



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

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

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 30, Folder 5, Jewish-Christian relations, 1967.

D R A F T

January 27, 1967

The Rev. Willis F. Erickson
Bethel Lutheran Church
5750 W. Olympic Boulevard
Los Angeles, Calif. 90036

Dear Willis:

I thought I might ask your advice in a matter of some delicacy that has crossed my desk. One of the children of the wife of the past chairman of the board of our Philadelphia Chapter is enrolled in the Lutheran Children Day and Parochial School in Philadelphia. Recently, a pamphlet entitled, "The Word In Season" (Daily Devotions, Advent 1966, Vol. 34, No. 6) was used in the child's class. As you can see, this little booklet, published by the Lutheran Church in America at 639 38th Street, Rock Island, Illinois 61201, is a selection of meditations on the Advent Season written by different authors, interpreting the Biblical passages of that particular season. Several of the passages were disturbing to this good lady, and she has checked them off and forwarded the pamphlet on to us. I am enclosing it for your information, but it is my only copy and I would appreciate your returning it to me. I would draw your attention to the following passages:

Page 7 - "The Jews with whom Jesus was talking defined freedom in terms of their ancestry. They believed Jesus but only superficially. These Jews had a knowledge of him, but they failed "to live in" the truth. They were proud physical descendants of Abraham, but they were not spiritual heirs of faith."

Page 10 - "These Jews did not love and honor God above all things. If they had, they would have honored Jesus, God's Son. They were blinded by their pride to such an extent that Moses' writings did not identify Jesus for them as the Messiah. Instead, they followed various false, short-lived messiahs, who flattered them and captivated their selfish interests."

Page 12 - "In contrast the Jews had denied, rejected and killed Jesus. Peter boldly charges these Jews with murder."

I realize these passages are taken somewhat out of context, and I also realize that the term "these Jews" is somewhat qualified. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the entire subject could be handled with much more sensitivity to its possible effect on attitudes toward Jews. Dr. Bernhard Olson, who conducted the study of Protestant educational materials at Yale, has noted a phenomenon which he calls "upgrading" or "downgrading" from the Scriptures: i.e. the lesson writer either uncritically reflects a ~~xx~~ tradition of negative interpretation of a particular ~~scriptural~~ scriptural passage, or he uses it to clarify and interpret its most positive and self critical aspects. Since these meditations represent an interpretation of scripture, it would seem to me a perfect opportunity for explaining the conflict between Jesus and "the Jews;" I think you will agree that has not been done here.

Dr. Olson also pointed out in his study -- with specific reference to the Lutherans -- that a basic tenet of Lutheran belief is both the full humanity and full divinity of Jesus; Yet, in many lessons, Jesus is depicted as so ~~obviously and patently~~ divine that only those diabolically inspired or wilfully blinded could fail to see it. Such writing, he says, is a disservice to Lutheran theology as well as to intergroup attitudes. It certainly seems to me the passage on page 10 smacks of that failing.

I find it interesting to note that all of the negative passages which were checked off were written by the same contributor, Dr. Vernon L. Strempeke of the Central Lutheran Theological Seminary, Fremont, Nebr. I should also note that we are somewhat distressed

The Rev. Willis F. Erickson

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by the fact that this pamphlet is not an old one that has been floating around for a long time, but was published last September. Do you have any suggestions as to how we should proceed with this? Is it a matter which you personally, or your commission, should take under your wing? Little devotional booklets of this kind may not carry great authority, but they reach great numbers of people, particularly children -- certainly many more people than all our learned studies of prejudice in religious textbooks.

I would appreciate hearing from you regarding this matter.

I am also sending a copy of this letter to Phil Johnson because I know of ^{their} ~~his~~ interest in the subject.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
Interreligious Affairs Department

JH:MSB

CC: Rev. Philip Johnson

BCC: Murray Friedman
Will Katz

Anker Gjerding and

M H T

March 23, 1967

Rev. Carl J. Pfeifer, S.J.
Confraternity of Christian Doctrine
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Father Pfeifer:

Just a few thoughts hastily jotted down, which may (or may not) be helpful for your forthcoming address before the NCEA on ecumenism and the elementary school.

I take for granted the preliminary loyalty to one's own religious tradition and beliefs and the primary obligation of school system and teacher to instill commitment to one's own religious truth. Still, religious loyalty can and must be distinguished from ethnocentrism here, as William James has said somewhere, piety is the mask and tribal feelings of animosity and distrust toward outsiders are the motivating instincts.

Elementary school education covers an enormous range and, obviously, one cannot teach the same things the same way in lower and upper grades. But there should be some key questions teachers and curriculum planners should be asking themselves all along the way:

1) What should be the children's feelings and attitudes about differences--the very real differences existing in today's world; of color, language, class, religion, etc. Will children be suspicious, hostile, fearful or will they welcome human diversity as a positive value and see differences as opportunities for adventure, new relationships, etc. Teaching in this area must be realistic, concrete, and focus on the local neighborhood as well as the larger world. One frequently finds youngsters with a positive appreciation (sometimes romantic or sentimentalized) of their counterparts in Japan or Brazil, who will nevertheless snub the kid down the block who is different in color, family background, economic status or religion. (I suspect that Catholic teaching

in the past has been excellent in the area of presenting racial and cultural differences positively, because of the universal nature of the Church, but much less successful in presenting, or even recognizing religious difference.) Needless to say, the attitude of the teacher is critical here; teachers must themselves feel at ease with the pluralism of the world.

2) How can we cultivate a sense of responsibility and openness to both personal and group self examination and self criticism? As Dr. Bernhard Olson and many others have pointed out, each religious group tends to portray itself as a beleaguered minority, stressing the persecutions of others against itself. Such a mentality is always dangerous, but even more dangerous when the particular group has real status and power in the society. Without falsifying history or undermining commitment, a formula must be found to show that men have done terrible things to one another in the name of God. This question is most pertinent, I believe, in the area of church history, and in dealing with subjects of intense conflict between religious groups, i.e. the separation of church and synagogue, Jesus and the Pharisees, the Protestant Reformation, etc.

3) A great deal of thought must go into both the interpretation of biblical passages and the way the Bible is invoked to illustrate a particular theme or lesson. I do not mean only the obvious situations--for example, the need to explain the repeated use of the term "the Jews" in the Gospel of St. John where the author is actually only referring to a small group--but more subtle utilization of biblical stories, personalities, to bring home a point. For example, the Good Samaritan story can be used to point the finger at another group or to raise questions about our own behavior. The Bible is full of prophetic self criticism; too often the accusations have been taken out of the context of self criticism and used by Christians to demonstrate the faithlessness or *obedience of Jesus* (By the same logic, we could turn any contemporary critic of Christian failings into an anti-Christian.)

4) What kind of activities, projects, etc. can be used in the classroom? Naturally, this would vary from grade to grade. In the lower grades, recognition and explanation (perhaps even celebration) of the customs and holy days of other groups, poems, pictures, songs, etc. In older grades, a frank discussion of the nature and dynamics of group prejudice, and a realistic presentation of the difficulties and barriers which various racial and religious groups have had to face in the world. At the appropriate grade level, visits to other houses of worship, field trips, joint social action projects, cooperation for the civic good of the community, etc.

I am sure much of this is old hat to you, but I did promise to put down some thoughts.

I have enclosed several xeroxed pages of the book I mentioned in my earlier letter, which include some recommendations for eliminating certain obvious ^{prejudices in} teachings about religion. I think you will find these rather simplistic, but please bear in mind that the book was written almost 15 years ago, and was based on a survey of Protestant Sunday school literature conducted even before that. Fortunately for all of us, much progress has been made since then.

I hope your address goes off well, and I would, of course, appreciate receiving a copy of it if you have one to spare.

I look forward to meeting with you and Sister Mary Janaan in the future.

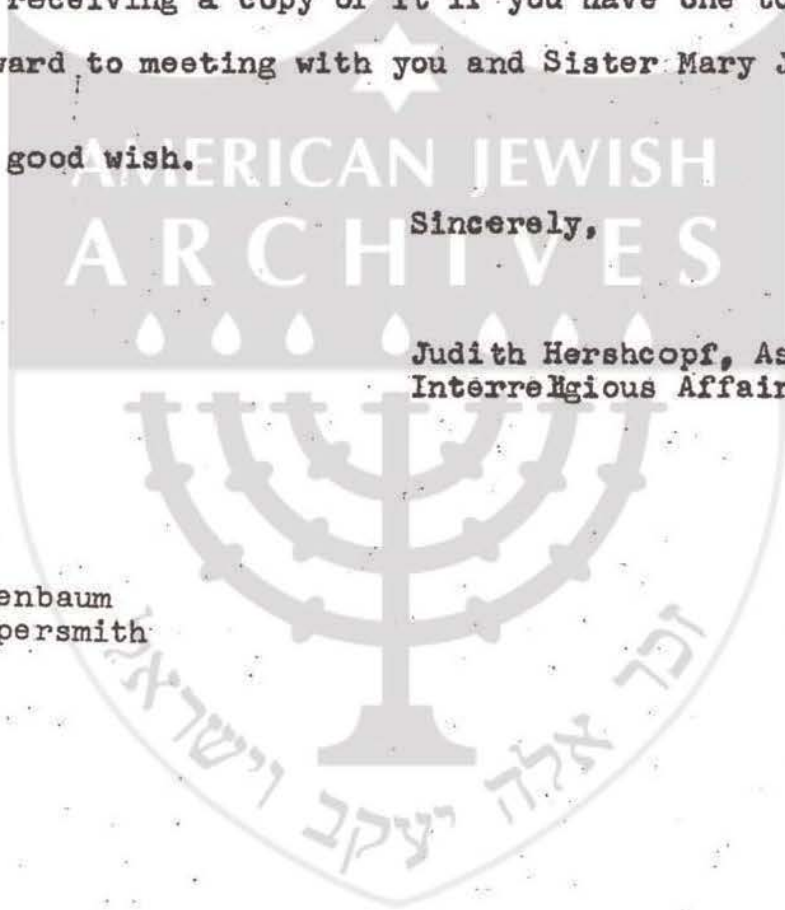
With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Judith Hersheopf, Assistant Director
Interreligious Affairs Department

JH:as
Encs.

BC: M. Tanenbaum
B. Coopersmith





Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Bishop Sheen
at Rochester's Temple B'rith Kodesh.

We Are God's People

Two of the most eloquent spokesmen for religion held an audience of more than 1500 in attentive awe and the two agreed that Christians and Jews are God's people.

Bishop Sheen and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum spoke at Rochester's Temple B'rith Kodesh to climax a day-long colloquium on Catholic-Jewish relationships.

Both speakers addressed themselves to members of their own faith — asking the other group simply to listen over their neighbor's shoulder.

The noted New York rabbi told his audience that "the mood and the message we experience here tonight is a piece of history — a milestone in Catholic-Jewish relationships in this area."

Bishop Sheen said, "I am here tonight to try to educate our own people to a deeper understanding of the mystery of our faith and how much we owe to the Jewish people. That's my point. The burden is on our shoulders."

He traced the biblical history of God's covenant-contract with Adam, Noah, Abraham and Moses — each in turn symbolized by a tree, a rainbow, by circumcision and by sacrifice, and God's repeated promise to the Jews, "I shall be their God and they shall be my people."

Bishop Sheen, in the forceful imagery of Scripture and with his own well-known eloquence, described the Exodus story of the Passover lamb and compared it with Christ's action at the Last Supper where "the Lamb of God says over the cup of wine—this is my blood, Lamb's blood, blood of the new covenant."

Christian faith and practice, he emphasized is rooted in Jewish faith and practice.

"I tell you, Christian people," he said, "to deny this heritage and this background would be to deny your own parentage."

Does Christian faith require its members to consider the old covenant "dead, buried?"

Bishop Sheen replied to his question, "Neither the written word of the old covenant nor the written word of the new would dare allow us to say that." He quoted Isaiah, "Can a woman forget the child of her womb? . . . Yet will I not forget you," and St. Paul told the Romans, "God's gifts are irrevocable."

This means for us today, the Bishop stated, "that in this synagogue God is worshipped by right, by a reading and law which God himself gave."

And what of the future?

"As I see it," Bishop Sheen said, "the Jews and the Christians — both — have vocations from God. We are God's people and not two different people. God's covenant makes us unique. Here is a surprising and astounding fact — neither you Jews, nor us Christians, are at home in this world — we are both revolutionists, uneasy, upstarts, irritants, catalysts, disturbing the moods and philosophies of the world, and why — because we have a vocation from God."

"The world itself will not tolerate this covenant of love and must always persecute and hate us — that is why we happen to live in these times when the people of both the old covenant and the new are persecuted . . . by Hitler, by Stalin . . . to draw us closer and closer together, to be more and more united, brothers called by the same God."

RABBI TANENBAUM, scheduled to leave the following day for a Vatican conference, began his talk by paying tribute to Bishop Sheen for his long-standing reputation "for leadership in improving Jewish-Christian relations" and for prodding the American people to face up to the continuing problem of poverty, illiteracy and disease "among two-thirds of the world's family who are neither Christian nor Jewish."

Rabbi Tanenbaum described Jews and Christians as members of a common diaspora in a non-religious age.

He called for Jews and Christians to end "the incredible, abysmal, mutual ignorance we have about each other."

He cited as one example the divergent attitudes toward the Crusades—for Christians, these were holy wars, a vast and successful effort of the Church to weld people of different nations and ranks of society into a unity, but for Jews, he said, the Crusades were "a gory story of pillaging, killing of Jews, looting their wealth, restrictive legislation, humiliating garb, ritual murder charges and confinement to the ghetto."

"Christians have simply torn out of their history books the pages the Jews have memorized," he stated.

He recommended formation of an interracial, interfaith "team task force to rewrite our history books" so we can "understand what makes us tick the way we do."

He rejected the notion that this is a "post-Christian" era and said he preferred to consider that "we live in a pre-Christian society."

Rabbi Tanenbaum said Christians had begun to reevaluate their concept of Judaism and to "recognize Jews as a living people."

"At the same time," he said, "Jews need to elaborate their doctrine regarding Christianity and other non-Jewish religions in keeping with the teaching of Judaism that holds that salva-

tion is not a monopoly of the Jews. The righteous of all people have a share in the world to come."

Rabbi Tanenbaum said the "highest authority in Christendom has said that anti-Semitism is a crime and a sin against God and man. Pope Paul, within a week of that Council's statement, indicated he took seriously what it said by calling for an end to the Blessed Simon of Trent legend."

Blessed Simon was considered a victim of the Jewish people during the Middle Ages. Devotion to him stirred strong anti-Semitism in Europe.

Rabbi Tanenbaum also said that "the Catholics of the U.S. have followed the example of

Pope Paul by a drastic revision of the textbooks used by children in parochial schools."

During the morning session of the colloquium held Wednesday, Feb. 22 at St. John Fisher College, Father Edward Synan of the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, and Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut, of the Holy Blossom Temple, Toronto, addressed the group.

Rabbi Plaut summarized the morning discussion by saying, "There are two unique streams of history both necessary — Judaism which is the keeper of the flame, and Christianity which is the torchbearer to the world."

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

Dear Marc,

Here is the manuscript of the article on the Pharisees you wanted to see.

In my view, the Rivkin thesis described therein offers an especially powerful and attractive reconstruction of the origins and nature of the Pharisaic movement which should prove especially useful in increasing Christian understanding of and appreciation for rabbinic and modern Judaism.

Could you xerox up a copy of the manuscript for yourself and pass the manuscript on to Norman Podhoretz of COMMENTARY. If he would consider it suitable for the pages of COMMENTARY I'd be very happy for I feel this is where the article should appear.

However, if you think it best that the article come to Mr. Podhoretz directly from me rather than through you, you can return the original and I'll send it directly to him.

Whichever you think best. I'd prefer it if the article came to him from you but I want to follow proper protocol and I surely would like the article to appear in COMMENTARY.

Very sincerely,

Allan

Allan

NEW APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE PHARISEES,
THE FOUNDERS OF MODERN JUDAISM

By Allan Cutler

Allan Cutler is Assistant Professor of Jewish Studies, Department of Religion, Temple University of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and a founder and Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Jewish Study. His research is devoted primarily to (1) the history of the Pharisaic party, and (2) medieval Christian attitudes toward Jews and Muslims.

A very large turnout of over a hundred people jammed the Sutton Ballroom South of the New York Hilton Hotel on Thursday, December 29, 1966, at 9:30 a.m., to participate in a first in modern American Jewish scholarship. For the first time in its history, the distinguished American Historical Association, the professional organization which counts in its membership thousands of college and university history professors, featured a session on European-Middle Eastern Jewish History at its annual convention. The title of the session was "The Impact of Hellenistic Civilization on the Pharisees." The Pharisees were the Palestinian Jewish religio-political party that between 200 B.C. and 70 A.D. laid the foundations for rabbinic and modern Judaism and for Christianity and Islam as well, since these religions derive from rabbinic Judaism. The greatest Pharisaic teacher was Hillel the Elder (after whom the Hillel Foundations are named), the man generally held to be the chief architect of rabbinic Judaism, who lived approximately 65 to 1 B.C. and was the leader of the Pharisaic party during the reign of King Herod the Great. Chairman of the session was Hans Jonas, distinguished Professor of Philosophy at the New School for Social Research in New York City. Professor Jonas is a recognized expert on modern philosophy and on Gnosticism, an ascetic-mystic world-view that was very influential in the Mediterranean world during the Hellenistic-Roman period which lasted from roughly 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. The two

papers for the morning were delivered by Professor Ellis Rivkin of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati and Professor Henry Fischel of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, Indiana University at Bloomington. Professor Rivkin's paper, entitled "Pharisaism and the Crisis of the Individual in the Greco-Roman World," attempted to introduce the radically new and long overdue point of view that the Pharisees were a revolutionary movement which should be studied in the same way modern historians study Oliver Cromwell's Puritan revolutionaries of mid-17th century England, the Jacobins of the French Revolution of the early 1790's, or the Bolsheviks of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Professor Fischel's paper, entitled "Story and History: Observations on Greco-Roman Rhetoric and Pharisaism," attempted to develop the revolutionary new thesis that most of the stories preserved in rabbinic literature about the great Pharisaic teachers, especially Hillel the Elder, are taken from similar stories told in Hellenistic-Greek literature about the great Greek sages such as Socrates and Diogenes the Cynic (a critic of the superficialities of Greek civilization who lived in the 4th century B.C.). Commenting on Professor Rivkin's paper was Professor Louis Feldman of Yeshiva University and commenting on Professor Fischel's paper was Professor Ben Zion Wacholder of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. Both of the commentators are distinguished authorities in the area of Hellenistic influence on Palestinian Judaism 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. Professor Feldman is the translator of the ninth and last volume of Josephus in the Loeb Classical Library Series. Josephus was the great Jewish historian of the Second Temple period who wrote in Greek around 70-100 A.D. Professor Wacholder is the author of the best recent study of Nicholas of Damascus, the secretary of King Herod the Great. Nicholas was the non-Jewish writer on Jewish history from whom Josephus

took much of his material. After each of the speakers presented his paper, the critics presented their criticisms. Then the speakers had a chance to reply and finally the whole discussion was thrown open to the audience which was composed of many distinguished Jewish and non-Jewish scholars from the New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago areas. It is hoped that the great success of this first session on European-Middle Eastern Jewish history will insure that another session on European-Middle Eastern Jewish history will take place at the next annual convention of the American Historical Association which will be held in Toronto, Ontario, in December of 1967.

What follows is a creative and interpretative summary (not a stenographic report) of the remarks which Professors Rivkin, Feldman, Fischel and Wacholder made at this epoch-making session on Jewish history. The report was prepared by Dr. Allan Cutler, Assistant Professor of Jewish Studies, Department of Religion, Temple University of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, who organized the session and is working for similar sessions on European-Middle Eastern Jewish history at all future national conventions of the American Historical Association. Dr. Cutler believes that the time has come for the scholarly study of the history of the Jewish people and its faith in Europe and the Middle East to become a recognized and respected discipline within general American historical scholarship. What follows is based to some extent on Dr. Cutler's previous knowledge of the work of these scholars.

PROFESSOR RIVKIN'S INITIAL PRESENTATION

The Pharisees were a militant, religio-political revolutionary movement which arose in Palestine during the Maccabean revolution, which raged between 170 and 140 B.C. Like all revolutionary movements, past, present and future, the Pharisees were willing to use any and every means at their disposal, including military warfare and execution of opponents, to seize and consolidate power in the name of the ideas for which they stood.

What were these ideas? The transformation of the Jewish religion from the faith of a small national group into a truly great universal world religion, the creation of the synagogue to replace the Temple in Jerusalem, the rabbinate to replace the Temple priesthood, study, prayer and fulfillment of mitzvot, God's commandments, to replace animal sacrifices as the way to approach God, a democratically organized religion to replace the old aristocratically organized one. It is these revolutionary ideas which form the foundation of the Talmud, the basis of modern Judaism, and it is these ideas which also form the foundation of Christianity and Islam, the two daughter religions of Judaism, who owe their ideas not to the Old Testament but rather to the Pharisaic transformation of the old Israelite faith.

When did the Pharisaic party arise? According to traditional Jewish scholarship, the Pharisees go back to Ezra the Scribe, who lived around 425 B.C., and to the scribes and "men of the great synagogue" who, according to tradition, allegedly flourished as disciples of Ezra between 400 and 200 B.C. However, this could not possibly be the case for there is absolutely no mention of any group called the Pharisees, or of any of the ideas and institutions for which they stood, in any of the Jewish religious literature, Old Testament, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, which was written between 400

and 200 B.C. Then when did the Pharisaic party arise? It arose out of the great Maccabean revolution which raged between 170 and 140 B.C. Josephus is our most reliable and valuable source for the history of the late Second Temple period and the first time Josephus mentions the Pharisees in his great history of the Jews, the Antiquities (XIII, 5:9), is in the account of the reign of Jonathan the Maccabee, which began around 160 B.C., during the height of the Maccabean revolt.

If the Pharisees were revolutionaries, against what were they rebelling? They were rebelling against the old order of Jewish life which prevailed in Palestine between the time of Nehemiah and the canonization of the Pentateuch (the Five Books of Moses) around 400 B.C. and the beginning of the Maccabean revolution which burst out around 168 B.C. During this period Jewish life in Palestine was predominantly rural and agricultural and was dominated politically and religiously by the Aaronide priests who controlled the all important sacrificial cult in the Jerusalem Temple, around which the life of the nation centered. A beautiful description of the old order is given in a book known as the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira or Ecclesiasticus, a book that is not found in the Hebrew Bible but rather in the Apocrypha, the collection of Jewish books preserved in Greek by the Jews of Alexandria. Ben Sira was originally written in Palestine in Hebrew either around 180 or 280 B.C., but it was known over the centuries mostly from a Greek translation made for the benefit of the Jews of Alexandria whose knowledge of Hebrew was weak. A large portion of the Hebrew original was recovered from the Cairo Genizah at the end of the 19th century. In Ben Sira we find absolutely no mention of the Pharisees, of the oral law, of the synagogue, or of any of the other ideas and institutions with which the Pharisees were so closely connected.

What broke down the old order? The old order broke down largely

under the impact of Alexander the Great's conquest of the Middle East around 330 B.C. and the increasing influence of Hellenistic civilization on Jewish life in Palestine. During the 3rd century B.C., under the impact of Hellenistic civilization, Jewish life in Palestine became increasingly urbanized. More and more Jews left their farms to become skilled workers, local and international merchants, bankers, tax farmers, civil servants, in the growing towns, especially Jerusalem. The old rural, agricultural orientation of society was replaced by a new urban, commercial orientation. The Pentateuch which was based on the old rural and agricultural order became increasingly irrelevant to the lives and needs of the people. A new scholar class had to arise from the people in the new urban centers to reinterpret the Pentateuch if it was to continue to exert influence on the religious and social life of the times.

The great international merchants, bankers, tax farmers and civil servants of Jerusalem, because of their foreign contacts, especially with Ptolemaic Egypt which controlled Palestine at this time, became increasingly Hellenized during the course of the 3rd century B.C. The Aaronide priesthood, especially its upper echelon, was largely under the influence of these new wealthy and powerful classes. The result was that by around 200 B.C. the upper echelon of the priesthood, which controlled the Temple in Jerusalem, became largely Hellenized and abandoned its loyalty to the Pentateuch and the seemingly old fashioned ideas which it taught. Again, a new class had to arise from the people in the new urban centers to save the Pentateuch from being betrayed by the very priests who once had been its guardians and sole interpreters.

The new scholar class which did arise to save the Pentateuch was the Pharisees. The Pharisees were a militant, lay, non-writing scholar class which arose during the Maccabean revolution to save the Pentateuch

by taking it out of the hands of the Hellenized and corrupt Aaronide priesthood and by reinterpreting it to meet the challenges of the new Hellenized, urban, commercial society which became dominant in Palestine during the 2nd century B.C.

The Pharisees gave to Judaism the concept of the two-fold law, the written law or the Pentateuch and the oral law or the reinterpretation of the Pentateuch which the Pharisees undertook in order to make it more relevant to the lives and needs of the Jewish people in the new Hellenistic period. Both laws, the written and the oral, were declared by the Pharisees to be equally binding, equally divine. But in the Pharisaic system it was the oral law that reigned supreme, for it was the oral law that reinterpreted and was the final arbiter of the written law and not vice versa. Thus, the Pharisees gave precedence to oral teachings, not written words, to the living spirit, not the dead letter, and thereby made the Pentateuch, which could have become merely a lifeless relic of the past, into a living, dynamic force for good.

The Pharisees also gave to Judaism the institution known as the synagogue to replace the Jerusalem Temple as the center of the Jewish religion. In contradistinction to the Temple, of which there could only be one and which could only exist in Jerusalem, there could be many synagogues, hundreds of them, thousands of them. They could exist in every city and in every land throughout the world where Jews dwelled and you could have as many of them as you wanted in any given place. Essentially, all you needed for a synagogue was ten adult Jewish males and one scroll of the Torah (Pentateuch). Each synagogue was a unit in and unto itself and no hierarchical body could dictate to it. In contradistinction to the Temple, wherein God was approached primarily through animal sacrifices, in the synagogue, study and prayer were the

chief forms of worship. In contradistinction to the Temple which was run by a hereditary priestly class, the synagogue was an eminently democratic institution, run by lay scholars who earned the right to religious leadership not via the accident of birth and genealogy, as did the priests, but via study of the two-fold law and via their charismatic appeal to the people. The synagogue was a completely revolutionary institution given to the world by the Pharisees, a militant, lay, non-writing scholar class which arose during the Maccabean revolution. Of course, it was from the synagogue, rather than the Jerusalem Temple, that Christianity's church and Islam's mosque derived. The synagogue was the institution that decentralized, democratized and universalized the Jewish religion and it was the Pharisees that gave the synagogue to Judaism.

The Pharisees also introduced a theological revolution in three areas: (1) the concept of God, (2) the concept of the individual, and (3) the concept of the after-life. It was only via the teachings of the Pharisees that the monotheism of the Pentateuch was carried out to its logical conclusion. It was only via the teachings of the Pharisees that the individual came of age within Judaism as a religious being with a one-to-one relationship to God. The old Pentateuch had put its emphasis on the group. It was via the teachings of the Pharisees that the individual was offered hope of eternal individuation, of life after death, via the profoundly consolatory doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. According to the old Pentateuch, the individual soul did not survive in any meaningful form after death and certainly the individual body was lost forever.

The God of the Pentateuch was thought of primarily as the God of one people, the Israelites-Judeans, with a special relationship to one land, Palestine, one city, Jerusalem, and one sanctuary, the

Jerusalem Temple. The Pharisees, however, taught that God was the God of all peoples, of all lands, including those lands outside of Palestine where Jews dwelt in such large numbers. Under Pharisaic leadership, for the first time converts were accepted into Judaism on a large scale. God's special relationship was now thought to be with the synagogue as well as the Temple. Since the synagogues, which the Pharisees created, could be and were formed in hundreds of different places in Palestine and throughout the Greco-Roman world, God's presence could no longer be thought of as being limited to one city and one sanctuary. Pentateuchal monotheism was thus carried out to its logical conclusion, the Jewish God concept became truly universal, and the Jewish religion became a great universal world religion.

The Pharisees developed new names for God to express their new God concept. The term Ha-Makom, literally, "the Place," stressed God's omnipresence. God can be found everywhere, not just in one land, Palestine, or in one city, Jerusalem, or in one building, the Jerusalem Temple. He can be found in every land and in every city where Jews dwell and in every synagogue where Jews congregate for study and prayer. The new term Sh'chinah, literally, "In-dwelling Presence," stressed the fact that God is not merely transcendent, outside of the universe which he created, a God of the sky far removed from man, but is indeed also immanent, within the universe, close, very close, to the individual soul who needs him and calls upon him in truth. The new term Ha-Kadosh Baruch Hu, "the Holy One Blessed Be He," and many other names for God unknown to the Pentateuch, were the contributions of the Pharisees.

