandable when one begins with the biblical sense of the word, and still more if one understands it in the political sense that it has acquired in modern times.

The people of God is not a national reality. Jesus strongly rejected all political messianism (Lk 4:5-6). His kingdom is not of this world (Jn 18:36). If later however the Church has several times allowed herself to be tempted by politics (in the Byzantine period, in the time of the Holy Roman Empire or during the Renaissance), she has never, in her authentic and official teaching, consented to consider herself as a "nation". But this in no way

implies that the Church does not concern herself with the nations: she seeks to maintain relations with the different nations, and Christians in practically every part of the world take part in the life of the nations. But the Christian people is not and cannot be a nation.

3. In Judaism, things are more complicated. The Jewish people consider themselves as much a le'om as an 'am and makes little distinction between people and nation. It tends to give a religious significance of its national dimension; hence it is less open to universalistic views.

Here we have an important difference between the Jewish and Christian points of view. For Christians "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female" (Gal 3:28), for all are one in Jesus Christ. And according to Revelation (5:9), the eschatological people will be made up of "men of every race, tongue, people and nation".

Nevertheless the two points of view retain a common basis in the Bible, and this could be the starting point for a true dialogue. Reflection on the Bible would help the Jews to purify their modern idea of nation. We may note first of all that in the Scriptures 'am and goy are often interchangeable. If Israel has become "the people of God", "the people (par excellence)", this is because of God's choice and the Covenant. But starting from this divine choice, Israel was no longer a "nation" in the usual biblical sense of the term. In subsequent tradition, the Jews considered themselves as a "nation" but for this they rather used the word "le'om". However, in the Bible this term only exceptionally stands for Israel (cf. Is 51:4); usually the word is used in the plural, in parallelism with goyim. When the Jews of today consider themselves as a le'om, in the sense of a national entity, is there not perhaps here some influence of the secularized concepts of our time, which understand the word "nation" in a clearly political sense? There appears to be a growing temptation to have recourse to the concept of le'om in order to limit the conditions governing membership of the State of Israel, and this increases the religious particularism of this latter. The word "nation" thus comes to take on a sense entirely different from the one it had in Ex 19:6 ("a holy nation"). Would reflection on the torah not perhaps lead the Jews to consider themselves less as a "nation" and much more as a "people"?

On the other hand, according to the prophetic tradition referred to above (pages....) Israel had a universalistic vocation. The nations were called to enter into the chosen people. Has this universalistic openness been sufficiently maintained and respected in Judaism? This is a question that

Christians cannot fail to ask their Jewish brothers. Would not a common reflection on these texts of the Prophets make possible a rapprochement between Jews and Christians precisely in regard to this truly universalistic vocation of the people of God?

C. LAND

In common with the two preceding themes, that of "land", as it is described in the Bible, can provide a good starting point for dialogue between Jews and Christians even if it is undeniable that important divergences are obvious in the development that the theme has had in the two traditions.

1. For the people of Israel, the Land has acquired a unique importance. The land of Israel had been given to it by God (Dt 12:1; 19:14); it had become Israel's domain and inheritance (Dt 15:4; Ps 135:12). And so from the exile onwards there develops the theme of the "return of Israel" to its land (Dt 30:5; Ez 36:28; Jer 32:37:44).

But these promises and hopes have been progressively transfigured and spiritualized. This is seen already in the Bible, then also and more clearly still in ancient Judaism. The passage Jer 32:37:44 should be compared with Jer 31: 31-34, which is another version of the same prophecy (cf. von Rüd), on the new and eternal covenant. In the one case the whole accent is placed on the "return"; in Jer 31:31-34 the alliance is purely spiritual (interior law, knowledge of God, forgiveness of sins).

The Gospel text of the third Beatitude (Mtt 5:5) takes its inspiration from Ps 37:11: "The meek shall possess the land". In Judaism, according to Strack-Billerbeck (I, 109), this verse has been interpreted in a messianic or eschatological sense. For Maimonides, for example, "the land" means "the land of the living, that is to say the world to come". In this view, the "land" no longer seems to be only the land where the Jewish people live but at the same time the whole earth; this land of the world to come will be completely transformed. Moreover, the theme of inheritance indicated in this verse of the psalm develops in the same sense: the important thing is not possession of the land but possession of God (cf. Ps 16:5, 73:26). Finally we may note with J. Dupont (Les béatitudes, first ed., 293, no. 1), that already in the later chapters of Isaiah (57:13' 60:21, 65: 9)"the idea of the promised land takes on a very pronounced eschatological nuance"; henceforward it is a question of a new, transfigured Jerusalem (Is 60), of "new heavens" and a "new earth" (65:17).

2. For Christians, the theme of the land is situated in the extension of these prophetic reflections. Jesus promises that "the meek shall possess the land" (Mt 5:5); here, the land is nothing other than the kingdom of God (cf. Mt 5:3-10). "The inheritance awaited by Christians is thus identified with the world to come. There is a general preference for "inherit the kingdom of God" (cf. Mt 25:34, 1 Cor 6: 9-10) and "inherit eternal life", etc., rather than "inherit the land". And since it is right that the inheritance should come to the son, entering into possession of the divine inheritance coincides in a concrete way with receiving the very title of son of God, which is spoken of in the Beatitude of the peacemakers (op. cit., 294). In fact, in the vision of Revelation, the "new heaven", the "new earth", "the holy city, the new Jerusalem" (21:1-2) will consist in "the dwelling of God...with men... they shall be his people and God himself will be with them" (v.3); for the elect, the inheritance will consist in their being fully sons of God (v.7).

In Christian theology, the theme of the land retains a properly religious sense only to the extent that it is understood in a spiritual and eschatological sense.

3. For Judaism, on the contrary, return to the land of Israel is essential. And one can understand all that the recent realization of this hope of the "return to Sion" represents for the Jewish mind today.

How is one to judge this event from the Christian point of view? It would not be going too far to assert that it has caught the Christian mind at a disadvantage. Certainly, the land of Israel and the city of Jerusalem, which are the setting of sacred history and of the life of Jesus, have always had a meaning for Christians. Hence pilgrimages to the "Holy Places". But since the foundation of the universal Church at Pentecost, one cannot say that the land of Israel is still for Christians, as it is for the Jews, an object of hope.

This does not mean that the Jewish people's attachment to "its land" and the return to Israel lack meaning for Christians. One can make one's own the statement of the French Episcopal Commission that "the universal conscience cannot deny the Jewish people, who have undergone so many vicissitudes in the course of history the right to and the means for its own political existence among the nations", condition however, that this right is exercised with full respect for justice towards all. As for the question of knowing whether this return of a certain number of Jews to Israel can have a religious significance for Christians, views are divided. For many Christians the answer would

be in the negative. Yet one may think that this gathering in Israel is not extraneous to the plan of salvation, to the extent that it permits the Jewish people to regain its profound identity and to live more perfectly its true vocation - the one indicated by the Prophets. If this is the case, even the return of the Jewish people to their own land is a renewed invitation to them to reflect on their origins and on their destiny, as these latter are described in Scripture.



Prof. WERBLOWSKY suggests the Jewish text should be read out, too, the same morning.

It is also decided that the Catholic questions will be read after the reading of the Jewish Text.

Mons. MOELLER opens the discussion.

Prof. WERBLOWSKY adds some observations about the genesis of the Jewish text and on how it was produced and took shape in its present form.

"Last year in Marseille, we had two tentative papers, one from Rabbi Wurzburger and one from myself. Then the decision was taken that the two groups should produce a joint paper each. This meant that our two originally joint papers had to be merged and there would be confrontation between us. So the result of efforts is neither fully representative of Wurzburger's original line, nor fully representative of my original line but we have attempted to find a redaction which would incorporate these two approaches. The paper you have before you does not certainly intend to give the full spectrum of Jewish feelings. It is as we thought it would be necessary to do here (since we are not having a seminar on political science or modern history): to be very emphatic and specific on the traditional religious interpretations. There is, of course, a liberal Judaism of different descriptions; there even is an outright secular Judaism, which may be a very valid form of interpreting Judaism. But this we kept out of the paper as it was conceived. This may be one of its weaknesses or limitations. This may be its strength. I do not care about evaluating it; simply I want to state what the paper is and what it is not.

Even within the religious context it is definitely slanted towards an explication of the traditional classical view of Judaism for we both agree that even within what can be widely called 'religious Judaism' there is a wider spectrum of opinions.

My last remark is "What this paper is not" - and this may be a wise or unwise redactional decision, but there were reasons why we took this decision.

I would congratulate our christian, catholic counterparts for having taken a different decision and thereby having produced such an excellent and really first-rate paper. They did not shy away, when developing the christian perspective of the problem, to do it in a counterpoint way, in a manner which did not invade the comparative issue, no matter now how I would take 'issue' and discuss whether the comparison is right or not right, whether the description is correct or not correct (this would already be a matter of scholarly discussion *ab materia*); but, if I consider it not *ab materialia*, but *ab formalia* then there is an attempt to develop the christian viewpoint by a counterpoint that is comparative to the other.

Our paper very deliberately - and the reasons do not matter - took upon itself this limitation of not developing our argument by way of constant comparative counterpoints. Those who have seen the original papers would remember that in at least one or two of them (one I originally drafted), there was a constant counterpoint development of the argument by comparative reference. This we left out in the present paper. "

LAND, PEOPLE AND NATION IN JEWISH PERSPECTIVE

The attitudes of Judaism towards land, people and nation must be viewed in the light of the pronounced dialectical tension between the universalistic and particularistic components which characterize the Jewish tradition.

On the one hand the entire structure of Judaism revolves around its fundamental monotheistic doctrines which are held to possess universal validity and relevance. It unequivocally affirms that God, the source of all value and existence, confronts all of Mankind with His demand to acknowledge His absolute sovereignty and to abide by certain socio ethical norms (the seven Noahide Commandments). On the other hand, Judaism is the religion of the Jewish people - a particular historic community of fate and faith. Hence, it is impossible to profess Judaism unless one is a member of this unique covenantal community. Any attempt to describe the Jews as a mere denomination comparable to Catholics, Lutherans, etc. is a falsification of the basic facts of history and a distortion of the fundamental nature of Jewish existence. It could even be argued that political Zionism with its allegedly nationalistic ideology was much less a departure from traditional Jewish consciousness than the movement of the religious reform and social assimilation which sought to turn Judaism into a denominational entity organized in Synagogues and administered by consistories, synagogue councils and similar establishments.

The ethnic character of Judaism is also theologically dominant, for Judaism addresses itself not merely to Jews qua individuals, but to the Jewish people collectively as well. According to the provisions of a special covenant with God, the people of Israel (as a concrete historic community) was singled out for a unique religious vocation, and elected by God to form a "Kingdom of priests and a holy nation." Israel is summoned to fashion the entire structure of its national life in accordance with the divine norms revealed in the Torah.

And even the individual Jew fulfills his personal religious mission not so much as an individual but as a member of the Jewish collectivity. It is for this reason that a popular Kabbalistic formula recited by many Jews before the performance of certain religious rites, affirms that the religious act in question in order to achieve its true religious objective - is carried out in the name of all of Israel."

Membership in this particular historic group is acquired by birth. No further religious rite is needed to obtain full-fledged status as a member of this covenantal community.

Converts, however, can gain entrance into the covenantal community only when in addition to accepting the "yoke of the commandment," they also declare themselves ready to become part of the Jewish people and to share the vicissitudes of its fate. This procedure follows the pattern set by the classic conversion of Ruth, the Moabite, who faithfully pledged "Your people shall be my people" before she proceeded to declare "Your God shall be my God." For that matter, a sense of identification with the Jewish people is an overriding religious obligation. No matter how qualified he may be in terms of personal piety and devotion to the Torah, a Jew is not deemed worthy of sharing in the blessings of the "world to come," if he fails to identify with the fate of his fellow Jews." (Maimonides Hilkhot Teshuvah, 2:11) The mere fact that one does not experience a special sense of kinship with other members of the people of the covenant is sufficient ground for being excluded from the spiritual benefits vouchsafed to bona fide members of the covenantal community.

The mystery of the election of the people of Israel for a unique role in the divine plan is closely associated with another mystery - the designation of a particular land as the specific site in which alone the spiritual objectives of the people can be fully attained. In the experience of the Jews, their relation

to the land actually preceded their existence as a people. This may sound poor logic, but the Lord had said unto Abraham "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto the land that I will show thee" (Genesis 12:1). This promise became an everlasting covenant, as permanent as the laws of nature (Jeremiah 31:34-35; 33:20-21, 25-26), and the Jews always knew, deep in their hearts and in the midst of the most abject humiliation, persecution and massacre, that God would not only remember His covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob but that He would also "remember the land." (Leviticus 26:42) The notion of a "return" thus became a basic element of Jewish self-understanding and of the interpretation of their existence in exile. Foolishness to Greeks and liberals, and a scandal to Christians, the obstinate Jews persisted in their determination to consider all countries except one tiny Mediterranean coastal strip as the lands of their dispersion. And when even greater foolishness and worse scandal they established the State of Israel, this historical event was experienced by them as a "return." Perhaps it is not going too far to suggest that this return was possible because in the historical consciousness of the Jews the bond with their land was consistently formulated in terms of the future. The "Land of Israel" is neither a fatherland nor a "mother country": it is the land of which God had said that He would show it to Abraham and give it to his seed as an everlasting heritage. In the Jewish view there was always a mysterious parallelism between their fate and that of the land. For even as they were in exile, suffering ignominy and persecution, so also the land was waste and waiting for the return of its predestined partner. The Biblical prophecy (Leviticus 26:32) seemed to be confirmed, "I will bring the land into desolation, and your enemies that dwell therein shall be desolate as well." This is how traditional Jewish exegesis interpreted this verse. In point of fact, this understanding of the text fitted

the actual facts remarkably well since the history of the land, as reported by travellers and pilgrims, seemed to bear out to a remarkable degree the picture which the Jews in the lands of their exile had formed of it. One of the most fertile regions of the ancient world had become a waste and malaria ridden area. After the Turkish conquest the desolation of the land reached its peak and in the 19th century, when the population of the world was everywhere expanding, that of Palestine dropped to less than half a million. Hence, it is understandable that the impressive achievement of the Jewish pioneers in reclaiming the land and making her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the lord" (Isaiah 51:3) should be perceived, even by confirmed secularists, through a halo of Biblical associations.

According to the Biblical account, the bond between the land and the people was not created by the convergence of a variety of natural factors and conditions. It was rather a divina imperative that established an irrevocable connection between people and land. By the same token, the unique sanctity that permeates the Land of Israel is not due to specific historic events associated with any particular locale. After all, by far the most central and most holy event in the entire history of the Jewish people was the Revelation at Mount Sinai. Yet, Mount Sinai, the site where the theophany took place was not accorded any permanent sanctity. From a Jewish point of view the sanctity of the Holy Land is not a function of the various "holy places" which are situated within its borders. It is, rather, the land that is endowed a priori and in its own right, with an all pervasive holiness. To be sure the entire city of Jerusalem, and especially the site of the former Temple are invested with additional sanctity because these sites were specifically consecrated for certain religious purposes. But as regards the general holiness permeating the entire land of Israel is concerned, there are no differences in degree insofar

as specific locations are concerned.

The special status of the land manifests itself not only in the existence of a vast body of religious duties which can be fulfilled only within the land of Israel. ("Commandments which are dependant upon the land.") (Mishnah Keddushim 1:9) A well known rabbinic text goes so far as to assert that the only reason why the Jews must keep the Torah even outside the land of Israel is to guarantee that upon their return to the land they will not have become totally alienated from the practices which possess intrinsic value only when performed within the land. (Sifri, Ekev 43) According to another rabbinic dictum, the principle of collective responsibility did not become operative until after the Israelites had crossed the river Jordan and had entered the Holy Land. (Eruvin 43b) Apparently, in the opinion of the Talmudic sages, as long as Israelites did not occupy the land of Israel, they were still lacking one essential prerequisite for the formation of the kind of collective, communal existence which is presupposed by the notion that "all Israelites are responsible for each other." Nachmanides, one of the most influential Medieval rabbinic authorities, attributed so much weight to the spiritual importance of the land of Israel for the entire scope of the Jewish religious life that he expressed the rather startling opinion that the Patriarchs who according to Talmudic opinion voluntarily abided by the regulations of the Torah did so only within the territorial limits of the land of Israel. (Commentary to Genesis 26:5) To be sure, not all Jewish thinkers would be prepared to ascribe to this particular formulation of the relationship between Torah and land, which probably also reflects the influence of various mystical doctrines. Yet however much they may diverge in their respective conceptions regarding the exact nature of the centrality of the land for Israel's spiritual mission and

vocation, all classic thinkers who are rooted in the tradition agree that the eschatological goal of Judaism necessarily includes the return of the Jewish people to the land to which it is committed by a divine covenant. It was only in a setting that deliberately denied the ethnic features of Judaism because they seemed to interfere with the full acceptance of the Jew as an equal by non-Jewish society that in the wake of the Enlightenment and of the Emancipation that there could arise philosophies of Judaism which were so universalistic in conception as to view the exile from the land not as a calamity but as a blessing. Viewed from the perspective of this one-sided universalism, the exile allegedly "liberated" the Jewish people from the shackles of particularism, thus freeing it to perform its mission for all mankind. Such a conception was totally foreign to classic Judaism, which unabashedly looked upon the exile as an unmitigated tragedy. In the words of the Jewish liturgy, "because of our sins we were exiled from our land."

The intrinsic connection between the Holy Land and the divinely elected people is irrevocable. No matter how far Israel may stray from its appointed task, failure to carry out its spiritual mandate cannot result in Israel's forfeiting its pre-eminent status. The provisions of the Covenant guarantee that under no circumstances can the particular historic community of Israel, which comprised of the descendants of the Patriarchs, be ever displaced from its unique position in the divine scheme of Redemption.

The survival of the Jewish people through the vicissitudes of history however therefore is not a contingent fact of history, but a religious necessity grounded in an unconditional divine Covenant. Hence Judaism constitutes a "religious ethnicism," not only because the Jewish people was originally founded upon the bedrock of a commitment of faith but also because

the very existence of the people is indispensable to the realization of its religious mission.

It must not be overlooked that survival of the group is merely a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the fulfillment of its historic mission. Judaism is not a "religion of survival" per se but rather a religion that views its survival as a prerequisite to functioning as "witnesses" to the "God who is to be sanctified amidst the children of Israel." (Leviticus 22:32) This pattern for sanctification of life does not call for suppression of any of the components which are vital to the functioning of a natural community. Within the framework of Judaism the natural is not the antithesis of the spiritual. Since Judaism objects to the bifurcation of reality into material and spiritual domains, even the exercise of political power lies within the province of proper religious activity. Thus for Maimonides the fulfillment of human history at the time of the ultimate Redemption does not lead to the abrogation of political power. The Messiah is not merely a towering spiritual figure, but he is the Messianic King." (Bilket Melakhim 11:1 and 3) There were, of course, Jewish thinkers who adopted far more negative stances towards political power and regarded it as an historically necessary evil brought about by human sinfulness. But even those who envisage the Messianic future in terms that may render the need for an exercise of political power obsolete will readily agree that the unredeemed world cannot dispense with the trappings of political organization and instrumentalities of power. Hence, if Israel is to function effectively as a holy people, the entire sphere of socio-economic and political relations no less than the area of purely personal behavior must be subject to the divine norms by which Jewish society acknowledges the absolute sovereignty of God.

While there is complete unanimity regarding the desirability of the ethnic distinctiveness and cultural identity of the people of Israel ("I have separated you from the nations that ye shall be mine" Lev, 20:26), we encounter the difference of opinion with respect to the intrinsic value of distinctive ethnic and cultural identity on the part of other nations and collectivities, whose national diversity is not founded upon the need for a special national or collective consecration to the service of God. There are authorities who envisage the ideal pattern of humanity in terms of cultural and national homogeneity and who view the present division of mankind into divergent historic communities as a punishment inflicted upon mankind. According to this school of thought, the building of the Tower of Babel proved that mankind was not worthy of the blessing of complete unity. Hence, it was only because mankind was implicated in guilt that separate ethnic cultural communities emerged. Other thinkers maintain to the contrary that the diversity of cultural and ethnic patterns was an integral feature of the original divine plan inasmuch as linguistic and cultural diversity characterized mankind even prior to the building of the Tower of Babel and its ensuing confusion of tongues. For while Judaism takes it for granted that no amount of spiritualizing exegesis could ever spiritualize away the covenantal relationship between Israel and its land to the point of liquidating its concrete historic social connotation. Judaism is much more reticent on the nature and the modalities of the relation of other peoples to their land. This may very well be construed as an openness that invites others to do their own thinking and formulating regarding their experiences of peoplehood and land. There is no reason why Jews should not leave this task to the nations of the world, which must bring their own insight into the meaning of their experience to bear upon this problem.

Mons. MOELLER: expresses his thanks and gratitude for the Jewish paper. He feels personally very enriched by it.

"In our paper we tried to consider the classical view, to propose some possible dialogue even inside the traditional view that I think is summarized in the paper, even if in the Catholic view there are maybe new or other lines of thinking about the same problems.

Our paper was focussed for the 9/10th on the classical view".

END OF THE MORNING SESSION

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Catholic questions are read out.

QUESTIONS ASKED ABOUT THE JEWISH REPORT ON PEOPLE - NATION - LAND

1. People and Nation.

According to the Bible and Jewish tradition, is it not permissible in some sense to distinguish the Jewish People ('am) and the Jewish Nation (in the sense of le'om)? To be more precise does not this distinction stem from the succession of the two Covenants, that of Abraham and that of Moses, the first of which is the basis of the choice of the People by God, while the second makes this people into a Nation ?

Is there not a dispersion of the descendants of Abraham prior to the later dispersions of the Nation and a more basic one? If a Jew as a result of different historical circumstances, becomes a Christian, one can understand that he should be excluded from the le'om; but is he for this reason excluded from the race of Abraham?

2. Universalism.

How does Israel act as a witness among the Nations? Is what is said of the "Nations"(goyim) in the Bible and in Jewish tradition applicable to the Nations of today? Is there room for a "conversion" of the Nations in the Jewish view of time and history?

What is Jewish universalism? Has Christian universalism any meaning in Jewish eyes, or is it considered to be in contradiction with the Bible?

3. What sort of a connection is there, in the Jewish view, between "Zionism" and "Messianism"?

- a) If the spiritual is not opposed to the temporal (which Christians believe too), is there not in Jewish society a diversity of competences and therefore of responsible authorities? How can a theopolis avoid being a theocracy?
- b) Since man is a sinner and since the present regime of every nation is tainted by sin, can the reconstruction of Israel be put forward as a messianic realization, with the consequences that flow therefrom? Or is it a realization that will remain ambiguous until the messianic times? Is messianism spiritual or temporal? At what point do the messianic times begin?

4. Inheriting the land.

- a) In the Bible and Jewish tradition do not the texts of the Prophets and of the Psalms on "possessing the land" have an eschatological sense (this Ps. 37: 11 cf. the reference to the Talmud provided by Strack Billerbeck of Mt. 5:5 (no.2), T.I., pp. 199-200 and Is 65:17, 66:22)? If the mitzva concerning the return to the land refers to the eschatology of Israel, what meaning may have for Judaism the Christian eschatology and the Muslim eschatology?

- b) What are the ethical requirements of Zionism, concerning the peace promised to the sons of Israel on the one hand and to the non-Jews on the other? In the eyes of Jewish tradition, is there any meaning and significance in the Christian preaching that proclaims "peace in all the earth" and strives to make that peace a reality? Or is this preaching considered a deviation from the message of the Prophets? How are these texts of the Prophets interpreted in the Jewish tradition?

General discussion on the two paper is opened.

Rabbi TANENBAUM: "I simply want to raise questions in terms of balance and nuance on the paper that Fr. Dupuy has presented to us which I concur is an excellent document. I personally appreciated it very much.

Part of the value of seeing this document side by side with the Wurzburger's-Werblowsky's document is that I think it suggests at least the importance of having some balance in terms of the complementary self-interpretations that are contained in both documents.