The Pharisees made central within Judaism the concept of the direct relationship of the individual to God, unmediated by the nation or by the priesthood. In its essence, Pharisaic Judaism, and modern Judaism as well which derives from the teachings of the Pharisees,

is an individual personal religion rather than a group social religion. The individual stands supreme within Pharisaic Judaism and it is his one-to-one, direct, unmediated relationship with God that is central within it.

The Pharisees took Jewish law out of the hands of the priests and put it into the hands of a militant, lay, non-writing scholar class (called in rabbinic literature the chachamim, the "wise men" or "sages"), who reinterpreted it according to the dictates of the oral law they developed to meet the needs and demands of the changing times. But the originality and the greatness of this new scholar class was precisely in this--that it believed in and worked actively and successfully for the transferring of this new two-fold, oral and written, law into the hearts of the individual Jews. The Pharisees attempted successfully to internalize the two-fold law, to make it a part of the very fabric of the individual Jewish soul so that it could serve the individual through his life, from birth to death, as his guide along the road to salvation, the road to eternal individuation, the road to the glorious resurrection of the dead, ushered in by the advent of the personal Messiah.

The Pentateuch did not know the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. According to the Pentateuch, the individual soul did not survive in any meaningful way after death and certainly at death the individual body was lost forever. It was the Pharisees who challenged the negative Pentateuchal attitude toward life after death and taught instead that the individual, as a totality, both his soul and his body, will indeed live forever when the dead are resurrected, provided the individual, in this life, adheres faithfully to the two-fold, written and oral, law and makes it a part of the fabric of his being.

The amazing thing is that, in the revolution the Pharisees brought

about in Jewish religious life and thought, Hellenistic ideas were very influential. The concept of a two-fold law, some of the content of Jewish law as it was reinterpreted by the Pharisees, the idea that scholars not priests should rule, the emphasis on study, the stress upon the individual and his personal salvation, these and many other Pharisaic ideas were strongly influenced by Hellenistic civilization and thought. Thus, what the Pharisees really did was to use Hellenistic ideas to transform Judaism and thereby save it from going down before the onslaught of Hellenistic civilization. The fact that Jews and Judaism still exist and thrive today is convincing proof of the creative genius of our Pharisaic forefathers.

PROFESSOR FELDMAN'S RESPONSE

It was once believed that the fall of Rome to the barbarian invaders in 476 A.D. marked the end of the ancient world and the beginning of the Middle Ages and that the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 marked the end of the medieval world and the beginning of modern times. Scholars today realize that things were just not that simple. We can not pinpoint the exact year when one period or age gave way to the next, for history is more a process of gradual transformation than of sudden revolution. Just because there may have been changes within Judaism from the Biblical to the rabbinic period, and we must not exaggerate these changes, this does not mean that a specific group arose at a specific time and by a revolution brought these changes about. The situation was more one of evolution rather than one of revolution.

Who says that the Pharisees arose during the Maccabean revolution? Josephus does not say that they arose in the time of Jonathan the Maccabee, around 160 B.C. Josephus says that at this time there were

three schools, the Pharisees, the Essenes, and the Sadducees. The fact that Josephus said "there were" rather than "there arose three schools at this time" implies that the Pharisees existed even before this time. Elsewhere in his writings (Life, 38), Josephus tells us that the Pharisees have the reputation of being unrivalled experts in the "rules of their fathers" (ta patria nomima), which implies that the Pharisees themselves believed that the oral laws and traditions which they dealt with were of considerable antiquity, going all the way back to the fathers of the Jewish nation, certainly going back to before the Maccabean revolt.

Did the Pharisees introduce the concept of the oral law? If so, how do we account for the fact that the Sadducees, the religiously conservative, priestly-aristocratic opponents of the Pharisees, also had an oral law. For example, the Sadducees had a penal code, separate from and supplementary to the Pentateuch, which the Pharisees abolished around 75 B.C. Further, if the Pharisees arose during the Maccabean revolution, around 170 to 140 B.C., and introduced the concept of the oral law, why do we have considerable evidence of the existence of an oral law long before the Maccabean period? For example, the Book of Ruth is usually dated between 400 and 200 B.C., when, according to Professor Rivkin, there allegedly was no oral law. Yet, according to this book (4:7), to confirm a transaction you draw off your sandal and give it to the other party to the transaction. This is certainly an example of an oral law not described in the Pentateuch and Jewish scholars (especially Professor Solomon Zeitlin of Dropsie College in Philadelphia, who is in the audience this morning) have noted many other examples of oral laws mentioned in the Palestinian Jewish literature which dates from the period 400-200 B.C. Further, the Jewish community which flourished at Elephantine, southern Egypt, in

the 5th century B.C., long before the Maccabean revolution, had a legal system which is very close to that of the Talmud. Apparently the Jewish community of Elephantine also had an oral law which was not too dissimilar from the later Pharisaic-rabbinic oral law. Further, Abraham Geiger, the founder of Reform Judaism, already in the 19th century, pointed out in detail that the translators of the Pentateuch into Greek for the Jews of Alexandria in the 3rd century B.C., a century before the Maccabean revolt, interpreted the Biblical laws in ways which were very close to the ways the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition later interpreted them. Further, Professor Moshe Greenberg of the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia has shown that in the area of personal reparation for crimes committed there is far greater continuity between the Pentateuchal and the later Talmudic law than between the Pentateuchal and the Hittite law, even though the Hittite law was roughly contemporaneous with the Pentateuchal law whereas the Talmudic law came much later. Thus, it is very hard to accept the thesis that the Pharisees, who allegedly arose during the Maccabean revolution, introduced the concept of the oral law. This concept goes back much earlier.

Professor Rivkin argues that the Pharisees introduced the concept of the primacy of the individual in religious matters. But individuals pray in the Old Testament, which is pre-Pharisaic. Certainly the Old Testament Psalms, which have many parallels in Ugaritic (Canaanite) literature from the 2nd millenium B.C., are examples of individuals pouring out their souls to God. The prophet Jeremiah certainly saw himself as an individual with a one-to-one relationship to God. The prophet Ezekiel (Chapter 18) wrestled with the problem of individual responsibility in religion. The author of the Book of Job certainly wrestled with the problem of why the righteous individual suffers

and the wicked individual prospers. Nehemiah, who wrote his own autobiography (the Book of Nehemiah) was an individual who wanted to be remembered forever for his own great deeds. The concept of the significance of the individual in religious matters goes much farther back in Jewish religious history than the Maccabean period.

According to Professor Rivkin, the Pharisees introduced a new, more universalistic God concept. But Professor Y'chezkel Kaufmann has already shown that even in the oldest strata of the Bible the God of Israel was considered a God of all lands and peoples. Professor Rivkin claims that the Pharisees introduced new names for God such as Ha-Makom, "the Omnipresent," Sh'chinah, "the Immanent," Ha-Kadosh Baruch Hu, "the Holy One Blessed Be He." But what evidence is there for this claim? Arthur Marmorstein has shown that the first person to whom the theological term Ha-Makom is attributed is Simeon the Just who lived either around 300 or 200 B.C., i.e., before the Maccabean revolution. The first person to whom the theological term Sh'chinah is attributed is Rabban Gamaliel II who flourished around 70-100 A.D. The New Testament, much of which reflects Jewish life in Palestine during the 1st century A.D., does not know this term. The first person to whom the theological term Ha-Kadosh Baruch Hu is attributed lived in the 3rd century A.D., etc.

According to Professor Rivkin, the doctrine of personal immortality and the resurrection of the dead was an innovation of the Pharisees. If so, why is this doctrine mentioned already in a portion of the Book of Isaiah (26:19) which is usually dated 400-200 B.C., before the Maccabean revolution broke out. All ancient peoples believed in immortality and survival after death.

According to Professor Rivkin, the Pharisees created the institution known as the synagogue? But the reading from the scroll of the Torah (Pentateuch) was the very essence of the synagogue worship

service and, according to the generally reliable Book of Nehemiah (Chapter 8), Ezra the Scribe, around 425 B.C., read from the Torah to the people. This was long before the Maccabean revolt. It is true that Ben Sira may be silent about the synagogue. Perhaps he was silent about it because it was such a commonplace of life at that time that he felt he did not have to point it out. Indeed, we have clear evidence, from inscriptions, of the existence of synagogues in Egypt, at Schedia, a suburb of Alexandria, during the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221 B.C.), before the Maccabean revolution. Professor Rivkin is aware of these inscriptions but he argues, completely unconvincingly, that the buildings described in the inscriptions were not synagogues as we know them but rather houses where the local Jews pledged their loyalty to the king. If so, why was there more than one such building in this community? The Jews of the community probably would have needed only one loyalty house but they might very well have needed more than one synagogue. The probability is greater that these buildings were synagogues rather than loyalty houses.

Professor Rivkin tells us that the Pharisees introduced the concept of the study of the Torah. But this concept goes all the way back to the Book of Deuteronomy (6:6-7).

Professor Rivkin tells us that the Pharisees introduced the concept of proselytism as a corollary of their allegedly new and more universalistic God concept. But the Old Testament is full of references to proselytes, e.g., Ruth, the Book of Ezra (6:21), "those that fear the Lord" in the Psalms (22:23, 115:11, 118:4, 135:20), etc.

Professor Rivkin would have us believe that the religious creativity of the Pharisees was largely a response to the stimulus of urbanization. This idea seems to be a revival of the old Max Weber-Louis Finkelstein thesis that the Pharisees represented urban and the Sadducees rural

interests. But what about the Shammaites who were Pharisees and who most scholars believe represented rural interests? If the Pharisees represented urban interests, how were they and their successors the Tannaim (70-225 A.D.) able to win over the Jewish, half-Jewish, and non-Jewish peasants of Galilee to their point of view by around 200 A.D.? If the religious creativity of the Pharisees was largely a response to urbanization, what about the religious creativity of the prophets like Amos who came from a rural background, inveighed against the corruptions of urban living and called for a return to the ideals of the desert? The non-Jewish Hellenistic cities of Palestine played no part in the expansion of Christianity, which Professor Rivkin holds to be a development from Pharisaic Judaism.

In short, there is little if any evidence to support the Rivkin thesis on the revolutionary origins and nature of the Pharisaic movement. Rather than being a contribution to scholarship, the Rivkin thesis would set our knowledge and understanding of the Pharisees and Palestinian Judaism during the Second Temple period back at least a generation.

PROFESSOR RIVKIN'S REJOINDER

Professor Feldman would have us believe that history moves forward only by evolution but never by revolution. But what about the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, the Algerian Revolution? In my view, the Pharisees were a revolutionary movement which made a radical break with the past and set Judaism moving in a radically new direction, institutionally and theologically. Upon this point I stand firm.

Professor Feldman has challenged my use of Josephus to back up the view that the Pharisees arose during the Maccabean revolution. It is true that in his Life Josephus may claim that the Pharisees and their

oral law goes back to antiquity. This is what the Pharisees believed about the oral law and Josephus was a Pharisee. He is merely repeating here what the Pharisees said about themselves. This does not mean, however, that Josephus is stating historical fact here. In his Antiquities, where Josephus was writing history not personal biography, the first time he mentions the Pharisees is in the account of the reign of Jonathan the Maccabee, around 160 B.C., during the height of the Maccabean revolution. As a historian, I prefer to follow Josephus's Antiquities, which is a solid work of historiography, rather than his Life, which is much more of a propaganda piece.

Both my and Professor Feldman's remarks raise the crucial question of the argument from silence. In my view, the fact that there is no mention of the synagogue in all of the Jewish religious literature preserved from the period 400-200 B.C. proves that the synagogue just did not exist yet during this period and that it was the Pharisees, who arose out of the Maccabean revolution (170-140 B.C.) who created it. My opponents will argue that the mere fact that the documents of a period are silent about an institution does not prove that it did not exist then. Perhaps too few documents survived from that period and if we had a larger sampling of documents from the period this institution would be mentioned. In reply to this objection, which I know my opponents will make, I can only say that the only way you can ever prove the non-existence of an institution at a given period is by showing that this institution is just not mentioned in the literature of that period. If non-mention in literature can never be a proof of non-existence then you can never ever prove non-existence. There is no other way to prove non-existence except through the silence of the sources, especially if you have good reason to believe that the sources would have mentioned the institution had it existed at that time.

Professor Feldman argues that the silence of the sources, such as Ben Sira, about the existence of the synagogue may merely mean that the synagogue was too commonplace an institution to merit special notice. According to this view, silence would prove existence. But the Jerusalem Temple, if anything, was an institution which must have been an even more commonplace part of the religious life at this time. Everything centered around it. Yet Ben Sira mentions the Jerusalem Temple. He also mentions numerous other religious institutions of his day. However, nowhere does he or any of the rather extensive literature preserved from this period (400-200 B.C.) mention the synagogue or the Pharisees, who, in my view, created the synagogue.

The real difference that divides Professor Feldman and myself is the question of method. To Professor Feldman and other Orthodox Jewish scholars, the historical-critical study of Biblical and rabbinic literature and the idea of progress and change in Judaism is completely foreign. But was the Judaism of Hillel the same as the Judaism of Moses? Was the Judaism of Rashi (around 1100, France) the same as the Judaism of Hillel? Was the Judaism of Moses Sofer (around 1825, Hungary) the same as the Judaism of Rashi? If you say it was, I can respect your sincerity but we just do not speak the same methodological language. To me the issue of change within Judaism seems to be the fundamental issue at stake here. Granted that continuity is an important factor in history and religion. Nevertheless, revolutionary upheavals and radical changes have taken place in the history of the Jewish people and its faith and the Pharisaic revolution was one of these revolutionary upheavals and radical changes.

PROFESSOR FISCHEL'S INITIAL PRESENTATION

During the course of a diligent examination of the relevant Greek and Jewish sources, which I have been conducting now for the past few years, I came across the startling fact that there seem to be numerous, detailed similarities between Hellenistic-Greek tales told by the Cynics and Stoics about their great hero-sages, especially Socrates and Diogenes, and tales told in rabbinic literature about Hillel the Elder, the leader of the Pharisaic party during the reign of King Herod the Great (37-4 B.C.) and the founder of rabbinic Judaism. Here are some of the elements in the rabbinic traditions about Hillel which can be documented by numerous parallels throughout the vast corpus of Cynic and Stoic tales told of Socrates and Diogenes:

1. Hillel was foreign born (Talmud Bavli, P'sachim 66b).
2. The foreign born Hillel came to his adopted land (Palestine) to study (Talmud Y'rushalmi, P'sachim 6:1, 33a).
3. Hillel rebuffed his brother (Talmud Bavli, Sotah 21a).
4. Hillel voluntarily chose to live in abject poverty (Talmud Bavli, Sotah 21a, Yoma 35b).
5. Hillel had a sort of shadow-wife whose personality is never really developed in the sources (Derech Eretz 6).
6. This shadow-wife once spoiled his meal (idem).
7. Hillel gave the gatekeeper of the House of Study a coin in order to get in to hear his teachers' lecture (Talmud Bavli, Yoma 35b).
8. Hillel positioned himself on a roof (idem).
9. He braved a snowstorm (idem).
10. His teachers saved his life (idem).
11. Hillel almost overnight went from obscurity to the height of power (Talmud Bavli, P'sachim 66a-b).
12. He once suddenly forgot what he knew (idem).
13. He witnessed a trick done with sheep (idem).

14. He was involved with a bull and the sexual differences between it and a cow (Talmud Bavli, Betzah 20a).

15. He was part of a duumvirate (zug), i.e., he shared leadership with a colleague such as Shammai (Mishnah, Chagigah 2:2, Avot 1:12).

16. His colleague was his exact opposite (Talmud Bavli, Shabbat 30b-31a).

17. Hillel was infinitely patient (Talmud Bavli, Shabbat 31a).

18. By his patience he defeated a wager (idem).

19. He heard a rumor but confidently knew it did not apply to him (Talmud Bavli, B'rachot 60a).

20. He ran before a horse (Talmud Bavli, K'tubot 67b).

21. He believed that according to the effort is the reward (Avot d'Rabbi Natan, Recension A, 12:11).

22. He saw a skull (Mishnah, Avot 2:7).

23. He cared for the welfare of both his body and his soul (Leviticus Rabbah 34:3).

24. He went to the bath house (idem).

25. People he convinced of the truth of his position became proselyte-disciples (Talmud Bavli, Shabbat 30b-31a).

26. He had immense encyclopedic knowledge (Sof'rim 16:9).

27. He was arrogant (Talmud Bavli, Sukkah 53a).

28. The number of his pupils is given (Talmud Bavli, Sukkah 28a).

29. His disciples gathered around his death bed (idem).

These numerous parallels between the Hellenistic-Greek stories told of Socrates and Diogenes and the rabbinic stories told of Hillel would seem to indicate that the rabbinic stories were probably taken to a large extent from the Hellenistic-Greek stories.

First of all, the Hellenistic tales can be traced back to

literature which dates from a period long before Hillel and therefore they must have influenced the rabbinic tales and not vice versa. Already by around 150 B.C., about a century before Hillel's birth, these stories of Socrates and Diogenes were known everywhere throughout the Hellenistic world. Cicero, in the generation before Hillel, cites them in his Tusculan Disputations. It is very unlikely that Hillel consciously copied in his own life the deeds of Socrates and Diogenes as told by the Hellenistic-Greeks. It is much more likely that the rabbinic teachers of the later generations told of their hero Hillel the same stories that the Greeks told of their heroes, Socrates and Diogenes.

Secondly, there is evidence that the Hellenistic-Greek stories of Socrates and Diogenes were known in Palestine between around 100 B.C. and 100 A.D. In the first century B.C., there was a renaissance of Cynicism and the Socrates-Diogenes tradition in the Hellenistic world and a key center of this renaissance was the Palestinian Hellenistic city of Gadara, very near the south-east shore of the Sea of Galilee. This non-Jewish city was conquered and incorporated into Jewish territory by the Maccabean kings and also by King Herod the Great (37-4 B.C.). Philo of Alexandria, early first century A.D., the great Hellenistic-Jewish Bible commentator and philosopher, who was in contact with the Pharisaic tradition of Palestine, knew Diogenes stories. The influence of Cynic stories on the New Testament literature, much of which dates from the 1st century A.D. in Palestine, has been pointed out by Martin Dibelius and Rudolf Bultmann. Justus of Tiberias, a Palestinian Jewish historian, contemporary and rival of Josephus, toward the end of the 1st century A.D., knew Socrates stories.

Thus, since most of the Hillel stories in rabbinic literature

are nothing but Palestinian Jewish versions of the Hellenistic Socrates-Diogenes stories, the Hillel stories do not really tell us anything about Hillel himself except that he was considered important enough by later generations to have Greek hero-sage stories attached to him. It is therefore uncritical to reconstruct Hillel's life and teachings from the Hillel stories. The historian must take up the question of the literary genre of his source material before trying to use it to reconstruct the past. Only the halachic (Jewish legal) views attributed to Hillel may be trustworthy as historical data, for here, presumably, later generations took pains to preserve historical accuracy, something they did not do in the Hillel stories which are aggadah (non-legal material), where the rabbis allowed their imagination to run free.

Why did the rabbis use these Hellenistic-Greek stories and retell them of their own hero-sage Hillel? The Hellenistic-Greek stories were very good stories and everyone likes a good story. The Hellenistic-Greek stories contained protests against authority (such as the story of Diogenes telling Alexander the Great to stop blocking his light) and thus appealed to a subject people like the Jews of Palestine who suffered under Roman domination. The way the Hellenistic stories depicted Socrates and Diogenes made these two Greek hero-sages look not too dissimilar from Old Testament prophets. The morals which the foreign stories told resembled the ideals of the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament. The Hellenistic stories stressed the dignity of man and the primacy of the ethical, ideas which were also central concerns to the rabbis. The Socrates-Diogenes stories attacked the superficialities of Hellenistic civilization which the rabbis of Palestine also disliked. The Hellenistic stories attacked superficial religion and so did the rabbis. The Hellenistic stories were created by a Greek scholar class which had little or no political power and

was thus very similar to the rabbinical scholar class.

Even though the rabbis borrowed Hellenistic-Greek stories told of Socrates and Diogenes and attached them to their own hero-sage Hillel, their borrowing was not slavish. Rather the rabbis transformed and adapted the Hellenistic stories in accordance with Jewish needs and values. For example, the rabbis made these stories the bases for halachic (Jewish legal) precedents and attached Biblical proof-texts to them. The Greeks did not use their Socrates-Diogenes stories for legal precedents or attach proof-texts to them from Homer, for example. The rabbinic versions of the Hellenistic stories are less rough on the victims or the butts of the stories. Thus, in the Hellenistic stories, Plato is a villain and is depicted as a half-wit. In the rabbinic stories, Shammai is likewise a villain but the rabbis let him off much easier than the Cynics and Stoics were willing to let Plato off in the Greek stories. If the Greek harshness on the victim or butt of the story had not been tempered by the rabbinic concept of rachmanut (mercy), then the rabbinic story about Hillel and the prospective proselyte who wanted to stand on one foot would probably have had either Shammai or Hillel tell the man: "Why do you want to stand on one foot? Any goose can do that!" There is less pessimism in the rabbinic versions of the Hellenistic stories. According to the rabbinic version, it would have been better for man if he had never been created but now that he has been created he should try to make the best of it. The Hellenistic version would have held that it would have been better for man if he had never been created and therefore he should commit suicide forthwith. There is more sympathy for the poor in the rabbinic versions of the Hellenistic stories. Finally, the rabbinic stories are relatively free of the anti-Roman bias which prevails in the Hellenistic stories. In the rabbinic view, apparently, Rome would get its due at the Messianic End of Days,

so there was less need to attack Rome via the hero-sage story. The Hellenistic-Greeks ,on the other hand, had no Messianic consolation, the Messianic concept being foreign to them, and thus, apparently, had to take their grievances against Rome out here and now via literature.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that in view of the high likelihood that much of the rabbinic tradition about the early Pharisaic teachers, especially Hillel the Elder, has been taken over from Hellenistic-Greek material, we need a completely new approach to the study of 1st century A.D. Palestinian Judaism and the origins of Christianity. Instead of the two-cornered approach of Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck, who wrote a massive, multi-volume work on the rabbinic backgrounds of the New Testament, we need, rather, a new three-cornered approach which would show the Hellenistic-Greek backgrounds of both the rabbinic and the New Testament traditions simultaneously. Hopefully, in the near future scholars will turn cooperatively to this long overdue and badly needed task of elucidating 1st century A.D. Judaism and Christianity, both together, in terms of their Hellenistic-Greek backgrounds.

PROFESSOR WACHOLDER'S RESPONSE

In attempting to reconstruct the history and nature of the Pharisaic movement we need to limit ourselves to evidence which comes from before the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D. because the Pharisees disappeared as an organized movement after 70 A.D. Thus, rabbinic literature, the Mishnah, Toseftah, Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds, the Midrashic literature, can not be used for the reconstruction of the history of the Pharisaic movement since all of this literature was composed and edited after 70 A.D. In addition, the method by which this literature was developed,

the homiletical method, wherein the imagination of the rabbis was given completely free rein, makes it virtually impossible to use it as historical source material for the pre-70 A.D. period. Our best evidence for the pre-70 A.D. period is Josephus, the great Jewish historian who wrote in Greek around 70-100 A.D. but utilized pre-70 A.D. documents. If this be the case, then no examples found in rabbinic literature of Hellenistic influence on the Jews and Judaism of Palestine can be used as evidence for Hellenistic influence on the Pharisees, who were a pre-70 A.D. movement. Rabbinic literature can only be used as evidence for Hellenistic influence on the Tannaim and Amoraim, the successors of the Pharisees, who led Palestinian Judaism after 70 A.D.

Furthermore, whatever examples there are in rabbinic literature of Hellenistic influence on Palestinian Jews and Judaism are only an infinitesimally small part of the vast corpus of rabbinic literature. If so, how great, really, was Hellenistic influence even on the Tannaim and Amoraim, the successors of the Pharisees?

Previously those scholars who dealt with the problem of alleged Hellenistic influence on Palestinian Jews and Judaism were content to argue that the type of Hellenism which influenced the Jews was "market-place Hellenism," i.e., the vulgar, lower-class culture of Greek soldiers, merchants and agricultural colonists who moved into the Middle East after Alexander the Great's conquest (around 33 B.C.). But now the new crop of scholars who deal with this problem would have us believe that Hellenism of a much higher and profounder type, e.g. the Hellenism of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, the Hellenism of Greek philosophy, also greatly influenced Palestinian Jews and Judaism during the late Second Temple period (330 B.C.-70 A.D.). For example, Siegfried Stein of London has argued that the Passover

Haggadah was greatly influenced by Greek symposia literature. This new thesis of high-class Hellenistic influence on Palestinian Jews and Judaism is based on even less evidence and has even less to recommend it than the older theory of lower-class Hellenistic influence.

Parallels found within two different cultures which once existed side by side such as the Hellenistic and the Palestinian-Jewish, even if they are genuine parallels, which is usually not the case, do not necessarily mean that one culture borrowed from the other. It is equally possible that both cultures independently evolved in the same direction because people everywhere are more or less alike in their basic needs and desires. For example, both Jews and Greeks glorified scholars but so did the ancient Egyptians and the Chinese. It is also possible that both the Hellenistic and the Palestinian-Jewish cultures derive independently from the same common source, Ancient Near-Eastern civilization, the civilization of Egypt and the Fertile Crescent which flourished even before the time of Moses. This theory of a common source would explain the parallels between Hellenistic and Palestinian-Jewish culture but would exclude borrowing by one from the other.

Furthermore, many of the alleged parallels which some scholars claim to have found between the Hellenistic and the Palestinian-Jewish cultures aren't really parallels at all. Let us take for example the middot, the Pharisaic-rabbinic hermeneutic principles which seem to go back at least as far as the time of Hillel (around 30 B.,C.), the principles by which the Pharisees and the rabbis interpreted Scripture and derived new laws and teachings therefrom. According to Prof. David Daube of Oxford these middot were borrowed from Hellenistic models. Yet when we examine the chief examples of Hellenistic rhetoric, viz., the hermeneutic principles used by the non-Jewish Hellenistic scholars of Alexandria to interpret the epics

of Homer, we find that they are very different from the principles by which the Pharisees and the rabbis interpreted Scripture. When dealing with alleged parallels between different but co-existing cultures we must be very careful not to succumb to the danger of superficially identifying what really are divergent phenomena.

Even if there may have been Hellenistic influence on the secular life of the Jewish people in Palestine during the late Second Temple period, e.g., on their economic, social, political, military and diplomatic activities, nevertheless, we must not exaggerate the extent of Hellenistic influence on Jewish religious life, e.g. the worship of the synagogue. Jewish religious life was after all, the main province of the Pharisees and the area where their great originality is best seen.

If we really want to pinpoint the time and place when Judaism was most heavily influenced by Greek civilization and culture we must look not to Second Temple Palestine but rather to the Middle Ages. The Arab conquest of the Middle East in the 7th century A.D. did more to Hellenize Judaism than did Alexander the Great's conquest of the same area in the 4th century B.C., for it was via Arabic civilization and Arabic translation that the writings of the great Greek philosophers and scientists came to exert such a profound influence over the medieval Jewish mind. Maimonides was probably much more thoroughly Hellenized than any Pharisee who lived during the Second Temple period in Palestine.

PROFESSOR FISCHER'S REJOINDER

Professor Wacholder's thesis, that in attempting to reconstruct the history and nature of the Pharisaic movement we need to limit ourselves to evidence which comes from before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 A.D. is too radical to accept without a great

deal of further evidence. Though much of the material in rabbinic literature reflects the post 70 A.D. period and rabbinic literature was edited in the forms we presently have it only after 70 A.D., nevertheless, there still is a great deal of material within the corpus of rabbinic literature which goes back to before the destruction of the Second Temple. Professor Wacholder would have us believe that the parallels between the Hellenistic-Greek stories of Socrates and Diogenes and the rabbinic stories of Hillel are indicative of nothing. But when we find that elements from the rabbinic stories about Hillel are found not once, twice, three-times, but in some instances 15-20 times throughout the vast corpus of Hellenistic-Greek literature, especially that portion of it which developed under Cynic and Stoic auspices, then we surely have reason to wonder if there indeed was not a direct influence from the Hellenistic-Greek civilization, the majority civilization, upon the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition, which grew up in a land under the political control of the Hellenistic and Roman rulers. I would agree that both Greek and Jewish folklore had the same Ancient Near-Eastern, Mesopotamian roots. But when two cultures exist side by side, temporally and geographically, such as the majority Hellenistic and the minority Palestinian Jewish civilizations, we surely can not and must not be so hasty as to rule out completely any influence of the majority civilization on the minority civilization. If we would listen to Professor Wacholder, we could never have a case of one civilization influencing another. I am not, however, one of those who hold that the influence was all one sided. In my view, Palestinian Pharisaic-rabbinic civilization was influential on the Greco-Roman civilization (especially via Christianity) and the Greco-Roman civilization was influential on the Palestinian Pharisaic-rabbinic civilization. It worked both ways. However, on this I

stand firm--Hellenistic-Greek tales of hero-sages like Socrates and Diogenes did influence rabbinic stories told about the greatest Pharisaic hero-sage, Hillel the Elder, and this influence must be taken account of in any attempt to reconstruct the life and teachings of Hillel, the man who is generally considered to have been the founder of rabbinic and therefore also of modern Judaism.



C O P Y

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations
165 EAST 56th STREET NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

PARIS OFFICE

30, rue la Boétie

Paris VIII

FO-EUR
April 26, 1967

MEMORANDUM

To: Foreign Affairs Department
From: Paris Office

We were sent the enclosed statement by the Archbishop of Uppsala on religious teaching in Sweden by our friend Dr. Anker Gjerding of the World Council of Churches.

While Dr. Gjerding has been gently prodding on his side, we have been trying to get the Swedish Jewish community to look into the work of a man in that country who has begun a study of Swedish religious teaching as it affects the Jews. Unfortunately this individual has used a rather polemical approach (indirectly the Archbishop's letter is something of a reply) so that somewhat delicate treading is needed to make progress here.

We shall keep you informed of any developments.

Encl.

cc: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

AK:MO

TAKEN FROM

OUTLINE OF ADDRESS BEFORE THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY,
APRIL 14 and 15, 1967 HELD AT PITTSBURGH/THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
PITTSBURGH, PA.

TURNING POINT

Sidney Mead - on church history - study of activities, ideologies,
and presuppositions of past, sheds light on present (answer to
curiosity of how we got this way); clues to future (enabling us to
play some role in shaping its future direction). ^{Today is yesterday}
_{Tomorrow}

I. Understanding of Jewish responses to ecumenism involves effort
to comprehend respective world views of variety of schools of
thought or conviction within Jewry -

> 2 Jews, 3 opinions - competition of scribes increases wisdom
dialectic method - hermeneutics of rabbinic Judaism

> Ecumenism & J-C Dialogue has become a projective test revealing
variety of Jewish views to past in Western world; present rela-
tions; prospects for future

> 3 Primary Clusters:

Anti - Jewish-Christian Dialogue (Orthodox & Secularist)

Pro - Liberal (Conservative, Reform, some academic-Pan-Jewish

Indifferent - cautious, show me

ISSUES: (1) Relation of Xty & Xans to Anti-Semitism

(2) Conversion (Jews, Judaism & Synagogue)

(3) Attitudes of " " to present-day Jews, Judaism, Synagogue, State of Israel

(4) " " " " to pluralism, meaning of People of God

II. ANTIS - DIALOGUE(1) View of Anti-Semitism -

(a) Endemic to Christian West - as is racism | while there are complex reasons - economic, social, political - | Greco-Roman - inheritance of barbarism | *McNair - "The Rise of the West"*

(b) Christian teaching converted hatred of Jew into ideology , institutionalized - prevalent today - it thru church legislation, penetrated secular culture -

(c) *Dr. Eliezer* Berkowitz introduced to NT in showcases of Der Stuermer in Berlin - NT itself basic document of Anti-Semitism:

Revise it (But not Torah) - If can't revise it, no hope

("Sy¹logue of Satan (Revelat. 2:9)

("Woe unto you, scribes & Pha¹risees, hypocrites...

ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can you escape the damnation of Hell?") (Matt 23:33)

(d) Xan ignorance of past - insensitivity VC II - no contrition

3 acknowledgements in 'Ecumenism' for division (condemnatory)

(2) CONVERSION - ["]may not desire, but need to ["]baptise all nations -

Ephesians 2 (Home Mission Board, Southern Baptists - "Our

Baptist theology teaches us that there are 5½ million Jews in America who are lost without hope, without J.C. as their Savior)

WCC - 1960 - Religious liberty, pros¹elytizing, Xan witness -

While Judaism was once prose¹lytizing, not considered obligatory on Gentiles; fundamental Jewish teaching, Rabbenu Tam (in Second Crusade) "The intention of the Christian is directed to the

Creator of Heaven and Earth" Xty ~~is~~ is not to be considered and idolatry. Even though Xans associate another person with God head, that is not forbidden for non-Jews (Talmud ~~Babli~~ Babli, *B'horot 2B; Sanhedrin 63b*)

— Can Xty reciprocate the same kind of tolerance?

Jews unfulfilled Xan -

[Heschel: "I had rather enter Auschwitz than be an object of conversion"]

Singer - Subterfuge, farce, talk about weather

Berkowitz -

Since the tree is to be judged by its fruits, the standards and values of Xan religion and civilization have become questionable. Xty never really ~~presented~~ presented *Spiritual Challenge for the Jew. In stead of the Christian* a serious performance thru the ages, Xty has never been as dead an option for the Jew as it is today. VC II - Ancient Judaism.

(3) Present-Day Judaism, Synagogue -

P advise doctrine considers the Jews fallen and faithless people to whom charity is due "for the sake of their fathers." But charity asked for a people that in the same breath is called fallen and faithless ~~is~~ has little effect in history. It is more doctrinaire than real. In one place, in order to *mitigate* *fairly* ~~integrate~~ the ~~family~~ in human outpourings of hate of a Chrysostam, ~~the~~ the author speaks of theological anti-Semitism. It would seem to us that the hatred is real and the charity that is theological."

➤ See impossibility of significant change; call for fraternal dialogue seen by Xans as recognition of living Judaism; with no modification in conversion view, dialogue is ruse.

(4) PLURALISM - Anxiety over Xan ecumenism as potential threat to Pluralism - impulse to recreate Christianitas - Teilhard - Omega point of ^{convergence} ~~conversion~~ is Christ; Tillich - Boundary point at which all revelations meet

Institutionally - WCC - VC Joint Secretariats; Anglicans, Methodists

Peace & Justice - Pope Paul VI open to all

PRESENT

Post-Christian World -

Future

"As to Jewish-Xan Relations in the future, they can be ethical, if they are based on an honest agreement to disagree on basic principles of religious faith & dogma

Social Action

Build in inner spiritual resources, rely on selves - return to orthodoxy

View shared by secularist elements - for other presuppositions, rooted in negative attitude to religion in general (??)

PRO - PAST - Appalled by Anti-Semitism - believe in possibilities of change - History not as hitching post but guiding post

(Vikings - Scandinavians - peaceful people)

Cold war thaw - "we will bury you"

THEOLOGY = not just abstractions = ratify sociological or political changes or anticipate or
MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST - From Pope Gelasius I, 2 forces rule world, priestly authority & kingly
power - regnum et imperium; in Carolingian, Body of X only possible all-encompassing community in which
political & spiritual functions LIN the Church, not beside; EMPERORS were king & priest - VICAR. OF CHRIST

* P. GREGORY VII (Hildebrand) - 11th, 12th cent. Struggle between Papacy & European State.
Innocent III - From GREGORY VII to INNOCENT III (CLAIMED TITLE VICAR OF CHRIST)
- Kings were simply rulers of people & holders of territory - State began to develop territorial structure
kingdoms - Estates - (Address) States in transit. - STATE NOW DISTINGUISHED ENTRY - ECCLESIASTICAL DOCTRINE &
POLITICAL THEORY (late 11th & early 13th cent) CORPORATE CHURCH - CHRISTIANITY →

Evidence of Unprecedented Statements ALSO - JEWS - USE OF XAN WINE - 1/201
(VC II, WCC, U.S. Guidelines, Lutherans, Episcopal, UCC, NCC)

Actions (Trent, Deggendorf -- Oberammergau ?)

GTN, Duke, Voffelme
Catholic Univ. Brimley School

6 major houses - Textbooks, (elem.) teacher institutes, seminaries, adult educa. (Lancaster)
(CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA) (Archdiocese of N.Y.)
publications, mass media overcome ignorance; STUART - PROTESTANTS
extremism, radical right, in
executive suite, race,
anti-semitism - 1960

(Generals vs. infantry troops)

Wayne, N.J.: Studies of Antis (Glock-Stark)?? - Olson / Messiah

not yet come - Wallace Clubs, Negro anti-S.

Historic Opportunity - For change - obligations of statesman

to respond (Jews were passive under Nazis)

FRANZISKA - CAMBRIDGE TO LONDON TRAIN [CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS - BRITAIN; CANADIAN BISHOPS]

General principles #7 - It is to be understood that proselytizing

is to be carefully avoided in the dialogue

Programs (#5) #5 - "School texts, prayerbooks and other media

should be examined in order to remove those which fail to show

Judaism's role in salvation history in any positive light, &

→ "an acknowledgment by Catholic scholars of the living and complex
reality of Judaism after Christ and the permanent election
of Israel

II CONVERSION - Theological reformulations on many levels - Relig.

freedom, ecumenism, Church-world

???? and complex reality of Judaism after X. and the permanent (??)

creation of Israel

PERMANENT ROLE OF ISRAEL (Rijk, Baum, Sheen, Oesterreicher,

U.S. Guidelines

U.S. Guidelines - no proselytizing, complex
living Judaism

Catholic Encyclopedia

Bennett, N , Tillich, Parkes, Grant

Corollary - Jewish attitudes toward Xans.

Corollary - Jewish attitudes toward Xans, Xty

PRESENT Post=Xan is slogan

Post-sacral Yes

Perhaps Pre-Xan:

Pilgrim Church, saving remnant, people of God

Pope's Encyclical - "POPULORUM PROGRESSIO" (On the Development
of Peoples) new humanism, transcendent humanism (Wall
Street Journal - warmed over Marxism)

Secretariat - Social Reconstruction

Illusion for Jews - Demography - No Future - Islam, Russia

Majority in West; Israel allied with West; Fate & destiny
intertwined - ostrich mentality - born out of tragic past

Uses of Dialogue

Overcome mutual ignorance - Rabbinic Judaism (Pharisees)
Dashboard statues

Confirm each other in faith - complement

FUTURE

End of anti-Semitism, refugees, Israel defended

Test of prophetic universalism - Concern for whole human family
illiteracy, poverty ($\frac{1}{2}$ billion belly hungry) disease,
racism, war

(Deepen Jewish self-knowledge - covenant theology

(Deepen Jewish religious experience - social justice vs. piety
Common assault on religious illiteracy

Common assault on dehumanization - brutalization - the exist-
ence problem

"What begins with the existential why is an awareness of man's incongruous relationship to the universe, of estrangement from his fellows, of aloneness within his family, of the inadequacy of language, the ~~death (?)~~ ~~(dearth)~~ of feeling, and the unnerving pressure of physical objects. It is a view of man as a ~~xxx~~ solitude, an island, a kind of Robinson crucified, with the ultimate unmeaning-death lying ahead."

Vision of global pluralism - eschatology - overcome (?) exclusive and final claims to salvation and truth

Noah - covenant with all men; Jonah - save the Gentiles

Jeremiah - Lord, God of Israel, Lord God all nations

King Solomon - Chapter 8 - Time of Power

vs 5 - Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes, the chief of the fathers of the children of Israel, unto King Solomon in Jerusalem that they might bring up the ark of the Covenant of the out of the city of David, which is Zion.

vs 38 - What prayer and supplication soever be made by any man, or by all thy people Israel, which shall know every man the plague of his own heart, and spread forth his hands toward this house:

Then thou hear (?) in heaven ~~thy~~ thy dwelling place, and

forgive, and do, and give to every man according to his ways,
whose heart thou knowest; for thou, even than only, knowest the
hearts of all the children of men

That they may fear thee all the days that they live in the
land which thou gavest unto our fathers.

Moreover concerning a stranger, that is not of the people
Israel, but cometh out of a far country for thy name's sake

For they shall hear of thy great name and of thy strong hand
and of thy stretched out arm; when he shall come and pray toward
this house; /Hear thou in heaven ~~they~~ thy dwelling place, and do
according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for; that
all people of the earth may know thy name, to fear thee, as
do thy (?) people Israel, and that they may know that this
house, which I have builded is called by thy name.

BEN HARPMAN

THEOLOGY OF CHANGE

TRANSITION FROM FUNCTIONAL NOTION OF STATE TO THAT OF STATE AS SELF-SUFFICIENT COMMUNITY

- FIRST REFERENCE TO HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE AS BODY - DURING GREGORY (1071)
- BEFORE GREGORY BODY METAPHOR APPLIED TO CHURCH, NOT THE STATE
- CORPUS CHRISTI, CORPUS MYSTICUM
- AFTER 1150, CORPUS MYSTICUM WAS TRANSFERRED FROM ECCLESIASTICS TO CHURCH.

12th cent. THEOLOGICALS ADOPTED THE FORMULA CORPUS CHRISTI MYSTICUM AT A CRITICAL MOMENT IN CHURCH HISTORY. WHEN THE ECLIPSE OF THE FUNCTIONAL CONCEPT OF THE STATE, & WITH THE RE-EMERGENCE OF THE STATE AS BODY POLITIC, AND A LITTLE LATER AS A SELF-SUFFICIENT COMMUNITY, THE PAPACY, TOO, IN A WORLD OF RASCENT SOVEREIGN POWERS HAD TO EMPHASIZE THE ROLE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH AS A 'CORPORATION', SUPREME AMONG

ALL THE BODIES POLITIC BECAUSE OF
ITS SPIRITUAL FOUNDATION & DIVINE
INSTITUTION, BUT NOT LESS CONCRETE
THAN THEY ON THE POLITICAL &
SOCIOLOGICAL LEVEL

- THE MYSTICAL BODY OF X THUS
WAS FIRMLY LINKED TO HIS EUCCHARISTIC
BODY - BOTH EXALTED AS NEVER
BEFORE IN THE DOGMA OF
TRANSUBSTANTIATION (1215) & THE
INSTITUTION OF THE FEAST OF
CORPUS CHRISTI (1264) - THIS WAS THE
WAY IN WHICH THE CHURCH
TRANSCENDED THE NEW WORLD OF
SELF-SUFFICIENT COMMUNITIES, OF
BODIES POLITIC, AND ALSO
TRANSCENDED HER OWN POLITICAL
ROLE IN IT.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS, 165 E. 56 ST., NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022, PLAZA 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for people everywhere.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

Press Room 5/18-5/21/67
Crane Suite
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
EL 5-3000

FOR RELEASE SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1967

NEW YORK, May 19....A movement in many parts of the world to remove hostile references to Jews and other non-Catholics from Catholic textbooks was reported here today by the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE.

Philip E. Hoffman, Chairman of the human relations agency's Board of Governors, presented details of this movement at its 61st Annual Meeting, currently in session at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City. Mr. Hoffman, a prominent attorney, is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the U.S. Realty & Investment Co. in Newark, N.J.

Mr. Hoffman reported on findings based on a recent visit to Europe, where he surveyed interreligious developments; and on data supplied by the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE's Foreign Affairs Department, much of it from the European Office, of which Zachariah Shuster is Director, and by its Department of Interreligious Affairs, directed by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum.

Highlights of Mr. Hoffman's report were the following:

* The most striking progress has been made in Spain, where more than half of all Catholic religious textbooks that previously had expressed marked hostility to Jews and Judaism have been revised or eliminated. This has coincided with a three-year research study into Spanish and Italian texts at the Leonard M. Sperry Center for Inter-group Cooperation in Rome.

* While progress is less advanced in Italy, the conference of bishops has established a commission to deal with the revision of textbooks. Findings from the Sperry Center study have been transmitted

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Morris B. Abram, President; Jacob Blaustein, Louis Caplan, Herbert B. Ehrmann, Irving M. Engel, Joseph M. Proskauer, Honorary Presidents; Sol M. Linowitz, Chairman, Executive Board; Philip E. Hoffman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Nathan Appleman, Chairman, Board of Trustees; John Slawson, Executive Vice President.

Washington office: 818 18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006 • European headquarters: 30 Rue la Boetie, Paris 8, France • South American headquarters: San Martin 663, 2 P. (Cf), Buenos Aires, Argentina • Israel headquarters: 2, Hashoftim Street, Tel Aviv, Israel.

to Vatican authorities, Catholic textbook writers and publishers, seminaries, universities, and adult education groups. Revision of elementary and secondary texts is in progress.

* Intensive studies of French-language Catholic textbooks, widely used in France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Canada, have been virtually completed at Louvain University, Belgium, under the sponsorship of Leo Cardinal Suenens.

* An investigation of Austrian books has been started by an interfaith commission headed by a Catholic scholar at the University of Vienna, under the patronage of Franz Cardinal Koenig.

* Other studies are under way in West Germany, Portugal, and England, and in at least one East European country: Poland.

* Catholic educational centers on the European Continent are distributing revised textbooks to predominantly Catholic countries in other parts of the world, notably Latin America. Beyond this, Catholic authorities in several Latin American countries have conducted textbook studies leading to significant revision.

* In the United States, a number of new textbooks have been published for Catholic children in elementary and secondary parochial schools, and a similar effort is being made to remove distortions and polemical antagonisms in Protestant texts. These U.S. efforts have stemmed largely from self-studies, stimulated over a period of years by the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, at St. Louis University (Catholic) and Yale Divinity School (Protestant). A parallel Jewish study has been completed at Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning in Philadelphia.

These findings will be discussed at a luncheon session tomorrow (Saturday) reviewing global developments in Jewish-Christian relations, chairmanned by Norman S. Rabb of Boston, Chairman of AJC's Interreligious Affairs Committee. Reports are to be given by Dr. Abraham Monk, Director of AJC's Latin American office, Mr. Shuster, and Rabbi Tanenbaum.

The Sperry Center, named after the late Los Angeles industrialist, Leonard M. Sperry, an AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Vice President, was established in 1964 at the International University for Social Studies Pro Deo in Rome. Father Felix Morlion, O.P., is the University's President. The Sperry Center study has come to be regarded as a prime example of the dramatic advances taking place in interreligious relations throughout Europe, the United States, and Latin America.

-more-

Mr. Shuster has represented the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE in its cooperation with the Pro Deo and Louvain scholars in the conception and development of the projects.

Carried on by both Catholic and non-Catholic scholars, the Sperry Center study has analyzed 142 of the most popular texts of 350 published in Italy between 1950 and 1964, and 115 of 220 Spanish elementary and secondary school texts published between 1940 and 1964. From the beginning, a great many unfavorable references to Jews and Judaism were disclosed. Catholic authorities expressed shock at the material called to their attention, and recommended corrections in line with the recent Vatican Council II's declaration on relations between the Catholic Church and non-Christian religions.

"Such studies by Catholic priests, nuns, and scholars of the way in which Catholic texts portray Judaism -- and often other religions as well -- represent a major on-going result of the Ecumenical Council," Mr. Hoffman added.

One of the preliminary findings of the textbook studies at the Sperry Center reads as follows: "Quantitatively and qualitatively one is struck by the large amount of hostility not only against Jews but against other groups as well. Equally substantial, however, are the number of positive items, likely to produce attitudes of friendliness toward other groups... Whatever may have been true of Christian teaching in the past, the material now in use does not constitute systematic, official, coherent presentation, but, on the contrary, evidently depends a very great deal on the idiosyncrasies and viewpoints of the individual writer."

"The conclusion is inevitable," the study report continued, that Catholic writers could deal positively with other groups "without sacrificing anything of what, from their own religious standpoint, they would regard as the truth."

Judgment against Jews, the investigators found, was less hostile in quality than against various other groups, with Jews at about the mid-point in a hostility rating that included Protestants, Moslems, Buddhists and Hindus, heretics, schismatics, pagans and idolaters. Since Jews were found to be mentioned much more often than other groups, however, the overall impression of hostility toward them ranked highest on the scale.

In general, the Sperry Center study suggests, hostility toward other groups and religions tends to be most acute when there is similarity between them and the Catholic religion, becomes reduced when there is moderate similarity or dissimilarity, and becomes acute again when dissimilarity is extreme.

At a recent meeting in Rome, where Catholic ecclesiastical and state education authorities met with Mr. Shuster and Rabbi Tanenbaum, it was announced that the Sperry study, conducted by Professor Otto Klineberg of the Sorbonne University, and Professors Tullio Tentori, Franco Crespi, and Vincenzo Filippone, may be published this year. Teaching nuns affiliated with the Order of Notre Dame de Sion's headquarters in Rome, Madrid, and Paris have cooperated in examining the texts.

The removal of negative material from Spanish textbooks, Mr. Hoffman commented, is linked with the recent relaxation of rules governing non-Catholic religions in Spain. For many generations, Spanish children have been reading passages such as these:

"With more foundation [than poisoning wells] they (the Jews) were accused of mocking the Christian religion and sacrilegiously profaning the consecrated Hosts, of substituting a Christian child for the paschal lamb on Holy Thursday and crucifying him on Good Friday to mock and humiliate the death of Christ."

Mr. Hoffman singled out a book for first graders entitled Yo Soy Espanol (I Am A Spaniard), whose 23rd edition was published as recently as 1961, at the time of the opening of Vatican Council II. In a text written by Augustin Serrano de Haro, Inspector of Primary Education, the young readers learned about the Jews who "hated the Christians and were enraged because the little children loved the Virgin and the Lord." Whereupon, the story related, the Jews seized little (later Saint) Domingo del Val, and when he refused to stamp upon a crucifix "they put a crown of thorns on him and they nailed him to a cross and they ran a lance through his breast."

The book contained an illustration of Domingo crucified, surrounded by four Jews, two collecting his spurting blood in cups. A review question asked: "Are you in accord with other children who died in a similar way?"

In the revised edition of this textbook, undertaken after Sperry Center researchers had brought the findings to the attention of Spanish

authorities, the Domingo del Val story and its inflammatory drawings were removed. In addition, all other anti-Jewish references were eliminated. Similarly, hostile references to Protestants and Eastern Orthodox ("schismatics and heretics") were also expurgated.

According to the Sperry study, the authors of the Catholic textbook believed they were referring positively to the Jews when they held out the hope that they might convert to Catholicism. More typical were flatly hostile passages containing expressions such as "burden of guilt," "divine malediction," "oppression of the Spanish people," "vice-ridden," "pride in their riches," and so on.

Today, Mr. Hoffman reported, publishers in cooperation with the local Christian-Jewish Friendship Society Amistad are getting rid of such phrases, along with accounts that portray Jews as "traitors" who helped the Moors conquer Spain. Until the recent reforms, prejudices routinely transmitted since the Middle Ages depicted Jews as "an ingrate and deicide people" and "a national pest."

The Sperry Center study, in examining elementary school volumes, found that new textbooks are "being adapted to the norms and spirit of Vatican Council II," while volumes expressing prejudice are falling into disuse because they are old-fashioned in presentation and content.

In the Italian textbooks, numerous negative references were found, generally in this vein:

"The Jewish mob, driven by envy and hatred, blinded by passion, drew down on their own heads the most terrible malediction."

"The God of many of them is money, while the worst aberrations, such as Masonry and Bolshevism, find many adherents among the Jews."

The Sperry Center study will conclude with a series of recommendations calling not only for a revision of offending passages in textbooks and other curricula materials, but providing the basis for a comprehensive re-examination of the interreligious component throughout religious education--including teacher training, seminaries, preaching, religious journalism, liturgical commentaries, New Testament scholarship, church-related colleges and universities, and adult education programs.

In Austria, the Catholic diocese turned over the full collection of all texts used for religious teaching in public and private schools to an interfaith committee headed by Professor Karl Schubert of the

University of Vienna. The committee not only has been drawing up suggestions for the elimination of negative references to Jews, Protestants, other religions, and atheists, but has been asked to suggest improvements.

The Louvain project, due for completion next September, is concerned with references to Jews and Judaism in materials used by millions of French-speaking Catholics throughout the world. Texts and materials from nearly 500 schools and school departments serving 140,000 in France, Belgium and the French-speaking part in Switzerland, in addition to books from French Canada, are under examination. Details of this project, like the Sperry Center, were arranged by Mr. Shuster, who has conferred at all steps with the scholars.

Louvain's Socio-Religious Center, headed by Canon Francois Houtart, and its Catechistic Research Center, directed by Canon Jean Gible, is investigating how the Passion story is treated. Both in Louvain and in Rome, the social scientists engaged in the studies are constructing measurement scales that will be valid for general use, Mr. Hoffman reported.

In Latin America, he said, Church authorities have recognized the need for textbook revision in line with Vatican pronouncements. They have shown the utmost good will in their contacts with AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE representatives, he stated, and he felt confident that changes would be made as rapidly as new editions of existing textbooks could be published.

Founded in 1906, the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE is the pioneer human relations agency in this country. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of human rights for all men.

#

No. 59

5/16/67

CATHOLICS SEEK NEW JEWISH TIES

**Bishops' Guidelines Suggest
Official and Lay Contacts
and Prayer in Common**

5-16-67
Text of the Catholic-Jewish
guidelines is on Page 32.

BY EDWARD B. FISKE

An agency of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued yesterday a set of guidelines for Jewish-Catholic relations that urges Roman Catholics to initiate contacts between the two faiths at both official and "grassroots" levels.

The guidelines call for prayer in common with Jews and for acknowledgment by Catholics of the "living and complex reality of Judaism after Christ."

They urge a "frank and honest" treatment of historic Christian anti-Semitism and state that the Crucifixion story should be presented "in such a way as not to implicate all Jews of Jesus' time or of today in a collective guilt for the crime."

2,000-Word Document

The guidelines are contained in a 2,000-word document issued by the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, which was created last November at the founding meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

The conference was established in accordance with Ecumenical Council instructions for the formation of a conference of Bishops in each country.

The chairman of the committee is the Most Rev. John J. Carberry, Bishop of Columbus, Ohio. The Most Rev. Francis P. Leipzig, Bishop of Baker, Ore., is chairman of the Subcommittee for Catholic-Jewish Relations, which drafted the guidelines.

Msgr. William W. Baum, executive director of the committee, described the document yesterday as "a sign that the

Continued on Page 32, Column 4

American hierarchy is seriously committed to carrying out the call of the Ecumenical Council for increased understanding between Christians and Jews."

He said that the drawing up of guidelines for interfaith discussions and other projects was "only a beginning" and that the next step would be the establishment of a Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations.

This secretariat, which could be established when the American Bishops meet next month in Chicago, is one of four operating arms that are projected for the committee. A Secretariat for Christian Unity is already functioning; the others will deal with non-Christian religions other than Judaism and with "nonreligious" groups such as humanists.

Guidelines Welcomed

The guidelines were generally welcomed yesterday by Jewish leaders who have been active in dialogues and cooperative social action with Christians.

Rabbi Jacob Weinstein, president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform), for instance, described it as "a most helpful and welcome document."

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, said the guidelines were "a symbol of the significant growth in Jewish-Catholic understanding" and constituted "a major contribution to strengthening Jewish-Catholic friendship and cooperation."

Dore Schary, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said the guidelines were of "historic significance." They reveal "a strong determination to resolve existing conflicts" and will facilitate the working together of Catholics and Jews "on the great concerns common to Judaism and Christianity," Mr. Schary said in a statement.

The guidelines, Mr. Schary said, create an "increased opportunity... to foster Catholic-Jewish understanding on all levels... in an atmosphere of genuine respect and with a willingness to learn." He particularly praised the Bishops' recommendation that proselytizing is to be avoided in any dialogue.

Contacts between Jews and both Catholics and Protestants have increased greatly in recent years, especially following the Ecumenical Council of 1962-1965.

Reform and Conservative Jews in this country have for the most part welcomed dialogue and cooperation on religious and other subjects. Most Orthodox Jews have limited their participation to "nonreligious" subjects such as civil rights, however, and some oppose any interfaith cooperation by religious groups.

The guidelines quote extensively from the decrees of the Ecumenical Council, especially the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, which condemned anti-Semitism.

Historic Opportunity

They noted that the United States had "the largest Jewish community in the world" and that the church in America had "a historic opportunity to advance the cause of Catholic-Jewish harmony."

The document lists 10 principles of dialogue, including a number of themes appropriate for dialogue. It urges the creation of an agency to encourage Catholic-Jewish contacts in every diocese where there are Jews and states that dialogue should be carried out not only by scholars and students but also in the homes of laymen.

The guidelines say that proselytism should be "carefully avoided" during interfaith discussions and that meetings should be planned and developed jointly.

The document endorses discussion of religious topics such as the "historical, Biblical, doctrinal and liturgical heritage shared by Catholics and Jews, as well as their differences."

It calls for Catholics to acknowledge the "permanent election of Israel" cited by St. Paul and specifically rejects any suggestion that first-century Judaism, especially that of the Pharisees, was "a decadent formalism and hypocrisy, well exemplified by Jesus' enemies."