If I had any criticism at all, it had to do with what I think is almost the classic problematic when Jews and Christians talk to each other, very often unintentionally. There is a sense, I have, that in the setting forth of the Christian categories and self-understanding, that these are projected in a kind of ideal typical way; there is a projection of Christian understanding of universalism in its ideal form and at certain critical points it is set side by side at the point with which you may compare analysis with Jewish categories of self-understanding; is set side by side with the historic existential experience of the Jewish people and Judaism rather than setting side by side an identical set of categories in which Judaism would project itself in ideal typical forms. Then, when you speak of the "complexity of Judaism" on page 5, you say that "Judaism tends to give a religious significance to its national dimension; hence it is less opened to universalistic views". And you set that side by side with the description of the universal openness of the Church without reference to its historical and sociological dimension. And I wonder if we would not be closer to the reality that both of us encounter if one were to see that indeed in both traditions there is the need to set forth the ideal perception of the Church universal; there is also in a sense a Jewish conception, at least in my own tradition, in Conservative Judaism. . . Our major theologian in this country, Solomon Schechter spoke of the 'Catholic Israel', the "Catholic Synagogue", which is the synagogue in its universal dimension, seen in its ideal

terms; yet the ways in which Jews experience reality of universal synagogue are, in conflict, existential experiences and historic order.

• But I wonder if there is not a comparable experience in terms of the Church universal as well. That is to say that when one encounters Christians in the reality as against Christian professioned faith for Christian doctrine, that the Church universal is never experienced as an ideal phenomenon but rather is experienced in historical reality in a variety of forms. That is to say that the Church that I encounter, I encounter wither in its Latin form or in its Protestant form, deriving at a particular historical cultural incarnation, in North-Western European experience, or in its Byzantine-Orthodox form, so that there is a far greater complexity to the dialectical reality of Christianity in terms of the way in which it is lived out in the life of this people and has very much more to do with its incarnation, as it were, in culture, in society, in civilisation, even though it constantly affirms itself in more universal categories.

In that sense there is something about the metaphoric style of the Church which, within its literary expression tends to emphasize forms of the eschatological dimension of its literary self-expression and its theological self-expression, but that, in fact, has always existed in some tension with the reality of Church which is in the incarnational form (?) and civilizational trends. And in many ways Jews understand this, although I think for perhaps a variety of reasons we are far more conscious of the existential reality of Jewish life but that has to be a matter in many ways of emphasis far more that it means a radical separation of categories between christian self-understanding and jewish self-understanding. I don't know if I made myself all togethr clear...

Mons. MOELLER invites other questions in the same line.

Rabbi BRICKNER : "I would like to ask a simple question. Putting these documents side by side you see two tracks developing, going in opposite ways. Your paper seems to turn more and more towards the universalistic and the Wurzbuger's-Werblowsky's paper seems to go more and more in the direction of the particular. There is a divergence which emerges as the papers themselves come through. Obviously there is a lot to say in comparison of those two phenomena as they develop within the papers' own structures.

My question is: towards the end of the Catholic paper, at the conclusion, I find myself asking 'what is the ultimate logical extension of a universal that you project?' 'Is it that the Jewish people give up the land?' 'Is that the destiny you refer to in the very last line of the last page, when you suggest that we reflect on "their origin and their destiny, as these latter are described in Scripture"? Is it that? If that becomes the

ultimate end of universalism as developed by your paper - that the people could give up its land the whole of nations and people no longer reply, then we have a diversity between the Catholic and the Jewish people: we have a conflict between the two.

It leads to a conflict. There is an actual philosophical conflict. "

Rabbi WURZBURGER : " My problem is perhaps an old one which goes back to some private conversations some time ago with various people. The question of the implicit criticism which of course is extremely well taken , that perhaps the Jewish position is not sufficiently open to the universalistic overtones. I just wonder whether perhaps , while our paper did not sufficiently stress it because we addressed ourselves more to the questions of 'land and nation' and not to the question of the universalistic epical overtones, etc. ; whether it is not feasible to have, within Judaism, a pronounced universalistic stand , even though Jews will not be willing to recognize that there is an Israel outside or in particular people. But one certainly can speak about the applicability of the prophetic ideals, and the applicable message derived from applicable monotheism , even outside or in particular communities of Israel, and therefore while naturally our paper did not deal with this particular aspect, I am not quite sure that perhaps the questions that the Catholic paper puts recognize sufficiently that there exists perhaps a Jewish point of view: universalism can be maintained on grounds other than Israel. In other words, the applicable applicability in universal significant import of religious ideals can be, within the Jewish scheme, advanced without any particular reference to Israel and therefore it certainly would not, in my opinion, follow that- while I would quite agree that there happens that for a variety of reasons, Judaism may not have always been sufficiently aware of its universalistic openness,

However, whether the rapprochement between Jews and Christians can be precisely regarded as truly a universalistic vocation of people of God, now I would feel that there might perhaps be a third alternative. That the rapprochement would not be trying to come to an agreement on the area of what constitutes the people of God, but rather on the area that is a universal concern that it again to its traditional phenomenology of the "b'nei Noach". And the " b'nei Noach " is certainly a universal dimension and where it would not be necessarily imperative to broaden the concept 'Israel and the people of God' in a certain sense.

Obviously, people of God has two meanings: it could mean anyone who, in a certain way, shares spiritual aspirations - of course, I think, anyone within the classical Jewish tradition would deny the legitimacy and the significance of these remarks - however, at the same time, it would not necessarily follow that Judaism would have to forego completely any kind of universalistic openness, simply by not being willing to recognize that Israel has a meaning which can completely transcend that of Israel in the flesh. "

DUPUY: I personally understand fully the reticences and the reserves which have just been expressed about some elements of the Catholic study paper. I would like to make a first remark. It seems to me that the implicit attitudes that you denounce in the Catholic paper come from the fact that this report has been understood as a classical presentation, that is to say proposing the teaching generally given which implies other implicit presuppositions that we did not wish to eliminate from our paper, since we ourselves believe that they are obsolete.

My general opinion is that these discrepancies that we noted are first a consequence of what we very often have said here: there is some asymmetry in our positions; There is no symmetry between what we could call 'our doctrinal positions', our theological insights and this is perhaps what it in some way misleading in our study papers to the extent we are comparing them to one another. There is no symmetry first because we are proposing an exegetical or scriptural or doctrinal Catholic exposé, with the risk that we refer our Catholic doctrine to Jewish facts and at the same time you - in referring to the Jewish tradition - compare it to Christian events. It is very difficult for us to initiate a confrontation that would be purely exegetical or purely doctrinal, since such purity does not exist, and even if it existed, our doctrinal approaches are not conceived in the same way, are not understood from the same point of view. Our hermeneutics are different. As a consequence words are misleading.

After this general remark, I come to the question of universalism. We have given a presentation of how Christianity conceives its own universalism. This naturally implies some kind of a critique of the Jewish position which seems non-universalistic since the Jewish people is a people, is a nation and in this sense does not extend itself to all the nations in the world. I am quite aware that there is a Jewish universalism and we must add immediately and first of all that this Jewish universalism is linked with its own particularism: it is as a particular nation that the Jews can deliver to the world a universalistic message, since it is when you first of all affirm your own identity that you have something to say to another and not if you begin by an affirmation of identity with him. I am quite aware of the existence of Jewish universalism that is generally unseen by Christians who have quite another idea of universalism. And this is not expressed in the study paper. It could not find place in the study paper since, if we had expressed that, we would have inserted in the report an insight that has only been perceived by a few Christians: Christianity as a whole has not been aware of it or has not made use of it in its doctrinal arguments. So, with reference to what has been said from Rabbi Tanenbaum and also Rabbi Wurzburger, I would like to say that this opposition of universalisms mentioned by you for me has to be considered not as impossible to be overcome but as a serious matter since it derives directly from the divergencies of our respective situations in the world, of our respective locations and as a consequence many doctrinal divergencies could emerge that cannot be overcome within a short time. This problem of universalism is of extreme importance in our dialogue and has even an impact on our ideas about prophecy.

In concluding I would like to say that we know quite well that Christian universalism itself comes from the universalism of the synagogue in the beginning of Christianity -

that the organisation of the Christian Churches at the origin followed the Synagogal pattern. Consequently, these divergencies of situations mentioned by us ought to be considered in our dialogue: not only from a sociological point of view, but as really grounded in the same Lord.

MOELLER: Ask Fr. Dupuy to give more precisions about the differences he pointed out, between the roots of universalism in the Christian view and what he said about the Jewish view.

DUPUY: This matter has not perhaps be treated accurately enough in the Catholic study paper. We have not given a sufficient definition of what is Christian universalism and because of that we have now a discussion about the concept of universalism. As it has been said so often - and it seems to me you can find this in the study paper - Christianity consideres itself as essentially missionary, i. e. having essentially in charge the spreading of a message that has to be brought to the knowledge of all nations. For you, Jews, this defenition could seem to be a typical pagano-Christian definition. But how could we interpret in another direction the New Testament? How could the N. T. be not and first a message to all nations of the earth? Could we argue on the fact that Jesus himself has declared that his message was first addressed to the lost sheep of the House of Israel and that he has not immediately sent his disciples to all the nations? It is a fact that in its historical organisation and in its actual structure the Church, the Churches, Christianity are substantially understood as the spreading of a message connected with Jesus Christ and in this light are seen as aiming to an eschatological gathering of all nations of the earth through the announcement of this message.

Consequently, our idea of universalism is a global - if you accept, Catholic - conception which brings pluralism to unity. In contrast, Jewish universalism which indeed exists and is very deeply rooted is not perceived by the Christians precisely because, although it is a true universalism - it is quite a different universalism.

It is quite different because Jews are convinced that the Eternal appears in the history of man by the medlum of a people, or more precisely by the people awareness of its own identity - identity that is always threatened by the dispersion of this people among all the nations of the world.

Thus, it is in this attitude of defensiveness, in feference to the messages of the various nations, that Jewish identity survives all along the history and the universalism characteristic of Judaism, implies this reconquered identity necessary for a real encounter with the others, necessary for true dialogue.

Once again I confess that our study paper is not explicit on these points but it could include them and here we have an open field for the future and a possibility of continuing our research. But it is a fact that daily, in the Christian world, the Jewish world is criticized, is attacked, because of what Christians call "its lack of universalism". This problem has to be taken into account in our dialogue. On the Christian side we must try to evaluate the connection between this attutude and some kind of exegesis. But on the Jewish side you must help us to understand the relationship between authentic universalism and particularism since, finally, this is a question for the Catholic Church herself nowadays

If the Catholic Church continues on the track of its traditions universalism, in the present situation it could lose its identity as a Christian Church. It could lose its relation to its roots and its ^{specific} Christian particularism .

Rabbi TANENBAUM : " I wanted to ask two questions to Fr. Dupuy: The first one is to ask to reflect on the way in which you would deal with the current discussion that I have recently read among African Christians who were struggling also with the question particularly of universalism in the Church throughout the last visit which Pope Paul VI paid to Africa in which the question of the struggle for identity from the part of African Christians and the tension, the dialectic which the Pope suggested had to be sustained for a genuine understanding of at least contemporary Catholic doctrine; the formula that was suggested as the basis for the theological conversations that took place, was the responsibility for, is the responsibility of catholic theologians in the particular culture of Africa, the various cultures of Africa, that of christianizing Africa for africanizing Christianity.

And the result of it was that there is a tension, a tension, a dialectic which must be sustained between those two poles in which Christian identity existed between both impulses, namely the universalizing of the African cultural identity and, at the same time, if Christianity has not remained simply a set of theoretical formulations or theological ideas, concepts. That, in fact, it has to take on reality in the African culture and civilisation and penetrate into the whole life of the civilisation, seeking to transform it with Christian content and a Christian style of life. I understood that response intuitively out of my own Jewish experience. The sense I have is that in this formulation there is a tendency to de-emphasize the simple importance of religious traditions coming alive in the life of particular people, particular cultures, particular societies and one of the issues that I see emerging among some of the theologians, certainly in North America, people like Baum and others, is a very powerful critique within the Church of what was referred to constantly as a "hellenization" of the Church with a continuous emphasis on the idealization of the Church as against the need for it to penetrate into the culture and life and become integrated,

manifest, in the actual human ^{and} social experiences of the people, if it is to be more than a set of ideas.

In that sense is not there a set of risks on both sides? This is to say to the degree that one emphasizes the universality of a faith-community and regards that as its ideal presentation and devalues its incarnation into the actual human experience, one does not ~~endow it~~ . . . with a kind of platonic society of philosophers as against becoming a genuine redemptive force and shaping the life from the values and experiences of the whole people and contrarywise, if one becomes so preoccupied with, in a sense, exhausting the tradition ~~only for~~ its almost functional values and sustaining the people that in time it loses the critical function that a system of values plays in constantly challenging that people to go beyond itself, to live in accordance with higher values.

DUPUY: We have touched upon a very important question for Christians of today. The question is to know if Christianity has to follow a line of fidelity to its origin and of adherence to its roots or a line of presence to the world. Such a presence in the world endangers the substance of the message inasmuch as it could be left aside the inner vitality of the message and vitality which is directly dependent on its origin and roots.

This is a very serious problem, and not only in Africa but also in Latin America. I recently heard this: "We have been taught a Christianity preaching revelation - now we have understood that this is a mistake: we need a Christianity preaching revolution". This kind of slogan is an extreme expression of the problem you have raised. You have the same problem in Judaism. And in my view, the fact that we are able here to confront our traditions and our approaches of this problem can be extremely useful for us but also for you.

Dr. EHRLICH: "When I regard this paper I found three key sentences and I think these key sentences are marking our differences and perhaps a misunderstanding as well.

The first: the sentence of the "eschatological people of God", page 1.

The second: "Jesus strongly rejected all political messianism", page 4.

The third: on page 6: "but these promises and hopes have been progressively transfigured and spiritualized"; "and spiritualized" this is the key word.

I think this is the difference between us: the Jewish eschatology and the Jewish messianism and, as I understand it, even the messianism of Jesus is not something in the heart of people but in the world. It is not something only spiritualized, but something which at the end, in the "Reich Gottes" will change this world but not spiritualize it and not in this sense transfigure it.

That point, I think, we will come later to. The term "political" must not have this ugly meaning which some Christians may give it, but this term "political" and therefore the sentence above mentioned does not mean in the Jewish sense that messianism does not contain political things as well, because it is in this world as well. Therefore the 'eschatological people of God' is a sentence of words which are very difficult to understand for Jews, because I think we, as Jews, strive to be the People of God until the end and we do not feel already something eschatological in us or something which gives us the right to speak of salvation in this world or in ourselves. And therefore the whole Christian notion of transfiguration and spiritualization is something very strange to us and we cannot conceive it. I would not say it is not in this sense in our terminology: we know what spirit is, we know what Holy Spirit may be. But in the spiritualizing of the whole world is the dimension which is very difficult to understand."

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Fr. FLANNERY: "Starting with Rabbi Brickner's question, it is true that one paper goes toward particularism and the other towards universalism.

I have the impression, reading the papers, that the Christian paper emphasizes universalism and if it finds any opposition or polarity between these two concepts it posits in the fact that Judaism is particularistic and Christianity is, ab initio, universalistic.

In the very first page Fr. Dupuy tries to show that Judaism and its particularism was immediately universalized.

The question in my mind is: if there is particularism and universalism in Christianity, what is its particularism? It does not show in the paper. A case might be made for the fact or the possibility that our particularisms are our Judaic roots - or Jesus, the Jewish Rabbi of the pharisaic tradition. Thus particularism has brought into Christian tradition certain values and notions which are not expendable, and I think which exist still.

in the Catholic paper
So is there not therefore too heavy an accent on Christian universalism/
to the exclusion of any Christian particularism? and, if that be
the case, why is not the particularism which we should hold
the Judaic roots of our Church?

I might push this further: there seems to be a preliminary question. If this is a traditional perspective and I think it is, how can it be shown that Israel

broke its covenant and a new one was immediately made? Now, this be true, the question is what is the residue, what is left of Judaism? Is there any Judaism to be the source of the people, of land and nation any more? This seems to hinge upon a deeper question as to the very nature and question of quality of Judaism after Christ in post-biblical times.

Final question: this is a traditional, traditionalist presentation of the Christian perspective. Was this group commissioned to present such, or had it been done 'de facto' at any rate? Is there not nevertheless a certain ambiguity here? If we say: "people, nation and land - the Christian perspective", there is nothing in the paper to say that this is the usual thing believed or even still taught. It is given, absolutely speaking, as a Christian perspective, which is valid, not only for the past, for the present and, presumably, for the future, since nobody writes a document in the present without hoping to give it some validity for some time in the future. Was the commission then given to give a traditional perspective here and so on? Was it done for the Jewish one too, because I have learned that it is also considered quite traditionalist, too? These are very basic and fundamental questions which perhaps I should know the answer, But I think that the average reader of this paper might have the same questions in mind. So I do see this confusion between the particularism and the universalism as if we agreed that both faiths had one of each and there is an accent only in each paper. But I find almost an opposition here: there is universalism v. particularism, not universalism and particularism emphasized on one side or the other in both traditions.

Prof. TALMON: I am grateful for the paper which I have not been able to study at leisure but I have had an opportunity at least to take in some of the ideas. In discussing it I would like to start out with the opening sentence which states categorically: "In Judaism all three, people, nation and land are equally important whereas for Christianity or Christendom, people, nation and land have no longer the same importance". I suppose that this can be granted - that is a fact. But when the text goes on to say that the Christian concept is the development of a biblical and generally Jewish concept, a question is raised which has to be investigated. Further, at the end of the paper, on page 6, there is the following statement: "Would not a rapprochement between Jews and Christians?" It is possible a rapprochement between Jews and Christians? The question I ask is the following: the assumption made is that the ideas presented flow directly out of the biblical texts, i.e. out of the Hebrew Bible, which means that we actually are engaged in an exercise of exegesis. It is obvious

that if two different interpretations, which seem to be categorically opposed to each other, are derived from one and the same text, either there is something wrong with the text - it is ambiguous - or else one of the two interpretations does not meet the requirements of professional exegesis. (Page 12 of original) It seems to me that our discussion suffers from a dichotomizing tendency in respect to biblical literature and the biblical world of ideas. It is based on opposites: eschatological v. historical; universalistic v. particularistic; people v. nation. I would suggest that all this is non-biblical thinking. This sort of definition is foreign to the biblical thinking. Now this may have no impact on our lives: we might well say we have moved far away from the biblical writings, and therefore cannot any longer identify with the concepts expressed in them. But then, we are trying to base our own divergent concepts on a given complex of literature. Therefore, the interpretation of what this literature is and purports to say becomes very important. Let me explicate what I have in mind by addressing myself to some specific issues which you have raised: 1) Your differentiation between 'people' and 'nation' which stands out on pages 3, 5, 1 (and to which you refer in your first question) seems to imply that there are, as you say, two covenants, that of Abraham and that of Moses. The first symbolises the choice of 'the people', the second that of 'the nation'. This is a statement which cannot be upheld. First of all, there are not only two covenants mentioned in the Bible. There are at least four or five. The first was with Adam, then the covenants with Abraham and with Moses, or rather with the Nation (Ex. 19:6ff.). There is further the covenant with David which you have left out completely, although the same term 'B'rith' applies to it. We have further references to 'new covenant' in the Prophetic literature which is echoed in the non-biblical writings of "Qumran", known as the Dead Sea Scrolls, a 'B'rith Hadara'. This shows that the biblical notion is that of one or two static covenants. The Bible presents the idea of dynamic covenant, renewable under different conditions and different auspices, which develops from the anthropological scene of Adam, the ethnological setting of Abraham to the 'nation' frame in the days of Moses, and to the 'political state' reality under David the King. The Prophets and the Qumran covenanters prove that its further renewal and reshaping is seen as a legitimate possibility. Therefore, I think that the New Testament conceiving of itself as a new covenant derives its legitimisation from these covenantal dynamics. However, because the biblical idea allows a series of covenants which is not to be cut down possibly to two only or to three, also the New Covenant with Christianity, if we follow biblical thinking,

is not necessarily the last. You say that the covenant with Abraham is a covenant with the 'People', and I have let it stand at that, so far. But when you go to chapter 15, 25 in Genesis, which I think is a very important piece of covenant-related literature, the reference to the two sons who, as it were, were fighting in the womb of Rebecca - it is said: "God said to her: 'Goyim and Le'umim' i.e. peoples and nations will descend from you. This goes to show that the dichotomy between the two types of human society which you introduce into your reading of the sources goes counter to biblical thinking. You apply these modern definitions of socio-political not only to one chapter in Genesis but to the whole Bible. These two terms are synonymous and we are introducing a dichotomy which has no theological basis or conceptual basis in biblical language. 'Goyim and Le'umim' are exactly the same, they are interchangeable. Typical for biblical language and literature is parallelismus membrorum. A sentence ~~is usually~~ usually is built as two parallel stichoi. For this reason there developed pairs of words which are not etymologically synonyms but in a given context are used as what I call 'pragmatic synonyms'. We tend to introduce terminological distinctions and a way of thought in which I think is wrong, and to which I object. Once you introduce the differentiation, you develop an ideology which hinges on wrong assumptions, as far as biblical language goes. Here we have to be careful. Another example would be Exodus 19, 5-6 (this is the so-called "second Covenant" with the 'Nation') which reads in Hebrew: W'atem tin' yû lî mamleket kôhanim w'gôy qādōš. The verse, I suggest, has suffered from misinterpretation, both by Christians and also by my Jewish colleagues, who, too, I maintain, do not properly understand this verse. (Page-
 (Redraft of page 13 of original) The translation usually offered: "Be unto Me a kingdom of priests and a holy people", in my understanding is sadly wrong. Nowhere in the Hebrew Bible are priests ever presented as an ideal. Never do they represent an educational or any other ideonic concept which is conceived of as an ideal to be emulated by the people. They are simply officials and what Max Weber would call "cultic virtuosos". The notion of "a kingdom of priests", in my appreciation is completely out of tune with biblical thinking. It is simply unbiblical. I suggest that ^{what} the above verse means to command Israel is, in plain prose: "You shall be for me a holy kingdom" or "state". There is no one word for "state" in biblical Hebrew, i.e., the abstract ~~Hebrew~~ term "state" does not exist. There is no Hebrew term for 'politeia'. As in many similar instances, the biblical language expresses an abstract notion by circumscribing it with the help of two words, in the fashion of an hendiadys. Thus, e.g., there is no one term for "parents" in biblical Hebrew. The notion is expressed by the combination "father and mother". The ancient Hebrews seem to have conceptualized the abstract notion of "state" to consist of "a king or a kingdom" and "a people" or "a nation". Therefore the

hendiadys manleket and gôy means "state". Also the two terms kôhanim and qadôs should be similarly understood. They are used here both as adjectival descriptions of the nouns 'king(dom)' and 'people' or 'nation'. I.e. kôhanim does not refer here to the priestly officeholder but rather equals qadôs. There are many other instances in Biblical Hebrew in which a noun in the construct serves in lieu of an adjective.

Thus the verse in question, in fact is made up of two hendiadys: manleket and gôy meaning 'state', and kôhanim and qadôs meaning 'holy'. Again as in many other cases, the hendiadys was broken up so that the single components could be used as parallel members in the sentence: one component of the first hendiadys is coupled with one component of the other. But this artistic literary structure does not change in any way the basic meaning of the verse: "You shall be for Me a holy king(dom) and a holy people", in other words, "You, Israel, should constitute yourself as a holy state". Biblical Israel cannot conceive of statehood except in monarchic terms. For the Bible, 'politeia' or 'state' is a societal, sociological, social web or basis in which a people or the people can live. The "state" is never a goal; it is a means in which one can express properly the individuality of that people in the wider setting of the universe.

I have possibly taken up too much of your time to deal with a piece of plain exegesis. This was not done simply to gratify my professional ego, but rather to illustrate the basic problem with which our discussion is beset: How does one properly interpret a biblical text? How does one go about 'exegesis' without ending up with a piece of 'eisegesis'... Listening to both papers that were presented here, I became more and more convinced that the ground for our discussion of biblical ideas, notions and concepts has not been properly laid. We need to sit down together and to study together some basic passages in the Hebrew Bible from a linguistic-literary point of departure, before making such passages the bases of 'theology'. Many quotations from the Bible, both in the Christian and the Jewish paper, were extrapolated in a fashion which leaves the professional scholar dissatisfied. At the same time I am fully aware of the limitations of 'pure' scholarly exegesis. It certainly will have to be amplified and further developed from the existential position of the confessing Jew or Christian. However, I propose that such further elaborations should take into account, and certainly should not go counter to scholarly interpretation which endeavours to approximate an 'objective' understanding of the texts under discussion.