Catholic Guidelines on Relations to Jews

3-11-67

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, March 15—
Following is the text of the
"Guidelines for Catholic-Jewish
Relations" that was released
today by the Commission for
Catholic-Jewish Relations of the
National Conference of Catholic
Bishops:

GUIDELINES FOR CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS

Perspectives

In its Declaration on the
Relationship of the Church to
Non-Christian Religions of
1965, the Second Vatican
Council issued a historic
Statement on the Jews and
summoned all Catholics to
reappraise their attitude to-
ward, and relationship with,
the Jewish people.

The statement was, in ef-
fect, a culminating point of
initiatives and pronounce-
ments of recent Pontiffs and
of numerous endeavors in the
church concerned with Catho-
lic-Jewish harmony. It was
also the point of conver-
gence of many insights
opened by Pope Paul's Ency-
clical Ecclesiam Suam and the
Council's Constitution on the
Church and Decree on Ecu-
menism.

The call of the council to a
fraternal encounter with Jews
may be seen, further, as one
of the more important fruits
of the spirit of renewal gen-
erated by the council in its
deliberations and decrees.
Was it not indeed the coun-
cil's response to Pope John
XXIII's famous words in
which he embraced the Jew-
ish people: "I am Joseph your
brother" (Gen. 45:4)?

More specifically, the coun-
cil's call is an acknowledgment
of the conflicts and ten-
sions that have separated
Christians and Jews through
the centuries and of the
church's determination, as
far as possible, to eliminate
them. Well does it serve
both in word and action as a
recognition of the manifold
sufferings and injustices in-
flicted upon the Jewish peo-
ple by Christians in our own
times as well as in the past.
The statement speaks from
the highest level of the
church's authority to serve
notice that injustices di-
rected against the Jews at
any time from any source
can never receive Catholic
sanction or support.

Message Is Clear

The message of the coun-
cil's statement is clear. Re-
calling in moving terms the
"spiritual bond that ties the
people of the New Covenant
to Abraham's stock," the
Fathers of the Council remind
us of the special place Jews
hold in the Christian outlook,
for "now as before God holds
them as most dear for the
sake of the patriarchs; He
has not withdrawn His offer
of calling."

Jews, therefore, the Fath-
ers caution, are not "to be
presented as rejected or ac-
cursed by God, as if this fol-
lowed from holy scripture."
The Passion of Jesus, more-
over, "cannot be attributed
without distinction to all
Jews then alive, nor can it be
attributed to the Jews of to-
day." The church, the state-
ment declares, "denies hat-
red, persecutions, displays
of anti-Semitism directed
against the Jews at any time
and by anyone."



Blackstone

ISSUES GUIDELINES:
The Most Rev. John J. Car-
berry, chairman of Bishops'
Committee for Ecumenical
and Interreligious Affairs.

rection by our American
Bishops during the great de-
bate on the statement at the
council.

In the United States lives
the largest Jewish community
in the world. In the United
States, a land that has wel-
comed immigrants and refu-
gees from persecution, the
church has committed herself
without reserve to the Ameri-
can ideal of equal opportu-
nity and justice for all. In
such a setting the church in
America today is providen-
tially situated to distinguish
itself in pursuit of the pur-
poses of the council's state-
ment.

It is our prayerful hope
that the norms and recom-
mendations of these guide-
lines will prove helpful to
American Catholics in attain-
ing this noble objective.

General Principles

1. It is recommended that in
each diocese in which Jews
and Christians live a com-
mission or secretariat, or
some member thereof, be
assigned to Catholic-Jewish
affairs.
2. In keeping with the spirit
of the Council's Declaration
on Ecumenism, Catholics
should take the initiative
not only in Catholic-
Protestant and Orthodox
affairs, but also in foster-
ing Catholic-Jewish under-
standing. Public and formal
projects, however, should
have the approval of the
Ordinary of the diocese.
3. The general aim of all
Catholic-Jewish meetings is
to increase our understand-
ing both of Judaism and
the Catholic faith, eliminate
sources of tension and mis-
understanding, initiate dia-
logues or conversations on
different levels, multiply
intergroup meetings be-
tween Catholics and Jews,
and promote cooperative
social action.
4. These meetings should be
marked by a genuine re-
spect for the person and
freedom of all participants
and a willingness to listen
and to learn from the other
party. They should be
jointly planned and devel-
oped.
5. In order to avoid possible

apprehensions concerning
the objectives of these
meetings, their scope and
confines should be mutually
agreed upon in advance.

6. It is recommended that in
order to maintain the dia-
logue on the highest pos-
sible level its organization
be accomplished in consul-
tation with those experi-
enced in the structural,
doctrinal and interpersonal
skills which the dialogue
requires.
7. It is understood that pros-
elytizing is to be carefully
avoided in the dialogue, the
chief aim of which, as Car-
dinal Bea has pointed out
in his *The Church and the
Jewish People*, "is not spe-
cifically concerned with the
differences between Chris-
tianity and other religions,
that is to say, with the
characteristic features of
the former, but rather with
the points which it has in
common with other faiths."
8. Prayer in common with
Jews should, whenever it is
feasible, be encouraged, es-
pecially in matters of com-
mon concern, such as peace
and the welfare of the com-
munity. Needless to say,
such prayers should meet
the spiritual sensibilities of
both parties, finding their
inspiration in our common
faith in the one God.

Recommended Programs

1. Catholic-Jewish relations
should be advanced on all
levels: clerical and lay,
academic and popular, re-
ligious and social.
2. A favored instrument is
the dialogue, a form of
group conversation in which
competent participants dis-
cuss assigned topics or
themes in openness, candor
and friendship. Those not
well versed in interreligious
affairs run the risk of un-
wittingly offending by in-
accurate portrayal of each
other's doctrine or way of
life.
3. Diocesan and parochial or-
ganizations, schools, col-
leges, universities, and es-
pecially seminaries should
organize programs to im-
plement the statement.
4. The pulpit should also be
used for expounding the
teachings of the statement
and exhorting participation
in programs fitted to the
parochial level.
5. School texts, prayerbooks
and other media should,
under competent auspices, be
examined in order to re-
move not only those mate-
rials which do not accord
with the content and spirit
of the statement, but also
those which fail to show
Judaism's role in salvation-
history in any positive
light.
6. It is recommended that
Catholic-Jewish understand-
ing be fostered effectively
at the popular level by
means of so-called "open
houses" in places of wor-
ship, mutual visits to
schools, joint social events
and "living room dia-
logues."
7. Catholic-Jewish coopera-
tion in the field of social
action designed to promote
public welfare and morality
should be encouraged.
8. Orientation and resource
material for the foregoing
recommendations may be
sought from the various
Catholic and Jewish orga-
nizations that have been ac-
tive in the field of Christian-
Jewish relations. It is also

suggested that contact be
made with Protestant agen-
cies and leadership experts
in this area of endeavor.

9. While popular "grassroots"
programs to improve Catho-
lic-Jewish relations must
be pressed forward without
delay, slower and deeper
explorations of pertinent is-
sues by Catholic and Jew-
ish scholars must also be
given a high priority. Since
many of the problems in
this area of Catholic-Jewish
relations are intellectual in
nature, research in history,
psychology, sociology and
the Bible by individual
Catholic and Jewish schol-
ars as well as collaborative
scholarly enterprises are to
be highly commended.
10. The following themes
which, among others, are
viewed by Christian and
Jewish dialogists as impor-
tant issues affecting Chris-
tian-Jewish relations merit
the attention and study of
Catholic educators and
scholars.
 - a. Scholarly studies and
educational efforts to show
common historical, Biblical,
doctrinal and liturgical heri-
tage shared by Catholic and
Jews, as well as their dif-
ferences.
 - b. As the statement re-
quires, the presentation of the
Crucifixion story in such a
way as not to implicate all
Jews of Jesus' time or of
today in a collective guilt for
the crime.
 - c. In keeping with the state-
ment's strong repudiation of
anti-Semitism, a frank and
honest treatment of the his-
tory of Christian anti-Semi-
tism in our history books,
courses and curricula.
 - d. A study of the life of
Jesus and of the primitive
church in the setting of the
religious, social, and cultural
features of Jewish life in the
first century.
 - e. An explicit rejection of
the historically inaccurate no-
tion that Judaism of that
time, especially that of Phari-
saism, was a decadent for-
malism and hypocrisy, well
exemplified by Jesus' enemies.
 - f. An acknowledgment by
Catholic scholars of the living
and complex reality of Juda-
ism after Christ and the per-
manent election of Israel,
alluded to by St. Paul (Rom.
9:29), and incorporation of
the results into Catholic
teaching.
 - g. A full and precise ex-
planation of the use of the
expression "the Jews" by St.
John and other New Testa-
ment references which appear
to place all Jews in a nega-
tive light. (These expressions
and references should be fully
and precisely clarified in
accordance with the intent of
the Statement that Jews are
not to be "presented as re-
jected or accursed by God as
if this followed from holy
scripture.")

This Subcommission for
Catholic-Jewish Relations re-
mains available to individuals
or groups in the various di-
oceses for further information
and for practical aids and
suggestions for their efforts
in the area of Catholic-Jewish
affairs.

Please address correspond-
ence to:

Office of the Secretary,
Secretariat for Catho-
lic-Jewish Relations,
1312 Massachusetts
Avenue, N.W., Wash-
ington, D. C. 20003.

Memorandum from...

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th St., New York, N. Y. 10028 • TR 9-4500

March 28, 1967

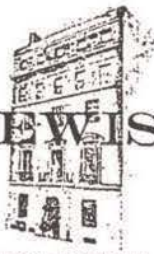
:
:To: Chapter and Division Presidents :
: Chapter and Division CIA Chairmen :
: Field Staff & Office :
: CRC's :
:
:From: Will Maslow, Executive Director :
:

I am pleased to enclose a letter from Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld in response to the guidelines for Jewish-Catholic relations recently promulgated by the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs.

As you will note, Rabbi Lelyveld commends the guidelines as an eloquent and conciliatory statement of the central problems of dialogue still outstanding between Christians and Jews. Rabbi Lelyveld also observes, however, that the specific formulation of the guidelines, like those of the Vatican Council Declaration, are less important than the manner in which they will be carried forward in the parish and diocese.

In this connection, some months ago the American Jewish Congress protested the deliberate retention of the intensely anti-Semitic text of the Oberammergau Passion Play as violating the ecumenical spirit of the Vatican Council. Rabbi Lelyveld now notes that there is a comparable problem even closer to home as represented in a Passion Play in Union City, New Jersey and doubtless in similar plays throughout the country. Rabbi Lelyveld asks that as a means of illustrating the effectiveness of its guidelines the Bishops' Committee accept the matter of these presentations among its first areas of inquiry and educational effort.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS



STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 EAST 84TH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028 • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

COPY

March 17, 1967

The Most Reverend John J. Carberry
Chairman, Bishops' Committee for
Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs
Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

My dear Bishop:

As president of the American Jewish Congress and in my own behalf, I want to commend the spirit which informed the guidelines for Jewish-Catholic relations issued by the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs of which you are chairman.

The guidelines speak eloquently and directly to some of the central problems of dialogue between Christians and Jews. As such, they are to be welcomed as an effective instrument in the battle to remove ignorance and to strengthen interreligious understanding. We especially refer to your sensitivity to the need to avoid proselytization; to your acknowledgment of the "living and complex reality" of post-Biblical and contemporary Judaism, and to your espousal of a "frank and honest" treatment of historic Christian anti-Semitism, including the need for maturity and discretion in the presentation of the Crucifixion story.

We are deeply troubled, however, by the following item listed as one of the "themes" under the heading, "recommended programs."

"The presentation of the Crucifixion story in such a way as not to implicate all Jews of Jesus' time or of today in a collective guilt for the crime."

We consider this wording unfortunate in that it may be construed as being weaker than the Vatican Council pronouncement issued by Pope Paul, which declared:

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"What happened in His passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today."

It appears to us unthinkable that the very American bishops who fought so vigorously for a forthright and far-reaching declaration in Rome could have had this intention. We had hoped that the American bishops would repudiate in its entirety the idea of Jewish guilt. For the persistence of the claim of such guilt, even when it is ascribed in limited fashion, makes interreligious dialogue difficult.

In this connection, and in the spirit of frankness that must characterize any dialogue between Catholics and Jews, I want to raise with you the question of dramatic presentations of the Crucifixion known as Passion Plays. Several months ago a group of distinguished authors, playwrights and literary critics joined with the American Jewish Congress in calling for a world boycott of the Passion Play at Oberammergau, Germany, in protest against what we felt was the intensely anti-Semitic script used by the Oberammergau villagers in presenting their pageant every ten years.

More recently, and closer to home, another Passion Play presentation has come to our attention which -- precisely because it appears egregiously to violate the guidelines set down by the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious affairs -- we now call to your attention. We do so in the hope that your Committee will place such presentations among its first areas of inquiry and educational effort.

The production to which we refer, now in its 53rd consecutive season, is being presented this year every Sunday from February 26 to March 19 in the Park Theatre in Union City, N.J., which is operated as church property by the Holy Family Roman Catholic Church of the community. Its pastor is Msgr. C.M. Weitekamp. The production itself is advertised as "America's Oberammergau."

A group of leaders of the American Jewish Congress attended a special student matinee performance of this Passion Play last month. They emerged from the theatre deeply disturbed by what they found to be the crude and blatant anti-Semitic atmosphere that permeated the entire production -- an atmosphere of hatred for the Jew that is antithetical to both the letter and the spirit of Vatican Council pronouncements and to the thrust of your own guidelines.

I offer some excerpts from the report received at national headquarters of the American Jewish Congress from the leaders of our organization who attended this performance:

We attended a performance at which the entire audience was composed of children from the ages of about six or seven to 12 or 13, in the custody of teachers.

In the play, Judas is presented as a caricature identical with Julius Streicher's stereotype of a Jew in Der Stuermer -- short, fat, big-nosed, using repulsive gestures.

About half the play takes place in the supposed "Sanhedrin." Large six-pointed Jewish stars identify it as a synagogue. Small scrolls are waved when necessary to emphasize a point.

It is before the high priest that the real trial of Jesus takes place. The priests are depicted as brutish louts, cunning and corrupt. Their chief motive appears to be to destroy Jesus for driving the money changers from the Temple and for his growing influence with the people. The priests continually invoke Abraham, Isaac and Jacob to justify their action.

The climax is the Crucifixion, accompanied by an electrical storm whose terrible lightning and rolling thunder constitute a magnificent spectacle -- and which reduced many of the children in the audience to hysteria. The end of the world seems to have come.

The entire production is a searing, hate-filled indictment of Jewry. The Jews are satanic; the Christians are divine disciples of the Lord Jesus. It is difficult to believe that the Oberammergau script can be worse than this.

The production itself is entirely professional -- indeed, lavish. But it is far closer in spirit to the philosophy of the Nazi Party than to any contemporary ecumenical spirit.

We in the American Jewish Congress recognize that no dialogue can or should seek to alter what is primary in the tradition and the Scriptures of either faith. We are, however, encouraged by your statement to believe that we stand with you in seeking to combat religious prejudice and bigotry inherited in folk traditions and fortified by such spectacles as the Passion Play in Union City. For it is on the parish level that the vision of Pope John and the historic aggiornamento of the Roman Catholic Church must find their ultimate expression and their enduring effect.

Brotherly dialogue, in the words of the Vatican Council, "does not reach perfection on the level of technical process but on the deeper level of interpersonal relationships, which demand a mutual respect for the full spiritual dignity of the person." This is a position you have eloquently endorsed. As Jews we accept this statement as consonant with the requirement of our faith that we seek to make the presence of God felt in interpersonal relationships.

The Most Reverend John J. Carberry - 4

The Passion Play is one indication of how long the road stretches before us as we set out, together, toward that final reconciliation that will come not in the elimination of differences but in the fullness of mutual respect. On that journey we are at one with you in the high purpose, so beautifully expressed in your statement, of advancing the cause of Catholic-Jewish harmony. It is in this spirit of concern for human brotherhood and an "openness, candor and friendship" founded upon respect, that we are prompted to send you this communication.

Most cordially,

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

s/ Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld
President



memo

**NATIONAL
COMMUNITY RELATIONS
ADVISORY COUNCIL**

55 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10036 • LOngacre 4-3450

April 20, 1967

TO: Membership
FROM: Isaiah M. Minkoff
RE: Joint Program Planning Discussion Outlines

As promised in my memorandum of April 4, enclosed are copies of discussion outlines developed for meetings of the Steering Committees of the Commissions on Church-State and Interreligious Relationships, International Community Relations Concerns, and Individual Freedoms and Jewish Security, at which the Steering Committees initiated the Joint Program Plan formulation process for 1967-68.

It is hoped that you will find it possible to discuss these questions within your own agency or among your leadership and send us your responses, so they may be taken into account as drafts of the Joint Program Plan are developed.

Additional copies of the outlines are available for that purpose on request. However, if time is a factor, it may be more expeditious for you to duplicate them yourself.

The discussion outline for the Steering Committee of the Commission on Equal Opportunity is in preparation and will reach you within a few days. That will complete the series.

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

Commission on Church-State and Interreligious Relationships Steering Committee

Suggested Questions for Discussion for Joint Program Planning

April 17, 1967

- - - - -

I. Church-State Relationships

Are there any discernible trends in (a) church-state relationships -- toward or away from separation; (b) specifically, in regard to tax aid for parochial schools; (c) religious practices in public schools?

Are there any indications of shifting positions within Protestant and/or Catholic communities on any aspects of separation? If so, in what direction? How significant are they? To what can they be attributed? What, if anything, should we be doing about such tendencies?

A division exists within the Jewish community on applications of the separation principle to education. Are there any possibilities of resolving the differences and again evolving a unified Jewish policy? What might be the substance of such a policy?

II. Some Specific Issues

A. ESEA

1. The 1966-67 Joint Program Plan noted that it was still too early for definitive judgments about the working out of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Now that the Act is being extensively implemented, what evaluations may be made?

2. The 1966-67 Plan found that counseling and library service in parochial schools and many parochial school classes were being staffed by public school teachers, in programs conducted under the Act, "inconsistent with the plainly expressed intent of Congress that such services be limited to 'therapeutic, remedial and welfare' services." To what extent has this finding been validated or invalidated by developments since? Specifically, what programs or practices can be cited for or against such a finding?

3. The Act provides for educational assistance to "economically deprived" children. What has been your observation as to how effective the implementation of the Act has been in reaching "economically deprived" children -- in public schools, in parochial schools?

4. It was expected that, because of the prominence given in the Act to shared time or dual enrollment, there would be a proliferation of such programs. To what extent has this expectation been proved sound or unsound? What factors have been responsible?

5. During the past year, suits challenging the constitutionality of the implementation of the ESEA have been initiated, efforts to obtain an amendment to the Act permitting judicial review and to enact a separate law to that end having been unsuccessful. Should Such efforts continue? How much emphasis or priority do they merit? Specifically, what steps can and should be taken in furtherance of them? Are there prospective supporters in the educational community, the Protestant community, elsewhere?

6. The 1966-67 Plan recommended that "Jewish community relations agencies . . . maintain contact with . . . officials and educational authorities . . . with regard to local uses of ESEA grants"

To what extent has this recommendation been followed? With what results? What areas have been revealed as requiring special alertness? Is there need for interpretive material, guidelines or other kinds of literature to make such alertness by local Jewish agencies more effective? Specifically, what kinds of material?

B. EOA

1. Last year's Joint Program Plan noted that many Head Start and remedial education programs had been placed in parochial schools and other religious institutions, in some cases where other facilities were available. Were Jewish premises so used? If so, for what programs? What has been the trend in this regard -- in the same direction or away from it? What groups or elements have, respectively, favored and opposed such use of religious premises? What alternatives have been proposed? What, if any, role was played by local Jewish agencies? What further involvement or efforts are indicated.

C. Prayer Observances, Etc.

1. Senator Dirksen's move for a constitutional amendment to upset the Supreme Court's prayer ruling was beaten by a narrow margin in Congress last year. He has introduced another resolution. Is the issue now more or less serious than before? Is there reason to believe that the alignments pro and con will be different than a year ago? If so, how? What effect has the conflict over the prayer issue had on relationships in the community? On other issues? Is the recommendation in last year's Joint Program Plan on this point still valid, or should it be revised? If so, how?

2. Have there been any discernible changes in the attitudes of school administrators and teachers toward religious holiday observances? With what effect on practice? What role is being played by CRCs in this area? Is there need for guidelines on specific practices, such as Christmas trees, baccalaureate services, and others? If so, what form should they take.

3. There have been indications of increasing scheduling of public school classes on late Friday and on Saturday. Has a trend in this direction been observed in your community? Have any representations been made by Jewish community relations agencies? With what

effect. Is there need for more attention to this matter? If so, what form should it take?

4. Has teaching "about" religion been increasing or diminishing? Is there evidence that opinions by justices in recent Bible reading cases have been an influence? Is our recent position adequate in the current situation? If not, what changes are indicated? What new or different programmatic approaches?

D. Bus Transportation

1. Controversy over public transportation of parochial school pupils has been spreading, and the outcomes of legislative contests over the issue have varied. What has been the tone and spirit of the debate, as compared to former years; i.e., more bitter or less, with greater or lesser residual tensions and hostilities? What role have Jewish groups played in the debate? Have alignments shifted in any significant degree? What has been the attitude of Negro groups? To what extent have implications for school desegregation been brought out? Is our present policy still valid; if not, how should it be altered? Are any specific new or different approaches or programs indicated?

E. Humane Slaughter

1. Have any new or different legislative proposals been introduced by advocates of humane slaughter legislation, or any new tactics employed, that demand response? Be specific. What can and should we do about them? Has there been any shift of attitudes within the Jewish community? How do they alter our strategic position? What programmatic changes, if any, are indicated?

III. Interreligious Relationships

A. Vatican Council, Ecumenism, Dialogue

1. The Vatican statement on the Jews was evaluated in last year's Joint Program Plan as "very significant." What evaluation can now be made of its impact, both nationally and in communities? Last year's Plan also observed that "more significant . . . than the language of the declaration is the manner of its translation into preaching, teaching and attitudes. In that connection,

2. What do you think may be the impact of the guidelines for Catholic-Jewish relations recently issued by the U. S. Catholic Bishops' Commission for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs? Is there a role for Jewish agencies in maximizing such impact? If so, how should that role be translated into program?

3. The 1966-67 Joint Program Plan recommended "more extensive dialogue" with both Protestants and Catholics, while leaving open the question of including theological matters in the exchanges. Has there, in fact, been an extension of such dialogue (or a diminution)? Has its form and content changed? Has it drawn new individuals into relationships? With what outcomes in attitudes, etc.? What recommendations should we now project? Are guides or other materials needed? If so, what kind?

4. There has been movement toward ecumenism, within American Christendom as a whole in the past year. Has this manifested itself in your community? How? Has it affected Christian attitudes toward Jews? How? Has it had any visible effect on the church-state issue? Is this movement something that Jewish community relations agencies should study? What, if any, are some programmatic implications?

B. Birth Control, Abortion

1. The explosive issue of population control grows in importance. Pope Paul VI recently acknowledged that governments have a valid responsibility in this area. Has the issue been agitated in your community? If so, what groups have taken what stands? Are Jews involved? Should our Jewish community relations agencies play a role? If so, on what grounds? What position might we take?

2. Similarly, has the issue of abortion been raised in your community? In what terms? With what divisions of sentiment? What has been the Jewish involvement and role, if any? Should the Jewish community relations agencies take a stand? What might our position be?

What has been the effect of controversy over the foregoing issues on interreligious relationships: Catholic-Protestant, Catholic-Jewish, Protestant-Jewish?

C. Christian Religious Teachings and Anti-Semitism

1. The relationships between anti-Semitism and Christian teachings about deicide and salvation are well recognized. They have been tacitly or explicitly noted in the Vatican Council declaration, the Bishops' guidelines and elsewhere. Do these developments suggest any need for review of our strategy for coping with the problem of anti-Semitism arising out of religious teachings? In this connection, during the past year, an American version of the Oberammergau play came under severe attack as anti-Semitic; Bishop Carli was denounced as an anti-Semite for his description of the Jews as deicides. Did these incidents have any observable effect on attitudes, either of Catholics toward Jews or vice versa? Would you suggest a different mode of response? If so, what?

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

Commission on International Community Relations Concerns
Steering Committee

Meeting of April 21, 1967
on the
Joint Program Plan for 1967-68

Discussion Guide

I. Israel and the Middle East

A. The 1966-67 Joint Program Plan made the following evaluation of Israel-Arab relationships:

"... no major change . . . ; the state of non-war, occasionally marred by violence on the border, continued as for some years past."

Does that appraisal remain valid? If not, how does it need to be revised in light of more recent developments? Is Israel more secure, or less so? Is the prospect of war greater or less? Have events thrown any light on the intentions of the Arab states? How do we evaluate the UN's disposition of Israel-Arab conflicts during the past year? What implications for policy, posture or program emerge?

B. Last year, noting direct U. S. sales of arms to Israel, the Joint Program Plan called that an additional expression of "America's commitment to the security and welfare of Israel."

Has that commitment been given further expression since -- or is there any reason to regard it as having diminished? If there have been apparent changes, to what can they be attributed? Are there implications for us in these developments? Specifically, what can and should we plan to do?

C. Last year, the constituent agencies of the NCRAC urged U. S. initiative to convene a conference with the USSR for the purpose of ending shipments of arms and war materials to the Middle East. Such a conference has not been held.

Does it continue to be desirable? For the same, or expanded, or altered purpose? Has the international climate changed in any significant way that would affect the calling of such a conference, its agenda, or the prospect of its success? Do we have an alternative recommendation?

D. The effectiveness of Jewish community relations efforts, in this as in other areas, depends heavily on the extent to which public opinion is marshalled in support of our purposes.

What trends, if any, are observable in attitudes toward Middle East problems among (a) Jews, in general, (b) the community as a whole, (c) the Negro group, (d) Christian religious groups, (e) faculty and student groups, (f) others? To what extent do they parallel or depart from our positions? What programmatic implications does this have?

Have there been discernible increases or decreases in the activities of Arab propagandists? Any changes in their propaganda lines? Have CRCs undertaken any new activities in relation to them? Are there steps to be taken other than those already being pursued? Is this area being given sufficient emphasis in the whole Jewish community relations program?

II. Arab Boycott

A. The 1966-67 Joint Program Plan found that the law requiring American firms to report requests made to them by Arab boycott agencies needed "more energetic dissemination and interpretation . . . within the business community by the Department of Commerce . . ."; but that, "even with the most vigorous administration, a law that asserts government policy but leaves individual compliance to the discretion of individuals is necessarily of limited efficacy." Accordingly, it concluded that "outright prohibition" of cooperation in the boycott should be enacted.

Have the pressures of the Arab boycott against Israel intensified or diminished? Is the foregoing conclusion still sound, or does it need revision in view of developments? Have attitudes within the State Department and Commerce Department, Congress and the business community undergone any changes? In what ways? What are the implications for action during 1967-68? Are there measures aside from law that should be taken to combat the Arab boycott?

III. Soviet Anti-Semitism

A. The Joint Program Plan of 1966-67 reviewed "token concessions by the Soviet government to the Jews of the Soviet Union, and promises -- almost wholly unfulfilled -- or larger grants of some of the rights and privileges accorded other ethnic-religious groups and nationalities (among which Jews are included under Soviet law)," concluding that the basic situation of Soviet Jewry had hardly been ameliorated at all as a consequence.

Has the situation improved or deteriorated since? Are there indications of Soviet response to the public demands being made upon the Soviet government? Have the attitudes or the actions of the U. S. government on the issue of Soviet Jewry shown any change? Has there been any discernible impact on the UN? Are there evidences of impact on opinion in the general community? Are different approaches and techniques required? If so, what should they be?

IV. International Human Rights Treaties

A. Last year, the Joint Program Plan saw "little prospect of action in the present session of Congress" on ratification of the three pending human rights treaties and the Genocide Convention. In the new (90th) Congress, a Senate subcommittee has held hearings on the three pending conventions and is projecting others on Genocide. How do we now assess prospects for Senate ratification of the three treaties? of the Genocide Convention? of the Convention on Racial Discrimination? What factors favor or, conversely, militate against ratification? Is there need to re-evaluate strategy and priority? What other implications for Jewish community relations agencies?

V. West Germany

A. Gains by right-wing radical political factions in West Germany in 1966 aroused concern in Jewish community relations agencies about possible tendencies toward a dangerous revival of Nazism in that country.

Has that concern been intensified or reduced by developments since? To what extent are our appraisals shared by: the government of West Germany; democratic liberal forces in West Germany; the United States government; the general community in the United States? Do we consider adequate or satisfactory the reaction of the West German government? If not, do we have ideas as to what steps should be taken? What is the appropriate role for Jewish community relations agencies in regard to political developments in West Germany? How does that translate, specifically, into program?



NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

Commission on Individual Freedom and Jewish Security
Steering Committee

May 5, 1967

Projecting the Joint Program Plan for 1967-68

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

I. Civil Liberties

A. Appraising the status of civil liberties in America last year, the Joint Program Plan concluded that, on balance, we had as a nation met the test of wartime, maintaining a very large tolerance for dissent and otherwise protecting freedom of expression, but not without some severe stresses and some official as well as private lapses. The Plan recommended continual alertness to infringements of civil liberties and protest against any that occur.

1. Does the general appraisal remain sound?
2. Have there been incidents during the past year that brought the recommendation for protest into play? If so, what were they, what was done about them, with what results?
3. Has dissent grown, diminished, remained about level? Have there been new alignments among dissenters, new "lines" or tactics? With what implications for all aspects of Jewish community relations?
4. Is any different posture or program indicated for Jewish community relations agencies?
- *5. (See below)

B. The 1966-67 Joint Program Plan endorsed "equal time" for radio and TV presentation of controversial positions. It found anti-Semitic broadcasts to be not controversial and recommended that equal time not be sought to rebut them. Citing the KTYM case, it urged study, looking toward a policy on revocation of licenses of broadcasters that consistently air such biased programs. Thus far, it has proved impossible to agree on such a policy.

1. Have there been any further significant developments? Can we formulate any suggestions for a position that might gain general support?

C. Last year's Plan foresaw widespread censorship activity growing out of the Supreme Court ruling in the Ralph Ginzburg (Eros) case.

1. Has this happened? Has there been legislative activity during the year on anti-obscenity bills? With whose backing, whose opposition? What results? What do we now foresee in this area? What do we recommend in the way of program?

-
- * 5. Does the refusal of some young men to engage in combat service in a specific war (viz., Viet Nam) pose a problem of concern to us?

II. Extremism

A. For several years, we have been watching with concern and making strong efforts to counteract a radical movement toward the right in American life. Last year, the Joint Program Plan called the radical right "a force contending for political party dominance (that) has had some successes both nationally and in various sections . . . and has emerged more openly than ever" The John Birch Society was seen as the largest and most successful of the many right wing groups. At the December 1966 meeting of our Commission on Individual Freedom and Jewish Security, we concluded that the nation has taken a stride to the right.

1. What evidence can be cited that throws light on the activities of the John Birch Society and/or other radical right organizations since then? Does this evidence indicate added or diminished influence? Around what issues has the radical right concentrated its appeals? With what effect on various population groupings? Have there been shifts in tactics, targets by radical right groups? What specific counteractive measures have been taken? What role have Jewish community relations agencies played? How effective have local citizens committees on civic responsibility been? Likewise the Institute for American Democracy? What implications for program for Jewish community relations agencies emerge?
2. Is there any evidence of change in Communist activity during the past year, as compared with the period immediately preceding? If so, what forms has it taken? Around what issues? How successful has it been -- with what groups? Should we be seriously concerned? If so, what should we be doing?

III. Overt Anti-Semitism

A. For a number of years in successive Joint Program Plans, overt anti-Semitism in the United States has been appraised as steadily declining, despite a hard core of active anti-Semites. At the same time, it has been recognized that there is a vast reservoir of anti-Semitic attitudes and feelings and that economic and social discrimination against Jews persists.

1. Is there anything new in the way of overt anti-Semitic activity to be taken into account this year? Has it increased or diminished in volume and/or intensity? What evidence of its effects can be cited? Is there any need for us to alter our appraisal or our programmatic responses?
2. Have there been noteworthy developments either as to the nature and extent of anti-Jewish discrimination or the means taken by Jewish agencies to counteract it? What have public anti-discrimination agencies done about it? What more might we ask them to do?

3. What further evidence has been adduced as to the nature, extent and origins of anti-Semitic attitudes? Are there programmatic recommendations, beyond those of last year, that are suggested by this evidence?

IV. Reapportionment

A. Thirty-two states have adopted resolutions calling for a national constitutional convention, presumably for the purpose of overturning the one-man, one-vote rulings of the United States Supreme Court. But such a convention, once convened, would be free to act on any subject, including prayer in the schools, desegregation, etc.

1. How do we appraise the nature and seriousness of the threat? What should we be doing about it?



ENCOUNTER FOR RECONCILIATION

A Guide for Study and Action by
Reform Jews and United Presbyterians



An Experimental Project Sponsored by the
Commission on Interfaith Activities of the
Union of American Hebrew Congregations and
the Institute of Strategic Studies of the
Board of National Missions of the United
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

ENCOUNTER FOR RECONCILIATION

A Guide for Study and Action by
Reform Jews and United Presbyterians

PREFACE

In many communities excellent relationships exist between clergy and religious professionals. However, congregants, in most instances, do not share this intensity of inter-religious contact. Up to now most congregations' inter-religious programming has been of the annual pulpit exchange, brotherhood night, women's tea variety. Some have brought in a visiting lecturer or two. Such programs while of value, often fail to meet the deeper needs of many in the congregations and do not take advantage of much more profound opportunities. This program, in seeking to develop for laymen the kind of inter-religious rapport that does so often exist between their clergy, goes deeper, to every age group, on an intensive and sustained basis.

It is recommended that the "Six Rules For Dialogue" prepared by Dr. Robert McAfee Brown to be found in this kit be studied carefully before proceeding further.

ENCOUNTER FOR RECONCILIATION
GUIDE FOR LOCAL CONGREGATIONS

1

I. WHAT THIS PROJECT IS:

BACKGROUND

In the Fall of 1966 an ad hoc committee was formed by the Institute of Strategic Studies of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Commission on Interfaith Activities of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform Judaism). Serving on the committee were representatives of the United Presbyterian General Council, Department of Christian Education, National Missions, COEMAR, United Presbyterian Men and United Presbyterian Women, and Reform rabbis and laymen, all members of the National Commission on Interfaith Activities of the UAHC. The task of this committee was to address itself to the challenge of designing an experimental "grass roots" inter-religious program to stimulate constructive confrontation and joint community action on the part of local congregations. The program that developed, "Encounter for Reconciliation," is the result of eight months of intensive work on the part of this ad hoc committee.

ELEMENTS

This program includes: education viz study with the clergy, private reading and conversational interchange or the dialogue; reciprocal visits to both synagogues and churches and Jewish and Christian homes; shared worship experiences in both Jewish and Christian places of worship; community action through the joint researching, selection and carrying out of an action program designed to meet a vital community need; educator's seminars as well as teenage and youth programs.

FOCUS

This specifically is a constructive encounter at the "grass roots" level, bringing together neighborhood congregations of a selected city or suburb. The feeling prompting this focus is that a working viable involvement is not so much a matter of a few "big events" as it is that of a good many "small situations," - not so much a matter of one major encounter as it is a continuing series of relationships.

INVOLVEMENT

The project includes the three dimensions of involvement essential to confrontation in depth. These are: (1) theological understanding (through study and dialogue) (2) worship (3) action.

LEADERSHIP

Primary oversight will be the joint responsibility of the local Reform Rabbi and Presbyterian minister. Working with the clergy will be a joint lay steering committee composed of selected members of Church and Synagogue. Since the project features both education and action it is suggested that two sub-committees be established; one on study, the other on action. Dialogue groups will have a joint Jewish-Christian lay leadership, whose training will be in the hands of the directing clergy.

RESOURCES

The Encounter for Reconciliation Resource Kit contains "triggers" for discussion, book reviews, newspaper clips, pertinent articles and a bibliography all for the use of participants.

EVALUATION

A Procedure for Evaluation has been developed by Dr. Everett Perry, Associate Chairman for Research and Survey of the Institute of Strategic Studies of the United Presbyterian Church. This mimeographed document will be available to every participating synagogue and church.

II. WHY IT IS IMPORTANT NOW:

1. Both Jew and Christian share in the everlasting covenant God made with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and, through them, with the whole world. The Spirit of this covenant God is presently at work in our society in the effort to break down walls of separation and establish one new humanity of love. "The deep interdependence of Jews and Christians is rooted in the redemptive mission of the covenant-making God." (Eugene Smith - World Council of Churches.)
2. Today we recognize a pressing need for Jewish-Christian relations to move beyond agreeable sentiment, general opinion, friendly interchange of ideas, "healthy" tolerance of the past to a genuine theological and practical grappling with concrete, controversial, contemporary, difficult issues and crises in community and world. In such confrontative involvement we find out who we really are as human beings and we can develop a unity of interdependence through a shared listening and responding to people and their anxieties.
3. Both Jews and Christians live in the same world, are subject to the same human pressures and responsibilities and are committed to the same human struggle for freedom, justice and peace among all men.
4. If we are to live and work together for the common good in one world, we need to know each other in depth as persons. There must be a person to person confrontation in what Martin Buber so aptly describes as an "I - thou" encounter. It is through such experience that mutual trust, openness and integrity are developed. The result will make possible a frank sharing of likenesses and differences, whether social, theological, ethical or existential, in the recognition that unity is strengthened through a diversity understood and respected.

5. The unique theological and ethical heritage we share together under one Creator-God places upon both Jew and Christian a strong obligation to understand each other in depth. Together, as they explore the meaning of this heritage for social, economic and political issues of our time they will come to recognize just how deeply rooted in Jewish origins are basic Christian concepts. It is quite credible that spiritual renewal and fresh commitment to the "human scale" in a mass society can come to both Christian and Jewish communities as together they discover and practice their interdependence in today's society.
6. By taking advantage of society's current pluralistic mood, we can in honest encounter, conclusively end the "cold war" which until recent times characterized the relations between the two faiths. We can use this process to change mere co-existence into a positive, cooperative understanding. Certainly, we should not be afraid that such exposures will weaken the faith of those who participate in them. To the contrary, we see the communication inherent in this program as a vehicle for strengthening religious self knowledge and even personal faith.
7. The love of God is intolerant of all barriers that separate people whether these barriers be racial, religious, economic, national or cultural. This love which is so integral a part of the spiritual heritage of both Jew and Christian demands of all men a recognition of their common humanity and a commitment to mutual acceptance and involvement in the community of man. The love of God puts us in one family and calls us both to one responsibility: the worship of God and the service of his people.

III. WHAT ARE THE EXPECTATIONS

It is the intention that the project may contribute substantially to the hope:

1. That Jews and Christians in their day to day community and neighborhood relationships may come more closely together in mutual trust and respect.
2. That a climate may be effected in which both groups will feel free to call on each other for the discussion and possible resolution of issues either peculiar or common to each group.
3. That Synagogue and Church may unite their personal and material resources in serving as a catalyst in community planning and development, and as a force for justice in community affairs.
4. That a more constructively creative response to religious pluralism may be encouraged through mutual understanding and appreciation of each other's religious tradition and cultural achievement.
5. That through a many-sided and continuing encounter in depth such as this project suggests and demonstrates misunderstanding and all forms of prejudice may be exposed and disarmed.

ENCOUNTER FOR RECONCILIATION
GUIDE FOR LOCAL CONGREGATIONS
LOCAL PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION

1

THE JOINT STEERING COMMITTEE.

Local responsibility will reside in the hands of a steering committee made up of representatives from both church and synagogue. Among those serving on the committee should be: the two clergymen; individuals responsible for educational activities, social concerns; youth and religious school leaders; men's and women's club representatives.

SUB-COMMITTEES.

The Steering Committee should have sub-committees to plan programs for the various groups within the congregations. These sub-committees would be made up of members of the Steering Committee plus others.

The Adult Program would have two such sub-committees: one to deal with dialogue/ education programs; one to lay the groundwork for a joint program of community action.

COMMITTEE PERSONNEL.

Those selected to serve on the various committees need not be either Jewish or Presbyterian "lay scholars." However, they ought to be individuals with an interest in religion and its meaning for today. Certainly, this program provides an opportunity to reach out into the congregations to fund and involve persons who may not have been previously active in congregational life.

PREPARATORY READING.

We urge that each member of the steering committee read "Christian and Jews: The Tragic Past and the Hopeful Future" before proceeding. This book is by Roland de Corneille; Harper Chapel Books, (Paperback \$1.75), Harper and Row, New York, 1966, 177 pp.

THE ADULT PROGRAM

2

The Adult Program has as its three components: Dialogue, Reciprocal Group Visits and Community Action.

DIALOGUE.

The dialogue stands as the vital core of the Saturation Program. Undertaken with serious commitment and honesty, the on-going dialogue can provide the opportunity for constructive confrontation and meaningful communication.

Successful dialogue seldom takes place in groups with more than twenty participants. We recommend that meetings take place in the homes of participants on a rotating basis.

Each dialogue group should have one Presbyterian and one Jewish moderator who are selected by the steering or sub-committee. It is suggested that these moderators be informed, sensitive individuals with the ability to follow "do's and don'ts" for discussion leaders and "Rules for the Dialogue" by Rev. Robert McAfee Brown (in kit).

Where noted in the program, one participant from each congregation will prepare in writing a five minute opening statement on the subject chosen for that meeting. Consultation with the respective clergymen may be desirable.

Where noted in the program, specific "triggers" for dialogue will be used as a means of encouraging in-depth discussion.

Background materials are noted or provided in each kit for the use of all participants. Their purpose is to illuminate discussions -- not limit them.

RECIPROCAL GROUP VISITS.

Reciprocal visits to church and synagogue services as well as to homes for participation in religious observances are suggested because of their value when used in conjunction with the dialogue program.

COMMUNITY ACTION.

It is suggested that the sub-committee charged with the area of community action spend the months from October to January investigating community problems and needs.

As noted in the program, in January, at a combined meeting of all dialogue groups, this sub-committee will present the results of its findings and proposals for joint remedial action. The dialogue groups can, at this time, discuss the merits of the proposals made by the sub-committee and adopt one as a joint action project.

CALENDAR FOR ADULT PROGRAM

3

PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER

1. Obtain church and synagogue agreement to proceed.
2. Form Joint Steering Committee referred to above.

SEPTEMBER

1. Meeting in church for interested members.
Meeting in synagogue for interested members.

At these meetings the program will be introduced, dialogue participants recruited and materials and bibliography distributed.

2. Joint Steering Committee meetings for planning purposes.

OCTOBER

1. Dialogue Group Meetings. Session One

Subject: WHAT DO WE DO WHEN WE WORSHIP?

*Prepared opening statements, one by Presbyterian layman, one by Jewish layman.

"Prayer," Dr. Henry Slonimsky (In kit)

"The Dynamics of Forgiveness," Rev. James Emerson.

(Excerpt in kit)

2. Home and Synagogue Visit

Jewish dialogue participants will host Presbyterian participants for Friday night, Sabbath, dinner at home and services in synagogue.

NOVEMBER

1. Home and Church Visit

Presbyterian dialogue participants will host Jewish dialogue participants at church for Sunday morning celebration of Holy Communion and at home for dinner.

2. Dialogue Group Meetings. Session Two

Subject: EVALUATION AND DISCUSSION OF BOTH WORSHIP EXPERIENCES

What have the members of the group learned from the reciprocal group visits?

Trigger for Discussion: "If Jesus Visited a Modern Synagogue," Rabbi Joshua Haberman. (In kit)

DECEMBER

1. Dialogue Group Meetings. Session Three

Subject: MESSIAH AND CONCEPTS OF SALVATION
Different Approaches to Different Truths.

Prepared opening statements, one by Presbyterian layman, one by Jewish layman.

"We Jews and Jesus," Sam Sandmel (Review in kit)
"Two Types of Faith," Martin Buber (Synopsis in kit)
"The Messianic Hope," Norman K. Gottwald (Reprint in kit)

JANUARY

1. Dialogue Group Meetings. Session Four

Subject: CHANUKAH AND CHRISTMAS IN RETROSPECT: HAVE THEY MADE
A DIFFERENCE IN OUR COMMUNITY, IN THE WORLD?

Prepared opening statements, one by Presbyterian layman, one by Jewish layman.

National Community Relations Advisory Council (Jewish)
Statement (in Kit)

Presbyterian Church-State Report (In kit)

"It's Happening," Simons and Winograd, Marc-Laird, Publishers,
Santa Barbara, California.

"Coming of Age in America" Edgar Friedenberg, Random House,
1965

"If Christmas Brings Conflict," NCCJ. (For Moderators' use)

2. Joint Meeting of All Dialogue Groups

Meeting of all dialogue groups together to chose a joint
community action program.

Note: Only one meeting per month is scheduled after adoption of
community action project in order to allow time for it to move ahead.

FEBRUARY

Dialogue Group Meetings. Session Five

Subject: UNANSWERED QUESTIONS or "HOW WE SEE EACH OTHER"

Triggers for Discussion: Theoretical View

"The Unresolved Religious Problems in Christian-Jewish Relations," Reinhold Niebuhr (In kit)
 "Judaism in the Post Christian Era," Eliezer Berkowitz (In kit)
 "Judaism in a Secular Culture," Jacob Neusner (In kit)
 "Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism," Glock and Stark (Review in kit)

Practical View

"How You Got You Jewish Son-in-law," Andrew Hacker (In kit)
 "The Wayne, New Jersey Story," Bebrary, 1967 (Newsclip in kit)
 "South Gage Park, Chicago - Summer of '66" (Newsclip in kit)
 "ADL Study of Wayne, New Jersey (For Moderators' use)

MARCH

Dialogue Group Meetings Session Six

Subject: ATONEMENT

Different Approaches to Different Truths.

Good Friday and Yom Kippur, The Day of Atonement, with particular reference to the liturgy of both services. (This subject relates directly to the community action project selected from the point of view of repairing the evil caused by sins of omission or commission.)

Prepared opening statements, one by Presbyterian layman, one by Jewish layman.

"The Jewish Christian Argument," Hans J. Schoeps (Review in kit)
 "The Gospel in Dispute," Edmund Perry (Review in kit)
 "The Broken Wal," Markus Barth (Review in kit)
 "End to the Christian-Jewish Dialogue," A. Roy Eckhardt

APRIL

Joint Meeting of All Dialogue Groups in Church or Synagogue for Model Seder and Discussion. Session Seven

MODEL SEDER:

Led by rabbi and minister using:
 "An Interreligious Guide to Passover," Rabbi Balfour Brickner (In kit)

DISCUSSION:

Preceded by brief presentation of information by rabbi and minister

Subject: THE RELATIONSHIP OF EASTER AND PASSOVER

"The Real Meaning of Easter" (pamphlet) Board of Christian Education, UPUSA Church, Westminster Book Store, Philadelphia

MAY

Dialogue Group Meetings. Session Eight

Subject: EVALUATION OF YEAR'S PROGRAM AND PLANNING FOR FUTURE

What has actually happened?

What directions are indicated for the future?

JUNE

JOINT PROGRAM OF LITURGICAL MUSIC

FOR ALL MEMBERS OF BOTH CONGREGATIONS.

(Examples of such programs in kit)

A program for teenagers is to be planned early in the year by a joint committee of young people from the church and the synagogue. It is suggested that youth advisors from the two institutions should work with the young people.

Prior to the planning of the program, we suggest as background reading, a small paperback:

"When Jews and Christians Meet" Lavonne Althouse, Friendship Press, '66.

There are many different types of youth programs. However, we commend to you two which we feel are quite worthwhile.

I. A SATURDAY OR SUNDAY AFTERNOON INSTITUTE

This institute is drawn from an interreligious program entitled "Quest" first developed in Boston, Massachusetts.

To be held on four Saturday or Sunday afternoons. Speakers followed by group discussion.

1st Session - What Christians Don't Know About Judaism

2nd Session - What Jews Don't Know About Christianity

3rd Session - Teenagers in a Pluralistic Society

The problems of inter-dating, inter-marriage, religion in the public schools, relationship of church and state

4th Session - Situation Ethics

Just vs. unjust wars, civil disobedience, love and marriage, drugs and narcotics, teenage drinking

II. INTERRELIGIOUS WEEKEND OF DISCUSSION AND VISITATION

Possible theme for such a program is:

MY RELIGION AND MY ATTITUDE TOWARDS: *

1. Interreligious Dating
2. The Anti-Personalism of Our Time - Focus on the "Be-In"
3. The Psalms of Our Day - What the folk and pop singers are saying
4. Who Needs Religion?
5. The Generation Gap - Teenage morality

This theme drawn from a successful adult dialogue conducted at Temple Sinai Toronto, Canada. (See de Corneille, "Christians and Jews: The Tragic Past and the Hopeful Future" Page 123)

A Typical Schedule:

Friday

- 4:30 Registration at Synagogue
- 6:00 Friday night (Shabbat) dinner in the homes of Synagogue youth group members
- 8:30 Religious services at the synagogue, followed by Oneg Shabbat (social hour) and introduction to the temple with question and answer period

Saturday

- a.m. Worship at Synagogue
 - 12:15 Luncheon at Synagogue
 - 1:30 Addresses followed by group discussions
 - 4:30 Group discussion reports
 - 6:00 Dinner at Presbyterian homes
 - 8:30 Evening Program
- "Coffee House" evening in church or temple is suggested. "Psalms of Our Day" could be topic for informal discussion

Sunday

- 10:00 Introduction to Church
- 11:00 Worship Services at the Church
- 12:15 Luncheon at Church
- 1:15 Evaluation and Conclusion

The following are suggested programs for the educators and teachers of the two congregations. If desired, teachers from other Presbyterian and Jewish congregations in the community can be included.

Members of the church and synagogue educational staffs should plan the institute together with representatives of the joint steering committee.

SUGGESTED THEMES

I. "WORDS WE USE IN COMMON BUT TO WHICH WE ASCRIBE DIFFERENT MEANINGS:

Covenant
Election
Messiah
Revelation
Sin
Immorality
Reconciliation

Since each word conveys an important and theologically different idea, select one word (concept) per session and explore it fully from both the Christian and Jewish point of view.

Where necessary and desirable, draw in outside speakers to help you understand the idea and learn techniques to teaching it.

II. "THE IMAGES WE HAVE OF ONE ANOTHER"

Here the group will want to explore the doubts, fears, stereotypes, prejudices and questions that lie behind or below the images. Again, you may wish to draw on outside expertise.

III. "JEWISH LOVE AND CHRISTIAN LAW"

The traditional phraseology has been deliberately reversed. Exploring the theme as it is here suggested will give a more honest picture of the ideas.

IV. "THE BLANK PAGES BETWEEN THE TWO TESTAMENTS"

What happened in that interval between the last writing of the Old Testament and the first writing of the New? What led to the emergence of Christianity as a separate faith and why?

V. "THE HOLIDAYS AND HOLY DAYS WE OBSERVE"

VI. "THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US - THE CONCERNS WE SHARE"

SUGGESTED FORMATS FOR EDUCATORS' PROGRAMS

I. WEEKEND EXCHANGE AND INSTITUTE

- 8:00 p.m. Friday Evening Services*
 Oneg Shabbat (Coffee Hour) following services
 with opening of Institute Program
 1:00 p.m. Saturday Afternoon Institute
 Lecture and discussion
 11:00 a.m. Sunday Morning - Church Services*

II. FALL - SPRING - EXCHANGE AND INSTITUTES

(FALL)

- 8:00 p.m. Friday Evening Services*
 Oneg Shabbat (Coffee Hour) following services
 with opening of Institute Program
 1:00 p.m. Saturday Afternoon Institute

(SPRING)

- 1:00 p.m. Saturday Afternoon Institute
 11:00 a.m. Sunday Church Service*

*These services might well provide an opportunity for an exchange of pulpits by minister and rabbi and an invitation to both congregations to attend these services.

III. SERIES OF LECTURES - DISCUSSIONS

These could be run as a series of 4 (minimal) or more programs, utilizing lectures followed by small group discussions. It might be decided to open these lectures to both congregations as a whole.

IV. A WEEKEND RETREAT

It is understood that a weekend will have to be chosen on which there is no religious school.

(This format could be used by any of the congregations' affiliate groups.)

A. Friday

4:00 p.m. Meet at church or synagogue
4:15 p.m. Travel
6:00-7:00 Sabbath Dinner conducted by temple members
7:00-8:00 Sabbath service conducted by members of the temple group
8:00-9:30 Group Discussion

B. Saturday

8:30 a.m. Breakfast
9:30-11:00 Discussion #1: A presentation on the theme by resource leader from the group who has prepared in advance
11:15-12:15 Service prepared and conducted by members of both groups. (This should be planned and mimeographed in advance.)
12:15-1:00 Lunch
1:30-3:30 Discussion #2: Either a new topic or continuation of theme.
3:30-5:00 Free time -- recreation
6:00-7:00 Supper
7:00-7:30 Model Havdolo service conducted by members of the group
8:00 Evening program

C. Sunday

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 8:30 a.m. | Breakfast |
| 9:30 - 11:00 | Discussion #3 |
| 11:00 - 12:00 | Christian worship conducted by members of the church group |
| 12:15 - 1:00 | Lunch |
| 1:00 - 2:30 | Discussion #4 and summary |
| 3:15 p.m. | Departure |

* * * * *

FOR THE YOUNGER CHILDREN IN THE RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS

A simple exchange program should be scheduled for the primary and elementary classes, once in the fall, when the children from the Presbyterian school would visit the synagogue and again in the spring when the synagogue school children would visit the church. At these times the youngsters would be taken on tour and then in the sanctuary, the respective clergy would explain the symbols and answer the childrens' questions.

Participants From The Commission on Interfaith
Activities of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations*

Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Director, Commission on Interfaith Activities,
UAHC, New York
Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman, Temple Har Sinai, Trenton, New Jersey
Mrs. Maurice (Fay) Mermey, New York
Mrs. Anita Miller, Staff Consultant, Commission on Interfaith Activities,
UAHC, Ridgewood, New Jersey
Rabbi Murray T. Rothman, Temple Shalom of Newton, Newton, Massachusetts
Rabbi Byron T. Rubenstein, Temple Israel, Westport, Connecticut

* The Commission on Interfaith Activities is a joint commission of the
Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Central Conference of American
Rabbis and the Jewish Chautauqua Society.

United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Participants

Mrs. Margrethe Brown, Secretary of the Committee on Studies, Commission
on Ecumenical Mission and Relations
Rev. Robert Cunningham, Associate Chairman, Institute of Strategic Studies
Mr. Philip Hitchcock, Executive Director, United Presbyterian Men
Dr. Daniel Little, Coordinator of Strategy Development, General Department
of Mission Strategy and Development, Board of National Missions
Miss Lois Montgomery, Associate Chairman of the Women's Division,
Board of National Missions
Dr. Theophilus Taylor, Secretary of the General Council, UPCUSA
Rev. Dennis E. Shoemaker, Division of Lay Education, Board of Christian
Education

Sons of Mary Missionary Society

567 SALEM END ROAD

FRAMINGHAM, MASSACHUSETTS 01701

February 1, 1967

Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

The Boston Chapter of the B'nai B'rith was kind enough to mimeograph and distribute a number of copies of a paper I compiled this summer for a graduate course in Sociology at Boston College. I thought perhaps you might enjoy reading a copy, as I know you have a great interest for the question under discussion.

The paper itself gives glaring evidence of limitations, but I think the important point is that small, but determined efforts are being made by many in this particular area.

Sending you my prayerful best wishes, Rabbi, and looking forward to your lecture at Boston's John Hancock Hall, March 1st, I remain yours

Most sincerely,

Brother John P. Murphy, FMSI
Seminarian
Sons of Mary

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CHRISTIAN CATECHISM...

PRIMER IN ANTI-SEMITISM?

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



J. P. Murphy FMSI

"A picture of God" replied a busy four-year-old artist when asked the nature of his rather intense preoccupation. "But you can't do that dear" his mother remonstrated. "Nobody knows what God looks like." "Well" countered the child calmly, "They will as soon as I get this picture done."

In this early anthropomorphic activity, the child is engaged in a project very much generic to the role of religion: the expression of God and the Mystery involved in human terms. Gordon W. Allport, in his book The Nature of Prejudice, discusses at length the paradoxical role of religion: it is the great creator, and the great destroyer, it makes prejudice and it unmakes it. While the creeds of all religions stress universal brotherhood, the actual practice of such belief is often studded with divisive and brutal manifestations. Lofty religious ideals are offset by the horrors of presecution in the name of these same ideals.

In one of the many "round table" discussions I attended this summer, a pretty Jewish teenager posed an ageless problem. "I understand the need for scapegoat in the human mentality, but why is it always the Jew?" The answer is, of course, that it is simply not "always the Jew". Historically, however, the young girl's sensitivity is substantiated by the fact that the Jews have certainly suffered more than their share in the abominations of genocide. What is particularly embarrassing to all Christians is the now well-known fact (clearly explained in the recent Glock and Stark report of which we will have much to say later) that only 5% of Americans with feelings against the Jewish people lack all rudiments of a supposed theological self-justification. Though anti-Semitism is as old as "Semitism" itself, alarmed Christians, such as Gregory Baum in his book Is the New

Testament Anti-Semitic?, are taking a long, hard look at the hypothesis that the perpetuity of anti-Semitism even to this day is due, at least in some measure to the fact that we are perhaps unwittingly still teaching it from the pulpit and in the classroom.