Another point which I wish to raise is the following: I take exception to the proposed opposition of the "universalistic and the particularistic components" of biblical thought to which reference was made in the very first passage of the Jewish paper and which underlies also the Christian paper. The term "particularistic" usually evokes some uneasy feelings. We use it almost as a bad word. I prefer the term 'particular' when referring to an important aspect of the biblical world-view. The "particular" does not necessarily stand in opposition to the "universal". It can, in fact, be comfortably accommodated within the framework of an "universalistic" ideology. In trying to define the difference between the Christian and the Jewish understanding of these concepts, I would venture the following capsule definitions: "Judaism represents a particular universalism", "Christianity a universal particularism" or "particularity". Christianity aims at making its particularity universally accepted. Judaism recognizes and acknowledges the particularity of different peoples and other social groupings, and wishes to co-ordinate them in one universal context without impairing their particularity. Particularity and Universalism are not viewed as dichotomous attitudes but rather as complementary concepts. These express, and as terms they describe actual existential and historical situations. Every one of us is particular, as an individual and as constituent member of a group. At the same time, as an individual and as components of a group, everyone is part of the 'universal'. This, it appears to me, is what the Bible wants to teach us.

Permit me to make some remarks on the conceptions of and the centrality of prophecy in the Hebrew Bible. 'Prophecy' was presented in both papers as constituting the pinnacle of biblical cognition and theology. Such an absolute preference for prophecy over all other expressions of biblical theological thought is understandable in the framework of Christianity, for reasons on which I shall yet enlarge. It is hardly acceptable within the frame of mind of Judaism. For Judaism the height of biblical achievement is reached with Abraham, the ~~first~~ first to recognize the one and only God, and with Moses, the founder and codifier of biblical monotheism. The prophets are in a direct line with these great figures. They are considered as the propagators of the postulates first formulated by Abraham who himself already is designated 'prophet', and especially of the teachings of Moses, the 'father of the prophets'. These teachings are as much expressed in the historical books of the Hebrew Bible as in the prophetic books, and possibly even more so in the 'Law'. Therefore, while I am quite ready to accept the invitation to study together the teachings of the prophets, I suggest that in order

fully to comprehend these teachings within their biblical setting, they must be studied in conjunction with the Law and the historiographies, both pre- and post-exilic. These books describe and mirror ^{the} conditions of the people that was meant to realize the tenets of the 'Law' and the 'Prophets' in actual historical life situations.

It cannot go unnoticed that post-biblical Judaism whose conceptual and theological bases are grounded in biblical thought, has stressed the 'legal' and historical aspects possibly more than the prophetic aspects of biblical teaching. It, in fact, relinquished prophecy. Christianity, against this, as is well known, took its stand on 'prophecy' solely, and maintained a continuous prophetic stance, leaving to rabbinic Judaism the, as it were, 'regressive' "orah-type stance of post-exilic Judaism. This mutual exclusive dichotomy was then retrojected into the Hebrew Bible causing what I would define as a distortion of the all-embracing biblical world-view.

The above dichotomy shows very distinctly the conception of 'the Messiah' and 'Messianism'. Proper attention to the biblical texts would reveal that there is no 'the Messiah' in the absolute ever used. In fact, the Hebrew word simply refers to any anointed king. The term is always given a connotation of actuality by appended definitions and circumscriptions, such as m^esiah or m^esu^ah jibre'el, or m^esiyhi, m^esiyh^w, etc. in reference to God, and m^esiyhaka, m^esiyhakem, etc. in reference to the people. Thus the Bible knows of a series of 'anointed', in the past and in the biblical present, not of one and only 'Messiah'. The centrality accorded to the 'Messiah' in Christology cannot be derived directly from the Hebrew Bible. For the biblical writers, the mas^ah therefore is the contemporaneous king or his historical successor whom one hopes to be an improved version of the present king. This line of thought obviously must also affect our understanding of the biblical concept of 'the latter days', commonly termed 'biblical eschatology'. While in some strata of biblical literature, as in the Book of Isaiah, the two notions have not yet been fused, in others this fusion is already present. In these instances also 'eschatology' takes on a historical meaning. 'The latter days' are the days of the next generation or the one after the next. The historical expectancy of the mas^ah determines the historical character of the 'latter days', as e.g. in Hosea Ch. 3. Biblical 'eschatology' is relative, not absolute.

I have again dwelt at some length on this issue since it seems to me to indicate the type of preparatory exegetical exercises which we have to undertake if we want to arrive at an understanding, hopefully common understanding, of the Bible.

Thank you for your attention and patience.

Msgr. MOELLER acknowledges the importance of Prof. Talmon's intervention for the method of work.

Rabbi SIEGMAN: Two very brief points before making a question. The first is on this difficulty of making distinctions, high distinctions. Prof. Talmon spoke of (I simply want to cite one example) the danger of making such sharp distinctions. (See Fr. Dupuy's paper itself in which he makes this distinction between nation and people - at the very opening of the paper: he cites, as evidence of this distinction, in the second paragraph, first page, "a kingdom of priests and a consecrated nation" (Ex. 19:6) and then, in the same paragraph he goes on to define the concept of people, and cites from Genesis the reference to Abraham who would be "the father of a multitude of peoples" (Gen. 17:4).)

But it so happens that in Hebrew the term used is the identical term, namely "goy".

The question I wanted to ask was partly, if not completely answered by Prof. Talmon, but I would like to address it also to Rabbi Wurzburger. I have the sense that to the extent to which nationhood, or the concept of nation is seen in a negative term, this is not only because it goes counter or seems to go counter to the universalistic impulse, but also because in our modern experience it is associated with a state-craft nationalism in the art of politics. I think that perhaps is even a greater source of the pejorative sense in which today we tend to view the term nationhood. A question I want to ask (which as I said has been partly answered by Dr. Talmon - but I would like to get Rabbi Wurzburger's reaction also) is whether in fact in its traditional conception it has any relationship to state-craft as such, whether the state as such is given a religious mission and a religious meaning. Except, insofar as it is a necessary instrumentality for the existence of the nation.

Rabbi WURZBURGER: I do not think that a dialectical tension between the universalistic and the particularistic elements as such means necessarily a complete antithesis, but it is a kind of tension that I do believe exists and I think historically, ^{and} ^{theologically} there always have been different emphasis. Obviously it tends to show the significance that we attach to the particularism of Jewishness. We certainly did not sufficiently elaborate the on the universal features. When I use the term "prophetic" I do not mean it in the sense of opposition to Torah but rather in a schematic view or rather in the kind of Jewish self-understanding which probably take the prophetic views as explications of Torah's views. I am a traditionalist and in that sense I would say that to me "prophecy" is in a certain sense obviously grounded in Torah and the values of prophecy would regard as normative.

With respect to Siegman's question, I am also glad he raised it because I do think there has been too much of an emphasis on the state. The state qua state is not a Jewish concept. Jewish concepts speak of the 'Knesseth Israel' the 'am Israel' the people, their functions.

But what is important is, that insofar as Torah is concerned, the proper function of the 'am Israel' also means that 'am Israel' must address itself to national policies; there is a whole system of social legislations. There is a whole array of governments, of law governing not only individuals, but governing the Jewish collectivity. And also aspects of Torah, ^{"shoftim v'shotrim titein lecha bc knot she'aracha"} which simply cannot be fulfilled in the absence of an independent apparatus ^{of Jewish functioning on the political scene.} To say that the functioning of the community qua community does not play a role in Jewish life would be wrong. I do think there is a tremendous significance attached to the collective functioning of the Jewish people and the collective functioning of the Jewish people is feasible only when the Jewish people enjoy ideally, at least the full-^{ledged} ^{power} to determine its national destiny, in accordance ultimately with Torah. I ^{would} like to emphasize again to the question Fr. Dupuy meant before: I am not afraid of theocracy in the idealistic sense of the term. I must confess that my Jewish idea ultimately is : theocracy. After all, that, in my translation of "matchut ha-shem" in small terms, in anticipation of the ultimate ideal age, is a theocracy.

If you were to study some of the traditional texts, they would certainly indicate that there is the notion that the government of the state should be conducted in accordance with the rules of God as prescribed by 'Halaka' and in the idealised version of the 'Halaka' you will find that, for ex, it is noted the 'Sanhedrin' is supposed to give its consent, let's say to obey the functions of state. So I would not say from a Jewish traditional self-understanding that I would be that much shocked by theocracy. I would really argue that the time is not ripe for theocracy.

Prof. TALMON: Theocracy, in practice, how does it work? What is the City of God? If we take it as an abstract term, I think we cannot avoid the question.

Prof. WERBLOWSKY: I try to answer here for Fr. Dupuy.

I think what one has simply to distinguish between the term theocracy as a theological or philosophical norm and theocracy as a sociological concept. If you talk about theocracy or theopolis as a theological norm then you mean society living its texture as a whole, being informed by obedience to divine demands by conformity to certain divine norms. The moment you think of theocracy in sociological terms you must immediately ask how does it work. It is either society obeying a prophet who represents God, or priests. (Because in the Second Temple time writers say never 'theocracy', but 'hierocracy'). It was a commonwealth run by priests and hierocracy is never theocracy. I think a 'rabbincocracy' is not a theocracy either. So, obviously, at the moment you use the word theocracy not as an abstractum, but historically or sociologically, you immediately have to translate it into concrete form - "the sociology of leadership", "the sociology of decision-making". Who is responsible for taking what decision? Of course, being Wurzbürger more rabbinically orthodox than I am would consider Sanedrin or some kind of idealised version of a possible incarnation of channels of genuine theocrate shaping of Jewish societal living. I would call this "rabbincocracy" as distinct from a hierocracy. But I feel that it is very important to distinguish between the sociological and histocial implications of the use of that word and its normative theological use.

Fr. DUPUY: I think one man who coped with these problems very precisely is Max Weber, who tries to catch a definition of the Jewish people as a "theopolis" because it is a covenant. You are in reactions because of terms ("rabbincocracy", "theocracy" and so on). But the problem raised from the Bible itself, from the Tanach, because the people were defined as 'B'rith'.

Msgr. MOELLER: It is dangerous to focus our discussion on theocracy. I would remind you this is not a major point of our discussions.

Prof. TALMON: With your permission, Sir, I wish to dwell further on this point, since theocracy has a bearing on what we said before. The Bible has a concept of actually acting out theocracy - that is the kingdom, because if the king is Messiah 'adonai', then he is the executor of theocracy on earth. He should be within the concepts of the law but he is the only one that is accepted as the executor of theocracy, never the priest, never the prophet. Theocracy, that is to say, leading, acting in the political or historical sense of the word is either the king or the saviour-judge, who is none but a king. If you so wish - Moses also was a king. He just lacked the title, unless you come to think of his functions, then he is the executor of theocracy on earth. There is no other way of executing theocracy, unless by means of an appointed royal executor because the state, not as we use the term now, but the state as used in the Bible, is "the theocracy". The biblical notion makes no distinction: the theological concept is the political concept.

WURZBURGER: I would like just to make a note, to add a note just for a better understanding. It is precisely because the state qua state has no religious significance insofar as it would enable the people to conform to the law. You will then find that within the so-called more traditional Jewish community there are many many factions which are totally opposed to the establishment of the State of Israel. Even today, some do not want to recognize it because they do feel it a Jewish state which does not conform to the laws of theocracy, certainly as long as it does not conform to the laws of the ^{shulchan aruch} and the "halakha". Many would argue that it does not possess any kind of religious legitimacy and we may have then your own attitude, whether you want to tolerate or you consider it as desirable from different points of view. But then many people would argue that a so-called secular Jewish State has in itself no religious significance whatsoever, other than perhaps as a means of "Return to the Land" which again is a value in itself. The value of the State of Israel is to allow Jews to live "in the land". And it is a mitzwa to live in the Land, and independent of other factors. And I would like to have this note inserted in the discussion unless one feels that the Jewish thinking completely revolves around the "State", whereas traditionally the State is important only as a means to enable the people to live according to the dictate of the Torah.

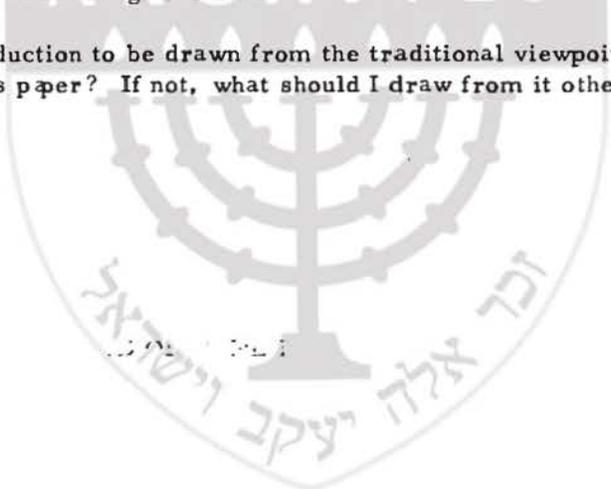
BRICKNER : Back to the question of "ultimate destiny". What is the thrust of this traditional view as it is presented in the Catholic paper?

Is it the suggestion, implicit or explicit that after one explicates and extrapolates all of the theology and the history, that the Jewish people in terms of their own fulfilment would do best and be more honest if they were to live as a people without the land, and not as a nation? As I ask myself that question, I keep going back to the last paragraph, bottom of page 7 and page 8 and the answer seems to be "yes."

(He now reads out the text and comments to Fr. Dupuy that he sees in those words a demure, an objection, because he thinks that the thrust of the Catholic paper answers to the contrary (cf. page 5, very last three lines).

I don't know whether there is an implied answer in that question in the way in which it was asked but I have a feeling that the answer is "no" implicit in the paper - the "the universalistic openness has not been sufficiently maintained and respected in Judaism". If that is a correct assumption, which I draw from the total text, then it seems to me the answers to the questions implicit at the top of page 8 really are that the destiny, the final destiny of the Jewish people - if this people is to be true to its own message - in an interest in universalism, to give up the particularity of the people as expressed through the land.

Is that a fair deduction to be drawn from the traditional viewpoint which has been presented in this paper? If not, what should I draw from it other?



TAPE 2

December 4, 1973
16.00-18.00

DUPUY: I wish to thank Dr. Ehrlich and Prof. Talmon for all their remarks. I have received them as true questions. They really touch on the substance of the dialogue we wish to engage in here. It was not without a certain ambivalence that I reacted to them - my possible ambivalence, of a Christian, when considered by the Jews. But at the same time I feel it is to be hoped that the dialogue be engaged on such questions. Nevertheless listening to what you said, it seems to be this dialogue has not yet ripe, since it consists precisely of bringing anew to light forgotten problems and you had formulated this forgotten problems ~~in a way~~ that we know very well but that we specifically excluded from our study paper.

Once again I want to say that there is no symmetry in our respective position in regard to the questions you have raised. That is to say that we Christians can always understand your position and even if necessary in a certain sense your existence, in order to give a signification to the biblical data we have received and interpreted in a Christian light. On the contrary, for you it is surely much more difficult.

Here I think of the questions raised by Dr. Ehrlich. It is more difficult for you to understand our position, since it appears to you as a foreign position - while your position is appreciated by us as familiar.

You are our fathers but to some extent we are not your sons. You have no need of us. It is the fact of this dyssimetry that renders difficult the dialogue that yourself have initiated here. In answer to Dr. Ehrlich I adhere exactly to what was said after by Prof. Talmon, when he affirms that the terms used by us 'eschatological people of God' create difficulties and says 'what is a eschatological people of God'?

I think that our respective definitions of 'people of God' are different. The Jewish one springs out of ^{the} history of the Jewish people. The Christian is eschatological; it comes from the expectation we have of becoming the people of God, while we affirm - because we are in the history - that we already are 'people of God'. But this very definition does not correspond to the traditional biblical "acharith ha jamim" and there is a question because you question us on our interpretation of the Bible. The same could be said about the word 'messiah'. Our Cristology is expressed by the very notion of 'kirios', translation of 'messiah' but the scriptural references to 'messiah' do not coincide with our Christology.

For the spiritualization there is the same difficulty. The biblical idea of kingship is not identical to the developments of 'pneumaios' in the N. T..

Thus your three remarks were inevitable. They are a consequence of the general dimensions of the problem which cannot be directly solved by exegesis.

Prof. Talmon has raised exegetical questions. I recognize that ^{on} all the items his exegesis seems to be acceptable. But we, or you, cannot ignore that Christianity, has engaged itself in a re-reading of the Bible and we can, at the same time, understand your exegesis and stick to our re-reading. We cannot ignore the re-reading and it comes first in our study paper. But this does not imply on our side some ignorance of the exegetical precisions given on your side. Then you could ask: if our exegesis is the good one, how can yours be grounded? Here lies the problem; you must not forget that there was first a Jewish Christianity and that the Greek Christianity with its Greek formulations springs out of the Jewish Christianity. For this the works of Cardinal Daniélou are useful, in showing that the Christology and Christian developments come first from typically Jewish constructions. And even if this problem is enormous, we cannot ignore it. Take for example the text of prophet Malachia, announcing that a pure offering will be brought to Jerusalem by the nations. The Jewish tradition understands its text as if the Jews of the "Galuth" were to bring this pure offering in the name of the nations and there are very important considerations of Jewish spirituality in such a direction, without speaking of course of the Kabalistic streams. But this same text, quoted by Saint Paul, has been understood in the Christian tradition as applying directly to an offering by the nations. This divergency between us has to be accepted and cannot be overcome. We must remember and try to reflect on the fact that all these interpretations have their roots in Judaism. The Christian re-reading of the Jewish exegesis is not a totally foreign re-reading.

To Rabbi Brickner: I would like to say that he seems to think we have forgotten that the Jewish people has a special position in God's plan. In the Christian vision it is quite clear that if in some way the Jews are a people like the others, there are also a ~~nk~~ people different from the others. And, as a consequence, in the Christian view of the function of the Jewish people in this salvation plan, view which was first that of Saint Paul, the function of the Jewish people cannot be the same as the function of the other nations.

As a conclusion, if you had understood that in the light of what is said here, Christians are waiting for the day when the Jews will have in the Christian catholicity a function analogous to that of other nations, your interpretation of our text would have been different from what we intended to say. I do not know if I answer sufficiently to the questions posed by Rabbi Brickner and to his assumptions that there could be some contradiction in the Christian study paper.

Rabbi BRICKNER: I think Fr. Dupuy's answer responded in part to my question. What follows next in my mind is what will be the correct interpretation in terms of our ultimate destiny that we should gather from our Christian thought in the contemporary society.

Fr. DUPUY: The question was raised because we both ask for the question of knowing whether these three terms for a certain number of Jews to Israel can have a religious meaning for Christians. Views are divided. For many Christians the answer would be in the negative.

Personally I don't see the contradiction.

TANENBAUM:

I think the difficulty is normative for a Catholic understanding of the eschatological future of the relationship between Jews and Christians, especially based on the reading of Ephesians, because Eph. 3 which speaks of the falling down of the barrier, so that all become one in Christ and from that would flow a certain understanding which would not allow for the conclusion.

LICHTEN: It has been said that this is a traditional document, a traditional point of view, both the Jewish and the Catholic documents. I was thinking about the documents of Vatican II and the spirit of Vatican II and, although I am familiar with Jeremiah 31, I'd like to find out which covenant Fr. Dupuy meant in this traditional point of view. Was this the covenant which Jeremiah mentions or is it the other covenant, the general covenant and the new Christian covenant? How to you interpret that? Can we consider these paragraphs still in the spirit of Vatican II and its documents, particularly the spirit of Nostra Aetate?

DUPUY: Tricky question: I do not know how to answer. It seems to me that we can speak of one covenant, that is at the same time creational covenant, Abrahamic covenant, Mosaic covenant, Davidic covenant, etc. and, for us, Christian covenant - and many other covenants as in the Jubilee book. I think this is the first book which has made use of the word 'covenant' in the plural - as such absent in the Bible. But this implies more than a textual exegesis. It also implies some kind of synthesis, some kind of "Weltanschauung", a plan of salvation and you know quite well that this idea of a plan of salvation is not a directly biblical conception. It exists in the Christian world and it also exists in some Jewish streams, which speak indeed much more of a plan of creation (Isaiah) (plan in which His people plays a special role) than of a plan of salvation.

So when we raise questions such as Dr. Lichten's, I personally feel that we involve in rather abstract discussions and we obviously meet some difficulties such as those he has raised.

This is why I said "a tricky question" with which I do not feel exactly at ease.

In order to answer all the same Dr. Lichten's question, we note that Vatican II has used the term 'covenant' in the plural. We cannot ignore the fact that Christian thought, generally speaking, and precisely Vatican II speaks usually of the two covenants and of the two Testaments. This use of 'covenants' in the plural implies some particular vision, some particular understanding of existence according to covenant. We cannot here develop this question.

RIEGNER: I felt, and I feel hesitant to ask for the floor in such a meeting since I am not a theologian. In this capacity I would like to raise a point which is important for me. What strikes me in your study paper and in some way in the discussion is the opposition made between biblical notions - elaborated 3000 years ago - and those used in modern life of today. All the historical processes of more than 2000 years are left aside although during these processes Judaism has held positions very different from those of today and from those of the Bible. Since you very correctly said that the scriptures are based on continuity of historical experiences and not on some eschatological vision, I am surprised to hear such absolute statements concerning concepts which are subject to continuous change in our understanding. This applies f.i. to the assumption that our modern idea of nation has to be purified - are we a national entity? Are we more a nation, or more a people? Has Jewish universalism to be more open? etc. I do not know exactly what you wanted to say by this, but I understood quite well our positions are different and what you said on the re-reading of the biblical texts is very important. It is fundamental. But the modern idea of nation is in my view a new idea for all of us. And all of us make use of it. It is a fact that the concept of a national entity has been assumed by the Jews for centuries, perhaps more than by other men. During the Middle Ages and in modern times - let us say 18th and 19th century before the birth of the modern nation-state - we have experienced a national life of our own - that was religious also, but, as such, separated from any other nation. History has made us like that. It was not our choice, though partly it was our choice. I notice your remark that Jews ought to consider themselves more like a people, and less like a

nation. Well, in fact, I think a large majority of the Jews consider themselves as a people and not as a nation. Of course, since the creation of the State of Israel, there is a nation in the modern sense of the word and some want to give it a biblical meaning. But as such Israel is not the Jewish people. The World Jewish Congress f.i. is built on the basic idea of the unity of the Jewish people and not at all on a political notion of a Jewish nation.

This seems to me extremely important. Important also is for me my feeling of some injustice or impatience in your invitation addressed to Israel or to us for an opening to universalism and for a reaction against a narrow nationalism. You must understand that the State of Israel is just beginning to exist. It is trying to find its fundamental basis. It is making its first steps. It has to organize itself from the inside. It may give to people outside from time to time the impression of exaggerated particularism or nationalism, or of accentuating too much its new political capacities. But those who wanted this national entity to exist (and I think that the Israeli members here will agree with me), those who propagated it, have wanted this State both in order to give a possibility of decent life to Jews who did not enjoy it and to propose to the universe a model of Jewish life, of a life faithful to the Jewish tradition.

You have here a will to take part in the world and its universality. In any case this is in perspective. Maybe I am quite out of the context, but I feel that we must apply our religious ideas to the reality. We must resist the tendency towards idealization, f.i. a concept of the land which becomes a totally spiritualized idea. Such an interpretation surprises us. This is not what we have been taught.

Addressing myself to our Catholic partners I ask them if in the light of what has been said they wish to stick to their previous statements or if they will be ready to accept some nuances.

ETCHEGARAY: I would like simply to ask my Jewish friends if all of them share Dr. Rigner's views about a radical radical distinction between people and nation. Such a distinction lessens the importance of the idea of nation for the Jews,

WERBLOWSKY: Being in dialogue does not mean putting a series of questions. It is not a purpose of a dialogue to answer questions and try to get a number of answers. It is part of it. But a dialogue is exchanging of reactions.

My reaction: every single term being used derives its meaning from its historic context, its function. If you ask me, although in the other paper we said survival is not the inner, exclusive, sole purpose, but it is a means to an end - I would say again a theoretical abstraction. If you ask me: you are living in the year 1973 and you still are a member of the generation of Auschwitz, what is the meaning of Jewish universalism? My answer is simple: just to survive. The contribution which the Jewish people in our generation can make to Universalism, is to survive, just as we are.

The next generation will be able to talk about universalism.

I overstate this deliberately.

Back to the general reflection: words derive from their function. Therefore to me the question is not what is the meaning of people and what of nation, but what is the usage of these two terms for us today. Here of course I would say that in the Bible there is no difference and Fr. Dupuy himself has stressed this several times in his paper (I am particularly grateful that he stressed certain synonymities and other interesting details).

For us today there is a difference but it is of a different kind from the difference of the 18th c. for instance. I think that most of us today feel that there is a kind of continuum for which it would be difficult for some to feel the difference. Certainly the Israeli feel that there is a threefold difference: a) the Israeli nationality - b) belonging to the Jewish nation in Israel - c) and the Jewish people. (After all, since there are so many Arabs and Muslims with Jewish nationality, I have been forced by the history of the last 25 years to make my own range of definitions even more complex). But I feel that there somewhere is a range of differences (there I would agree with Riegner) even if I am not prepared to say "the line of demarcation goes here"

I think that we find here not so much an opposition, a contrasting to theological positions but the illustration of different types of thought. I think to me I would not as yet commit myself whether I should generalize and say "this is a difference between a Christian type of thought and a Jewish type of thought", maybe it is far less universal (it is a difference between two of us here present type of thought). We would have to go far deeper and longer in our dialogue and involve more people in it, in order to find out and know the difference of types of thought between my co-writer and myself and know the meaning in differences in styles of thought.

I think one thing which comes out in these papers - to take seriously - is what I would almost call "Reformation-type: off-mentalities". Going back to the sources

and jumping across historic continuities. To me it is legitimate that you found yourself not **only on** the O. T., you cannot of the N. T. But to me the corollary is "I cannot speak legitimately about Judaism - I am speaking about the Bible of the prophets only and I must speak about the **Hallats**, I must speak about the "Rabbinic" Judaism, about the "... " much later as well".

I think the problem is "do we serve a dialogue? Or subconsciously impede it if we narrow our focus on one particular level of history on the highly questionable assumption that this one level is a theme which we share: and therefore we must go back to that particular faith. I agree that there is a basic programme of the Bible. It is not what the Bible says, because you all re-read all the time, but having our experience and our definitions (nation-people) the very fact that I have the luck to live after Hegels, results in the fact that I have different associations when I hear the word "state". If I had been living 140 years ago, the word "state" would have had different connotations for me. I think Zionism is partly a " " in the fact that the valorization of the idea of state has the necessary incarnation for the fulfilment of peoplehood (this 'entre paranthèse').

The question is not what the biblical texts say or prescribe, but what does the reading of the biblical texts evoke in us. We do not try to adapt or to accept because the Bible defines "am" "le'om" or "goy" this or that way but see how the Bible relates them to the facts of nation, of people, of king, of societal living; what does it evoke in us as an adequate parallel response? Here I come to what I think is a final remark, here I feel that I cannot agree with, I cannot share our response.

In the first place I think it is the relationship to the historical order (as a datum). For the Christian, there is neither Jew; nor Greek, nor man, nor woman, nor freeman or slave - all are one in Christ. But there are, on the order of nature and society, until women's liberation and even after it, ~~there are men and women~~ and you have accepted certain conclusions (whether the conclusion is called up here "mulier ecclesia" or has got other names) - you have drawn conclusions from the facts. People have taken the social order of slavery as a natural datum. One day they have discovered it is not a natural datum - it is a social datum, and being a social datum can be placed under a moral imperative and can be changed. Women's lib. nowadays takes the view that this distinction is of the same order - it is not of a natural order, as the traditionalists believe, but of a merely social-cultural order, therefore it can be changed and should be changed.

I think that there is in Judaism a kind of tendency of taking the 'ordo creationis' as divinely created and build **almost** sacramental reality and therefore to be accepted without asking too much whether is natural or supernatural. For that reason I think the line which your paper draws is that all the peoples converge into the one 'populus Dei' (and therefore being a transcending of nationalism, of peoplehood into a "populus" - a metaphoric populus, community).

My Jewish response (and I am not making an exegetical point): the Bible dreams, even in its eschatological utopia, all the particular nations "laudate Dominum omnes gentes";

that they remain 'gentes', that all people come to Jerusalem and they go back to their own place and remain themselves as "people". In this whole idea of all the people of God, all becoming one People, in spite of Jeremiah's metaphorical views, I think there is an extrapolation which already belongs to the re-reading of it, a new optique and this does not belong to my re-reading of the text and not even to the basic reading of the text.

I think there are remarks on the subject to which I can limit myself because I find in my notes here which I took when I originally read the texts that are practically identical with everything Prof. Talmon said.

One final remark: I think we have to take seriously the problem of the tendency of Christianity to spiritualize. We talked about the overtones of that: some are pejorative, some less pejorative. There was a period when the word "material" was pejorative and the word "spiritual" was something better. No longer now. To call something disworthy or material-oriented is supposed to be the real thing and the word 'spiritual' is in certain theological circles nowadays not "in". I think that in the inner fact (one of the great achievements of Christianity) to detach all the biblical notion from a certain land or territory, to detach them from nationhood (what I call the de-territorialization) of the concept of Holy Land as I wrote somewhere in an article. The area holiness is a community; the central holiness is not the Temple, but is Christ.

There is a substitution of a complete set of categories from the previous ones. Whereas for the Jews certainly spirituality means the quality of a certain material and concrete existence. My final remark is on the problem of eschatology:

Jewish eschatology, too, has been continuously spiritualized but never in a way which substituted a spiritual formula for a so-called concrete or material formula. It was always adding further spiritual dimension to a basic unalterable infra-structure of material reality.

I think if one does not keep clearly in mind these two different functions of eschatology one tends to render the communication bad.

These are my reflections. Not questions, but simply reflections.

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This is very helpful. But there are different values place on the different typological kinds of spirituality, i. e. the universal, i. e. the spirituality tendency as regarded in some schemes as having a superior form of spirituality, ^{as} against that which emphasizes a spirituality related to the historical-social dimension of human existence, regarded somehow as being an interior form of spirituality.

WERBLOWSKY: But here you simply say that every tradition has to engage into some serious self-questioning as to the validity of the evaluations.

R. WÜRTZBURGER

I somehow find within the Jewish tradition certainly a tendency also towards spiritualization. And I take this out of any notion.

The notion of the "Galush". The "Exile" is a purely physical state

but at the same time the exile to the extent of Kabbalah you have a notion of Sh'ehintà degaluta, the sh'chinà in exile.

.....
 (No. 273)

What I do feel significant of Jewish thought is that no matter how much spiritualization, there was never the attempt to explain away an irreducible...., a material and physical meaning of, which could not completely be spiritualized away.

What I would like to point out is that there is no opposition to spiritualization provided that the spiritualization is not at the same time a complete explaining away or reduction of the .. messiah .. This perhaps in some sense will anticipate the answers to some of Fr. Dupuy's criticisms and the questions he has raised.

Very few Jewish thinkers would ever agree on my point of view that the return of the Jewish people as such is the fulfilment, a complete fulfilment of messianic vision. However, no Jewish thinker would agree that you can have messianic fulfilment without at least at the same time having a return to Israel. ^{One} thing is to say, that the return to Israel must be included in the fulfilment of messianic vision; ^{Another} thing is to say that a purely physical return is equated with the Messianic ideals. It is both physical as well as spiritual. You find the most hopeful people saying that this may be a prelude towards the realization of the messianic vision. But none will say that a mere establishment of a state is already a messianic fulfilment.

While I would like to stress the natural components and, from a Jewish point of view, a fear to indulge in over-spiritualization, this should not be interpreted as if Judaism had no eschatological dimension, nor any kind of pure spirituality which is then provided and it is regarded as flowing from a material basis, rather than a kind of substitution.

BRICKNER: I think Abp Etchegaray deserves even more than an answer, perhaps in different terms. I presumed he asked the question because there was some confusion in his mind about whether or not Jews around the world do indeed share the notion of nationhood, I am a Jew who lives in the diaspora, not in the exile, but in the diaspora. That makes my response somewhat different than the response of a Jew living in Israel. I think it is fair to say that we all share peoplehood. We do not all share nationhood. Though I don't know of any Jew left in the world today who does not share a commitment to the restoration of the nation, its survival, its existence. For some of us that is the fulfilment of messianic prophecy. But that is not the only way it can be viewed. For some it can be a fulfilment in terms of historical hope; for some the sharing comes out of a totally a-religious and sometimes even irreligious background - but it is nonetheless ^{there}.

I don't know whether that helps in your understanding, it fully answers your questions, but certainly, I believe, it typifies the variety within the Jewish community of the way in which we view the nation, even though we are not part of the nation.

J. LICHTEN

I would like to add one sentence to what Rabbi Brickner said. I subscribe to almost everything he said. But, if we are to speak personally (at least some of us and I am one of them) - I still spiritually belong to the diaspora of Eastern Europe where I was born and with all my sympathy to Israel, the Israeli people, the nation, I still feel an allegiance to the people who are no more. This is perhaps a tragedy of many people like I am, but this still exists and is spiritual existence. Therefore the people to me is extremely important and so the Israeli nation, with whom I have this tremendous "kinship". I am a Jew - they are Jews and we have our tradition together. So you can see how many different ~~nuances~~ ^{nuances} there are in every one sitting around this table.

TANENBAUM

I think there is a genuine problem in communication that grows as much out of our historical situation as it does out of the question of spiritual religion. This text raises a reality which we need to face with great candor. There is a real sense in which the Christian community and particularly the Catholic community and the Jewish community is historically out of phase - we are out of synchronization in a way. If we were to take an overview of our involving historical condition, over the past two millenians of experience, it would be a radically different discussion in different periods of time. From the 4th until the 18th c. there is a different kind of discussion taking place within Christendom, regarding the relationship of the Church to nation, the nationalism and the State, because the reality of the Christian experience is one of very frequently an alliance of throne and altar. Christian reality existed in Christian nations, in Christian states and the nationhood. A Christian people was taken as a given reality of a Christian condition. But during the same period of time, when Jews lived in the dispersion after the destruction of the Temple, literally for 1900 years, there was no Jewish nation and there was no discussion on Jewish nationalism and Jewish nationality. The focus was primarily over Jewish literature, Jewish self-understanding on Jewish people and Jewish community. That was the centre of Jewish existence.

The other phases of our condition is that, after the enlightenment and after the revolution, a radical dis-establishment of Christian nation took place in Christendom. You have only now the remnants of it, i. e. in Spain, in Portugal.

The sense one has is that Christians have had their experience with nationhood and with nations. And whether this is because of history, or whether is because one finds

that the need for Christian nationhood has exhausted itself, you have enough of that experience and some look upon that experience as not having been altogether a blessing and there is a tendency to want to be either dissociated from that or to react against that. And in fact the most progressive elements in the Catholic Church today, i. e. in Spain and in Portugal and elsewhere in Latin America, in fact regard as part of their spiritual mission today to dis-establish the Church from the nationhood in which they live. So there is a radical critical judgement against Christian nations for greater emphasis on Christian peoplehood, people of God. And at this very moment when there is this kind of critique against the whole concept of nation and nationalism, we find ourselves entering into history with that experience that you have abandoned. And so we are now encountering all the problematic of trying to incorporate some Bible relationship between our spiritual traditions and actually having access to secular power in the form of a nation and trying to moderate it, trying to mediate it in terms that somehow conform with our all religious value system. So one has to take into account the oppositeness of that historical reality in which we find ourselves today. I think in the circumstances Jewish have to ask Christians for a certain indulgence to allow us to have our own experience with the nationhood today, in the foresee of the future, in a way you have already experiences, exhausted, turned against or even have some nostalgia for.

The thing which is troublesome is: I can understand as a critical evaluation some of the themes would speak of the spiritualization of religious life as being a superior value - in some comparative way with the Jewish experience of nationalism as being something of an inferior spirituality- you create for us ^{the} possibility of the abuse of that critique in ways in which persons can use that, as a way of underlining the validity of the Jewish experience with nationalism today. Therefore there are political consequences, or ideological consequences for that theological vision which have to be observed with great care in terms of the working out in societal attitudes. But this does not alter the fact that in terms of the question raised by Abp Etchegaray, in the Jews there has always been a polarity between the metropolitan center of Jerusalem and the people in the dispersion. And both these concepts of nation and peoplehood have operated in a series of concentric circles. And both terms have applicability today (as I think has been said before). The nation has its own validity as a creative center in Jewish life, but the 'people' also has its meaning in terms of the reality of Jews living outside of Israel today and both live in this kind of cooperative tension.

TALMON: The problem raised yesterday at first by me and then in a different way by Fr. Dupuy, is the question of exegesis of texts and the re-reading which to me are two complementary processes. While I yesterday tried to apply myself to what I would consider the bases of textual exegesis, today I want to take into account the fact that after all exegesis is a scholarly preoccupation which quite clearly takes on different forms once we deal with re-reading and interpretation. I would subscribe to what Msgr. Moeller said, namely that interpretation is already present in the Bible. This is as it should be. After all, the Bible is not one book, but rather an anthology, which covers Jewish thought and theology over about a thousand years. . . . I would be sorry for my own people if I had to assume that at the end of those thousand years the Israelites were still believing and ~~thinking~~ thinking what they had thought and believed at the beginning of the biblical age. The Bible is not a book of systematic theology. It is a book which tries to give a view of, or to describe to you a living entity in its own inherent development. What is more, most of us quote the prophets as if they were one political party with a definite platform. These prophets are the most individualistic individuals you can think of. It is completely incorrect to put into one pot, without further clarification, Isaiah and Jeremiah. It is not only a matter of different personalities, it is a matter of attitudes and thoughts. I think that Jeremiah's outlook often is removed from the ideas that Isaiah propagated. At times he is fighting them. We have to be much more careful in our appreciation of the prophets. There is nothing easier than picking out a verse from Scripture which suits our purpose. If you want to push a point, you will obviously look for your proof-texts, and will become blind, whether you want it or not, to anything which does not quite click with what you intend to demonstrate.

Dr. Wurtzburger quite correctly maintained that Judaism considers the prophets to be the interpreters of the Torah. The two cannot be cut asunder. They have to be seen in some sort of interconnection. From here follows (I am making now a statement which will encounter opposition even in Jewish circles) that if interpretation is a legitimate concern that cannot stop a generation or two before ourselves, interpretation has to go on - legitimately. This imposes also on us, the Jewish members, a courageous attempt to re-interpret to some degree our own heritage. I do not want to end up with prescriptions. I do not think that we can do that. But I feel that we would avoid a very real task that is upon us if we would stop short at carrying on that interpretation into our own times, although this may become difficult.

Msgr. MOELLER: I shall try to pick out of today's discussion a number of points. I see two aspects of our discussions. The first part on theological and biblical questions, and the second set of questions, much more complete and practical, concerning the history of the Jewish people and - maybe later - nation. As to the first part, the theological questions, it would seem to me that we have first of all consider "method". The contribution of Prof. Talmon on exegesis was, I think, extremely important because I was able to discover that in the Christian approach to what we call the Old Testament there is always the danger of introducing some dichotomy for example between spiritual and material, eschatological and historical, particularism and universalism. It would seem to me that this dichotomy is always present in Christian thinking. This is why the remarks of Prof. Talmon and Dr. Ehrlich help to make me discover the Jewish approach to Scripture, to rediscover the historical dimension which is always present. As far as method is concerned, I think we need to go back to common biblical studies by scholars, Jewish and Christian exegetes. But this implies a question: if the Jewish interpretation of many texts, of the text of Exodus is the correct one, how can we justify all later interpretations or re-readings? And I think the concept of re-reading is the most essential one to appear in our discussions of today. Because the Torah, the Prophets and the Books of Wisdom are full of re-readings. Ecclesiast is a marvellous example of this. And we in the Letter to the Hebrews we are doing a re-reading. To my mind, the possibility of re-reading is typical of the Semitic tradition. What is distinctive in the Semitic tradition is the ability to recall past events, to re-interpret them...memory and prophecy.

A third point emerged from the discussion, at least for me: the need to re-discover - in the Christian tradition - the concepts and realities of transfiguration, without explaining away and without substituting what is concrete by something which is not. Perhaps the real concept of transfiguration in the Christian view could be compared with some other texts in the Jewish tradition, or the mystical approach be used, etc. I can see there a way.

A fourth point is: we must not confuse universality and cosmopolitan views. Unamuno always used to tell the young people in his time: you go deeply into your so-called local tradition "intra historia", and then, if you are true to that, you

will be universal, inspite of your particularism and because of this particularism. The opposition between particularism and universalism, it would seem to me, is true in some way but if we view this in the context of a dialectic approach, it is not antagonizing, just black and white...

I should like to stress a fifth point/ : tomorrow morning we must consider some of the Catholic questions about the Jewish paper. We need to consider the problem Land People and Nation and, at the same time, not identifying the Jewish people with the State of Israel as it is now, and, also direct our attention to the inevitability of the problem of the State or the Nation. We have to find a way to continue this study.



December 5, 1973
10.00

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Chairman : Z. Werblowsky

TALMON

As to the question whether there is a dispersion of the descendants of Abraham, I would disagree with some statements made on the Jewish side. The term dispersion is a negative term. It was positivized as a result of historical experiences, and was spiritualized as a result of the same historical experiences. This negative concept has been turned into something which among some now becomes a positive ideology. I am not judging whether it has to be so or not, I am saying this descriptively. Whatever happens in history is legitimate. The question would be whether we cannot arrive at an interpretation of our sources and of history which would permit us to view dispersion, i.e. exile and return as parts of the divine providence. I confess that phrasing it thus is disturbing to me, an Israeli who by choice is more bent on the in-gathering than on the dispersion. Dispersion has meaning only when it goes together with the term return. When this return should in fact occur it is not decided, or cannot be decided only by theological or spiritual considerations. Here history plays its role.

~~Agreement~~

For this reason I am prepared to accept dispersion in any form. Either in the definition of Fr. Dupuy, or that proposed by Dr. Lichten. I am prepared to accept it simply as an existential issue. We have a dispersion; we never know when the return will fully occur. But here comes a point which I think is important in the context. Jewish religion in principle is an activist religion. It is turned towards this world and wants to express its spirituality in actuality. Therefore Judaism must and will work towards that ingathering ^{which} is the complementing counterpoint of dispersion.

About exegesis: I wonder whether the definite differentiation between le'om and "race" of Abraham can be upheld. I doubt it. This is an artificial differentiation which has no root in our sources, as far as I can see. The question ought to be rephrased completely.

Universalism: is there room for "conversion"?

This again appears to be a typical Christian phrasing. Conversion (especially active, missionary conversion) is, I think, foreign to basic Jewish concepts. (~~From 34 of original~~) Of all the biblical passages I know which speak of people or peoples coming up to Jerusalem, there is not one that has a Hebrew equivalent for 'conversion'. I do not think that the idea of conversion ever took root in

Jewish thought and certainly never got really into "halakhah", i.e. legal terminology or thinking. And this is the final test. Only what was expressed finally in legal definition really is binding or is expressive of what Israel felt to be important. Ideas that have not been built into the system of philosophic-legal thought are not basic to Judaism.

proof

In this context of 'conversion' one often adduces biblical texts which tell of the nations coming up to Jerusalem in the so-called eschatological age. Now, if you read Micah 4, 1-5, as a piece of internal biblical exegesis of Isaiah chapter 2, where you have the same prophecy, some of the basic biblical concepts on this matter become apparent. Micah says; all the people will come up to Jerusalem; they will be judged by one God who obviously resides in Zion; Zion has become Sinai - because now the Torah goes forth from Zion. Then he goes on to say: "And all the people will walk in the name of their God and Israel will walk in the name of its God for ever and ever". So even in the so-called eschatological age, and mind you there is still a 'for ever and ever', 'conversion' is not incumbent on non-Israelites.

I would say that for Israel and for Jewish thought, there is "salus extra synagogam". The possibility is open that somebody who is not Jewish by birth, or by conviction, can be saved in his own ways. This appears to be the correct interpretation of Micah's prophecy, at least in my understanding. And for me this is the basis of our meeting here.

This brings me back to the issue of universalism. I can now see a universalistic setting in which particularities are accepted and honoured and "division" is that of a peaceful entity, a universal entity. This is the ideological basis, I think, which we can discover in our own tradition. In this respect Israel could become "a light to the nations", which is obviously a universalistic concept. Being a light to the nations would express the idea of election. But on the other hand, amongst many Jews and certainly even more Christians, it has also gives rise to the ideology of dispersion. One says that in order to be a light to the nations, Israel has to be dispersed among the nations. But is this correct? The term 'dispersion' in this instance is used to justify ideologically a historical situation. ~~It is not correct.~~ If I read our sources correctly, the idea of a light to the nations refers to Israel in its country, its land, its state, in its own setting. It should become a beacon, not a diffused light dispersed among the nations, but a prototype or an example for other nations. That is the picture Isaiah painted. You have a focal point, Israel, the people of Israel. The other

nations come to it, seeing in it a sort of attractive model of actual life informed by its own spirituality.

Let me address myself now to question no. 3, as it was put to the Jewish members: "What connection exists between Zionism and Messianism?", and "Is Messianism spiritual or temporal?" I would first of all point out the recurring tendency to deal with these in terms of a mutually exclusive dichotomy, to put "spiritual" and "temporal" in an "either/or" relationship. Concepts like "messianism" thus are divorced from any actual life situation. They become abstract philosophical or theological notions. For my part, I conceive of "messianism" as a formative societal value and at the same time as a concept shaped and reshaped by societal experience. In other words, it is a functional concept. Therefore messianism can be spiritual and actual-historical or temporal at the same time. Biblical messianism, which is spiritual messianism expresses itself best in the temporality of David and his line. If we consider David only as a temporal king, then we have misunderstood the basic meaning of biblical messianism. If we see him only as a spiritual value we have as much ~~misunder~~ misunderstood the basic meaning of biblical messianism. If we see him only as a spiritual value we have misunderstood history. Every temporal or historical movement of Israel towards a messianic age is meant to create a social model which could or should become a beacon or a light to the nations. It must be at one and the same time historical and spiritual. If it remains only historical, it has not fulfilled its purpose. If it remains only spiritual, it is undercutting a main trend - possibly the most important trend in Jewish history, and in Jewish concept of messianism.

All this does not turn Zionism per se into Messianism. It may not even be the beginning of messianism. But I would maintain that Zionism has in it a grain of messianic expectation which has to be nurtured and tended to become fruitful in actual life. This can be achieved only if enough time is given to the Zionist endeavour to mature and progressively to apply spiritual values to new societal life situations. in "the Land", the Land of Israel.

From here we come to the question of the land. One can spiritualise "the Land". It was done, in fact. Jews of the last century called Vilna 'the Jerusalem of Europe' . . . this can be done. But "Land" first of all is of a tangible actuality which you can underbuild or underpin by attaching to it spiritual values. But then if you take away the spiritual values, leaving only the tangible entity, you are not only misreading, you are falsifying the basic concepts of what "the Land" means in Jewish tradition.

What is the meaning of possessing the land in an eschatological sense? Let me once more be an exegete. Psalm 37, to which reference was made, has a very prominent place in the writings of the Qumran community. In an early piece of exegesis of this Psalm, verses 9-10 which speak of "the just who will inherit the land" are adduced. The Qumran covenanters apply these passages to themselves. The way in which they interpret these verses is materialistic to a depressing degree. These people lived between the so-called O.T. times and early Christianity. Qumran presents to us writings from the blank pages between the Old and the New Testament. I consider the Qumran Covenanters the first interpreters of biblical ideology in a new setting. Therefore I think that we must pay attention to their way of understanding these passages since they present to us an ongoing tradition from O.T. times. Their eschatology is a temporal concept. For the biblical mind, eschatology is in history, not beyond history. You must understand that the mitzva to possess the land, to return to the land, does not refer to an indefinite future. It is a direct call to everybody to fulfil this mitzva in his own lifetime.

The issue of peace. Jewish religion and the biblical world-view certainly aim at peace, i.e. peace on earth, because it is here on earth where Judaism lives. The Torah is no longer in heaven. It was handed down and therefore has to be lived on earth. Peace on earth is certainly expected and hoped for. But I would say that in the Bible the question is asked: peace at what price? Peace is not unconditional. It is a hopeful situation which would enable Israel and every other people to live its life according to its own ways and ideas. If peace endangers this particularity, then biblical Israel would engage in war. I cannot accept "peace" without further definition and circumscription, as the only and unlimited ideal either of Judaism or Christianity.

WERBLOWSKY: I would add something on one of the questions, namely the connection between Zionism and Messianism. What is this connection now? None, if messianism is considered to be in terms of opposed historic fulfilment. Everything, if you consider messianism a dimension of lived history as it goes on. If you think in terms of a messianic, of the messianic fulfilment, then I think that to regard Zionism of messianism is to fall into the trap of historic events. If you consider messianism as a dimension of history, then certainly it is an event of a messianic order.