Teachers and textbooks have come in for close scrutiny and criticism.¹ An unusually thorough analysis reports that the treatment given minority groups in over three hundred textbooks reveals that many of them perpetuate negative stereotypes. The fault seems to lie not in any malicious intent, but in the culture-bound traditions which the authors of the textbooks unconsciously adopted. Since the Christian child, especially on the primary level, comes in contact with the historical Jew almost solely within the limits of his religious education, the need for close evaluation of such a situation is essential.

Hence, we come to the purpose of this admittedly limited paper. After reviewing some general background material, with particular emphasis on exegesis, I would like to report the findings of some investigations done in the catechetical endeavors of my own community, the Sons of Mary Missionary Society.

ii

Since the Jews have a place in salvation history, a place assigned to them by God, no conversation of the Church can neglect its relationship to Israel. The knowledge of Israel is part of the Church's own self-understanding. Christians worthy of the name now realize that we must learn to speak of the death and resurrection of Jesus without casting a shadow of contempt on the innocent men. It is the "profession: of men within the Church like ourselves to teach the positive values of the

Christian religion. This must never be done, however, at the cost of casting negative values upon other religions. What is God's message in regard to present conflicts? If we look to the New Testament to find what our attitude should be toward the Jewish people we shall find the answer: It is love.² Fully aware of the development that has taken place in Judaism since the time of Christ, we believe that God continues to make himself known and to be worshipped in the synagogue services of our day. Since St. Paul tells us that the gift and the call of God are irrevocable we trust that wherever God's gifts and call are treasured, such as in Jewish worship, he continues to console men with his grace. The most adequate and realistic relationship between Church and Synagogue in our day is, therefore, dialogue, friendship and cooperation, despite the frustrating hesitancy noted in certain areas.³

The possibility of Christian guilt in the area of anti-Semitism has been well-chronicled by Jules Isaac in his works, Jesus and Israel and the Teaching of Contempt. He maintains that in the conflict between Judaism and Christianity, Christian teaching has reinforced and justified the anti-Semitism of pagan antiquity. Through the influence of this education, he contends, the Jews have become in the eyes of Christians a stiff-necked people, a blinded hard-hearted, stubborn race, a rejected people, a deicide nation, cursed and abandoned and handed over to the devil. Concerning the subject in question, he states,

"Jesus died the victim of Roman authority, sentenced by Pilate, crucified by Roman soldiers. Nothing, not even the cooperation of the Jewish authorities, can extenuate the significance of this historical fact, whose certainty is beyond question.

Such are the conclusions of an investigation conducted on a purely historical level - conclusions which are limited, but essential. All the rest is the product of Christian catechism - whose orientation we know - which, because of its orientation, was often guilty of fostering and supporting the worst prejudices." (4)

He correctly maintains that Jesus was never rejected by his nation as a whole; the common people recognized him as their prophet. It was the Jewish leaders especially the Pharisees, who were responsible for the opposition and enmity that eventually led to the crucifixion. Unfortunately, Mr. Isaac then goes on to contend that the gospels themselves as we now possess them contain a polemical bias against the Jews and unhistorical additions to discredit the people as a whole. Jules Isaac accuses primarily the fourth gospel and certain passages of Matthew as having been written with a view to shifting the entire responsibility for Jesus' crucifixion onto the Jews and of making the crime against justice appear like the people's final rejection of God's message. This supposition, the Christian must reject. As Gregory Baum states:

"It is unthinkable for anyone who accepts the gospel as the ultimate revelation of divine love that part of the New Testament was designed to encourage contempt of any people and contribute in a direct way to the growth of misunderstanding and hatred in the world." (5)

Jules Isaac is correct, however, in accusing many Christians of having created a doctrine on "the Jews" that has little to do with the gospel and its spirit of love, and much to do with the spirit of the world and its pride.

It is imperative here to first briefly examine the gospels themselves, upon which all catechetical instruction is based.

The often-repeated statement that the Jews rejected Jesus and had Him crucified is historically untenable and must therefore be removed completely from our thinking and our writing, our teaching, preaching, and our liturgy.⁶

Looking first at the synoptics, Luke is the most inexplicit of the three. Consider Matthew 12:24,

"The crowds were all enraptured and remarked, 'May this man perhaps, be the Son of David?' But when the Pharisees heard this, they said, 'This man drives out the demons merely as a tool of Beelzebul, the archdemon.'"

Mark 3:22 is also precise in reference:

"Moreover the Scribes who had come down from Jerusalem were saying, 'He is possessed by Beelzebul,' and 'He is driving out the demons a a tool of the archdemon.'"

In Luke 11:15, however, where the charge comes from a split in the crowds, the authorities are not even mentioned:

"...the crowds were enraptured. But some among the people remarked 'He is a tool of Beelzebul, and this is how he drives out demons.'"

Luke often places a general allusion instead of the particular one found in Mark and Matthew. There are a number of other examples to be found in the synoptics. Such examples tend to confuse in the readers' minds, subconsciously or consciously, the rooted opposition of the authorities with the general reaction of the "crowds". Is this change from the specific "Pharisees" to the more general term of the "crowds" an example of Lucan anti-Semitism? Is he doing this in a deliberate attempt to widen the responsibility and guilt for the opposition to Jesus, so that it includes at least a majority of the people? The answer must be no: for if Luke was so writing, he would

certainly have done it much more thoroughly. On the contrary, there is ample evidence in Luke himself that the crowds were accepting Jesus (Luke 11:14, 20:19 22:2). The reason for the change in Luke seems to be much simpler. As the tradition went out from a Palestinian milieu, where words like "scribes pharisees, sadducees" meant something to the audience, it moved into a Gentile world where these specific terms had little relevance. So, gradually these specific expressions were erased from the tradition and more general terms such as "the crowds" took their place. The obvious fact is, of course, that where anti-Semitism was not inserted by design some can easily be extracted by mistake.⁷

A similar phenomenon appears in John's use of the term "the Jews". Sometimes it is used for the inhabitants of Palestine and thereby includes Jesus and the apostles; but more often it is restricted to mean precisely those forces in authority. Scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, inimical to Jesus. Let us take for example the text concerning the Feast of the Tabernacles (John 7:1). Jesus will not go up openly to the Feast because the "Jews" are seeking to kill him:

"...no one, however, expressed his opinion of Jesus openly because of their fear of the Jews".

Since everyone involved was a Jew, this "fear of the Jews" can only mean the authorities. This is confirmed as the narrative continues:

"Some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem said, 'Is not this the man they are anxious to kill? And here he is, speaking right out in the open, and they say nothing to him. Maybe the authorities have really discovered that this man is the Messiah.'" (7:25-26)

Throughout the Gospel of John, we find the terms "the Jews" and "those in authority" used interchangeably.

Similar recent exegetical investigations question both the existence of a "crowd" around Pilate's palace at the time of judgement and the role of Barabbas. However much culpability is placed on the shoulders of the authorities, the presumption ordinarily is that they were able to gather and arouse a mob or a crowd to agree with their intentions. From this the inference is that this must have been somewhat representative of the feelings of the majority of the people in Jerusalem and possibly of all of Palestine Judaism. It may be useful to restore perspective to a situation where the hysterical has long prevailed over the historical. Jerusalem was the occupied capital of an occupied country. At the time of any great feast it was a tinder-box needing only a spark to start the flames. It is then not too likely that the Roman praefectus would allow a mob to gather, let alone work itself into a fury at such a time. And if any other Roman might have tolerated this, Pontius Pilate would hardly have done so. There is also, as we have pointed out, strong evidence that the people of Jerusalem were actually on the side of Jesus and against the designs of some of their leaders. Consider Luke 19:47-48...

"Meanwhile, the high priests and the Scribes, as well as the leaders of the people were scheming to destroy him; but they could not discover just what to do, for the mass of the people hung upon his words."

Obviously, the authorities and the populace disagreed sharply on Jesus (Mt 23:33, Lk 20:39, Lk 20:19, Mt 21:45, etc.)

Secondly, against the background of an occupied city, the choice of Barabbas over Jesus is made quite plausible. Barabbas and his

companions had risen against the Roman domination and killed either some Roman soldiers or Jewish quislings during their revolt. Men had therefore come up to ask for the rebel's release according to the customary amnesty. There is no indication that they came up as a mob or that they came up against Jesus in Mark, or that they were gathered by the authorities from the populace. They arrive to obtain the freedom of Barabbas. They find themselves faced with a possible disappointment; there is now somebody else in prison and we cannot even be certain that adherents of Barabbas would necessarily know who Jesus is. Pilate knows that Barabbas is more dangerous than Jesus and tries to release the latter to them. Strengthened, no doubt, by the promptings of the authorities who had brought Jesus before Pilate, they insist on their original purpose: free Barabbas to them and let Jesus undergo punishment, crucifixion, in his place. This would seem to be the picture which emerges with relative clarity from Mark. Later the tradition (e.g. Luke) seems to have taken the crowds as being mob from the populace, but this cannot be substantiated from Matthew or John.

Hence, the evidence explicitly and definitely points against any representative Jerusalem crowd shouting for Jesus' death. It is also quite probable that the crowd before Pilate was interested primarily in Barabbas as a rebel hero, and in Jesus only in so far as He became a threat to Barabbas' release.

In conclusion, in answer to the question "Who killed Jesus Christ?", we might respond in a three-fold manner: the treachery of Judas, who was a Christian; the hatred of Annas, who was a Jew; and the indifference of Pilate, who was a Gentile.

Now that we have at least some historical perspective to the situation in question, we can proceed to examine the possible "teaching of contempt" more rationally. To examine all the texts in use by the Church is, of course, beyond the scope of the author at present. To make some small, but genuine contribution to the problem, I have limited myself to an evaluation of only the teachers and texts of my own community. In order to discover some prevalent attitudes in the field of catechetical pedagogy, I had all the teachers answer an objective survey of twenty-six questions, a copy of which is enclosed. Questions 1-10, 20, and 21, I composed to discover some basic information; Questions 11-19 and 22, were based on the Glock and Stark survey of which I spoke earlier; Questions 23-26 were based on Father Crossan's exegetical findings which I summarized, in part, in Section iii of this paper.

We have currently (1965-66) thirteen men engaged in teaching under the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD) program - 2 priests, 5 scholastics (men who have taken vows and are completing their education, like myself) and 6 novices (men preparing to take vows). I, of course, did not take the test; two of the scholastics were unavailable during the two weeks when the test was being circulated; so, ten teachers completed the attitudinal survey. Since the men teach every grade from the 5th through the 12th, seven texts were examined. (There is no text used for the 12th grade). The texts used are as follows:

5th-8th....."On Our Way" Series
9th.....the "New" Sadlier High School Series
10th-11th....Archdiocese of Chicago Serie
12th.....(discussion classes)

Although 70% of those tested stated that they enjoyed teaching CCD, and hoped to continue next year, only one said that the Society had sufficiently prepared him to teach Christian Doctrine. Because of the pressing need for teachers, the policy of the community has been to send men out to teach who have little or no training in methodology. There are, of course, exceptions to this general rule: one man has a Masters Degree in Education and four others have official Archdiocesan certification.

One of the texts used in the novitiate period of formation is Salvation History and the Commandments, which contains this rather questionable passage concerning the crucifixion:

"(after the scourging), the Jews proved to have no more pity than the pagan soldiery. Completely unmoved, they insisted that Jesus be crucified...The procurator announced that he had found no reason to condemn the prisoner and that Herod had not either. He would release Jesus. But the Jews were not going to be robbed of their prey so easily." (8)

I have found that such carelessness - and I think that is the very word for it - stagnates much of the really valuable historical background of such books. Surely credit must be given for the text's explanation of the lack of faith in Jesus on the part of many Palestinian Jews:

"It is no easy matter to say just what sort of Messiah Jesus' contemporaries were expecting, since there were so many different currents of thought in the air... The fulfillment was not a literal one...The Jews may have dreamed of an extraordinary intervention of Yahweh in human history, but they could never have dreamed that He would actually come into the world in the person of His Son." (9)

This is not at all the impression you get in many of the texts used in the classroom. The teacher cannot escape such prejudice in his period of formation. During a recent spiritual conference everyone was subjected to a reading of the following, the idea being that everyone spend a few minutes meditating on the reading:

"'Jesus Rejected by the Jews and the Pagans' - The Jews reject Him as a scandal to them even in the name of God. We could almost say that a supernatural demonism is exercising its power in the hatred of this people against the true Kingdom of God...The conduct of the Jewish people in Jesus' trail is nothing else but the terrifying realization of the attitude of the second class of men that we spoke about earlier. As we said before, the men of this group want God to come where they are. They do not consider following God. They determine how God is supposed to conduct Himself..." (10)

We might dismiss this passage of anti-Semitism as an example of fanaticism from the Middle Ages - except for the fact that it was written by one of the Church's most popular contemporary theologians, Karl Rahner, S.J.; the date is 1965. Fortunately, Catholics hopefully understand that when one theologian circulates the age-old arguments about demonic possession, he speaks only as an individual and does not, in any way, express the official mind of the Church. Fortunately, too, our teachers proved to be discerning adults in rejecting 100% the two following statements on the survey:

The Jews cannot be forgiven for what they did to Jesus until they accept Him as the True Savior. (#18)
The reason the Jews have so much trouble is because God is punishing them for rejecting Jesus. (#19)

Hence, such distorted reporting as the above cited seems to have no direct bearing on ethnic attitudinal formation. Also encouraging was the fact that not one man agreed that

There are a good many Jews connected with international banking. (#21)

One would of course expect rejection of such blatant prejudices as these. Yet misconceptions often times appear in a far more subtle, unconscious form. The Sadlier Grammar School Series handles the problem well in its 7th Grade text: "The chief priests and leaders of the people were against him." Then, however, the text goes on to give a needless description of the leaders who are clearly identified as being Jewish:

"They suspected the Savior, they purposely twisted the meanings of His words. They tried over and over again to trap Him into teaching falsehoods. They asked Him tricky questions to try to baffle Him. They either denied His miracles, or worse, called them the work of the devil." (p.147)

It is hardly an exaggeration to imply that the stereotype of the crafty, conniving Jew, which has shown itself on many recent nation-wide surveys,¹¹ is nourished in the young mind by such superfluous litanies. We no longer use this series in the classroom.

Continuing this discussion of teachers, I would like to make some comparisons with and comments on the survey conducted by Charles Y. Glock of Berkley and Rodney Stark of the University of California. Based on the results of the survey, their book, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism raises the question of the role played by contemporary Christian teachings in shaping attitudes toward the Jews.

v

A crucial issue in the theological disputes between Jews and Christians during the first three centuries A.D. concerned legitimate succession from the Old Testament faith. Christianity was irrevocably committed to the Old Testament as a prophetic basis for New Testament

fulfillment. The whole texture of the Old Testament, however, is steeped in ethnocentric history. This tradition threatened to leave Christianity severed from its origins; an apostate movement. Thus, the Christian condition of non-Jews had to be reconciled with the doctrine of the Chosen People.¹² But how was it that God had changed his allegiance? Continuity between Old and New Testaments was preserved by the Christian theology that Christ fulfilled the prophecies of the Old Testament and was God's ultimate revelation to men, through whom salvation might be secured.

Today's Gentile children who receive religious instruction learn Old Testament stories that are largely concerned with the heroes and heroics of God's Chosen People. The child listens to the stories and the heroics of men of his own faith. It is usually reasonably clear that these Chosen People were Jews; yet the child is not a Jew. Thus, the lessons must show how ancient Jewish heroes can now be the property of Christians.

This fact is born out historically. Only half of the teachers interviewed on my survey listed Moses, David and Solomon as Jews. 15% of the Catholics interviewed in the G&S survey actually listed them as Christians! In contrast, 73% of the Protestants, 61% of the Catholics (G&S) and 60% of our own teachers listed Peter, Paul and the other Apostles as Christians, while two of our men listed "both Jews and Christians". We so easily forget that early Christianity amounted only to a Jewish sect movement.¹³ Yet accepting the divinity of Jesus and the foundation of the Christian Church as they did, they could well be considered Christians (in the modern sense of the term) as well. Yet when given this option, most of those tested choose "Christian" disregarding the ambivalence of the historical situation. Christians also generally refuse to call Judas a Christian. On my own survey, only 35% listed him as such.

As to the question, "Do you think Pontius Pilate wanted to save Jesus from the cross? (#14), about 70% on both surveys, an overwhelming majority, answered in the affirmative. The next question was, of course, "Why didn't he?" (#15). The data compiled on the Glock and Stark survey indicate widespread acceptance of the belief that the Jews overwhelmed Pilate to bring about the death of Jesus.¹⁴ Four of our teachers tended toward this belief while five listed "uncertain". As for the question on the responsibility for the crucifixion, 58% of the Protestants and 61% of the Catholics chose "the Jews". Four of our teachers followed this line of thinking, while six were "uncertain". Note that none chose the possibility of "the Romans", whose involvement Jules Isaac describes as:

"...the pre-eminent one, with the full and total responsibility supreme power implies." (15)

To sum up the results of my own survey, I am pleased to see so many "uncertain" answers given; it shows a definite open-mindedness, an eagerness to learn. Allport (The Nature of Prejudice) indicates that the prejudiced person invariably "takes a stab" at an answer, always loath to admit ignorance. The completed answer sheet enclosed should make interesting reading.

Taking a quick look at the texts used in class, it seems that the main fault is carelessness in the use of the term "the Jews" and a tendency to over-generalize in ethnic matters.

In the old Sadlier Grammar School Series, the treatment of "blame" is very well handled. (Fig 1) Such simple, concise statements as, "Some received Jesus, others did not" (Fig 2) are indeed valuable aids to impartial teaching of Christ. Yet, in this text, as in most others, Jesus, who was both God and man, tends to have his divinity (Fig 3) stressed far more - to the point of imbalance - over his humanity. The rejection of such a person becomes incomprehensible to the child, the crime of deicide monstrous, unimaginable. As I stated earlier, this text is no longer used, but it was used for such a long time previously, it deserved investigation.

One criticism I have of the On Our Way Series, now used in all primary levels, is the dichotomy set up between Old and New Testament Jews. The Jews of the Old Testament are seen almost as "pre-Christians" and are referred to constantly as "Israelites" or "Hebrews", while when Christ appears on the scene, it is not the "Israelites" or the "Hebrews" who "reject" him, but "the Jews". When the early Christians gather together to worship, they "gather together for Mass" (5th Grade, p.87), and not for the Passover-type meal which they are in reality celebrating. The point here is that identification of the early Christians is not made to their Jewish heritage which was still very much a part of them, but with modern-day Catholic phenomenon.

On page 90 of the same text we find:

"In the early days of the Church, Saint Peter and Saint John were imprisoned for preaching the Word of God after the Jewish leaders had forbidden them to do so."
(Emphasis - from here on - mine)

The Jewish leaders are seen as enemies not only to the Apostles and the Church, but even the "Word of God".

In the 6th Grade text, the treatment of the leaders is much more realistic:

"Among the Sanhedrin there were men who loved God and obeyed His Law. However, others were proud and greedy for power." (p.75)

Another excellent passage is found on page 89:

"Many of the Scribes and Pharisees were jealous of Jesus. As they could not deny His miracles, nor accuse Him of any sin, they sought to kill Him. 'The Jews therefore took up stones to stone Him.' - Saint John."

The proximity of these two sentences, with the aid of a trained teacher, could help to solidify in the mind of the sixth-grader the relation of the term "the Jews" to the Scribes and Pharisees. So much depends on a teacher's being aware of such opportunities.

The 7th Grade text deals mostly with the Sacraments and deals only indirectly with Salvation History and the Crucifixion.

The 8th Grade book gives evidence of an intensive - almost strained - contrast between the "Old" and the "New" Testaments, Covenant, People of God, etc., Page 40:

" 'Immaculate Mary - Flower of Israel'...Mary is the Flower of Israel. She is the fulfillment of the history of Israel."

Here we obviously are running into a problem of semantics. The text is obviously not referring to modern-day Israel when it bestows on Mary such

terms as "the final link" in its history. The end result of the confusion in the students' mind is that the modern-day Jew becomes irrelevant, an historical "left-over". We shall discuss this point further when we come to the 11th Grade text. So much for the On Our Way Series.

Sadlier handles the process of publishing a new High School Series, the first of which (9th Grade) was in use last year. Page 104:

"Sympathetic to Jesus, Pilate tried to free Him. But the Jews wanted Christ's death...Led on by a few people sent by the Pharisees and the corrupt High Priest, the crowds cried, 'Crucify Him!' Lk 23:21)"

"New", did you say? I must give credit to the Teachers' Manual, however, for stating that "Nothing in the Old Testament implied that the Messiah would be God Himself!" (p.26)

The Archdiocese of Chicago Series is used for the 10th and 11th Grades. The 10th Grade text states:

"Jesus hung on a criminal's cross, betrayed by Judas, abandoned by His apostles and rejected by the very people He had come to save." (p.39)

The 11th Grade text, from which I teach, clearly de-emphasized the "wonder-boy" Christ of which we spoke earlier and poses the very realistic problem of the acceptance of a Carpenter-God by any person. The term "the Jews" is used in most all the references to the Old Testament, but we find this surprising statement on page 30:

"God's religion remained true and good despite the Chosen People. The true religion didn't fail the people, the people failed it!"

There is a completely objectionable historical dichotomy of Judaism. (Fig. 5) Note the arrow I have drawn to indicate the distinction the book makes between what it calls "God's Religion" and its involvement

with "the Chosen People" and the "man-made religion" it refers to as "Judaism". It has the audacity to claim (Fig. 6) that Judaism is not a true religion because "it was not established by God." (p 123) On page 117, we find the dichotomy explained to the student (Fig 7):

"With the rejection of Christ, the Jews ceased to be God's chosen people. Consequently, Judaism since the year 33 A.D., is a man-made religion."

The picture on this page is extremely important. Look at the expressions on the faces of Pilate and Christ as compared with the expression of "the Jews", one spitting, one grinding his teeth, a third holding an instrument of torture.

In conclusion, I'd like to commend some new catechetical efforts just off the press and make a few suggestions.

In two recently published primary-level texts, Come Let Us Eat (Herder) and Come, Lord Jesus (Allyn and Bacon), the Judaeo-Christian correlations are made clear, simple and realistic. The strict dichotomy of Testaments is gone. One finds the Passover and the Mass on facing pages, and other similarities handled in a way that allows the child to identify with both. The treatment of Jesus' relations with the Jews is especially good in Come, Lord Jesus. (Figs 7,8)

As for some final suggestions, I might sum-up a few:

- a. Greater stress should be placed on the Jewish roots of the Church.
- b. Remember that the Old Testament is not "Old" to the Jews; perhaps some new divisions of the Bible, or merely new terms for the old divisions would help span this rather strained dichotomy.
- c. The doctrine that Christ died for all men should be emphasized, as well as the fact the "the Victim of the Crucifixion was Jewish, those who wept were Jewish and those who carried Christ's message to the world were Jewish."

- d. An effort should be made for a deeper understanding of the 2,000 years of post-Biblical Jewish history. Dore Schary, the playwright who serves as national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith states, "God has not abandoned us; we are not a fossilized religion."
- e. Stronger emphasis should be placed on the Vatican II Decrees stating that each man has a right to seek God in his own way, and live according to his conscientious beliefs.
- f. Good-will should be supplemented by a conscious commitment against anti-Semitism, especially by those involved in teaching religion.

Perhaps after all this anthropomorphic activity, we, like the little four-year-old and his crayon, shall have a "picture of God".



footnotes

- ¹H.E. Wilson, Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials, Washington: American Council on Education, 1949.
- ²Rev. Gregory Baum, OSA, Is the New Testament Anti-Semitic? Glen Rock, N.J.: Paulist, 1965, p.9
- ³Jewish World Congress President Nahum Goldman recently warned Jewish religious leaders in the U. S. against over-zealousness in dialogues with Christian church leaders.
- ⁴Jules Isaac, The Teaching of Contempt, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964, p.11
- ⁵Baum, op.cit., p.16
- ⁶Rev. Dominic M. Crossan, OSM, Anti-Semitism and the Gospel, Theological Studies, xxvi, 2 (June, 1965), p. 189
- ⁷Crossan, ibid, p.192
- ⁸Rev. Leo J. Trese, Salvation History and the Commandments, Notre Dame, Ind: Fides, 1963, p.182
- ⁹Trese, ibid, p.125
- ¹⁰Karl Rahner, S.J., Spiritual Exercises, New York: Harper, 1965, p.229
- ¹¹Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, New York; Doubleday, 1958, p.187-192
- ¹²Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism, New York: Harper, 1966, p.45
- ¹³Glock and Stark, ibid, p.48
- ¹⁴Glock and Stark, ibid, p.52

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1. Allport, Gordon W., The Nature of Prejudice, New York: Doubleday, 1958
2. Baum, Gregory, Is the New Testament Anti-Semitic?, (formally, The Jews and the Gospel) Glen Rock, N.J.; Paulist, 1965
3. Glock, Charles Y. and Stark, Rodney, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism New York, Harper, 1966
4. Isaac, Jules, The Teaching of Contempt, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964
5. Parkes, James, Conflict of Church and Synagogue, New York: Meidian, 1960
6. Poliakov, Leon, Harvest of Hatred, Syracuse: University Paperbacks, 1954
7. Schoeps, Hans J., The Jewish-Christian Argument, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1963.

The following is a famous survey given nationwide to ministers, priests and lay teachers of Christian Doctrine to test certain ethnic attitudes. It was developed by Charles Glock and Rodney Stark who run the Survey Research Center at Berkeley. The participation is voluntary, and please don't put your name on the paper. Thanks very much.