The Chief Rabbinate of Israel has introduced a minor change in prayerbook where the return to Israel and the establishment of a state is called a 'beginning of the of our messianic redemption'. I made myself not particularly loved by the establishment when I wrote that this phrase was to be a testimony to over-quick enthusiasm and of theological immaturity. Because you may find the hand of God acting in your salvation i. t., in the times of the Maccabees. Nobody said is not a messianic event. The peop

spoke of "Yeshuatenu"; we celebrate even now in our liturgies God's mighty salvation, delivering his people, feeling God's hand in moments of salvations, after moments of tragedy - but nobody dreamt to say that this is a messianic event. I find no less than Chanukah even more in what happened in our generation to be a mighty moment of salvation with an immense potential, possibly a messianic potential but to go on from there and read the calendar and God's timetable and say this is the beginning of the messianic era or the pretext of the messianic era - this is something which many of us will take serious exception, then I was rather amused at the meeting I had the other day to find that the question came up, when Prof. Scholen, who is after all an expert of the history of Jewish spirituality to be seconding me in his emphatic rejection of the messianic dimension of the character of Zionism, although he is the most enthusiastic Zionist of all.

Are any questions to this?

SIEGMAN: There seems to be a contradiction because, if I understood you correctly, you suggested earlier that you find more congenial the notion of an on-going historical messianic process.

WERBLOWSKY: No I didn't say that. God forbid! I do not fall into the trap of evolutionism. I am not prepared to inject the 19th c. notion of evolutionism or history gradually evolving towards the messianic fulfilment into the 19th c. I think it is a 19th c. naive misconception into which all the liberal rabbis of the 19th c. fell. But I would not accept this for myself.

SIEGMAN: Which of the two that you just opposed do you hold up to be the Jewish moral?

WERBLOWSKY: I am not sure there is the Jewish moral. I think that everybody makes his own exegesis and tries to work out liberal Jewish model. I think there has been some mighty events in Jewish history and if you are a religious Jew you cannot help but try to make an exegesis of your own life in terms of traditional, biblical and other non biblical, rabbinist, cabalistic and other values, to find that something of extreme significance has been happening, to the extent that everything we do is of a messianic order, if not necessary a messianic fulfilment. you try to read it in this light but to give it the official sanction of being something which is either a messianic fulfilment or a step towards messianic fulfilment - if you interpret messianism in eschatological terms, then

RIEGNER I would suggest that we ask our Christian friends first what follow-up questions they would put, having heard the preliminary replies from Prof. Talmon and me may perhaps take this point by point. On which points they have not received sufficient clarification. And then, in replying, some Jewish colleagues can come in

and give their nuances. I think we should not continue the debate in a very unorganized way as we are doing now.

EHRlich

There is one point about which we have not spoken at all here. And this point is very important for our future work and is bringing back ^{us} a little on earth because it is a questions which troubles our Christian partners very much and we have not said a word about it.

Is there not in Jewish society a diversity of competences and therefore a responsible authority? I think this sentence is of most importance for our Committee for our structure and we should come back to this sentence.

WERBLOWSKY: We could come to this assertion but the question we have to face is a question of priority. We cannot deal with everything at the same time.

DUPUY: I would like to come back to the questions proposed by Prof. Talmon and first about Zionism and messianism. I would like to ask our Jewish partners for a clarification. This question is so large that we will not be able to come back to it later. If I understood correctly what Werblowsky told us, for him sionism belongs to the messianic era. I can understand that, inasmuch messianism is an historical dimension, a dimension of the totality of history. And it is only in this sense that we can understand this assertion that Zionism belongs to the messianic order but is not the accomplishment of messianism. But someone else said also that sionism belongs also to "t'chiltah, degeulah" and this is for me much more than the daily dimension of history. Is there between the Jewish participants some diversity on that point? My question is only a point of clarification in order to understand better the debate going along between you and this would bring out also the question of the part played by spirituality precisely by the streams coming from the Kabala in the understanding of today's meessianism. In other words, do you think the position you have presented is only build on the Talmudic tradition or does it also refer to theories such as that of the "Rav Kuk"

WURZBURGER: I would just like to say that when Prof. Talmon speaks of exegesis in biblical terms it is even more difficult to speak about exegesis in Jewish theological terms and if traditionally Judaism has always been connected to some kind of messianism there is such a variety of messianism with divergent views that it is always a question of what peculiar messianic doctrine, what particular thought subscribes to.

Now, in respect to the present return of the Jews to Israel, there is of course the one question that bothers many religious thinkers and that is how is it even feasible that people who are apparently not religious at all could be regarded as instrumen

for bringing about an ultimate spiritual return and, as a result of this, you have actually a great diversity of views among the Jewish tradition.

1) First I refer to the Jewish tradition or better to those who operate in a Jewish framework, saying that in view of the fact that the return to Israel was specifically promoted by people

who were not religious and at least at this stage were not prepared to have the People of Israel living in following the prescriptions of Halaha. Therefore it could not possible be in any way of messianic significance.

2) You have others who would say that this maybe the phase 1, leading up to another combination. This is only a preliminary phase.

3) You have some who would say that, at this particular stage, nobody can say what is going to develop.

4) And you have also a large segment of the Jewish tradition which will argue that the messianic terms have not been normative for Jewish people. Messianic hope is a hope. But Jews have never governed their life in any significant sense by messianic efforts, Jews have lived in an ethics of here and now and not in a kind of ethics befitting for an eschatological age. But now I am not quite prepared to agree with Prof. Talmon that the Jewish tradition would say that.

There is no possibility of speaking of an 'eschaton' which in a certain sense is a complete break in a historical process. Nonetheless it is evident as far as I can see it that the ultimate goal of a return must from a Jewish messianic point of view be considered as a minimum. We cannot speak of a messianic age that would not include a return to Israel. But this is a negative approach. It is not evident from a Jewish point of view that any return of Jews to Israel may be considered as qualifying for messianism. So you see it is only in a certain sense a negative ".....". In the Jewish tradition what is the precise formula? None can be sure.

I would like to add a different nuance to what has been said. About the conversion of the nations in the Jewish tradition, the nations of all the world will one day accept the teachings of the Torah. What is meant by the teaching of the Torah in a messianic fulfilment? I would certainly argue that the basic foundation of the Jewish morality, spirituality, monotheism etc were considered by Maimonides as absolutely universal and in the messianic age for Maimonides mankind will be able to recognize as true the nucleus of the teaching of the Torah. In the view of Maimonides Christianity is a prelude to the coming of all nations to Jewish teaching and to the true God.

In messianic time the teaching of Judaism etc. will be made available to all the nations of the world, so that in theological waves, specially in the Middle Age there is a strong emphasis upon the real universal nature of Judaism not in the sense of conversion but in the sense that the Jewish teachings that are considered as universally applicable have to be attained by all.

I agree with Prof. Talmon in saying that the ideal was that Jewish existence would have an impact upon the nations of the world as much as possible, the nations coming closer to an awareness of the rules of God.

TANENBAUM: It is a question of definition of terms: how to understand the concept of conversion. To me it is clear that in Jewish tradition one speaks at least of an acceptance (metanoia) of Judaism. There is in Judaism a hope for the conversion of mankind to the God of Israel that is not necessarily a conversion to the cult of Israel and this conception is recited in our daily liturgy "All the nations of the world ultimately will come to an acceptance of the God of Israel".

WERBLOWSKY: This distinction is very helpful. It reflects the principle trends in Jewish thinking.

DUPUY: I would like to come back to some questions raised by Prof. Talmon

1) First he raises the question of exegesis. I recognise that we Christians can be quite consonant with what Prof. Talmon said about exegesis. We could have a true dialogue on the basis of the concept of exegesis presented by him. He told us that already in the Bible there was some interpretation. Already the Prophets interpret the Torah. We could say there is already a Midrash inside the scriptures and therefore this view about exegesis is complementary with the more traditional view of Judaism that in the Torah there is no anteriority or posteriority that is properly an assertion of revelation and inspiration of the Bible.

Talmon adds that interpretation cannot be considered as if it had stopped two generations before us, interpretation is a continuous process. This saying of Talmon in certain periods of the history of Judaism would perhaps have been considered as a more Christian exegesis than a Jewish.

I must recall at the Vatican II some statements have been accepted such as these: "We are living in the scriptural tradition." Prof. Talmon has simply stressed this notion of tradition that the Christians receive from the Jews and pointed out that the true notion of living tradition expressed by the Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches nowadays is not far away from the notions of Torah in 'She-beal-p' and that a dialogue could take place about that.

You, Prof Talmon, have given strength to the importance of Haggadah in the general understanding of the Scripture. It seems to me this problem has to be located inside the general problematic of Judaism in relation to the problem of Halaha' and Haggadah today and the new importance given to Haggadah for Halaha' itself. Amidst Christianity we have very analogous problems and we could engage in a debate about exegesis on the basis proposed by Prof. Talmon.

2) You told us that the word 'exile', 'dispersion' are negative terms. Personally I accept that. Talmon added 'dispersion' has no meaning if it not related to 'return'. Some questions could be raised here once again. 'Return' means what, exactly?

'Aliyah' answers to 'Golah'. But 'Golah' has a positive meaning and not only a negative. If 'return' says more than 'aliya' and sends back to a 'teshuvah', what is this teshuvah? When you said what can be this return it cannot be specified by theological considerations. I understand what you suggest if by theological considerations ~~you~~ you speak of traditional considerations linked to some purely negative understanding of Golah. But these notions are positive. Can we not say that this Golah is a teshuvah and . . . has truly a deeply theological meaning? If so, the modern way of return cannot be understood without any reference to tradition.

3) You made a remarque about the distinction between "descendance from Abraham" and "nation constituted under the sponsorship of Moses" and if I understood well you said that it was an artificial distinction. I accept that the philological elements brought in the Catholic study papers are not accurate and particularly that the notions of goyim, 'am and le'om are identical in the texts quoted. But in the light of the exegesis proposed by you that is to say that there is a continuous interpretation in the Bible it all the same has a meaning if the . . . Bible speaks within a succession of the Covenant with Abraham, the Covenant with Moses, the Covenant with David. This distinction is not completely artificial, and if it not well grounded in our study paper there is all the same a difference between the biblical terms pointing out the Abrahamic covenant and other terms referring to the Sinaitic covenant etc. Your statement that there is no difference left me a little unsatisfied. It ought to be reconsidered. As it has been proposed it does not bring light.

You said also that the Bible was an anthology. Anthology of what? Of the Jewish cultural life? Nobody cannot object with such a view and I would accept what said Kaufmann presenting the Bible and Tanach in relation with the cultural life of the people. But it seems to me that this refers to an idea of a living tradition and to a population bearing the inspiration and does not refer to a purely individualistic idea of inspiration. But I would like to ask later another question about the Bible. The idea you have of the Bible.

I wish to come to a more important question, that of conversion. You said that it is a typically Christian notion and you said also that it was not halakik terminology. Here it would be necessary to clarify the idea of conversion we are speaking of. In our Western languages the word includes more than one aspect. For example the meaning of the Hebrew teshuvah: conversion to the Torah, or to the Law of God. There is also the conversion mentioned in some prophetic texts or psalms, in relation with the progression of all nations towards Jerusalem. And there is also a third signification, more precise, and this third one has all the same given occasion to halakik considerations. In an hellenistic atmosphere, at least when the Pharisees movement, between the time of the Great Synagogue and the Christian age, when the Jewish world gave to the proselytes some official status, this was an innovation by comparison to all the religions in the same environment: hellenistic religions or oriental religions. Never in the history of religions has been found such a ~~fact~~ fact of an adherence to a population, adherence implying at the same time nationalistic

elements and elements of religious tradition. We have no other example in the whole world. So, precisely, in its halakik signification conversion seems to me of a Jewish origin.

On all what you said about "....." ^{acharit ha-yamim} and on eschatology I agree with you. This raises enormous problems that I do not want to consider here. But I would like you, when you present the Jewish understanding, not to minimize the existence of data that have precisely allowed Christianity to come to being. These data have perhaps been reduced in the later Jewish tradition but have nonetheless existed at some time; in any case, elements of the Apocalypses and the apocalyptic fact raise enormous problems for the members - religious or non - of this assembly. But the fact of this apocalyptic phenomenon just before the Christian era cannot be denied. But this phenomenon, as shown by Sholem, can be found in all the historical development of rabbinism until the fifth century after Christ.

So on this question of eschatology and on relation with "....." ^{acharit ha-yamim} there have been very difficult questions for the Christians but these questions cannot be raised clearly and with fairness in our dialogue if on your side you do not bring all the elements that could help us to clarify the questions.

You referred also to the fact about conversion that there is a salus extra-synagogam, but in the same way there is for us a salus extra-ecclesiam and this because both of us we together profess that all men are created at the image of God and the creation covenant is the basis of all our ideas about covenants. And if a debate has to be instaurated between us about the belonging to a community and the notion of conversion, we cannot put on one side this fundamental idea common to both of us.

There is also the question of the spiritualization of that. I thank you to have brought in an important notion in quoting the Qumran text about the "mild will earn the land" and in noting that this Qumran text came in a very opportune way in our time to fill the gap between the two Testaments.

This kind of question about the land and the meaning of this word for the authors of the Gospels could, from the Christian side, be fairly explained only if it had made a true attempt to know the Targumim and other contemporaneous Jewish texts that could give us the true signification of the biblical texts. If we do not do that, we refer to an exegesis created in a posterior time that I cannot locate exactly (third century, twelve c. or nineteen c. of Christian era). It is my feeling that a great amount of questions could be raised in connection with the problems you have formulated. It seems to me that the word has been launched by those who study the targumim and

by scholars such as Geza Vermesh who has just initiated a series of publications on exegesis of such texts. Nevertheless it seems to me that the Christian study paper you have in hand, without my being absolutely affirmative (and I accept the fact that some of its tendencies could not be accepted by all Christian theologians), has tried to be as objective as possible and gives a good idea of what could be in the Catholic Church of today the lay-out of questions on such a problem. But I am perhaps going too far in saying that because this problem is difficult for Christians. The apex of our difficulty is in that. For you this is ^{your} the very criterion of the reality and understanding of your own religious existence and history, while for us this seems to be very far away from the heart of our creed. We come here to something which cannot be postponed till the future and that at the same time it is our greatest difficulty.

WERBLOWSKY: Time does not allow us to continue in such a perspective. Msgr Moeller has still a question to ask.

MOELLER: I agree in general with what Fr Dupuy has said just now. In his reaction to what Prof. Talmon has said this morning I see many ways of collaboration in the present time and in the future. For example in the field of exegesis. But I would like to express three reactions:

1) Prof. Talmon, if I understood you correctly, for you the concept of conversion is *salus extra-synagogam*. I would like to hear more about this possibility of salvation for those who are out of the synagogue. I think that this distinction proposed by Rabbi Tanenbaum between conversion to God and acceptance of the Law of God, possible for all nations, (but that does not imply the Jewish worship) is for me illuminating. If it is true and if also for the Christians *extra-ecclesiam est salus*, nevertheless the formula *extra-ecclesia non est salus* is a typical expression of the Christian view of conversion. I would be interested in learning more about *extra-synagogam est salus*. I see there an application of what we said yesterday about two different approaches of universality.

2) You spoke about Zionism and messianism. I would like to say that the Christian doctrine of transfiguration connected with salvation and sanctification, with salvation of all the creation, of all the cosmos is spiritual and historical. You know Dostofewsky was planning to write a third volume of the Karamazovs and intended to show Aliosha at the end no more in the monastery and not making the revolution in the society but living a life of holiness connected with sane activities on social, cultural field in order to anticipate in some way or to make present and visible in some sense this sanctification, this transfiguration, the peace between man and God, between man and the universe, between man and animal. I think that in the Christian tradition if we were more conscious of this doctrine of transfiguration and salvation which implies justice, peace, reconciliation, which is a manifestation in a visible way but not only that - which is concrete, sensible, but transfigured - here we have

a bridge or at least a point to consider in these discussions.
of ".....".

For us Christians, according to my limited experience, the lesson coming to us through the religious Jewish understanding of life, is always to call our attention back to the dangers of being too much materialistic or to spiritualize too much in in disincarnate way.

3) I was struck this morning by the fact that this kind of discussion about eschatology, messianic expectation, etc. does not exist only in your Jewish theological religious view. Discussion about that does not manifest opposition between our traditions. but diversities and one of my conclusions during these days is that there is diversity inside both our religious traditions. There is always a re-reading inside a tradition, our discussion about messianic expectation, conversion, spirituality and materiality does not refer only to Jewish problems but also to Christian problems. There is some common problematic, common to the Jewish thinking and to ours. By example the notion of memorial, point of discussion between Christians. "Zikaron!". was discovered by many Christian theologians because they had studied the Jewish liturgy and tradition and the Bible.

Three - Red
 December 5, 1973
 11.30 - 13.00

Continuation of discussion on study-paper "People, Nation and Land"

Chairman: Zwi Werblowsky

What about the two study papers produced about "Land, people..."?
 What procedure are we supposed to follow in the future in order to continue our study?

11 - SIEGMAN : We have to re-write the two study papers taking into account our discussions and the questions raised. This new redaction will have to be submitted to the members of the Liaison Committee.

17 - Msgr. ETCHEGARAY: Which is the final stage of our work? Do we intend to come to a publication?

19 - SIEGMAN : Many possibilities can be envisaged. We cannot eliminate the possibility of a publication.

21 - MOELLER: Why not publish the first study-papers, the discussions and the new redactions? It could be useful for us but also for others, because it could stimulate and open the way to a broader debate. But we must discuss the project in detail. The discussions which took place yesterday were very profitable.

31 - DE CONTENSON : I support Rabbi Siegman's idea but can we publish the actual study-papers, as they stand, or must we wait for a new redaction incorporating the discussions? What is the feeling of the authors about that? Do they think possible to build up a new redaction incorporating the discussion or is this impossible?

39 - WURZBURGER : many things that have been said by some Jews here cannot be supported by me and I could not integrate them in a new redaction.

44 - DUPUY : I doubt about the possibility of re-writing taking into account the dialogue of yesterday. Perhaps we could, on each side, formulate precise questions in connection with what has been said. I would prefer a new document than a new redaction. This new document ought to put in evidence the essential questions. For this new stage we shall change our method of work. We have to point out the fundamental and basic questions.

56 - RIEGNER : We must think about a publication but not immediately. I would see a publication a) of the two papers presented here, b) a summary of the discussions, c) two short studies on basic questions on which the discussions have focussed with the answers on the other side. This would give an honest description of our common approach of the fundamental problems.

70 - MOELLER : He supports this idea.: a) the two study papers, b) minutes of the discussions, perhaps not necessarily ad littera (sometime); c) short studies on some specific basic questions. In the USA it is very useful that study papers be published as "research documents".

85 - FLANNERY -: In the discussions none of the questions I expected has ever emerged but perhaps mine is a partial view of things. Nor have I found any recent development of the theological thought on the subject

95 - WERBLOWSKY : The Catholic questions about the Jewish position were insufficient. What we have done has not been well balanced. We could use the study papers as point of departure but we could then build up a new redaction. The document will include a) the study papers re-written, b) the discussions, c) a new part including new papers answering to the questions emerging from the two previous parts. These papers being written by other people. This third part would be a kind of reflection on the two study papers and on the discussions.

117 - DE CONTENSON : Could not we add perhaps some remarks proposed by members of our group, if they wish to do so ? We shall need to nominate a small editorial team.

123 - MOELLER : Approves but insists on a summarization at the end . In addition we have to explain the origin of the two papers and say that from the Catholic view other considerations could be proposed.

130 - TANENBAUM : He agrees. We must explain very clearly the context of the study papers.

133 - Prof. TALMON : Attention must be paid to the titles, for example: "Land, people and nation in Jewish perspective" - "Land, people and nation. A Christian view".

WERBLOWSKY : The Secretaries of the Liaison Committee will then have a lot of work to do! An editorial coordinator will be needed who will receive all the different suggestions.

142 - RIEGNER: We need a Committee who will be charged of the redaction of the conclusions. The consensus we have now reached.

Preliminary discussions of study-paper 2 : "Promotion of human rights and Religious Freedom"

154 - WERBLOWSKY : The original plan had been to present also papers on human rights and how practical collaboration between us in such a field could be developed. Collaboration in the field of the defense of human rights. On both sides we were incapable to produce a papers but this has to be prepared for the next session.

163 - DE CONTENSON : It is not very clear to me what is intended by this study on human rights. What is wanted? A study or a research on practical means

of cooperation? These two directions do not involve the same people and cannot follow the same process. If we just do a study paper on human rights it is perhaps not specific of our dialogue. There are so many papers on such a subject that have already been done on a general level. I wonder if it is exactly in the line of our competences. It seems to be the project ought to be framed better. I do not see exactly what to do in order to follow the decisions reached in Marseille, or even before. Could all this be said again and re-stated?

168 - WERBLOWSKY: We could re-formulate what was intended.

180 - RIEGNER: Yes, there is a difference of opinion between us about the scope of our meeting in this field. Are we limited in our work to studies and exchange of information or can we envisage also efforts towards joint or concerted action? The Catholic side was divided. As a compromise we, Jews, agreed to a double-study: to bring out the motivations which push us to be active in the field of human rights, and to see whether in some way we could make recommendations regarding some coordination, concentration and concrete action, in the field of human rights. See the final formulation in the minutes of the last meeting. The study was to have three parts: 1) Determine the human rights which Jews and Christians believe have to be promoted today: political, economical, cultural, religious; 2) The sources of these rights in our respective spiritual traditions; 3) The methods by which these sources may be brought into relation with the specific rights whose promotion is intended.

I would be very sorry if we would give this up. I insist on the importance of cooperation at the UN about religious freedom. My feeling is that we must not give up this plan. I would plead we should have a clear understanding that we need four persons at least to develop the various aspects. One man cannot do all. We need a study on the sources, and one on their application to the actual situation, and both studies have to be united. Why not ask the help of Catholic organizations?

235 - EHRLICH: We have now a very clear insight: a study leading directly to a cooperation and to practical results and not a very sophisticated high level study but a document which would lead us to a very close cooperation. The people who will do this study should know exactly what we are expecting.

238 - LICHTEN : (quotes text of Paris minutes, page 32).

246 - DE CONTENSON: If I understand well: one study made by two people: a scholar for the theological part and somebody engaged in practical action.

258 - WERBLOWSKY : We hope the decision will be implemented by the time the next meeting comes. We rely on the Secretaries to appoint teams.

268 - WERBLOWSKY - Answering to Prof. Talmon about the purpose of the Liaison

Committee, I would like to say this: we are meeting every year as a joint body for Jewish-Christian dialogue. Are we supposed to exchange information or to produce study papers ? Or is there a desire to come to some collaboration in fields of common concern.

280 - MOELLER: There is already practical cooperation, concrete collaboration ; it is already set up, for example in the field of human rights. Remember when we went with Dr. Becker to the Secretary of State for the sake of Israeli prisoners of war. Practical cooperation is already in action. The Justice and Peace Pontifical Commission has already agreed to the idea of participating in some study about human rights.

294 - TANENBAUM : There is an urgency for such a study. 1) Actually there is a development of an erosion of human rights in many directions and countries 2) In the UN the question of religious freedom has had some difficulties and criticisms from States of Eastern Europe. On that point very ugly arguments were proposed.

- There is a need for some clarification about the presuppositions of a promotion of human rights.
- In principle it is a part of our common tradition :
- In what frame, on what basis can an action be developed in common?

308 - MOELLER: Yes, the question is more urgent now. Religious freedom is a theme of ecumenical meetings at present and of international meeting at the UN and elsewhere. The Catholic part of the Liaison committee can sponsor the research but Justice and Peace Commission ought to do the work and the study.

330 - TANENBAUM: For us study we must select various specialists to undergo it .

340 - ETCHEGARAY: Asks himself if such an important question ought not to be studied by Jews, Catholics and also WCC. We ought to be able to join all Christians concerns in a dialogue with the Jews.

354 - RIEGNER: But our relations with the WCC are different from our relations with the Catholic Church. Of course, a triangular meeting on a specific item could be useful, but I would be against a procedure that would postpone the project. We could invite others to join us later. I would suggest that we stick to our decision. But of course, in principle, I would not be opposed to the cooperation at a later stage of some Protestant representatives.

382 - DE CONTENSON : Would you have an objection if we invite a Protestant as an expert member of the Catholic team ?

387 - RIEGNER: I do not think that we would recommend this at this stage.

389 - WERBLOWSKY: the decision made before has to receive execution: ~~_____~~

It has been agreed: a) that the decision adopted at the precedent meeting has to be applied after this meeting. b) that the two Secretaries will try to put this in execution. c) as a Liaison body we should try to coordinate our attempts in favour of human rights. The two Secretaries will try to coordinate. d) we must keep the eye on the possibility of enlarging the team but this step cannot be taken without an agreement taken in a meeting such as this one. The possibility has to be kept open but not become effective without a decision of the Liaison Committee. But consultation can be made by correspondence.

DE CONTENSON: Could we have some informal approach about the possibility of some Protestant cooperation? Could I try to have some informal reaction from them?

433- LICHTEN: As long as we have not come here to a consensus, an informal approach would be too much.

436 - ETCHEGARAY: It would be simpler to have one unique research instead of two parallel studies, one between Jews and Catholics and one between Jews and Protestants.

442 - WERBLOWSKY : Actually we have not engaged a study with Protestants on such a subject.

443- SIEGMAN - We all agree that a common study will be desirable. Our reservations are only grounded on the fact of ~~z~~ the different kind of relations we have with the WCC on one side and with the RCC on the other side. We must study the eventual organization of a three-way relation research and only after that can we reach a decision. In my view there is no question about the desirability of such a study.

458- TANENBAUM : In WCC circles there is a tendency to move in a direction that complicate the question. Among them there is an emphasis on group rights, economic rights, rights of the Third World populations and this is far away from the fight for personal liberty. There is a ^{tension} between personal liberty, including religious liberty and collective liberty including economic justice. There is a difference of emphasis in the approach of the problem between the WCC and the RCC and a balance has to be found and taken into account.

485 - RIEGNER: The WCC has developed quite a special attitude towards human rights and religious liberty. We wish collaboration and I hope we shall come to it but it is perhaps not yet ripe.

510 - MOELLER: But the World Confessional Families are an organization quite different from the WCC and they are dealing explicitly with religious

freedom and their work is very important.

517 - WERBLOWSKY : It is obvious that if we can open the participation to our study it could be useful and it is desirable.

EXCHANGE OF INFORMATIONS

Questions from Catholic Side

a) Situation of Christians in Israel.

525 - W. : Now we are coming to the Questions from Catholics to Jews and first to the declaration made by chief rabbi Goren in Great Britain.

530 - DE CONTENSON : Since I myself for this item to be put on the agenda, it is my duty to explain: I receive periodically Newsletters from Jewish organizations (JRA and WJC). These Newsletters are for me a first-class source of information and they gave me my first information about the declaration by Rabbi Goren. After that from top-officials of the Vatican I received information and questions about this statement. I answered that the matter would be put on the agenda of the Liaison Committee meeting. It is a question of freedom of belief. Jewish emigrants coming from Russia arrive in Israel with Christian wives and from the Christian side there is a fear of some pressure on these Christian women in order to push them to conversion to Judaism. You understand that such statements as that made by Rabbi Goren put me in an awkward position when we tried to ask for religious freedom for the Jews.

574 - TANENBAUM: This is ^{the question} how came out in USA : you all heard of the campaign Key-73 in which fundamentalists were active. They sent a group of activist missionaries in Israel. These groups developed a kind of violent propaganda basically evangelical. This provoked some very harsh reactions in some circles of the Israeli society and even a vigorous counter-action. The Evangelicals in USA felt concerned and ^a representative from the USA Evangelicals were sent to Israel in order to investigate about Israeli intolerance. This representative met officials of the Government and had free access to everything. He went back to the States with a general conclusion that he was personally offended by the proselytic policy of some marginal Christian groups and he said that he was coming back quite satisfied by the attitude of the Israeli authorities. In Israel there is true freedom of religious expressions for Christians who behave without violence or aggressivity. Many statements of the Israeli officials could be here quoted.

626 - WERBLOWSKY: There are two different problems: 1) the situation of Christians in Israel in general. 2) The performance of Rabbi Goren and the special case involved. For (1) there is no problem on a religious level but it is true to say that the Arab Christians suffer, but not because they are Christians, but because they are Arabs. The difficult question is that of mission and Rabbi Goren is often impetuous in his statements. In fact there is no "proselytising" activity by any of the major organized Churches, neither

the Latin, neither the Uniates, neither the Oriental, nor even the Protestant denominations organized in the UCC in Israel. They do not engage in proselytism. The only people who are engaged in proselytism are the members of what we call the "Lunatic Fringe". The established Christian Churches are a victim of that much more than the Jews. These crazy sects send prophets around the streets and the ordinary Jew cannot trace a distinctive line between crazy "Lunatics" and Christians belonging to large and organized Churches. This creates some kind of uncomfortable situation for all Christians and this is exploited by a certain limited group in Israel of people who think that creating an anti-missionary psychosis will be useful for them.

707 - DE CONTENSON: I am not speaking of what Rabbi Goren said about "missionary Christian activity". The problem for me is the reaction of the Catholic authorities when they hear that Jewish authorities have tried or are trying to convert to Judaism or to register as Jews some Christian wives of Jewish immigrants in Israel. Rabbi Goren declared in England that a "conversion school" has been settled in Tel Aviv but has failed in its attempt to convert to Judaism Christian wives of Jewish immigrants.

721- WERBLOWSKY: The question is that in Israel we have no civil marriage. All marriages are formed within the context of religious communities and are subject to the canon law of the community concerned and it is not only the question of the status of the two married people, but also that of their children. The children of a couple that is not officially married would find themselves in an impossible legal position. This problem comes out of the actual situation. Many agitate for an introduction of civil marriage in Israel. But actually if you take in Israel Jewish immigrants and if they come in Israel as Jewish immigrants, for ex. from Russia, the Jewish agency pays for their immigration from Russia, because they are Jews. In the legal situation of Israel they are supposed to enter the Jewish community and the rules are such that they have to be Jew in order to be socially accepted.

December 5, 1973
15.00-16.45

Chairing: Werblowsky

SIEGMAN: Wants to convey to the Catholic friends in the most accurate sense what the situation is in Israel in regard to mixed marriages, specifically of Russian immigrants who have come to Israel with their Christian wives, because the statement made by Rabbi Gorem as reported in the Times is totally misleading.

The impression one gets on reading these accounts is that you have on the one hand the Orthodox and the more obscurantist elements in the religious community in Israel who are trying to convert Christian wives of the immigrants to Judaism and the more liberal and secular elements in Israel who are opposed to this. In fact the very reverse is the case. It is the religious community in Israel, the Orthodox community more specifically which has been agitating for the strictest adherence to the procedure for the conversion to Judaism, which makes it extremely difficult to convert Christian wives of Russian immigrants to Judaism. Consequently all kinds of social and other difficulties follow. It is the secularist element in Israel who have great pressure on the Chief Rabbi, Rabbi Gorem and on the religious establishment generally that in this case they should ease, perhaps completely do away with some of the stricter aspects of the requirements for conversion in order to make it possible for these wives on humanitarian grounds to be able to convert very easily and quickly to Judaism. So the reality of both the political and religious situation in Israel with regard to this problem that you have called our attention to, is exactly the reverse of what it seems to be upon reading the press accounts.

DE CONTENSON: Grateful for this. Useful to have it in the agenda. Happy with what Rabbi Siegman has said.

WERBLOWSKY: Wants to point out they have not tried to evade this problem.

b) Problems of defining religious and political matters in our relationship.

DE CONTENSON: I was asked to put this on the agenda. I don't know what in fact we could add to the article by Fr. Hamer.

Every problem has always the religious aspect, though. We must always consider the problem on the religious aspect.

I can take this opportunity to explain perhaps what we in the Vatican can do and what we cannot. And this because we have sometimes the feeling that some of our Jewish friends do not always understand exactly. I am speaking now in the name of the SPUC.

I am talking for instance of those telegrams from Jewish personalities which we from time to time receive asking for the Holy See help in various problems (avoiding condemnation etc.). This is something which we cannot do directly. We can only deal with religious problems: this is our specific competence. And since a religious problem involves many different aspects, we cannot solve it directly, we must refer to other dicasteria in the Vatican. But we can always forward to the competent office the relevant request.

Sometimes, I would suggest that, instead of sending so many telegrams to Cardinal Willebrand you should send them to Msgr. Moeller, the 'secretary' of the SPCU who in some way is the "despatcher" to the competent authorities, who after consulting with the officials of the SPUC decide to whom the paper should be forwarded for competency, etc.

This is just to remind that on many papers you send us, we cannot do anything directly. The only thing we can do is to push the competent offices to take some action, when necessary. We are a "liaison" on some circumstances between you and some other offices of the Vatican (where things go also very slow for many many reasons). But of course is right of you to send us all information and requests. We can therefore try to help in some sense (there are also cases in which you send things directly to the Secretariat of State and we never hear of them).

RIEGNER : I would like to call attention on what we have in the minutes. Some reference to the statement that Fr. Hamer made at the Paris' meeting of 1971 where the all matter was dealt with in great detail. It is clear that in certain circumstances Jewish organizations want to address themselves to the highest authorities of the Church calling their attention to and asking may-be for some support. Should our demarches go to you or directly to the Secretariate of State ? We understand that what you can do is to transmit, sometimes effectively, sometimes not so effectively.

We also have the same problem; we want on one hand to get somebody involved who really can seriously support us and who has an understanding of the problem and it is sometimes better if it comes through somebody who will plead the case. But may be in certain matters you want us to go up there. As regards to our requests, when they specifically deal with religious matters, there should be developed some mechanism which would allow certain matters to be dealt with by the Secretary of States directly. I don't want an answer from my Catholic friends, I just want them to give consideration to this problem, where are we going to go with our matters ? It is clear that things are going slow and that they cannot be changed from one day to the other. But in the long run there is for me the necessity of some other address that might be approachable may be through you in your presence or whatever.

DE CONTENSON: Perhaps I have expressed myself in the wrong way. It was never my intention to push you to use me or Msgr. Moeller as channels to communicate with the Holy See. You are always free to communicate directly and we will never be angry about this! This is quite clear.

I would only suggest that, in the present state of things, first you should always inform us: it will be wiser first for the sake of the problems you are interested in.

I am not perhaps the competent person, but I can assure you that, if we are informed of your wishes, we are here to serve you in the best way, transmitting them to the competent authorities with some notes which can clarify some points and push them, as much as possible, to take some action. Otherwise you can run the risk that your papers lay on someone's table for a long time unanswered, unconsidered.

LICHTEN: I would like to know if you can tell us what is the attitude of those higher dicasteria towards a situation in which we deal on the religious matters and how should the political and the religious matters be dealt with? How do they approach these questions.

DE CONTENSON: It depends on what matters: it is difficult to answer.

LICHTEN: Suppose we come to the issue of Israel - some elements of the situation in the M. E. How would they visualize an eventual cooperation, exchange of communica

DE CONTENSON: If you are speaking of the Israel situation, even if there are no relations between the State of Israel and the Vatican, I know quite well, and de facto that there have been meetings, etc (Msgr. Pio Laghi, through the Embassy in Italy).

(He explains the role of the Secretariat of State and mainly of the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church which is the office which specifically deals with political problems, whose head is Msgr. Casaroli, whose secretary is Msgr. Silvestrini and where there is a man in charge of the political problems concerning Israel or the Jews in general). He expresses the wish that in the future there would be constant direct relations with these people (Msgr. Moeller-Msgr. Silvestrini - myself and the competent official for Judaism),

ETCHEGARAY: Nous abordons maintenant, me semble-t-il, le fond même de la question: "Ce qu'est notre Comité de Liaison ?". Pour ce qui est de la question précise des communications internes avec le Vatican, je connais assez bien la situation et depuis que je travaille dans ce Comité je m'aperçois que en fait la distinction entre 'religieux' et 'politique' est difficile à faire dans la pratique, même si théoriquement on peut mettre un accent plus grand sur un côté que sur l'autre. Cela me porte à souhaiter que à Rome, entre le bureau de relations avec les juifs et la Secrétairerie D'Etat il y ait un rapport plus articulé.

J'ai une proposition pratique à faire: je demanderais qu'à la fin de notre réunion, Msgr. Moeller, le P. de Contenson, en accord avec le Cardinal Willebrands, puissent à notre nom, de tous, faire une démarche auprès de ceux qui suivent au Vatican la partie politique du problème pour être mis au courant de notre échange.

Et cela de vive voix, et non par l'envoi de quelque chose écrite. Je crois important qu'il y ait une liaison en peu plus étroite. Sinons nous serons toujours ici gênés et même, frustrés.

TANENBAUM: We all are impressed by the spirit Msgr. Moeller and Fr. de Contenson have brought in our Committee since they entered. I think I can speak in the name of all presents. You have brought a very active, constructive spirit and that encourages us when we talk about strengthening our relationship for the future.

I think it should be understood that the question we are talking about, in terms of relationship, is really a two-sided relationship. While our structures are asymmetrical, there are aspects on both sides where clarification can help both of us be more effective. We just had an example, when we talk about the problem of the Christian community in Israel - the question of missions in Israel. There are aspect of that relationship which I believe the Vatican Secretariat fo State will communicate directly w either to the Israeli Ambassador in Rome or to the Foreign ministry in Israel. There is also the possibily of another track of relationship in which when you have concerns such as these that you share them with us, the IJC. because we also have access to personalities, authorities in Israel on either and institutional or personal basis. We can be of some constructive influence. I hope you will look to us for a parallelism in that kind of relationship. Before coming to questions publicly embarassing to either sides, we can anticipate problems by sharing with us and we can to do what we can.

The crucial problem is our developing and growing communication, building it on a basis of genuine mutual trust.

MOELLER: We will do what is possible and we thank you for what you have said. Very grateful.

FLANNERY: Definition of 'religious' and 'political' is the problem. There are two things: one the discussions here, the other, action which might be required from these discussions, in which case one would have to proceed to other depts. of the Church.

I have in mind Fr. Hamer's article (religious aspects of political matters, political aspects of religious matters -). He says that: according to the Jewish conception of religion there is a greater latitude to be allowed in discussions of any kind. This means, it seems to me, that certain matters which many Christians would consider as purely political are not for Jews. For them they would be religious and ecumenical. The point is, what are we to discuss here? Are there any restrictions?

Officially no. But

DE CONTENSON: It is question of prudene. If we came out with an agenda filled with political matters, with a similar press communiqué, there would be of course some difficulties.

It would be very wise in the redaction of the agenda to do it in such a way to be acceptable, so that nobody will have to object. It is a question of tact.

WERBLOWSKY: We expect our Christian friends to have the full understanding of the way Jews see the complete identity and inseparability of the so-called religious and so-called political problems. We must, on the other hand, take into account the position of our Christian friends, not only in their theological self-definition but also in their administrative definition. I think it is part of our responsibility in this trustful effort of confidence not to expose our Christian partners to a situation where some other authorities might tell them: you have been acting ultra in this thing. There must be a distinction between the kind of things we are discussing, the kind of things we are going to put officially on the agenda, the kind of business we are actually transacting.

WURZBURGER:

He would not like the impression to be left after the discussions that even within the Jewish point of view there is no demarcation between the problems which are purely religious or purely political.

Within the Jewish point of view there is a certain degree of differentiation, namely that there are matters of purely religious concern that in turn have application to political matters. There is no area of political concern which is completely excluded from the area of religious guidance. But this does not mean that there is no line of demarcation. I certainly do not want to give the impression that insofar as the Jewish attitude is concerned there almost is a complete equation between the religious and political.

I think that while recognising the political application of religious doctrine there is nonetheless a necessary recognition that there is a religious domaine which is in some sense on a different level than that of the political domaine .

WERBLOWSKY: The relationship between religious and political matters is conceived differently in the Jewish tradition and in the Catholic tradition and it was important to make this point more precisely.

Are there further comments?

c) Number of Jewish members of Liaison Committee.

There is a basic asymmetry between Catholic participation and Jewish participation in the Liaison Committee. The Catholic delegation is appointed by one authority, the Jewish delegation is a free association of affiliates. This basic asymmetry raises problems and the Catholic delegation wants explanations.

DE CONTENSON: In December 1970, in Rome, Jewish personalities met with Catholic representatives and agreed to build up a "Comitato di Liaison" composed of 5 members on each side. On the Catholic side the people were appointed by Cardinal Willebrands with the approval from the top of our Church. But on the Jewish side there were always more than 5 people and it is a fact that my authorities have objected more than once to the dimension of the Jewish delegation. On the Catholic side it seems impossible to go actually beyond 5 for many reasons, one of them being finances. If we cannot consider to have more than 5 official Catholic members, it would be a problem if they were more than 5 official Jewish members. Actually Cardinal Willebrands feels that we ought to stick to the original agreement: 5 a side. A few days before this meeting, Fritz Becker came to be and told me that there will have been 11 Jewish participants. Of course my Cardinal reacted vigorously. You can understand we do not want to be "overpowered" by the Jews! So with Dr. Becker we came to an official position: 5 officials on the Jewish side, the others being considered as 'alternates, consultants, experts, etc. and we cannot change this actually.

The Catholic delegation, I suppose, will not ^{be} opposed to the presence of consultants, observers, etc. but in the press communiqué it seems impossible to mention more than 5 Jewish officials. This can create a problem for you, since the diversity of the Jewish world is such that it cannot be expressed adequately by only 5 people. I understand your problem but you must also understand ours.

MOELLER: Yes . 5 Jewish official members - The others 'experts, or alternates, or consultants' invited and not more than 5 Jewish names in the press communiqué.

LICHTEN: You referred to the 1970 meeting but in this meeting B'nai B'rith was not present. We joined to group after but in equality with the other members.

RIEGNER: From the beginning a place was reserved for B'nai B'rith and ADL in the case this organization would have accepted to enter.

LICHTEN: O.K.

TANENBAUM: We must stick to the original agreement. Alternates could be a good solution and we would welcome the use of this possibility also by the Catholics. But in addition we are allowed to invite experts . So each time we can have 5 to 5 members, possible alternates and experts.

DE CONTENSON: The Committee has been established for 3 years in order to supervise the work of small teams. Experts have always been accepted. The only question is the problem of wording. Of course the Jewish part could ask for an enlargement of the group .

ETCHEGARAY: I would like to locate the question in its context. The Liaison Committee has been set for 3 years. We shall come next year to the end of our mandate and it could be convenient for us to establish a "bilan" of our work during these three years. From my point of view we were coming from nothing and we did a good job, reaching so quickly a true climate of friendship. Of course as for the work we could improve the method. May I remark that if I wish to work together we must limited in number, I wish we could think about our organization and re-evaluate our work in order to propose to the Church authorities a "bilan" of our work.

RIEGNER: I approve and I wish to express my agreement on Abp. Atchegaray's conclusions. It is remarkable that we could come to quickly to such a relationship that can be qualified as "friendship". There are still problems and I personally feel that we should make an effort to accept some members from South America on the Catholic side and also on the Jewish side. We have over-emphasised certain areas of the world.

When is our contract to be renewed? Is it already expired?

For the time being let us keep the idea of "experts", "periti". But we could mention the problem of a possible enlargement.

DE CONTENSON: The Catholic members are being nominated by a letter of May, 1971 for three years. So their mandate expires in May, 1974.

RIEGNER: We should renew the group for a new period of three years.

BRICKNER: Will it be difficult to suggest that the delegation is increased to 7 to 7. Is this proposal acceptable?

DE CONTENSON: Personally I do not see why we could not ask for that. Could the Jewish side present a request?

LICHTEN: Yes, but we could consider three points: duration of our agreement - number of our members - revision of the original memorandum of understanding. The Secretaries will have to discuss this.

Do you think a general report could be submitted to the Holy Father? But perhaps it ought to be first submitted to the members of the Liaison Committee, eventually by May.

ETCHEGARAY: It ought to be a global evaluation, a "bilan", including suggestions for an enlargement.

WERBLOWSKY: May I propose a resumé:

- 1) Our present meeting is a meeting under the original status 5-to-5. The others are consultants, alternates or experts.
- 2) On both sides there is a recognition that the future composition of the group should be reconsidered.
- 3) The mandate of the Catholic part has to be renewed
- 4) A memo shall be addressed by the Jews to the Catholics.
- 5) The two Secretaries or a special ad hoc group ought to be appointed.

RIEGNER: Should we put in the conclusions that we recommend the continuation of the work.

Questions from Jewish Side.a) Information on present state of our relationship.

WERBLOWSKY: Now we come to a question from the Jewish side: what about the plan for a special commission and for guidelines?

DE CONTENSON: The question is very clear for all the people who are informed. The Jewish members of the Committee made the request to the Catholic part asking for a change in the status of the Jewish Office, what present under the direct ruling of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. The Jewish members were asking for some change because of some Jewish reactions to the inclusion of relations to the Jews in Christian Unity.

After some time the Vatican finally agreed on the principle of a transformation of the office into a "commission". This Commission would have as a President Cardinal Willebrands, as the Secretary of the SPCU would be its Vice-President and the official in charge of the Vatican Office would become the Secretary. This Commission would be in some way autonomous but would keep some link with the Secretariat, using Secretariat's facilities. (premises etc.)

The creation of such a Commission will give new possibilities of action on the Catholic side and on the Jewish side - you would be able to answer to those who reacted against the former status.

In relation with this decision of the creation of a Commission, an old question was raised again: the publication of guidelines or of a document for the implementation of Nostra Aetate, No. 4. You know quite well that most of the texts of Vatican II were followed by "implementation documents", e. g. guidelines for relations with Muslims (published in 1969). Each implementation document has its own status. I personally feel a great necessity for an implementation document of Nostra Aetate, No. 4, not as a theoretical or theological study, but as a collection of practical guidelines. The association of the creation of the creation and the publication of guidelines could be profitable and give a new impulse. All the levels of authority in the Vatican have accepted the principle. We have some difficulty with the text but a definitive redaction was accepted in the Plenary of the Secretariat (November 1973) and we are now waiting for the notification of the creation of a commission and the publication of guidelines but I don't know how long we shall have to wait. The question of opportunity has been raised.

SIEGMAN: The delay in the publication of the guidelines is in connection with the delay of the announcement of the creation of the Commission?

DE CONTENSON: Yes, actually the two things are totally linked to one another but in principle the decision is already taken by the Church authorities.

RIEGNER: I want to express our appreciation that the Catholic Church has taken

seriously our desires and that in principle the question is solved. This is a great achievement.

The question of the acceptability of the guidelines is a question of presentation of the text.

DE CONTENSON : It seems to me the presentation ought to be focussed on two points

- 1) The important event is the creation of a Commission. The guidelines are simply a chart of promulgation.
- 2) In the text of these guidelines it is said that these are to be considered as a first step and that further developments could follow.



5/12/1973

16.45 h. (Reel 4, green)

0. Rabbi Tanenbaum asks if the actual text of the document for the implementation of *Nostra Aetate*, No. 4 can be considered as a new document.

3. P. de Contenson answers that the new redaction keeps almost intact the second part of the previous text but the first part of this previous text has been totally eliminated. So this is a new document, but this new document keeps a large part of the ^{previous} redaction, which had been approved by a Plenary of the Secretariat for Christian Unity. The 1973 Plenary (December) has given its approval to the text as a whole and has voted the first new paragraphs.

13. Msgr. Moeller affirms that very big efforts have been made in order to reach a quick approval of this new text.

He insists on the interest of the proposed new Commission: this new commission gives "pignon sur rue" to the Office for Catholic-Jewish Relations. The creation of a special commission will allow us to give an answer to those who suspect that the Church plans to absorb Judaism in some kind of Christian Unity.

The document is a new one, for half of its text: all considerations on Judeo-Christian theology are eliminated. In fact they were not fully accepted from one side, nor from the other. Any attempt of a description of Judaism is also eliminated. Actually the new document is typically 'practical'.

42. Msgr. Etchegaray suggests that ^{we should} take the opportunity of the presentation to the press of the new document and of the Commission to recall the existence and activity of the Liaison Committee.

For Msgr. E. the creation of the Commission is an administrative act while that of the Liaison Committee has an historical importance. The creation of the Liaison Committee has not met in catholic circles the attention it deserved. This is why it is necessary to take advantage of all opportunities to remind its activities and existence.

e) Cooperation with the Catholic Church and its Agencies at the U.N.

RIEGNER: After discussing points of common concern and stressing common attitudes, this committee ought to come to some cooperation. There is for example before the United Nations General Assembly the question of the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance. About 12 years ago the UN decided in principle to elaborate declarations and conventions on racial and religious discrimination. The convention on racial discrimination was finally adopted, but the drafting of the declaration on religious intolerance and a convention on the same subject was systematically opposed by some of the Eastern European governments. The General Assembly every year postpones the item to the following year. A document on religious intolerance will have to be re-drafted. The Holy See submitted to the last General Assembly a very interesting document on this matter. This document is very valuable from more than one point of view. It insists for instance on the fact that religious freedom is not only an individual right, but also a collective one and that religious freedom includes the need for a public expression of faith and worship etc. These are principles in which we are highly interested and which we fully support. Could we suggest some form of concertation and cooperation of the competent authorities at the United Nations: Catholic non-governmental organizations and Jewish organizations represented at the United Nations. I believe this could be fruitful. Could you inform your authorities that we are ready to cooperate in this field and to discuss joint or concerted action?