1. What level CCD did you teach?
 - a. primary (1-8) A-6
 - b. secondary (9-12) 1. B-4
2. Did you feel that the Society sufficiently prepared you for teaching CCD?
 - a. yes A-1
 - b. no B-8
 - c. uncertain 2. C-1
3. Do you enjoy teaching CCD?
 - a. yes, at least for the most part A-7
 - b. yes-and-no (sometimes) B-1
 - c. no, not at all 3. C-2
4. Do you hope to teach next year?
 - a. yes A-7
 - b. no B-1
 - c. uncertain 4. C-2
5. Did you adhere to the text-book that was assigned to you?
 - a. yes, at least for the most part A-2
 - b. yes-and-no (sometimes) B-6
 - c. no, not at all 5. C-2
6. In reference to Salvation History, did you teach that Christianity is the "flowering of Judaism"?
 - a. yes A-3
 - b. yes, but not in those exact words B-4
 - c. no, I used another frame of reference C-1
 - d. uncertain 6. D-2
7. Do you have any Jewish friends? (eliminate those you could only refer to as "acquaintances")
 - a. yes A-4
 - b. no, at least not to my knowledge 7. B-6
8. Before you entered the Society, did you ever date a Jewish girl?
 - a. yes, quite often A-0
 - b. yes, at least once B-4
 - c. no, at least not to my knowledge 8 C-4

9. Did you ever encounter any anti-Semitic (anti-Jewish) attitudes in your CCD class (however subtle - eg, name-calling, etc.)?
a. yes, quite frequently A-1
b. yes, at least once B-3
c. no, not to my knowledge C-6
d. uncertain 9. D-0
10. Have you ever had any Sociology courses (on the college level)?
a. yes A-4
b. no 10. B-6
11. Do you think of Moses, David and Solomon as:
a. Jews A-5
b. Christians B-1
c. neither of these 11. C-4
12. Do you think of Peter and Paul and the other Apostles as:
a. Jews A-1
b. Christians B-6
c. neither of these 12. C-1 (A&B-2)
13. Do you think of Judas as:
a. a Jew A-3
b. a Christian B-3
c. neither of these 13. C-3 (A&B-1)
14. Do you think Pontius Pilate wanted to spare Jesus from the cross?
a. yes A-7
b. no B-0
c. uncertain 14. C-3
15. If you think Pilate really wanted to spare Jesus, why didn't he?
a. a group of powerful Jews wanted to see Jesus dead A-4
b. a group of powerful Romans wanted Jesus dead B-1
c. uncertain, or other 15. C-5
16. What group do you think was most responsible for crucifying Christ?
a. the Jews A-4
b. the Romans B-0
c. uncertain or other (eg - neither) 16. C-6

17. Why did the Jews reject Jesus (You may list more than one):
- a. They couldn't accept a Messiah who came from humble beginnings.
 - b. Because the Jews hated Gentiles they could not accept Christ's message of brotherhood
 - c. The Jews were sinful and had turned against God
 - d. They were deceived by wicked priests who feared Christ
 - e. They made an unfortunate but honest mistake
 - f. Jesus did not actually fulfill the Old Testament prophecies concerning the Messiah, so the Jews saw no reason to accept Him.
 - g. Question, as asked, contains an over-generalization and hence should be re-phrased A-1 D-0 G-5 (E&F-1)
 - h. uncertain or other B-0 E-2 H-1 C-0 F-3 (G&H-1)
17. _____
18. The Jews can not be forgiven for what they did to Jesus until they accept Him as the True Savior
- a. agree A-0
 - b. disagree B-10
 - c. uncertain 18. C-0
19. The reason the Jews have so much trouble is because God is punishing them for rejecting Jesus.
- a. agree A-0
 - b. disagree B-10
 - c. uncertain 19. C-0
20. It is a scientifically proven fact that Jews, like many other groups are "clannish", or tend to "stick together". This is due, at least in some small measure, to the fact that in addition to being an ethnic group, the Jews are also a race of people.
- a. agree A-5
 - b. disagree B-3
 - c. uncertain 20. C-2
21. There are a good many Jews connected with international banking.
- a. agree A-0
 - b. disagree B-3
 - c. uncertain 21. C-7
22. How do you think Jews in America today feel about Jesus? (You may indicate more than one answer):
- a. They don't believe He ever really existed and feel Christians are foolish to believe in Him.
 - b. They respect Him as a great teacher, but they are still sure He is not the Son of God.
 - c. They regard Jesus as a misguided fanatic
 - d. They don't give much thought to Jesus and his message
 - e. They secretly worry that they may be wrong for not accepting Jesus as the Savior
 - f. They are sorry about Christ's crucifixion.
 - g. uncertain or other 22. _____
A-0 C-1 E-0 G-0 (B&C&D-1)
B-8 D-3 F-1 (B&F-1)

23. Luke 11:15 - "...the crowds were enraptured, But some among the people remarked, 'He is a tool of Beelzebul, and this is how He drives out devils.'" The phrase "some among the people" refers to:
- a. the Jews A-0
 - b. only the Scribes, Pharisees and leaders of the people B-3
 - c. the Romans C-0
 - d. uncertain 23. D-7
24. In John: 19, 4-7, we find - "...Pilate said to them, 'I certainly find no guilt in Him.' 'We have a law,' countered the Jews, 'and according to the law He must die for He has declared Himself the Son of God.'" The term "the Jews" refers to:
- a. all Jews of all time, for this crime must be upon their heads and "the heads of their children". A-1
 - b. only the Jews at the time of Jesus B-1
 - c. only the Scribes, Pharisees and leaders of the people C-4
 - d. Romans disguised as Jews D-0
 - e. uncertain, or other 24. E-4
25. Again, John 19: "...Pilate...said to the crowd..." The term "the crowd"
- a. is erroneous, for there probably was no crowd
 - b. refers to Palestinian Jews who spoke for the Jews of all time
 - c. refers to a large body of Jews surrounding Pilates' palace
 - d. refers to a large body of mixed ethnicity
 - e. uncertain or other 25. _____
- A-1 B-0 C-4 D-2 E-3
26. Actually, the "crowd" was just as much (if not more) interested in freeing Barabbas as it was in killing Jesus.
- a. agree A-1
 - b. disagree B-6
 - c. uncertain 26. C-3

SECULARISM, SECULARIZATION, AND SECULARITY*

"Secularism," "secularization," "secularity," "secular age" - all are terms of opprobrium and disdain among the pious. From the Jerusalem Conference of 1928, when Rufus Jones introduced a major discussion of "secularism" as the enemy of "the spiritual," through to the excited denunciations of Harvey Cox's best seller The Secular City (1965), there has prevailed in the churches a widespread agreement that "secular-mindedness" and a "secularistic orientation" are to be condemned. By contrast, we are to approve those situations in which Christendom or the church has managed to infiltrate or lay conquest the structures of life and make them subject to "spiritual values" or "spiritual goals."

When Paul Tillich stated in his Systematic Theology that "Christianity is the most materialistic of all religions" this was dismissed - if noticed at all - as a rhetorical device typical of a confirmed dialectician (i.e., "obscurantist"). When, more recently, some of the centers of lay renewal have celebrated the encounter with "the world" in unconventional forms of the ministry and liturgical acts marked by the language of ecstatic utterance, no less orthodox a journal than The Christian Century has lifted its editorial arms in holy horror. "The world," as all well-brought-up Christians know, is something to be shunned! - along with the flesh and the devil. Movements which deal with such materialistic matters as jobs and jails, houses, schools and playgrounds, are relegated by many of the well-meaning to the area of civic concern and - among the less well-meaning - scorned by such organs of "spirituality" as Christian Economics as downright impious. Comfortably and happily lodged in the life of the fortress, our churches and church colleges and seminaries have been largely content to consign "materialistic" and "worldly" and "secular" matters to a lesser sphere - and frequently to neglect them altogether.

Yet the theological challenge to this insularity continues to grow, and anxiety-producing references to "taking the world seriously" appear in church periodicals from time to time. Admittedly, these jarring interpolations usually come in speeches or articles by the younger men - by those who have not yet sobered and steadied down into the church's normal business. Still, it is disconcerting to have to reflect on the phrase attributed to the martyr, Bonhoeffer, who is supposed to have expressed in a moment of high irritation with the bishops and superintendents of his own denomination: "After all, Christ died for the world, not for the Church!" What kind of a way is that for a churchman to talk, especially when there is already enough pessimism and hostility to spiritual matters

*A paper by Dr. Franklin H. Littell, President of Iowa Wesleyan College, read at the meeting of the General Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church; Portland, Oregon, on April 11, 1967.

running loose in the world?! Yet Time magazine has recently featured the work of Friedrich Gogarten, a distinguished professor of secularization, so there must be something to it!

The Theological Interest in Secularism and Secularization

The concern commands a growing attention among leading Catholic and Protestant theologians of both Europe and America. For example, early in March of 1966 there was held a major meeting at Notre Dame - a follow-up conference to Vatican II. Father Hesburgh took the initiative for this North American Theological Conference, bringing together some six hundred European and American theologians, led by a number of Catholic and Protestant scholars known to everyone present. Toward the final sessions of a week of intensive work somebody popped the bright question: "What needs to be done in preparation for Vatican III?" The response upon which the consensus and the Spirit settled was that in preparation for Vatican III the most needed work was the development of a theology of the world, a theology of the created order. This is an eminently sound sign of where we are theologically in Christendom today, and also of where we are in fact in the life of the congregations and the other structures of the Christian movement.

We have, by and large, a reasonably dependable understanding of the nature of the church. It may be largely instinctive for most of the baptized, but it is articulated in various confessions - especially in those confessions of faith which emerged from the church's struggle with anti-Christian movements in their own time and today. Christians today are privileged to live in one of the great ages of confessing Christianity, of the re-thinking and re-working of the life, mission and witness of the Christian church in the battlefield situation - when the church militant produces great confessions of faith. The problem areas are blocked out, and as the Catholic-Protestant dialogue goes forward many of the understandings of the church will deepen and achieve greater precision. But we are short in a theology of the created order. And without that, the dialectic is incomplete. Without a true doctrine of "world," the Christian movement sinks back into a ghetto or retrogresses into the age of Christian imperialism. As a matter of fact there have been only two great theologians of creation in recent generations: the Jesuit anthropologist, Teilhard de Chardin, and the martyr to Nazism, the evangelical theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer. And both of these men in their writings reveal a kind of insight, a kind of perceptiveness which escapes all of the rules of the theological game. Therefore they make us nervous too.

The form of ecstatic utterance which we find in Teilhard or in Bonhoeffer is anxiety-producing to well-organized theologians. Nevertheless they come to us as prophets of the intellectual demands of the hour. And however disconcerting they or their followers may seem to professional theologians or churchmen, the doors to a fresh appreciation of the created order which they opened must be entered if "a true church for a real world" is to be proclaimed and lived. The seriousness of the issue is such that we must press through the swamps of contemporary "spirituality" as speedily as possible, to line out the basic issues for study and

discussion. It is encouraging that this series of lectures should be scheduled for the annual Board meeting. It is worth noting too that in its 1967 conference, to be held in November, the Notre Dame Colloquium will devote its papers and discussions to the same theme - "Secularism and Secularity." We have begun to pick at the first outcroppings of a rich lode which bids fair to concentrate much attention for years to come.

Beyond Translation

We are accustomed to assert, of course, that the Christians have a gospel for the world. Thus, unless we are careful, we are tempted to believe that the lay renewal movements are simply new forms of traditional evangelism, new methods by which the church sells a defined and well-packaged product in a needy "secular" market place. We are apt to think of the church as a kind of fortress, set in beleaguered circumstances in the midst of hostile territory. Once in a while we organize bold scalping parties, sorties to dash out into dangerous ground to collect a few scalps and scurry back behind the barricades. We may think sympathetically of good Pope John, who threw open the windows to the outside world. In the mind's eye we see him (us) standing there looking bravely out over the barren "secular" countryside - not remembering immediately that when the gales of change are raging a good deal of chill air must perhaps blow in, as well as much stale air inside be dissipated.

If we let it rest at that - that we are simply inventing new and unconventional ways of retailing a fair-traded brand product - we are guilty of an atrocious misunderstanding of our own history and misreading of the church/world problematic in this fullness of time. Those who speak to us out of the church struggle with the great anti-Christian ideologies and systems of the 20th century, those who address us out of the work of the Holy Spirit in renewal movements, speak of "the dialogue of the church and the world." Dialogue implies listening as well as speaking. If the program is monologue, however dressed up, you can broadcast from a fortress as from a sound-proofed room. But if we are dealing with a real world, a created order of dignity and integrity of its own, we must move beyond such a stance of spiritual imperialism to ask what God is saying to us in the voices of the sons and daughters of the stranger.

If we would understand the truth to which Teilhard and Bonhoeffer are signs, if we would realize the time import of Kirchentag and lay institute and new-style Town Meeting, we must go beyond translation. Translation is, to be sure, one of the great labors of Christian love. Just as in the age of the Reformation one of the great Christian acts was to translate the Word into the vernaculars of the emerging national communities (German, English, Dutch, French, etc.), so today one of the major assignments is to get the Word over into the idioms of the new professional/vocational communities of our highly specialized society: into the work-a-day language of atomic physicists, surgeons, real estate dealers, personnel managers, dairy farmers. How easy it is to dodge the imperatives when only the "church language" is used! These new communities, which are based on work and social role (even the "unemployable" have their identity!), profoundly need to hear a plainly translated and incompatible Word.

There is a great symbol of this service over the main door of Five Oaks Christian Centre, a lay training institute of the United Church of Canada at Paris, Ontario. Above the entrance is carved the sign from Pilgrim's Progress: "The House of the Interpreter." Here the Word is translated into the idioms and vernaculars of the world's work, and here too the problems and decisions, the questions of conscience and concern, are lifted up from the level of pedestrian management into the setting of the Biblical world view. The translation goes two ways, but the real truth reaches out beyond that. For in the first verses of the Gospel of John, in Colossians 1:15f, in Ephesians 1:10 and 3:10 we are brought face to face with the work of the "hidden Christ," the "incognito Christ," the Logos who was with the Father from the beginning, to an hope and expectation for the created order which reaches far beyond dependence upon organized religion. Indeed, we have it in Romans, the 22d verse of the 8th chapter: "We know that the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now in anticipation of the fulfillment of the promises of God." The text does not say "has been groaning until the Christians get there and organize their campaign...." It goes far beyond that, far beyond translation alone, to an implied affirmation of the world's own integrity and dignity and promise.

What "World" Is This?

If "the world" has an integrity and a dignity of its own, dependent upon the incognito Christ but independent of the church, obviously this "world" must be different from "the world" which once we promised to avoid. What is this "world" for which Christ died, this "world" with which the church is to dialogue? What is this "secular city"?

"World," as we have been accustomed to use it, is an ambiguous reference. In one sense, "the world" (Kosmos in the Hellenistic Greek) is a poor translation: "aeon" or "age" would be more accurate and more suggestive. The church is not pitted against "the world" so much as it is irreducibly at odds with the "Spirit of the times" (Zeitgeist). There is an age that is passing away, upon which the judgment of God has already fallen - the age of dehumanization, warring, lust, racism, brutalization of the helpless. This is the self-satisfied, the self-congratulatory, the "wise" world with - for instance - the oft-repeated lie that "human nature can never change." It is the world the end of whose citizenship is, according to the Apostle, death. In the other primary sense, "world" is used to refer to the created order, to that which God found "good" before man's rebellion defaced and spoiled it. This created order is not properly the object of the church's hostility. On the contrary, the church exists solely as an instrument of God's plan in Jesus Christ to restore that created order to the perfection which He originally purposed for it. In Christ - the "New Adam," the "creator," the Redeemer - the creation is being restored in spite of all the temporary triumph of wickedness, all the transitory authority of sin.

This restoration is proceeding, in part, quite apart from the specific works of organized religion. The restoration proceeds, in part, precisely

through the emancipation from churchly imperialism and manipulation - which liberty we call "secularization" and "secularity." The freedom to which the baptized are called is the liberty of joyful obedience. The freedom to which the created order is called is sometimes release from churchly controls - precisely that the will of "the hidden Christ" may be fulfilled. In spite of the tendency of the pilgrim people to cease pitching tents and start staking out permanent claims, true Christian obedience does not call for the church to continue past the due date its controls over government, public schools, the university, social welfare, hospitals and homes, and the like. As Pope John XXIII stressed in "Mater et Magistra," Christian faithfulness may best be expressed by respecting those structures, rights and dignities by which the so-called "secular order" is sustained. As Joseph Sittler, basing his discourse on Colossians 1:15f, affirmed so well at the World Council of Churches Assembly at New Delhi (1961), in the end His will shall triumph in the "secular world" as well as in the church.

It is profoundly liberating, and theologically faithful, that we have moved beyond the monolith called "Christendom," that Christian imperialism is no longer a viable policy. Neither, incidentally, is the program of the Marxists to re-constitute a sacral society on new ideological grounds a "progressive" vision: on the contrary, it is as retrogressive as the romantic desire to reconstitute "Christian America," "Christian politics," and the like. The "world" from which the demons of ideology and coercive religion have been cast out is not without Christ; on the contrary, it is precisely thus that true Christian liberty - for "the world" - is affected.

We are now approaching the real clue to an understanding of what we are doing in the Town Meeting and in the Evangelical Academies, in any lay apostolate which takes seriously the world. One of the ways to remember this point is to think of the career of Bonhoeffer himself. Although Bonhoeffer is less studied in Germany than fifteen years ago, in America his concerns - including the church struggle itself! - are still in the foreground.

The Significance of Bonhoeffer

Perhaps because our churches in America are caught up in the preliminary stages of a church struggle, or perhaps because the German churches have now completely accommodated again to the restoration of Christendom, Bonhoeffer today receives greater attention on this shore of the Atlantic than over there..

Bonhoeffer began with the question: What is the church? He was then wrestling with the apostasy, the wild heresy of the Nazis and the German Christians. He came to Fanø in Denmark in 1934, to the Faith and Order Conference, pleading with international delegates there to reach some kind of minimal understanding of the nature of heresy. "Heresy" was a word which no one had heard for a hundred years of comfortable culture-religion. But, of course, the delegates could not bear his words. But he went on to write his great treatments of the nature of the community of faithful people - such as "The Communion of Saints," recently translated and published in this

country; the devotional manual, "Life Together," one of the finest pieces of devotional and prayerful reading available to any Christian today.

During those first years he came back again and again to the question: What would a true church be like if one could be found? What are the marks of a Christian? What is the style of life and witness of the Christian community? He articulated these questions in a magnificent way. But then - and this was the more difficult assignment - in the last eighteen months, while in the Flossenbürg, he wrestled as Jacob wrestled with the angel of the Lord with the question: What is the world? What is the Christian understanding of the created order? And he became, with Teilhard, pre-eminently the theologian of creation.

He was tempted, far more than you and I have any right to be, to fall into the Manichaean heresy, the recurring heresy of the Christian. He was tempted to believe that the church is alone the focus of God's purpose, of His illumination, the only place where the truth resides, while out there - cowering under the clouds of darkness and ruled by Satan or the Demi-urge - the world shudders and sinks into oblivion. This is the overtone of much of our churchly proclamation and praying and singing and action today, in the "post-Constantinian era" when the church has lost power and control but not yet learned the style of the servant. This is the heretical world view in which the created order is given over to destruction, while a tidy few, living in their little nest, look out with a kind of Schadenfreude on the destruction of the world.

If any contemporary had the right to fall into this heretical view, it was Bonhoeffer. He lived in the midst of a world gone mad, a world ruled by a murderer, a vulgar king of the gutter, a creature who was assisted to become the head of a government, the murderer of millions of people, the instigator of war, the destroyer of culture. Bonhoeffer, if any, had the right - in prison at the mercy of brutal guards, having seen friends murdered, having seen the country he loved dishonored - to believe that the world was given over to destruction and that only a tidy few rested under the sheltering arms of a merciful God. But his faith did not break or yield before this mighty temptation. He worked through Genesis; he worked through the Old Testament from creation on; he became the one who in his "Letters from Prison" - as in his last theological writings (e.g., "Ethics") - articulated the marvelous and faithful truth that nevertheless (dennoch!) God's purposes will in the end be fulfilled in the created order.

The trouble with the culture-religion of old Christendom, like the trouble with the sacral systems of the new Marxist- and fascist-type ideologies, is this: they have neither church nor world in any meaningful sense. The twin poles of Bonhoeffer's pilgrimage are lifted up for us, to help us to develop equally sound understandings of the church and the world.

Examples of the Problematic

How, to be specific, shall we understand the problems of the campus (universitas), the city (polis), the civil rights movement, the public schools? If we have no doctrine of the created order, we shall either flee the encounters (the "sectarian" response) or use them to lay conquest the "worldly" structures for the program of the church (the "churchly" response of Christian imperialism). If, however, we understand that in the fullness of time Christ has freed the slave structures from ecclesiastical controls, if we perceive that the dignity and liberty of his creatures is God-given, we can escape from either alternative commonly offered - alternatives both disastrous and retrogressive, even if offered by authorities so eminent as Ernst Troeltsch and his followers. Troeltsch ("The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches"), a neo-Idealist and man of the establishment, understood the Free Churches but slightly and the process of secularization not at all.

Secularism, which is yet another ideology, is rejected by men of liberty. But the process of secularization, the process by which properties or qualities once exclusively the church's have become accepted by the society as a whole, is in many areas providential.

There was a time when only the church - and not very large sections of the church at that (Hutterites, Bohemian Brethren) - was devoted to the education of children. The Word moved forth with power, areas were cleared in the natural jungle, and finally all civilized societies followed the church's pioneering work. At this point the church is faced with a choice: whether to remain a faithful pilgrim people and move on to clear the next jungle area and create another model, or to stay fixed, stake out a first mortgage claim and build a Tower (Ziggurat). If the Christians flag and fail, they will try to hold the lines of empire and control. They will insist, for example, that the schools must retain the lingering remnants of a Protestant public liturgy. They will organize "Christian prayer amendment" campaigns to fight against the blessings of liberty, to regress into a previous age.

There was a time when only the Christians, and only a few of them banded in lay orders at that, rescued and cared for abandoned or orphaned children. By the power of the Spirit, this concern was "secularized" and today all civilized societies make provisions for the helpless child. In Hong Kong and like places the Christian rescue missions must still collect each morning the abandoned infants, and to do this is a Christian witness. A similar historical case can be made for the Christian concern for the indigent and aged, whom the tribes once sent forth into the weather when they were no longer viable. But what case is there to be made today, in societies where the blessed process of secularization is well advanced, for Annual Conferences to devote half or more of their annual money and efforts to building orphanages and retirement homes?! (Can a better illustration of the constant temptation to leave the tents of faithfulness and build Ziggurats be found?)

What is the task for the faithful community, in its service to the world, in a place like metropolitan Chicago? Let me suggest one place in the jungle which needs clearing: the credit swindle, the viney maze of

financial extortion from poor whites and poor Negroes. The legal rate of usury in Illinois is 42%, which is over twenty per cent more than Luther and Calvin were prepared to countenance in the 16th century. But even this rate is often exceeded in under-the-table deals. Worst of all, because of widespread corruption in the Illinois State Legislature - an Aegean stables which escaped shoveling out even when newspapers published the tape recordings of bribes effected - there is no effective supervision even where minimal protection of the public has been written on the books. What the church should be doing is to found credit unions and other forms of mutual aid to break the usury system by frontal assault. And then, when at some future date the society has become civilized enough to have secularized the financial protection of the helpless, the church should with gladness move on to the next frontier.

The public school has its dignity and integrity, and the attempt of the misguided to lead it back to some religious or ideological commitment (including "secularism" itself!) is retrogressive. Can we say anything less of the arguments usually advanced for the "Christian college"? What was the recent disastrous series of events at St. John's University in New York, the fourth largest Catholic university in the world, but a wretched attempt to continue the monolith of earlier centuries and to deny the blessings of liberty to faculty and students alike? Is a "Christian" college simply an advanced confirmation school, with the deck stacked against all open dialogue? Do we prove that we are "Christian" by compulsory chapel, by a loaded curriculum, by a dozen culture lags which simply document that the modern form of the college emerged from the monasteries and the cathedral schools? or have we the faith to perceive that in this day and age of the omnipresent and omniscient nation-state the precise contribution of Christians to higher education is to clear and defend an area of liberty in the jungle within which a true Republic of Learning can flourish? If we have only a doctrine of the church, and a defective one at that, we shall depreciate the uses of the "secular" university and hold all "secular" structures worthy only to the extent that they are extensions of Christian design and control. If we have a sound doctrine of the secular order, however, we shall avoid "Christian" political parties and "Christian" trade unions and "Christian" assaults on secular government and accord His creatures the dignity and honor to which they are entitled.

We do not mean to imply any denigration of the Christian college or private school systems or even church homes and hospitals. Indeed, with a militant and doctrinaire secularism as rampant as it is in some State Departments of Public Instruction, in the immediate struggle the fight for the liberty and dignity of the human person may urgently require a strengthening of a two-track educational system at all levels. But we should not seek to substitute a return to Christian monolith for the totalitarian and semi-totalitarian Ziggurats, the latter so securely based in a retrogressive ideology of Secularism. The church responsibility is to create models to bear a credible witness, not to engage in conspiracies and cabals. The process of secularization itself has been a blessing to many, just as the life of the faithful community bears its own fruits and carries its own accreditation. Protestant Christians who have learned the blessings of liberty will be both better disciplined in their own style than defenders of

"Christendom," and they will also be less anxious in welcoming the comradeship of Catholics and Jews and sceptics and "all men of good will" who seek a beautiful and a just City.

For the next generation in America, at least, the pattern of social progress will follow the lines laid down at the great National Conference on Religion and Race in Chicago, in January 1963, where for the first time in human history all major religious bodies - to the number of seventy-seven - officially cooperated on anything. The very last thing we need in the Polis is so-called "Christian" politics which corrupts the real business and blessed potentiality of the public school, the colleges and universities; which denies the World City which America has become, and the future of the republic itself.

How shall we view this generation of young people and students - the "peaceniks" and the "beatniks" whom Mr. David Lawrence loses no opportunity to denounce? Of course the students have their "fringe" groups and individuals - although not so many by far as the adult world! But the exciting truth is that this generation of students has produced more volunteers in service to others than any student generation since John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer and the other giants of the Student Volunteer Movement eighty years ago. Thousands have gone into the Peace Corps. Hundreds have risked their lives in the battle against second-class citizenship - in the Delta Ministry and elsewhere. Of course that's precisely the trouble, for with our Manichaeian view of the church/world relationship we in the church find it hard to appreciate the volunteers unless they go out under the mission boards! Who gave the unauthorized the right to cast out devils?! We have forgotten even that faithfulness which the Psalmist expressed when he rejoiced that the sons and daughters of the stranger came to sing the song and do the will of the Lord.

How shall we view the civil rights movement? Of course part of our embarrassment on this point is due to the fact that some of the Negro leaders are beginning to talk as wildly and defiantly, after more than a decade of struggle in the jungle of unpunished arson and murder and defiance of law and justice, as whites. Imagine what life would be like in these United States if there were no middle ground left between Adam Clayton Powell or Stokely Carmichael and George Wallace or Lester Maddox! But to return to that movement for justice and righteousness which caught up all of the major cultural and educational and religious forces of the country in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964: Was that a "purely political" offensive?

Is the case for justice and due process of law for all of America's citizens a "purely political" case? -as though we were to say that with American commitments on the world map as far-flung as they are, and 80% of the peoples colored, the rest of us might as well join the human race and help make the American experiment credible? -as though we all were to affirm that now, a century late, the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Federal Constitution shall be loyally enforced at last? This is one dimension of the situation, but the less glorious. The momentous dimension, the revelation which broke through in that veritable Pentecost of public-spirited rallying at Washington in August of 1963, is the truth that His purposes are

being served also by "secular" forces and by "secular" movements. Remember all those fellows from the UAW and other unions, with their caps and insignia, singing the hymns of the new crusade and enraptured as they heard Martin Luther King, Jr. preach one of the great sermons of the century - "I Have a Dream"?! They too were "surprised by love" - like the churchmen!

Or how shall we view religious liberty, and the development in this land of liberty of Free Churches and voluntary religion? Is the separation of the two covenants, religious and political, a "purely political" achievement? There are those doctrinaire ideologues who interpret it so, claiming that a "high wall of separation" between religion and politics is good for the state. And then they press on to ideolize and sacralize the state, in a new flight from liberty. But those who lifted the standard of religious liberty in this land did not so speak or write. In the winning of the Great Bill of Religious Freedom in Virginia (1784-86) and in the ratification of the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution (1789-91), the case was made at another level: the highest form of religious obedience is voluntary; only that service is pleasing to God which is voluntary and uncoerced; God wants no compelled duty, for He loves the willing service of a joyful heart. In religious liberty a great theological as well as political moment was reached: the churches were freed to be obedient to the only Lord in matters of conscience, and the governments were freed to be "secular."

Secular government is a marvelous invention, second only to the Free Church in the spiritual history of mankind. The old governments of Christendom, with their rulers by divine right and their liturgies and confessions compelled by law, were enemies of religious truth as well as political liberty. Like the new types of sacral government run by communist and fascist ideologues, they claimed final authority and ultimate loyalty. They are not content to be way-stations: they must claim to be cathedrals. But secular government is a human invention, created for specific purposes, modest in its claims, theologically speaking "creaturely." It is a wonderful thing, and those who would take us back to some old or new form of the state-church monolith are the enemies of high religion as well as underminers of our liberties as Americans. Away then with the pernicious notion that before government be entitled to dignity and honor it must be infiltrated or laid conquest by organized religion or disciplined ideology!

Spanning the Bow

Culture-religion is debasing to the world as well as debilitating to the church. We need to span the bow more taughtly, aware that in the Free Church the disciplines of obedience replace cheap grace, and aware too that the Hidden Christ is working in the created order often in ways that we know nothing of. There are redemptive forces at work in the world which the church not only does not control, but often fails to recognize when confronted with them. One of the responsibilities of the Christians, as they cultivate greater faithfulness in their own ranks, is certainly to train the

ear which hears and the eye which perceives when the works of Christ are done by persons not of this fold.

This point comes through in missionary correspondence of previous generations. Sometimes the old hymns led us into self-deception. There is a familiar sequence -

"Over there where the heathen are dying,
Over there where the sin forces dwell,
We must carry the great salvation,
We must go and the glad story tell."

But we do not carry Him! The whole Bible testifies that He carries us. And when we arrive at the most distant place, in however strange surroundings at home or abroad, we discover that He has been working there preparing the way.

Every now and then that note breaks through in missionary society records, as some earlier messenger in Korea or China or India wrote home that when he had settled and begun his work he was surprised to discover that they seemed to be ready for the Word. Once in a while the report becomes explicit, as in sudden insight the missionary remembered that the One who goes before His church is the Christ of God. No matter where we go among men and women of good will in the Great City we are surprised by joy in the same discovery: in "tents" of those gathered to work for better schools, decent housing, responsible police force, playgrounds and space for the children of the city streets, among those who work for justice and righteousness and the City of Brotherhood, through the faith that purges anxiety we discover that He has gone before us.

Now we live neither in a fortress in the midst of an abandoned world; nor do we rightly live in the midst of an order that does not know whether it is "church" or "world", to the corruption of both. We live - those of us who share in the church's ministry - in a history, in an action in which His purposes in the church and through the church and His purposes in the created order will in the end be joined and reconciled.

Let me put it very simply now in the language of my own craft, Church History. The Kingdom of God is not just the final age of Church History. (We understand this easily enough because of our hymns and our prayers and internal tradition.) The Kingdom of God is also the last age of the history of the world. In the Kingdom of God there are gathered up these joint purposes - the history of a faithful people, visible, and the history of God's work in the created order - restoring His creation to the perfection which He purposes in it and which it shall, in spite of all wickedness and rebellion, in the end be granted.