Considering this committee as a channel of communication, I would like to make in this connection confidentially an observation. I feel it my duty to call your attention to the fact that the communist organizations are for some time now trying to acquire a leading and dominant position amongst the non-governmental organizations in consultative relations with the United Nations. This is a new and dangerous development and it would be good to inform the Secretariat of State of this attempt. In similar circumstances Catholic non-governmental organizations have reacted. I hope that this new development will be seriously studied and that the necessary steps will be taken.

MOELLER : We shall see how this can be conveyed to the appropriate authorities.

In Vatican II, the idea of tolerance was accepted by the bishops. But religious freedom says more than that and it is a political concept.

RIEGNER: The intentions of the proposal were really to stress religious freedom. The term "elimination of intolerance" came out of the preliminary discussions at the UN and was preferred to the term "religious discrimination". I think it will be difficult to get that changed.

55. P. de Contenson says that this will not be difficult, since from the document itself emerge the efforts and the progress made in these last years and because of these it will be then possible to propose some guidelines for the totality of the Church.

58. Rabbi Siegman It would seem natural that the Jewish side of the Liaison Committee will be able to comment the text when it will be published. Could it be possible to delay the publication in order to give a chance to the Jewish side to study the text. Is it possible or not? This is important in order to avoid misunderstanding.

He raises the question of the possibility of dialogues between ^{the} Jewish Communities and other communities of believers such as the Moslems. But do you think the creation of a special commission for relation with the Islam could be delayed?

74. P. de Contenson We agree that it would be very useful if after the decision of promulgation and before the publication the Jewish side ^{would} have time enough to study the text of the document in order to prepare a good commentary. But you must understand that if the green light is given to us, we must jump on the opportunity before the authorities change their mind again.

In the Vatican some officials have linked the creation of a commission for the dialogue with the Jews with the creation of a commission for Moslims. I personally disagree with such a political parallelism since as a Christian my concern for Tanah is without comparison with my attitude towards the Coran. But in the Vatican the decision has been made of a parallel creation. So we perhaps will have no delay and we cannot ask for a delay. All of you know quite well that in the Vatican things come out without previous announcements.

100. Msgr. Etchegaray Rabbi Siegman's suggestion is very important. In some countries we could try to do something. Very often the Holy See send documents in advance to the Episcopal Conferences, sub secreto and with embargo.

If this is to be the case with the text on the implementation of Nostra Aetate, No. 4, it seems to me that the President of some Episcopal Conferences could sub secreto communicate the text to personalities chosen by himself.

115. Msgr. MOeller - As for the USA the text could be perhaps communicated in advance to the Apostolic Nuncio, Msgr. Jadot.

120. P. de Contenson : I am afraid in such a case there will be no previous information and we shall have to jump on the opportunity.

125. Msgr. Etchegaray We should receive a previous announcement and be able to communicate the text beforehand.

130. Msgr. Moeller : We should inform our authorities on the special position of the Liaison Committee and stress the important of a good preparation for the publication.

133. Rabbi Siegman : Before producing a statement the various Jewish responsible people have to meet and come to an agreement and it is necessary that their statement be published at the same time or before the publication of other non-official commentaries , but these non-authorized commentaries will come out immediately after the official display of the text. There is a great danger of distorted interpretation if the announcements of the creation of the two commissions are simultaneous. We must publish an authorized statement in good time.

153. P. Dupuy. Who is responsible of such a publication and of the commentary given in the "Osservatore Romano"?

158. P. de Contenson: If the text bears a signature, this signature could be of Cardinal Willebrands but in the Vatican there can' be a gap between the signature

and the true responsibility for the text and its publication.

On the other hand, the Vatican Press Office and the "Osservatore Romano" are two different bodies and the various dicasteria of the Roman Curia have no direct authority over the Press Office, nor over the Osservatore Romano.

The Secretariat for Christian Unity has no control over the fate of the documents which ^{he} produces and this is especially true concerning the verbal declarations made in the Vatican Press Office. They are not under our control. But it can happen that the Cardinal responsible for a Dicasterium is asked to present a text but this does not depend on him. There is a nice example in the case of the presentation of *Mysterium Ecclesiae*...

181 - Prof. Zwi Werblowsky : There are questions about the document issued by the French bishops.

Dr. Lichten : Is it necessary to discuss this document?

Z. Werblowsky : We are not discussing the document. We are only asking for information about it.

197 . Prof. Talmon : Do the Catholics have something to say?

Dr. Ehrlich : A German Catholic journal published an extract of this document and this journal has a very large distribution.

Rabbi Tanenbaum : We all know that from this document a very complicated situation has developed. The document in itself is excellent but it has been politicized. Some reactions were really very political but the text has received a very large distribution in the USA and is of a great educational importance for the USA.

228. Etchegaray - We are here two members of the French Catholic committee: myself as a bishop and Fr. Dupuy as the Secretary.

I confess some mistakes have been made in the field of procedure and have given the impression that the Catholic bishops were divided one against the other. Considering the document itself, at first it was interpreted with passion and politicized but now the document is studied in a more realistic way and no doubt it will finally be accepted by all.

242. Prof. Talmon What was the response of the intellectuals in France and in the lay Catholic communities?

245. Msgr. Etchegaray: Since the intellectual milieu in France are split in various groups it is difficult to give you an answer. All the intellectual interpretations have been politically oriented but you must note that this document is addressed to the Catholic French community in order to explain to this Catholic French community how the Jews themselves see their own problems. It is not a document for the whole world.

c) Relations with Christian Churches in the Middle East.

286. Dr. Riegner : Each time a positive step is taken by the Catholic Church we are confronted with a "barrage" coming from Middle-Eastern Churches or at least principally from Middle-Eastern Churches. We ask you Catholic members of the Liaison Committee to bring us, the Jewish members in contact with some spokesmen of these Churches. We would like to come in contact with representatives of Oriental Churches, Catholics and non-Catholics. This Liaison Committee was established in order to be a channel of communication.

327. P. de Contenson : Yes, it could be very useful for the ^{Jewish} members of this meeting to have closer relations with the Oriental Churches and I am sure we Catholics are ready to help this.

But I want to come to a fundamental point. For you the opposition to good relations between the Catholic Church and the Jews could come mainly from the Oriental Churches. It is my personal opinion that the real difficulties or oppositions to a true dialogue with the Jews do not come mainly and first from the Oriental Churches. For me the difficulties are to be found more directly in Rome, since Rome is in Italy and there is a long story not yet fallen in oblivion of bad relations in Italy between the Church and the Jews. For me antisemitism in the Catholic Church has two origins: first, the Italian Roman Catholic Church, because of what happened during the Risorgimento. In that time the Jews in alliance with the Free Masons pushed the Pope out of his civil power. This is not forgotten and it is an important part of the picture. Secondly, part of the American Catholic Church in which there are real anti-Semitic trends; USA are one of the places in the world where Catholics can be anti-semitic, especially those of Irish or of Italian origin, or coming from Central Europe.

And you can quite well understand that the reaction of the American Catholic Church and of the Italian Catholic Church have a great impact on the Roman Curia. Of course, I am not speaking of deliberate antisemitism but of some unconscious feelings. So you see that for me, the Eastern Churches have very little to do with this.

372. Msgr. Etchegaray: How can we answer to Dr. Riegner? And help to improve this situation? What is the opinion of Prof. Werblowsky?

384 - Dr. RIEGNER: The whole conservative wing of the Church was opposed to us at Vatican II but they always pushed forward the Oriental Churches. This time after the publication of the French document, not a word came from the Oriental Churches about the need of good relations with the Jews (see the statement by Cardinal Duval in Algiers, another Church dignitaries in the Middle East and North Africa). We feel deeply offended by such reactions. Why couldn't we speak with some bishops from Lebanon

or Egypt or North Africa in Rome or in Geneva or anywhere else? It is extremely important for us to meet with some Church leaders opposed to us. We have to create bridges of human understanding. Discussions in a passionate climate without going to the facts of life lead to nothing. At our first meeting in Rome, Msgr. McCarthy of the Congregation of Oriental Churches opposed some of the basic sentences of the Memorandum of Understanding. There is a constant flow of hostile statements coming from the Oriental bishops. Could we not discuss this with them? Let us make some move in this direction.

446. Msgr. Moeller: The proposal of Dr. Riegner has to be considered seriously but it could be difficult to put it into practice. First, because of the reasons mentioned by Father de Contenson. Second, the fact that the Oriental Churches go under the competence of the Oriental Congregation and the Secretariat can do very little in this field. Third, the non-Catholic Oriental Churches present in Jerusalem and in the Holy Land are far away from discussing with us on this point. The non-Catholic Oriental Churches have not made the step attempted by the Roman Catholic Church in Vatican II. It is true to say that some of the statements coming from the Oriental Churches are really very hostile. But we must exploit *all* possibilities even if it could be difficult. Fourth, many Christians in Middle East or Near East are immersed in the Arabic culture or are themselves of Arab culture. We could of course discuss the matter with the Apostolic Delegate in Jerusalem, but it is difficult since the Greek Orthodox Church considers itself as ^{the} unique local Christian Church.

519. Rabbi Tanenbaum : I support what Dr. Riegner said. I know the position of Christian hierarchies in different countries of the Near East. The Catholic authorities in these countries have tried to influence the bishops in the USA and in the USA there is a propaganda group working for the Arabs. They try to obtain

a condemnation of Israel and this action is developed on a very large scale. This has created some difficulties but we have fought this propaganda with real success. We have where a Christian anti-semitism which has to be defeated.

573. P. de Conteson - In the Vatican we can do very little directly but action can be developed on the local level and we in the Vatican can suggest and encourage local reaction against anti-semitism. Action on a local level is more effective than action on the top, specially for contacts with the Oriental representatives. The publication of guidelines can help us to promote local action against anti-semitism.

Dr. Lichten : Blessings from you in the Vatican could be useful.

P. de Conteson: Blessings perhaps, but some good kicks also !

596. Prof. Zwi Werblowsky: In the Roman Latin Catholic Church efforts have been made that have no parallel in the Oriental Churches. In these Churches we only find negative tendencies towards the dialogue with the Jewish world. And this is not a political position, it is an ecclesiastical position of the Oriental Churches and of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches. It is not as such a question concerning the situation in Israel. The question is that of the propaganda flowing from other countries: Lebanon, Egypt, Algeria, and so on. The traditional and theological attitude of some of these Churches is anti-semitic, it is not only a political question.

650. Rabbi Tanenbaum mentions of some local contacts and effective action for dialogue with Oriental Christians. He speaks of the effectiveness of group meetings.

695. Msgr. Moeller : The creation of the Catholic-Coptic Joint Committee could perhaps give some possibility of dialogue in this field.

Four (red)
 December 6, 1973
 10.00- 11.30

Chairman: Msgr. Moeller

Questions from Jews to Catholics

a) Recrudescence of anti-semitism and appropriate Catholic counter-action

RIEGNER: We present to you a document "Anti-Semitism in the 1970s". This is in response to the request expressed at our last meeting. This document is a first version of a comprehensive study which was prepared by the Institute of Jewish Affairs, the research institute of the ~~WJC~~ ^{Jewish Agency}. It deals in a number of chapters both with the traditional and with some of the new aspects of anti-Semitic attitudes. It is based on a number of studies in various countries but has still to be completed in some directions. The first version which is presented to you give, however, an idea of the basic problems with which we are confronted. Rabbi Tanenbaum will now introduce the subject itself.

30 - LICHTEN: B'nai B'rith is also working on a document originally based on studies made in a Californian University.

36 - TANENBAUM: short presentation of the document "Anti-Semitism in the 70s" elaborated with the cooperation of WJC and incorporating documents of the American Jewish Committee. This is preparing another document giving information country by country while this one is an overall survey. These two documents complement each other. The situations moves all the time: a few years ago, about anti-semitism, we came to the conclusion that did not mention Arab anti-Semitism. Now what can we say exactly about the extent of actual anti-Semitism. I would say that the nature of anti-semitism has actually change in three directions:

- 1) There is an extraordinary rise in Communist world of anti-Zionism but this anti-Zionism includes anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism.
- 2) There has been an intensification of anti-Jewish attitude sustained by Arab offices specially in Latin America.
- 3) There has been manifestations of anti-Semitism in radical youth groups, liberation movements, etc. in which the Palestinians payed their part, with the use of anti-Jewish expressions and a conscious mixing up of notions such a capitalism, fascism and judaism; We have to mention for example the anti-Semitism trends in the black Americal liberation movements with an increase of anti-Semitism in the black African movements in solidarity with the Third World.

I wish to refer to some local manifestations of anti-Semitism. For example in Syria and Irak. In these countries the situation of the remnants of Jewish communities is terrible. Arrestations, harrassments, etc. In Irak there are still perhaps 4,000 jews. We appreciate the concern and the efforts of the Holy See for the Jews in Syria and Irak, e. g. the Jews in Aleppo where all the men were in prison while wives and children were isolated in their houses and harrassed in many ways. In such a case we contacted the Apostolic Delegate in USA and he corresponded immediately to our prayer. The Apostolic Nuncio in Paris also did his best and finally the Vatican made all that was possible through the Nuncio in Syria and the intervention of the Nuncio proved to be very effective: the men were released. In general the situation of the Jews in these countries is difficult. The fate of the prisoners of war in Syria is for us a cause of anxiety. No list of prisoners has been until now produced by the Syrian authorities. The situation of the Jews in URSS will be envisaged later on. There is a great concern among Jews all over the world about the possibility of emigration of Jewish life in Russia. In Western Europe, with the exception of Italy, where the Fascists are anti-Semitic the situation is not bad. But in Italy there is a spreading of anti-Semitism.

Actually all over the world Jewish communities feel increasingly uneasy. There is a development of anti-Semitism as a follow up of the Yom Kippour war. The oil black-mail plays a part in that. All people are affected and feel insecure and react against the Jews as if the Jews were responsible and it is true for the USA also. We could have the same phenomenon since the Yom Kippour war and the energy-crisis: "if Israel did not exist and did not behave as it does we would have plenty of oil". The Arab propaganda has enormous resources of money for anti-semitism propaganda. High sophisticated Arab propaganda exists and is effective all over the world. In France pro-Palestinian leftists are active; in England, too, intense Arab propaganda. In West Germany, new leftist anti-Semitism. In Argentina, the Jews are qualified as exploiters. There is a conjunction between the traditional rightist trends and the neo-leftist ideology. The Jew is always used as a scape-goat when some difficulties arise. Latin America is not unified and in each country the situation is different. In Argentina the situation deserves some attention. A pamphlet has been widely distributed in the Buenos Aires area. The Jews are described as traitors and murderers and this document was undersigned by a group of Catholic nuns. In Mexico City there is a particular set of concerns. In Mexico we have 30,000 Jews. The government has been formally concerned about anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish propaganda. Some association for anti-Zionism with the support of the Arabs has made large propaganda; books and pamphlets have been largely disseminated. Some conservative Catholic priests have contributed to the distribution of anti-Semitic publications. A leader excommunicated by the Church 10 years ago is still active in Catholic circles. Generally speaking officials of the State and Church authorities have no reaction.

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The document presented here offers a great amount of information of this nature. Some anti-Semitic attitudes have been noted in Africa. Catholic authorities and personalities ought to react. Note also the Black Movements distributing anti-Semitic propaganda in African languages. The Church authorities could play an important role in the necessary counter-action. Priests and missionaries having received a good education and instruction about the relations between the Jews and the Jewish tradition and Catholicism could be very helpful. It is a question of giving a good training reacting against all the tendencies and clichés.

241 - MOELLER: Are there questions from the Catholic side ?

244 - DE CONTENSON : I really did not think of : a repercussion of the lack of oil on anti-Semitism. I hope some settlement will come in the ME and I expect some superficial vagues will cool down and die. I feel concerned by something more deep: how could we respond to your report? When Father Hamer asked you to build up the report, he surely intended to come to some action. How could we react. What action could we undertake ?

We could surely correspond with Secretaries of national or regional bishops conferences. We could also correspond with various Nuncios all over the world. I am puzzled by the multiplicity of documents evoked. If we had one of these, it would be easier. Could we come to one report that could be sent to the Episcopal Conferences of the world pointing out each time what in this report may concern their nations or their regions and the local bishops are qualified to decide about what is to be done. We could also send this one text to the various Nuncios but generally speaking acting only through the Pontifical Representatives is perhaps less effective than acting through the Episcopal Conferences direct.

ETCHEGARAY: ^{There is a} necessity of contacts with the Secretariat for Non Christians and especially with the office in charge of relations with the Muslims (Fr. Cuog).

DE CONTENSON: There is no problem of communication between Fr. Cuog and myself. We are in permanent contact.

RIEGNER: It is difficult to deal with the problem of anti-Semitism on a worldwide level. Even as far as one country is concerned it is often difficult to see clearly the facts in detail. An attempt to produce one paper will limit us to a presentation of the major trends. Originally we intended to produce only one paper. While some forms of anti-Semitism are new and varied, the contents is almost permanent:

some clichés, some stereotypes never die. The so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" are an eminent example of such permanent clichés. This document which was fabricated at the end of the last century and has time and again been denounced and proved as a falsification, has been re-printed during recent years in 20 countries, notably in Arab countries, and serves as one of the major weapons for anti-Semitic propaganda.

In Europe, an article against the education in Israeli schools has been recently printed in the official bulletin issued by the Soviet Embassy in Paris, and when the article was attacked in court it turned out that it was in fact a literal translation of a pamphlet of a violently anti-Semitic group called "The Black Hundred", published in 1906, a group which was condemned by Lenin in the strongest terms. Thus you see that this modern anti-Israel propaganda was a pure repetition of old anti-Jewish propaganda of tzarist Russia. It is frightening to see that such things can be done today so quietly.

I want to call your attention to some expressions of Arab anti-Semitism. The Arabs proclaim not to be opposed to Jews but to Zionism or to the State of Israel (see page 21 of our document): the arguments used by the Arab scholars at the Conference of the Academy of Islamic Research are purely anti-Semitic and have very little to do with Zionism. Under the pretext of political positions, the old anti-Semitic clichés come out again.

The situation in South America deserve special attention because of the political and social situation. The Jews are squeezed between revolutionary and nationalistic trends. On the one side the Jews are denounced as revolutionaries and on the other side as capitalists and defenders of the established order. For both sides the Jew is the scape-goat or a potential scape-goat. The Catholic hierarchy can play an important role in the fight against anti-Semitism on this continent.

Speaking in general, I would say that there still exist classical expressions of anti-Semitic tendencies based on nationalistic, religious and racial prejudices and on the other hand new forms of political anti-Semitism as we see them in some Eastern European countries, in the Arab world and in other countries allied with them. Taken separately, these anti-Semitic trends may have limited significance, but a combination of all with the support from the classical Right and the new Left and a number of powerful states and regions, constitutes potentially a frightening picture.

What could be done or envisaged? I think it is important that this document goes further and is being put at the disposal of other offices of the Church and of national bishops conferences.

Our primitive idea was to present you one document. I really have understood that we would have one document with various sections. But in such a way we do not deal with country-by-country survey. If you want a monograph for each country I would accept the idea and we would have

two kinds of document: on the one side a synthesis, and on the other monographs country-by-country.

We can in the near future finish the first synthetic document and it could be distributed and circulated to all concerned.

FLANNERY ; In the USA there are some public expressions of anti-Semitism. For example, in Houston, Texas recently, some young people indulged in anti-Semitic behaviour. Perhaps our document ought to be translated in Spanish.

We are little concerned with the oil-crisis. There is a fear that the energy-crisis could lead to anti-Semitism. We already had some cases. I heard a priest remark, "Those damn Jews", when the stock-market went down. Consider also the position taken by Father Joseph Ryan. We have to keep an eye open and be ready for any kind of campaign. I should like to send a study on anti-Semitism to all the dioceses.

BRICKNER: We Jews have a historic concern about problems of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is endemic. This year there is a special concern because of the energy-crises and the tendency to identify Jews with the cause of the energy crisis at least in the USA and anti-Semitism could spread out if the economic conditions become worse in the USA.

I was struck by the remarks of Fr. de Contenson that he had made no connection between possible anti-Semitism and the oil-crisis.

So I begin to wonder if we, Jews, are not too sensitive? Do we not exaggerate the issue in our own minds? My question is what is the proper perspective? In my country there is a tendency against the Arabs because of the energy-crisis but really I confess I do not see signs of anti-Semitism in connection with the oil-crisis. I ask for some guidance: what are the opinions of all of you on that point?

In any case there is a necessity of making a distinction between political considerations and religious responses. Anti-Semitism can move ^{from} political fields to religious field.

EHRlich: In German literature we have analogous problems and very ambiguous expressions of anti-Semitism (He gives some examples of various books implying anti-Semitism or dichotomy between the good people and the bad man...) For example recent editions of the New Testament. Some books published in Germany bear testimony of a clear schizophrenic positions: the Christian God, the Father - the Jewish God - the Judge etc. And in the Catholic Church we have now a new trend: a fight against the establishment of the Church with an analogy put between the Vatican and the Pharisees against the spirit of Jesus identified with liberation movements, etc. Practically in Germany nothing has been done against the anti-Semitism implied by such position: publishers refused to publish material fighting anti-Semitism, etc. We have to go to the roots of anti-Judaic prejudice in Christian theological thought.

The Catholics tell us that we Jews are over-sensitive but these Catholics are unconsci-

of what they transmit from one generation to another. On this point, inspite of Vatican II, in German literature there has been no progress during the last twenty years. The situation is even getting worse: in the Notes of the German edition of the New Testament recently published we can find anti-Jewish notions even when the text does not lead to that. This is not political anti-Semitism but it can become a basis for political anti-Semitism.

LICHTEN: Fr. Flannery has referred to anti-Semitism in the USA. It is a fact that in USA we do not suffer much of anti-Semitism on a social level, but we suffer in our hearts. What Ehrlich said of religious anti-Semitism in Germany is true also for the USA. In Berkeley a very extensive study has been conducted and came to very clear conclusions on the theological basis of anti-Semitism and its permanency in Christian minds and teaching. In the USA we are trying to do what we can also through Fr. Flannery's help.

11.30-13.00

Chairman: Moeller

LICHTEN: Concerning religious anti-Semitism we must work together against a wrong theology.

DE CONTENSON: I apologize for what I said about USA I did not intend to speak of the american people when I said that the USA is the most anti-Semitic country in the world. I did not want to talk about American Catholics, neither. I just wanted to talk of the clergy and of the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in the USA. It is an important nuance.

I think there is a difference between those European countries who had known Nazi occupation and the other countries of the world. I belong to a generation which, without wanting it, has found itself identified with the Jews because of Nazism. I found myself in the same bag as the Jews, although I did not want it. It is certain that they have suffered more that I did but I was on their same side, against Germans, against Nazism and I believed, and all the people of my generation in France and in other European countries have believed that anti-Semitism was dead and it could not come to life again in the future because of our solidarity with Jews. We note now that anti-Semitism appears again in Europe and we are terrified by this but I think nevertheless that this new anti-Semitism is not religious, it is less religious than elsewhere, especially when we talk about anti-Semitism of the new-Left (maoism) and that of the new-Right. I am convinced that in our European countries (and I am not talking of Germany while I am talking of France) there are many people of my generation - and we are not yet dead - who have been radically vaccinated against anti-Semitism. What has happend, what we have known during four years of Nazi

occupation has healed us radically. And I think we are still the majority. Thus the situation is perhaps different in Europe from what it is in the USA. And this is why I may perhaps look a little unsensitive to anti-semitism since, I repeat it, I belong to a generation which has been radically vaccinated. I cannot be anti-Semitic: it is not possible since I know to what leads anti-semitism.

My feelings are perhaps a little different from those of some people here. And this shows perhaps why Rabbi Brickner was surprised when I did not react to the question of oil - crisis.

Personally I would add a nuance in the link you have talked about previously, between Christianity and anti-Semitism. Sure, I understand that you Jews consider all Christians as belonging to the same category: I belong to the RCC

who, thanks to Vatican II, on the theological level, has made an effort which I think honest and true. I don't want to say with this that all has been done by the RCC in this regard. I am surprised then to learn that in Germany Catholics produce translations of the N. T. which could be preconciliar. In fact, beyond all questions of anti-Semitism, biblical studies have so developed that it is now impossible to re-edit a Bible elaborated before the Council. I express my surprise to Dr. Ehrlich declaration. I take notice of what he said without doubt, but I would say that it must be nothing more than an accident.

What I would like to say in a more precise form, is that in view of an action I believe that we have to work on a local level. In order to cancel any remnants of anti-Semitism in a given place, it is necessary to establish friendly and fraternal relations between the Jewish communities and the Catholic communities living in the same environment. It is very important. We, here, in the Liaison Committee, must make an effort so that some thing be done on a local level.

Concluding, I want to give you an information which I think interesting and I consider a presage of a new spring. The German Episcopal Conference has just nominated a bishop especially charged of the relations between the Catholic Church and the Non Christian Believers including the Jews and the first step of this Bishop was to come to Rome with two of his auxiliaries (so there were three bishops!) to visit Cardinal Willebrands, Msgr. Moeller and they also asked to meet me. I spent more than one hour with these Bishops and their question was this: "What can we do in Germany?". This is an encouraging sign and I hope many others will follow.

SHUSTER : You say we must make a distinction but it is difficult since political anti-Semitism makes use of arguments coming from the old religious anti-Semitism, especially Soviet anti-Semitism. The main argument of Soviet anti-Semitism is against Israel, seen as an imperialistic state and you find something analogous in Prof. Alessandrini's article where you can see a remake of the old argument that the Jews dominate international finance. It is exactly what the Arab countries maintain. So you see how difficult is to make a distinction between religious anti-Semitism and political anti-Zionism.

MOELLER: I summarize:

- 1) Many information about renewal of anti-Semitic movement and geographical repartition : question of Latin America, Africa etc.
- 2) The content of this anti-Semitism : it is the same cliché coming back, but under a new form: energy-crisis, extreme political movements of the right or of the left.
- 3) How do these waves reappear? Unconsciousness of this movement. We must think more about the sensibility of the Jews. Information about anti-Semitism has to be widely distributed. But for that we need reports: a general report(a psychological presentation, general trends of anti-Semitism, exemplification); a country-by country report.

Tanenbaum's report and Riegner's report are complementary.

About possible action: what can we do in Africa to oppose anti-Semitic trends ? We must be watchful of a possible development in relation to the energy crisis.

But on a long range, what steps are to be taken? We must be in connection with the other offices of the Vatican (Congregation for Catholic Education; the Concertation Commission for Ecumenical Affairs could also be very useful).

For action we must go deeper: not only consider information. We must ask ourselves what is anti-Semitism? What is the validity of the distinction between political and religious anti-Semitism? We have some work to do in this field.

What Dr. Ehrlich said was for me a revelation.

I suppose we all agree about that. Thank you to everybody. This problem is large and complex.

We could also try some coordination with the WCC and other Protestant bodies.

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TANENBAUM: I appreciate your determination to face the problem. In USA dialogues are going along. Confrontations and also cooperation.

MOELLER: Importance of local action. Something has to be done and can be done on the local level.

AMERICAN JEWISH

RIEGNER: Schuster raised the question of Prof. Alessandrini's article: we must express our very serious concern about this article published in the "Osservatore della Domenica". This article goes back to the old clichés of Israel being connected with high international finance. Could you please transmit this concern to the Vatican authorities. The use of this kind of slogans and expressions is extremely disturbing and this parallel established by Alessandrini between the Arab blackmail of oil and the support given by Jews to Israel while referring to the power of the so-called international Jewish finance is absolutely inadmissible and the repetition of an old disgraceful propaganda. I hope our reaction will be conveyed to the high authorities of the Church.

DE CONTENSON: My attention was drawn to the editorial of Federico Alessandrini by Fr. Dupuy and this is a proof of the collaboration between all of us. You must all know that this editorial was referred to by Le Monde, a very important French newspaper but giving very often distorted information. The title of the news in Le Monde was "Le journal du Vatican évoque la mobilisation de la haute finance internationale au côté d'Israël" and in the note there was not a word about the Arabs, the oil blackmail and they said "Le journal du Vatican". I have to confess that in Rome we have no knowledge of Alessandrini's paper and it is a fact that this editorial appeared in a weekly illustrated publication which nobody considers as a serious magazine. It is published in the Vatican, but not as an official paper. The only official paper of the Vatican is "Acta Apostolicæ Sedis". "Osservatore Romano" is not the official paper of the Vatican, it is a newspaper published on the territory of the Vatican City by a semi-official agency but it is not an official speaker for the Vatican. But "Osservatore della Domenica" is again even less official: it is published on the same press as "Osservatore Romano" and it is mentioned in the "Annuario Pontificio" as a supplement of "Osservatore Romano". Officials always insist in Rome on this unofficiality of the paper, insofar as in the Vatican there is the head of the Catholic Church. It is published in the Vatican state as a "signe de souveraineté" of the Vatican City understood as an independent State and having its postal system, railways, police, newspaper, radio etc.

Of course it is a fact that the man who undersigns the editorial is Federico Alessandrini and if this man gives an editorial to almost every Sunday issue of "Osservatore della Domenica", the same man is head of the Vatican press service and as such is an official spokesman but he is not the director of the press office of the Vatican. Of course one could ask why an official spokesman is authorized to write editorials in a non-official weekly magazine. I can tell you that in the Vatican many people reacted against this editorial of Prof. Alessandrini and some people went directly to him and told him it was a disgrace. If you wish us

to do so, we could inform our authorities of your reaction.

You know quite well that this is not the first time that Alessandrini has anti-semitic reactions. When the Prime Minister of Israel came to Rome, the Vatican published an official communiqué in order to react against an oral statement given by Alessandrini. We could do something in this respect : would you agree that the totality of the members of the Liaison Committee, Catholics and Jews, ask us to do something ?

MOELLER: We will do something. We could perhaps make a report to Mons. Silvestrini. Father Tucci could also be of great help.

SIEGMAN: We have just been told that papers and statements by Alessandrini are not official. I am afraid this cannot be understood in American Jewish circles.

- 1) Because these interventions come to the knowledge of people who are not lawyers and who do not make a distinction between "official" or "non-official" statements.
- 2) There is a suspicion that if Alessandrini made a statement against the Vatican views there would be immediate reaction on the part of the authorities. He would be disavowed and expelled. The fact that he speaks on this issue in such terms demonstrates that the Vatican accepts such a position.

I think it is important to note that the most important aspect in this case is the re-appearance of a classical cliché of anti-Semitism and this is more important than the fact that it is a position taken by Alessandrini.

EHRlich: Could you add in your report that reference to an international financial Jewish power is an old anti-Semitic issue.

ETCHEGARAY: The best way to fight anti-Semitism is to do more than give information. It is to act in order to bring communities to meet with one another. The Holy Year will give me, in Marseille, a good opportunity to try and gather together members of the Christian, Jewish and Arab communities. I am worried by the small number of initiatives on the Catholic side. But, from the Jewish side, could there be an effort to open the Jewish community, to stimulate its coming out of their ghetto". Could the Jews try to make contact with us? We need a reciprocal and concerted effort to really come to a true encounter.

b Middle East situation

EMERY: There is an interdependence between all the issues with which we have dealt all these days. All are connected with one another. I wish to draw your attention to Alessandrini's article. He talks objectively of the Arab Blackmail but when he refers to "Jewish high finance" he is totally out of an objective analysis. His presentation is one-sided.

The issue of the existence of the Jewish state as a theological problem should be our concern here. What we have done here yesterday has evaluated the State. Could we get to some statement or guiding principle of interpretation of the phenomenon called a "Jewish State" in the view of Christian theology? This would undermine a good amount of anti-semitic propaganda.

We have to prevent the development of things analogous to what has already happened. Guidelines, teaching etc. could be useful. I also feel that in facing Moscow you are confronted with anti-semitic arguments that are also opposed to Christian belief, i.e. attacks against the Bible.

As Dr. Ehrlich said, the teaching of the New Testament is actually very often divorced from any information about Judaic studies. If the Catholic Church could do something about a development of the study of Judaism (post-biblical) in theological schools, many false notions, e.g. the stereotypes about Pharisees etc. could be easily reduced. There is a necessity for valid information on true aspects of Judaism.

An institution like Tantur could help in this task. Can I recall here my own dissatisfaction about the way this Ecumenical Institute has worked till now. Tantur considers itself as extra-territorial with regard to the Jewish Israel. Tantur has never used the research institutes existing in the Jewish State. An Ecumenical Institute should have contact with Jewish scholars. It is a pity that such an important instrument should not be used to destroy false clichés, and to further better understanding between Christians and Jews.

We have tried last ~~XXXXXX~~ year a summer institute in Israel with American theologians of all denominations, as an introduction to post-biblical Judaism on a scholarly level. Such programmes could be very effective.

When the Yom Kippur war broke out, I was pessimistic in the beginning. For me, Israel was in a fatal crisis. My government gave false information about the catastrophic situation. The first two or three days of this war were more crucial

than any other time before. An Arab victory was a real possibility. We were stunned by the silence of the Churches and this silence can only be partly explained by the distorted official information. There was an oppressive silence of Christian authorities. We felt isolated, abandoned.

Co-existence of Arabs and Jews is a possibility. As you surely know, immediately after the outbreak of the war Christian Arabs offered to donate blood, contributed to the war fund and even proposed to enlist in the Army. The Orthodox Churches did not move. We were expecting the Eastern Churches to say something against an aggression on the Day of Atonement. This came only much later. The Apostolic Delegate could not be reached in those days. It may have been coincidence that he only appeared when it became clear that the Anglican Archbishop was active and had produced a well-balanced statement.

It would be useful for us if this committee could establish a direct line with Jerusalem. There is no representation of the Catholic side of the Committee in Israel. Something should be done to change such a situation. It could have helped a lot if it had been possible for us, Jewish members, to talk with somebody from the Catholic Committee. Could the Catholic Committee have an 'antenna' in Israel?

The problem of the prisoners of war in Syria. WCC representatives ~~managed~~ ^{managed} to meet two POWs in Damascus. Jewish concern for our POWs is most important. Some Israeli POWs have been found, hands and feet bound, shot by the Syrian troops. Photos were published in the press. Actually we wonder if the Israeli POWs in Syria have a chance of coming out alive. We have been asking for a list of names in order to know if they are still alive. Can you do something about this? This is not a political problem: it is a humanitarian issue. The Vatican and the local Churches should do all that is possible, although it is obviously a difficult business. The Muslim leaders in Israel issued an appeal to Arab governments. If local Muslims could do that why could not the Churches do the same?

This Liaison Committee ought to be prepared to be able to face such situations and cool down tensions. The fight against anti-semitism has to take place ~~in the~~ ^{in the} long-range view.

DE CONTENSON: Prof. Talmon has said so much and in so ^{many} various directions that it is difficult to try to give an answer. I come first to secondary considerations.

Concerning Institutes: I would like to inform you that in the planned guideline there is a paragraph about Institutes where the importance of Church teaching and education is pointed out with insistence on the necessity for a deep formation given to teachers (see text).

Aok

Catholic 'antenna' in Jerusalem: My feeling is that if we have a Catholic representative in Jerusalem, he too will be quite isolated in an emergency crisis. In Rome the Jewish members of the Liaison Committee can always communicate with me through Dr. Becker, considered as my partner for communication. You can also of course use the channel of Dr. Lichten or any other European persons you wish to select. You can always contact me by the channel of the Israeli Embassy to the Quirinale.

Prisoners of War in Syria: You all know that we tried to do what we could. With Dr. Becker we contacted the right people in the Vatican and we had a response from them. This could eventually be mentioned in the Summary of Conclusions of this meeting. It could help.

About atrocities on the battle-field: I confess my reaction is quite different. You see, I have been myself engaged in a war. I was ⁱⁿ field artillery and I know quite well what can happen when some army is obliged to engage in a retreat: in some circumstances what else can you do with prisoners than shoot them? Engaged in a hasted retreat, the Syrian troops shot some Israeli POW but during the Second World War this happened with the Russians with German POW, to the Germans with Russian POW and in 1940 this happened also to French troops with their German POW. We have to be realistic so do not ask me to act for what can happen on the battle-field. What happens there can be horrible, but cannot be considered as a fully deliberate murder. I know, I am perhaps hurting terribly your feelings and what I am saying can be considered as in opposition with my present situation as a priest but facts are facts.

On the contrary what happens in POW camps is quite a different thing and for that I shall always be ready to help you

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December 6, 1974

14.30

16.15

Chairman Zwi Werblowsky

MOELLER: A problem could be solved easily. We could consider to have on the Catholic side of the Liaison Committee a member living in Jerusalem. We could propose that to our authorities.

I approve very strongly what Prof. Talmon said about the necessity of some training about the history of Judaism in the Catholic theological institutes for higher education.

About Tantur: you must understand that Tantur is not first directed towards a dialogue between Christians and Jews. A study of salvation has of course to include a study of the Jewish tradition but Tantur had first to create an atmosphere of acceptance by all Christian denominations. It is only after this acceptance that a larger approach can be developed. The Institute had first to acquire the image as an ecumenical inter-faith Institute. We have had good relations with the Rainbow Club and with the University of Jerusalem, but no official connection. We also tried to develop good relations with Muslims and also dialogue with many people, but never on an official level. You must understand the difficulties of the situation for Tantur in the Christian field. In the present political tension we could be destroyed. Our scientific activity has to be safeguarded. It is impossible for the Institute to have the confidence of the Christians who in this country are - for their majority - of Arab origin, if we do not live in some isolation from the State.

WERBLOWSKY: Could we consider local problems?

FLANNERY: I wonder if it would be useful to try to collect information about meetings or common studies that are taking place on local levels in different parts of the world? These could be models for studies. I am thinking of the possibility of a survey on the Catholic-Jewish relations since Nostra Aetate for the Tenth Anniversary of this document.

May I refer to a paper issued by a group of Bishops in the USA, including five points. It is a positive statement. I am satisfied as a whole by this text: The essentials are there, even if the wording could be questioned.

RIEGNER: What is the position of the Catholic Church concerning Jerusalem.

DE CONTENSON: Let me quote the recent book by René Laurentin. There is a chapter giving information on this question. It seems as if the Vatican had changed in some way its mind and had shifted from a demand for an internationalization of Jerusalem to an ask for some guarantee about free access to Holy places and for a possibility of self-governing themselves for all inhabitants of the city.

Some information was given on that after Mr. Sisko's visit to the Holy See. In my opinion the Holy See could be more flexible than some imagine it is.

MOELLER: Yes, this is also my opinion. The Holy See does not seem to insist any more on internationalization but asks for some guarantee of free access and for some freedom given to the people of Jerusalem to rule themselves.

You must remember the Holy See is not alone. The Oriental non-Catholic Churches have something to say about the Holy Places.

There are no official relations between the Vatican and the State of Israel because until now there has been no peace treaty in the Middle East but de fact the Vatican has relations with Israeli officials.

DE CONTENSON: On this last problem see the "Lettre aux Amis" of Father Dubois

WERBLOWSKY: Our problem is not the question of diplomatic relations.

Our problem is that of the nature of the de facto relations.

The Vatican still seems to have some mental reservations as regards the very existence of the State of Israel.

SIEGMAN: It was said a few minutes ago that the position of the Vatican is felxible. What is intended by that?

MOELLER: It seems that the Vatican has left aside the request for internationalization. The flexibility is about the various solutions for some kind of guarantee. The Holy See seems open to more than one solution.

TANENBAUM: We know King Feisal has raised the question of the status of Jerusalem and other people also. What is the policy of the Holy See?

The statement of

the bishops in the USA speaks of "access to the city of Jerusalem" but the American Catholics asking for some clarification about the true position of the Holy See in such a matter. Recently the "Osservatore Romano" spoke of the "judaization of Jerusalem". All the Jewish communities reacted and it was difficult for us to understand and to explain.

MOELLER: (refers to a meeting in Rome a few months ago on the question of Jerusalem)

TALMON: 1) Could we plan a new special meeting about the issue of Jerusalem?
2) Would you know about any intention of the Vatican to take part in the Geneva conference for peace in the ME?

MOELLER: Any information about this would be accepted by us gratefully.

FLANNERY: I can send you papers and studies about the subject.

WERBLOWSKY: Summarizing what has been said on the Jewish side:

- 1) There is profound gratitude for the efforts made on behalf of Israeli POWs by Vatican authorities. We hope that these efforts will be pursued and intensified.
- 2) We want our Catholic friends to be aware of the deep sense of abandonment and solitude experienced by us at the outbreak of the war. What we felt to be Christian silence contributed much to this experience of solitude. Even the ecclesiastical authorities in Israel, whose flock comprises Israeli citizens and who should have a minimum loyalty to the country were silent. The silence of the Latin authorities was so conspicuous as to be almost deafening, whereas -- paradoxically enough -- only the Melkite (Arab) bishop in Israel immediately proclaimed his solidarity with his country.
- 3) Jews continue to wonder about the Catholic recognition of the Jewish people's right to exist as an independent nation.

BRICKNER: Are you in contact with the WCC on all this?

DE CONTENSON: I was invited to a meeting in Edinburgh in September organized by the sub-unit for dialogue with people of living faiths and ideologies. The Jerusalem problem was discussed and testimonies given by people living in Israel. All the members were Christian. No Jewish personalities. No Catholics. The case of Jerusalem was discussed as an information for the members of the meeting who were not living in Jerusalem. It was to sensitize everybody to the question. Bishop Appleton was the Chairman and proved to be very fine. But this meeting did not produce action, apart from, perhaps, some kind of statement. In my opinion the meeting was very interesting but the discussion never stepped out from an academic climax.

SIEGMAN: The right for Israel to exist. Peace concerns are not limited to Jerusalem. Jews and people of all faiths have a concern for the city of Jerusalem in the context of peace negotiations. I am not too pessimistic. I am full of hope but dangers do exist. The question is the right for Israel to exist. Other countries can be guilty of injustices but nobody raises their right to exist. The passion for justice is put in balance with the very existence of the state of Israel.

f) Situation of Jews in the U.S.S.R.

LICHTEN: I would like to give some up-to-date information about the status of Russian Jewry. Judaism in Russia is affected by some discrimination: no possibility of contacts with Jews abroad, no possibilities of having enough books about Judaism, no possibility of a Yeshiva. Judaism in USSR will be deprived of spiritual leaders.

In USSR there are still people in prison, only because they asked for the right to emigrate. To hundreds of people the exit-visa is refused without explanation to those who ask for the possibility of emigration to Israel, despite the fact that some other members of their families are already in Israel. There are new forms of harassment of people. Some are put in jail, some are sent to psychiatric clinics, etc. Trials are ~~being held~~ ^{being prepared} against many Jews, etc.

Is this a religious matter or a political matter?

For me this is a limitation of religious freedom. It has nothing to do with politics. The right to emigrate is part of Human Right. We hope you can do something from a humanitarian point of view.

WERBLOWSKY: Today we cannot discuss this in detail. The representatives of the Secretariat will see what can be done.

DE CONTENSON: Just a remark: could you clearly make a distinction when you speak of religious freedom in USSR, liberty of culture, of schools, etc? This is one problem. And then when you plead for the right of emigration to Israel? I understand the school problems are connected in some way to one another; but if you ask us for some action, we have to make a clear distinction between the two problems.

16.15: Discussion about the wording of the Press Release which is finally established.

Discussion about the next meeting:

de CONTENSON: We propose Rome, if our authorities accept. This could allow you to have contacts with some Vatican dicasteries.

Date: Beginning of January (because of the other Jewish meeting taking place in Geneva).

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

1. It was agreed that the extant draft of the minutes of the 1972 meeting be translated into English, sent to all participants for editing and approval, and returned by them within four weeks of the date of reception.
2. It was agreed that the study papers on the concepts of People, Nation and Land presented by Christian and Jewish scholars should serve as a basis for eventual publication. This publication should contain the original papers, a summary of the discussion as well as further comments and reactions, and a concluding evaluation and summing-up. The publication should be prefaced by an introduction explaining its origin, setting and purpose. It is suggested that further scholarly exchange take place on the subject of biblical exegesis.
3. It was suggested that ways and means should be found to foster a better understanding of the Jewish religion in its historical development and its implications for Christian self-understanding among Catholic academics and educators.
4. It was agreed that in preparation for the 1974 meeting two parallel studies should be commissioned on the subject of Human Rights, their sources in our respective spiritual traditions and the methods by which these traditions may be made relevant to the promotion and practical applications of Human Rights.
The feasibility of involving other Christian, non-Catholic scholars in this project should be examined by the coordinators on both sides.
5. Concern was expressed over the situation of Christian partners in mixed immigrant families in Israel, and over the proselytising activities of certain missionary groups there.

6. The study on the various types of contemporary anti-Semitism submitted to the meeting by the Jewish organisations will be completed by them by the addition of further details and further documentation to some chapters. Further information on the situation in specific countries or regions will be made available by the Jewish organisations. These studies will be transmitted by the Catholic side to the National Bishops' Conferences and other offices of the Vatican.

7. The meeting recognised that although political and religious questions could not always be strictly separated, some of the questions of concern to the Liaison Committee came within the competence of other Vatican units than the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish relations.

It was agreed that in such cases representations from the Jewish side should either be channelled to the appropriate Vatican agencies through the Secretariat, or be sent directly to the agency concerned. In the latter case the Secretariat for Jewish-Christian relations should be kept fully informed in order to be able to render appropriate assistance.

8. It was agreed that, until changes in the composition of the Liaison Committee are formally made and approved, the Catholic and Jewish delegations be maintained at the number originally specified, namely five on each side. Each side may, by mutual agreement, bring alternates and consultants as required.

9. It was agreed to recommend the renewal of the mandate of the Liaison Committee and the continuation of its work. A sub-committee will be formed to examine possible changes in the composition of the Liaison Committee in the light of the experience gained during the first period of its work.

PRESS RELEASE

The International Catholic - Jewish Liaison Committee held its third annual meeting in Antwerp (Belgium) from December 4-6, 1973.

The Liaison Committee was formed in 1971, the Roman Catholic delegation having been appointed by Cardinal Willebrands with the approval of Pope Paul VI, the Jewish delegation representing major Jewish organizations. The aims of the Liaison Committee are the fostering of mutual understanding, the exchange of information, and co-operation in areas of common concern and responsibility. The meeting was presided over by Msgr. Charles Moeller, General Secretary of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (Rome), and by Prof. R.J.Zwi Werblowsky of Jerusalem, Chairman of the Jewish Council for Interreligious Contacts in Israel.

The Committee discussed two study papers presented by Catholic and Jewish scholars on the concepts of People, Nation and Land in their respective religious traditions. It was decided to pursue this study in the light of questions and insights that emerged during the discussion. It was also agreed to undertake a study of the moral and spiritual foundations of Human Rights and Religious Freedom in the two religious traditions for discussion at a subsequent meeting.

Among the topics discussed in a religious perspective were: The Middle East situation and its implications for Jewish-Christian relations; co-operation between Catholic and Jewish agencies at the U.N. in relation to Human Rights and Religious Freedom, and in particular with regard to the proposed Declaration and Convention on the "Elimination of all forms of Religious Intolerance"; the situation of Christians in Israel and the proselytising activities of some missionary groups there; the situation of the Jews in the USSR; the recrudescence of anti-Semitism and concerted action in combating it.

A strong recommendation was made to continue and develop the work of the Liaison Committee.

The discussions took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship and were seen by both delegations as an important step forward in their mutual understanding and cooperation.

The two delegations consisted of the following representatives:

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| H.E. Msgr Roger Etchegaray | - Archbishop of Marseilles, Chairman of the Council of Episcopal Conferences of Europe |
| Msgr Charles Moeller | - General Secretary of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, Rome |
| Rev. Fr. Bernard Dupuy | - Secretary of the Episcopal Commission for Relation with Judaism in France, Paris |
| Rev. Fr. Pierre de Contenson | - In charge of the Office for Catholic-Jewish Relations, attached to the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, Rome |
| Rev. Fr. Edward Flannery | - Executive Secretary of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the American Catholic Bishops' Conference |
| Dr Joseph Lichten | - Consultant, B'nai B'rith - Anti Defamation League, Rome |
| Dr Gerhart Riegner | - Secretary General of the World Jewish Congress, Geneva |
| Rabbi Henry Siegman | - Executive Vice-President of the Synagogue Council of America, New York |
| Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum | - National Director of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, New York |
| Prof. Zwi Werblowsky | - Chairman of the Jewish Council for Inter-religious Contacts in Israel, Jerusalem. |