One of our lay theologians has put it this way. He has said that the only real difference between the church and the world is this, that in the

church His name is already known and His final victory is already being celebrated. But He has not abandoned His created order. We need, brethren, the energy of devotion and the discipline of faithfulness which mark a True Church. We need also the joy and the fearlessness and the openness by which we perceive how in the city, in the secular city, in the created order, there are those who serve Him, who declare the great salvation of our God - sometimes without yet knowing the Name of the Creator.



Was Paul an Anti-Semite?

A lecture delivered at Temple Israel Meeting House
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by

Markus Barth

"Jesus of Nazareth was all right; he represented the best in Judaism, and Jews can learn many good things from him. But when Paul of Tarsus became an apostle, there was trouble. It was his teaching and his work that split the church and the synagogue in that fateful way which has led to ever new outbreaks of anti-Semitism among the nations."

The opinion and judgment contained in these sentences are widely spread among contemporary Jews. M. Buber, J. Klausner, Sholem Asch, H. J. Schoeps and many others have not labored in vain. The time is over in which Jewish scholars used to ward off claims and attacks of Christians by defaming the person of Jesus of Nazareth. But surprise, if not regret, resentment, or outright hostility, is still found in Jewish description and evaluation of Paul's theology. Few if any Jews would condone what according to the Gospels Judas Iscariot and the Sanhedrin did to Jesus. But many would consider a worse crime the treason and injustice committed by Paul against his own people. While some features of the missionary work he did among the Gentiles are valued positively, the attitude he shows to the nest from which he has flown finds but little appreciation.

In the following I want to face the situation created by such judgments. While an inquiry into the validity of the more positive Jewish evaluations of Jesus of Nazareth appears inseparable from the study of the criticisms leveled against Paul, I will limit myself to reflections on Paul and his theology. In seeking to reopen the discussion on Paul's theology I shall not aim primarily at the image of Paul which exists in Jewish minds. I believe that the heart of the trouble lies rather in the way in which Christians have understood and sought to follow Paul's theology than in the apostle himself or in his possible misinterpretation by Jews. Though I speak in a Synagogue, I have to address above all Christians and, amongst them, my fellow-Protestants. What if the anti-Semitism experienced by Jews should have its roots in a Gentile-Christian neglect or misunderstanding of Paul's message and work?

We shall first consider elements in the interpretation of Paul by Christians that have made him suspected of an anti-Semitic tendency. We shall then proceed to list a series of conditions which, if met by Paul himself, would actually prove that his theology is anti-Semitic. And we shall conclude by pointing out some features or tentative results of recent research which show not only the absence of sufficient evidence for a hidden or plain anti-Semitism in Paul, but even more the presence of the need of a drastic change

in the attitude of Christians to Jews. In this time of the year, when Jewish families clean their houses of old leaven, Christians, too, might do a bit of housecleaning.

I. Causes for Suspicion

1. The epistles of Paul and the traditions gathered in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles leave no doubt about clashes between Paul on the one hand and diaspora and Jerusalem Jews on the other. An accusation similar to that raised against Stephen, the first martyr, was also leveled against the apostle Paul: he was suspected of "teaching all people everywhere (things that are) opposite to the (chosen) people, the law, and this holy place (the temple)" (Acts 21:28; cp. 6:13-14). And he experienced actual persecution from Jewish quarters. "As at that time (i.e. the time of Ishmael and Isaac) he who was born according to the flesh persecuted him who was born according to the Spirit, so it is now" (Gal. 4:29). Not all diaspora Jews wanted Paul persecuted, and not all members of the Sanhedrin stood against him. Some of the former became Christians, the Pharisees among the latter sided at times with Paul against the Sadducees. Still, Paul apparently never got a chance to receive in an orderly Jewish court all the benefits of due process of law. The fact that Roman tribunals to which he was turned over protected him, could hardly endear him to those Jews who opposed him. At any rate, the extant New Testament records contain evidence of only two sorts of malignant prosecution: first Paul is a persecutor of Christians, then Paul himself is suspected, arraigned and harassed by Jewish officials and scarcely identifiable Jewish groups, and also by personal and doctrinary (Gentile-Christian?) opponents. Also there exists post-newtestamental Jewish-Christian literature in which Paul is branded as a magician and apostate. However, evidence of persecution of Jews by Paul is not found. The fact that he was suspected and accused by them does certainly not prove beyond any reasonable doubt that he had in turn maligned them by taking refuge to brutal power or outright lies. If he should be an anti-Semite, his anti-Semitism ought to be sought in more subtle procedures.

2. It cannot be denied that the way in which Paul interpreted Israel's holy writings often brought him into conflict with the Biblical exegesis and the oral tradition fostered by the professional lawyer-theologians and the conservative religious party of his time, i.e. the Scribes and the Pharisees. What this man of the Spirit heard the Scriptures say, and the liberties he took in his association with Gentiles, were anything else but in full harmony with contemporary Palestinian and Alexandrian interpretation and application of God's law. In order to show that the Scriptures foretold Jesus the Messiah, the savior of the world, Paul seemed to throw out, if not the Scriptures themselves, then at least the special election of Israel, its call, its ceremonies and its morals as they were taught by the adherents of the fatherly traditions. Later Christian theologians, amongst them especially Origen, Augustine, the Medieval scholastics (except the school of the Victorines) pitted Paul's spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures against the literal, historical, fleshly interpretation of "the Jews."

In Reformation theology it was denied that any tradition, be it Rabbinic, Christian-Patristic, or Medieval, could compete with what was taught by "the Bible alone." The Reformers opposed at the same time Jewish and Roman Catholic hermeneutical practices. Hebrew was gladly learned from Jewish scholars, even a return to literal Bible interpretation was recommended. But the demarcation line against the Jewish ways of Bible reading was maintained. The Reformers did not yet know how much in Paul's way of interpreting Scriptures resembles the methods employed, though not the results achieved, by the Qumran Community, by Philo or the Targums, by Mishnaic and Talmudic exegesis.

In brief, the claim that Christians have a superior way of reading the Scriptures has been raised in the name of Paul against the Jews. It has given rise to a superiority complex that borders on, or creates, a spiritual anti-Semitism. Whether rightly or wrongly, the imitation of Paul by his followers has brought the apostle himself under suspicion.

3. Paul called Jesus Christ the Son of God and he described him in terms of God's pre-existent Wisdom, of the apocalyptic Son of Man or second Adam, of the Suffering Servant of the Lord, and of the coming judge of the universe. Such descriptions, combined with similar elements in other New Testament writings, caused second century Christian theologians like Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Origen, to call Jesus Christ "the other God" or "the second God" and moved the Ecumenical Councils of Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon to formulate confessions of the Trinity of God and the two natures of Jesus Christ. Such confessions looked like an intended blow against the monotheistic creed found, e.g., in the Shema Israel and in creedal Jewish literature -- except in very few and marginal heretical writings like III Enoch. For Jewish ears the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Two Natures must sound like an attempt to embrace polytheism, to drag down God to a human or material level, or to extol a man to equality with God. Paul seems to be the grave-digger of the worship of the one God who is in heaven. Even in his theology he never wished to hurt Judaism and to mutilate its message to the world, in his Christology he seemed to have committed blasphemy or submitted to idolatry.

However, though there are quite a few trinitarian formulations in Paul, and though the incarnation and crucifixion of the pre-existent Son, wisdom, image, or word of God is preached by him, this man was not the author of the "orthodox" Church's formulae of the fourth and fifth centuries. The councils of the Church formulated their confessions and dogmas in direct opposition not to Jewish faith but to the teachings of monarchianist, Arian, or monophysite types of Christology which were strong in Antioch, in Constantinople, and in Egypt respectively. Gentile-Christian heretics, not Jewish monotheism, was opposed by the Councils. It is indeed possible and probable that, at the beginning of the intra-Christian controversies, the reluctance of the Antiochians to go along with that type of Alexandrian Christology that was later to prevail had something to do with the vicinity of Antioch to the Jewish schools of Jamnia and Tiberias. When the Antiochians lost their battle, an attempt not to offend orthodox Jews with the confession of Jesus the Messiah lost a chance to be continued and improved. Perhaps Antiochian Christology

might eventually have been tolerated by the Rabbis -- just as other Messianic movements inside Judaism were given their day. Some of the rabbinic supporters of the Bar Kochba, of Sabbetai Zvi and of other Messianic figures remained respected teachers inside Judaism.

Certain is only this: If at all the Nicean and Chalcedonian dogmas contain anything dangerous or harmful to the Jewish monotheistic creed, then the danger and havoc is due to the Patristic interpreters of Paul (and of John) rather than to Paul himself. Actually, in their own way, the orthodox Fathers sought to ward off polytheism, anthropocentrism, and philosophical distortions just as vigorously as orthodox rabbis have always done. They rejected the Gnostic notion that any other God but the God of Abraham, the Father of Jesus the Messiah, had created heaven and earth and given Israel the law.

4. During the Second Vatican Council many people became shamefully aware that for centuries Christian liturgies, dramas, and theological writings have contained references to the "perfidious Jews", and have labelled the Jews as "deicides". Because Paul is the first theologian to have put into writing a theology that focuses upon the passion and death of Jesus Christ, Paul appears to be the spiritual father of all the meanness and injustices done to the Jews in word and in deed, especially during and after the annual celebration of Lent. It would certainly not be fair if Christians referred to the curse of the Minim that at different periods of Jewish history appear within and without the Sh'mone Esre. The evil done here and there does not stand in perfect balance: Christians have behaved a thousand times worse. Their hostile attitude to all Jews is not only a cultural phenomenon but it has flown from the heart of their religion. They have dared to approach God and to do theology with curse-words on their lips. But again these results of spiritual conceit or violent grief do not prove that it was Paul's intention to make Christians behave that way.

5. After Augustine had rediscovered for his time the relevance and stringency of Paul's theology, the Augustinian monk Luther rediscovered Paul a second time. In his renewal and expanding of Augustine's interpretation of the apostle he did not originally aim at showing the wickedness of the Jews. Augustine had used the Pauline statements against the so-called Judaizers, i.e. against those seeking justification by works of law and boasting of their own righteousness, as a weapon against the Pelagians. Luther used the same passages as an instrument against those elements in medieval Roman Catholic theology and church life which questioned or denied the monarchy of grace. In his early (1523) treatise about ^{Jesus} the Jew he expressed the hope that now, confronted with the light of the true, i.e. the Reformers' interpretation of Jesus Christ's coming, the Jews would turn to faith in Jesus the Messiah. We may smile at this triumphant self-esteem and see in it little progress beyond the attempts to force the conversion of the Jews by the means of the crusades or the inquisition. Still, though on his own terms, Luther believed to have become a true lover rather than an opponent of the Jews -- precisely in the wake of his enthusiasm for Paul. Things changed, however, twenty years later. Disappointed by the lack of enthusiastic Jewish response to the Reformation, Luther wrote in 1543 a second tract on the Jews -- a

libellous, dirty, mean pamphlet. He makes use not only of the cheapest popular anti-Semitic arguments but dares to give a theological justification to the slander. Thus the Stürmer of the Hitler period was enabled to use Luther quotations for his worst witch-hunts. If Zwingli and Calvin did not descend as deeply into the morass of plebeian and ecclesiastical anti-Semitism, they were yet not innocent of continuing occasionally the inherited medieval polemic against the Jews.

We conclude: if the Reformers, even the rediscoverers of Paul, were not prevented by their discovery to dismiss, to condemn, and to fight anti-Semitism -- does this not prove that Paul himself was really anti-Semitic? I can only plead for patience. Knowing a bit about the differences between Karl Barth and the Barthians, I suggest that there may also be a difference between Paul and the most ardent Paulinists. It is not always fair or necessary to blame the master for the mistakes of his pupils. The same rule applies, as far as I know, to Rabbis too.

6. A certain understanding of Paul's judgment on the Judaizers has influenced, if not prejudiced, the way in which Protestant 19th and 20th century Bible scholars have read and explained Jewish writings.

Certainly it is a long way that has been trodden -- from Justin Martyr's exclusively polemic exploitation of his large or small knowledge of contemporary Judaism, through Nicolas of Lyra's admittedly grateful dependence upon Rashi's research, to John Lightfoot's Horae Hebraicae (1675), to the Strack-Billerbeck commentary on the New Testament, to the Schlatter commentaries, and to G. Kittel's Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Christian Bible scholars have sought to delve deeper and deeper into orthodox and heterodox Jewish writings and to create for their Christian readers as fair an image of Judaism between, say, 300 B.C. and 300 A.D. as they were able to produce. Outstanding works, like C. F. Moore's Judaism have been highlights on that way; the fantastic amount of attention given among Christians to Philo, Josephus, Tannaitic writings, Jewish apocalyptic literature, the newly discovered materials from the caves of the Dead Sea and early Jewish missionary literature, has impressed Jewish scholars. Some of them are willing to admit that research in Judaism done by Christians has made them newly aware of the richness and depth of Jewish thought.

But even this great concern shown among Christians for Judaica does not automatically exclude any traits of anti-Semitism. For if the study of Jewish literature is done with the purpose of creating nothing better than a black background against which the light of the New Testament may shine all the brighter, then the Jews are still used as a whipping boy. There are numerous passages in Billerbeck and Kittel in which Jewish teaching is almost monotonously summarized as a lapse from the altitude of prophetic teaching. Its heartbeat supposedly lies in promotion of external ceremonies and rituals, in slavery to a legalistic understanding of faith and obedience, and in the proclamation of righteousness by works i.e. of a meritorious thinking which leads "the Jew" to boast of his election and his good works. No doubt, there are passages in Jewish Hellenistic, rabbinical, apocalyptic, and sectarian writings that invite or tolerate such interpretation. But there are

always opposite utterances, too, that magnify grace alone. Jewish exegesis has -- except in very rare cases -- never been pursued with the aim of producing one system of faith or life. Rather it is dialectic: by combining opposite statements and expositions, it reveals what dialogue is going on where people seek to be faithful to the written and oral law. By overplaying one extreme of the pendulum's swing and by underplaying the relevance of the other, many Christians have often proved less than fair interpreters of Haggada and Halacha.

Since the Christian concentration against one among the Jewish tendencies (which may be dubbed Pelagian) was done in the interest of a better understanding of Paul, and led to the justification of his (supposedly) anti-Jewish statements, Paul himself had to come under suspicion. For it is he who appears to urge a most intensive but ultimately polemic interpretation of Jewish theology. If so much scholarship should really have proven that Paul was right in his wholesale condemnation of Judaism, how could the conclusion be avoided that Paul himself must have attempted to smash the Jewish heritage?

7. Not only Christian scholars but all members of Christian congregations, as well as unchurched people who consciously or unconsciously still live from and with scraps of information or evaluation received through the churches' teaching or influence, often hurt the Jews without knowing or willing it. He who calls the collection of Israel's holy books (i.e. the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings) the "Old Testament"; he who takes pains to prove that Jesus Christ is the "New Law"; he who firmly believes that the Gentile-Christian church is the "new" or the "true people of God"; but also all who believe they are justified in despising circumcision, the celebration of festivals which originated before the birth of Jesus, or the observance of dietary laws -- they all hurt the feelings of Jews. Many Jews have learned in the past two thousand years no longer to protest or bemoan the unnumbered larger or smaller insults and injuries that are continuously showered upon them. Their secret suffering and patience is equalled only by that of the American Negroes whom we white people (even when we are liberals committed to the struggle for civil rights) inadvertently but daily hurt by words, attitudes, and gestures.

Since Gentile-Christianity of the West is unthinkable without Paul's missionary work and the specific contents of his preaching, it appears that Paul is to blame for all that is thought and said against the Jews -- not only by self-confessed enemies of the Jews, but more hurtfully by would-be friends of Israel or by people who believe they are neutral. --

The sum of the matter presented up till now is unequivocal. Paul is under suspicion of anti-Semitism because many of the best Paulinists have not been free of conceit, contempt, unconsidered rebuffs, or open hostility toward the Jews. We have now to turn to Paul himself and to ask under what conditions he would deserve to be called an anti-Semite and to be treated as such.

Criteria of Anti-Semitism

The concept of anti-Semitism with which we have to operate in this part is narrower than the one commonly used. It is impossible to consider Paul the author or an exponent of that sort of anti-Semitism which treats the Jews as a special race in the sense of inferior, treacherous, degenerate, greedy, corrupt and corrupting scum. Except one passage in a Pauline epistle which will later be quoted extensively (I Thess. 2:15-16), there are no statements in the Pauline epistles and no records in the Book of Acts or other neo-testamental writings that would justify the assumption that he wished the Jews to be treated as a virulent pestilence, that he stood for forced conversion and favored the burning of the temple and of synagogues, or that he wanted the Jews extirpated with poisons prepared for insecticide.

But there is another sort of anti-Semitism. I mean a wolf-in-sheep's-clothing type of anti-Semitism which abhors with all decent and enlightened people outright defamation, murder, pogroms, but which resides in the lofty world of religious and philosophical thought, which is displayed in the teachings of books and classrooms, and which finds its expression in creeds, in sermons, and in Sunday School. Even people who may be relatively innocent of crude, external, palpable anti-Semitism may be guilty of a more subtle spiritual version. Crude anti-Semitism as already attested in the Exodus -- Pharaoh's Egypt, and in Xerxes' and Haman's Persia, is most likely not just an invention of crude minds or an outburst of subconscious hostility that demands a scapegoat. Rather its real roots may lie in the subtle thoughts of thinkers and scholars who aim at anything else but bloodshed. It does happen that deep thinkers wanting to scatter a few pearls of wisdom have found that they have sown dragon's teeth instead.

Is Paul an anti-Semite of this kind? His shield will never be washed clean if he is the father or defender of one or several of the following doctrines:

1. Israel, after killing the Messiah it was promised and given by God, and after refusing to believe the message of his resurrection, is no longer the people of God. Rather God's election has now passed away from Israel in order to embrace and glorify the pagan nations. Henceforth, it is the task of the Gentiles who believe in Jesus the Messiah, to make the Jews aware of their stiff neck, their hardened heart and the consequences to be borne because of them. Gentile-Christians have a right to consider all the historical catastrophes that befall the Jews as a punishment of God and a warning of that curse which threatens all apostates from true faith.

2. The law kept holy in Israel from its earliest days to the last breath of martyred rabbis was not given by God, but by another deity or by inferior angels. It is not a real testimony of the full and final will of the gracious God, but an occasion and means to increase and reveal man's sin. This law was actually a curse. -- But it's miserable and dreadful function has been terminated. When Jesus Christ came he brought grace and Spirit and

thus enabled man by faith alone to inherit the kingdom of heaven. Freedom from the law is therefore, after Christ, essential to true faith. True obedience requires no law, no works of law, but only respect for the Spirit.

3. Temple and sacrifice, circumcision and cultus, Jewish ethics and customs are not only superfluous but actually opposite to a worship rendered to God in Spirit and in truth. For all external, statutory, traditional things are inimical to the religion of a free man. Personal experience, innermost emotion, complete passivity or individual decision, in brief, religion of the heart, wins the victory over formalized and institutionalized cultus. The drama of guilt-feelings and forgiveness, the transition from alienation to acceptance and from unauthentic to authentic existence -- even the dramas occurring in the individual man's soul take the place of God's dramatic history with the Fathers, with Pharaoh, with Israel, with the Prophets. Communal life and personal conduct are secondary matters if compared with personal conviction.

AMERICAN JEWISH

4. There are so many elements of truth in Middle Platonism, in Hellenistic Mystery Religions, in Gnostic Dualism and Redeemer Myths, finally in Stoic Morality, that a Christian may gladly learn from them. Not only fragments of their thought form and diction, but also the subtle doctrine of mediation between the spiritual and the natural world, which was developed in one of these systems, the experience of sacramental union found in another, the awareness of tragic and yet redeemable existence sensed by the third, and the practicable idealist ethics of the fourth of the named religious trends provide suitable means for the creation of a new religion, even Christianity. Because of its syncretistic character this new religion will appeal to the Gentiles. The renunciation of the Jewish law will also make it easier acceptable and respectable. Appeal to the masses is, after all, all that matters. The failure of the Jewish missionary enterprises and the success of the Christian mission should warn the Jews. If they yet fail to see the light -- well, that's too bad for them.

5. There are some Christians -- Jewish born Christians like Paul, but unlike him lacking the gift of logical consistency and void of a spiritual vision of the needs of the time -- who deserve specific attention and rebuttal. The center of their activity is Jerusalem; their leaders are Peter and James; their zeal makes them send emissaries to all places at which Paul works. Their theology resembles that of the Gospel of Matthew, the epistle of James and the letter to the Hebrews. It is the theology of a half-way covenant, that is, of a compromise which combines faith in the rule of Christ with continued submission to the rule of the law. It adds works to faith as means of justification. It equates true belief with obedience and suffers from an ecclesiastical and moralistic bias. It is older than Paul's theology, but not superior to it. Since the pagan elements incorporated into the preaching of Jesus Christ crucified and risen serve the new religion better than do the old Jewish crusts, even the most refined way of retaining Jewish motifs in Christian doctrine and practice is to be utterly abhorred and flatly condemned.

To these five items others might be added. Those just presented do certainly not encompass or exhaust the whole of Paul's theology. But they represent a selection of features which -- if in fact present in Paul -- would certainly make his teaching anti-Semitic. The worst among the anti-Semitic features, but also strongest proof of Paul's basic apostasy, would probably have to be seen in the fifth of the selected points. For criticism against the teachings which Paul had received in his youth, and passionate reaction against unbaptized Jews who harassed his work after his conversion might be explained, if not excused, on psychological grounds. We might consider it a critical reaction against some representatives of Judaism, not against the substance of Judaism itself. But the fact that Paul turns against some of his own Christian brethren only because they seek to retain what they were taught from infancy, appears to prove that the apostle Paul hated the law for its own sake, and was inimical against the Jews -- just because they were Jews.

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However that may be, we have now to ask whether the five points are really present in, and essential to, Paul's teaching? Be it admitted that Pauline interpreters ranging from Augustine over Thomas, Luther, Baur, to Burton, Bultmann and Schlier have understood Paul in one or several of the outlined ways. Jewish scholars who took the trouble to seek secondary information on what Paul wanted to say have turned to the Christian commentators on Paul and have found more than a confirmation of their worst suspicions: they read that precisely those things were the very virtues of Paul which to them looked most vicious. I have no quarrel with Jews who assume that centuries or millenia of scrupulous investigation of Paul should be reliable enough to permit them a judgment on Paul. All too often, though not always what Christians have made of Paul gave good reason to the Jews to consider him an anti-Semite. But I should like to invite my Jewish brethren to take a farther step. Among many things that are not immediately pertinent to the question of his alleged anti-Semitism, recent research in Paul has turned up new aspects which may eventually force both Christians and Jews to revise and replace worn-out patterns of understanding and assessing this amazing man.

Suggestions from Newer Research

1. Pauline research has swung from one extreme to another. For decades it was fashionable to collect Gentile-Hellenistic "parallels" to Paul's teachings and to derive from their mere existence and discovery the conclusion that Paul was dependent on them. A chapter on Gnostic Motifs precedes Bultmann's presentation of Paul's theology. Other writers have specialized upon the elaboration of Paul's dependence upon mystery religions, pagan mysticism, popular philosophy or other variants of Hellenistic thought and religion. An opposite movement has become strong since the forties: Paul is now explained as a basically Jewish thinker who, despite his work among Gentiles and in spite of his use of Greek language and thought forms, can and must be explained on the background of Jewish rabbinical, liturgical, apocalyptical, or sectarian

teachings. Opinions vary as to whether a Palestinian-orthodox, or a Diaspora-enlightened, or an apocalyptic-mystical type of Judaism coined this man more than other types. Certain is only that Judaism contemporary to Paul existed in so many different layers and followed such divergent strands that the apostle could be thoroughly Jewish even while he followed but one line and lived in tension with certain other forms of Judaism.

It is possible that the pendulum will continue to swing back and forth between these two extremes. Certainly allusions to possible pagan or Jewish items are less frequent and less pronounced in Pauline writings than are direct quotes from the Law, the Prophets, the Writings of Israel and extensive discussions of the meanings of Biblical words and passages. Therefore a third alternative of interpreting Paul gains more and more momentum: the key to Paul -- despite his education in intertestamental Judaism and his acquaintance with Hellenistic pagan religion -- may lie in the use he makes of the Bible of Israel. By this is not necessarily meant the Masoretic canon and text only (which were formed after Paul's days) but his familiarity with Scripture passages read and explained in the temple, the synagogues, the schools, and his dependence upon a Septuagint edition (which probably differed at places from the text of our Septuagint manuscripts). Recent research in Israel's literature and in the underlying history, faith, and traditions, done especially by M. Noth, G. von Rad and men associated with their school, but also the investigation by the innumerable host of those engaging in word studies and history of religions studies, have opened a new approach to the treasures of the Torah, the Nebiim, and the Ketubim. It has become evident that Paul's concept of God's saving righteousness, his building upon covenant and promise rather than upon law alone, his combination of reliance upon one sacrifice with the emphasis upon grace and love, finally his understanding of God's blessing for the Gentiles, are far from foreign to the original and historical meaning of the tradition collected in the Mosaic, Prophetic, and Wisdom writings. Rather they tend to bring to light what was always there and what in different ways is also reflected now in Rabbinic, now in apocalyptic, now in heterodox Jewish literature. The claim of Paul to preach nothing but the -- "righteousness of God according to the Law and the Prophets" (Rom. 3:21) looks no longer like wishful thinking on Paul's part. It has become probable that each and every element in Paul's teaching ought to be checked primarily against its roots in the history and canon of Israel.

Whenever judgments attained by the Christians' interpretation of Paul radically deviate from the contents of that canon and lead to the rejection or devaluation of the "Old Testament", these results have to be submitted to new scrutiny. The only authentic Paul is he whose teachings are steep by steep saturated by vital elements of God's revelation to Israel. What may have looked dead to him and many contemporaries, this he saw come to life -- because of Jesus Christ. The Christian Gnostic Marcion presumed to be the real interpreter of Paul when he repudiated large parts of the testimony given in Israel's writings and tradition. Though Marcion was declared a heretic, much of his attitude has survived in Christian theology. The newer studies in Paul call for a complete break with the Marcionite tradition and for a recovery of the Paul of Benjamin in the heart of twelve tribes, whether they be in their homeland or in dispersion.

2. The notion that all Pauline statements against justification by works of law and all the correlated utterances against the rule of law reveal a basic antinomianism, has become ripe for revision. Of course, outright antinomianism -- whether it has occurred in sectarian movements splitting off from the Reformation, or inside the main-stream of Protestant theology -- has always been condemned by Protestant theologians, and Catholics seemed to be safe of this temptation. But when Pauline statements such as, "We are not under law but under grace", or "Christ is the telos of the law" were explained, especially Lutheran theologians showed an inclination to associate the law only with flesh, sin, death or the old eon, and to understand Jesus Christ as the terminator of the law itself. All that was left of the dignity of God's law were functions as the following: first, the law played a certain role in the history of religion -- it represented a lower stage in man's religious development. Second, it served a certain psychic function by convicting man of sin -- thus it helped to condition man for the reception of Christ's grace. Third, it exerts a certain police-function -- it was permitted to counteract the threatening overflow and dominion of crime. Some Lutherans and the Calvinists have added a more positive evaluation: they maintained that the law beside the last two "uses" just listed (the first being a post-Reformation idea) had also a "third use" -- it served as a handrail to help justified and sanctified people to live according to God's will. Many Christians followed the example of the Barnabas Epistle and Justin Martyr who described Jesus Christ as the giver or the embodiment of a "New Law." I understand that to Jewish ears most of these doctrines sound anti-nomian. They appear to be intentionally derogatory of what is holy to most Jews: even of the Mosaic law itself, its ongoing interpretation, and the attempts to fulfill it.

Now a closer look at Paul's writings leads to at least three discoveries:

First, Jesus Christ is for Paul not the termination but the purpose and fulfillment of the holy, righteous, and good Law of God (Rom. 10:4; Gal. 3:12; Phil. 2:6-8). A Jesus who would have failed to do what (in passages like Joshua 1, Deut. 17, and by men such as Moses, Nathan, Jeremiah, and others) is required of the leader or king of Israel, would never have been called the "Messiah." According to Paul, Jesus was faithful to the law in doing what it requires, in accepting the judgment of God which it contains, in revealing its unification in the commandment of love, in establishing a kingship and citizenry in which the ruler precedes his subjects by doing what is right (e.g. Rom. 8:4; Gal. 3:13; 5:14; 6:2; Phil. 2:1-18). Because of his obedience, not because of an act of abolition, Paul calls Jesus Christ the new Adam (Rom. 5:18-19). Paul never understood the law as a curse, or a power of sin and death, or a world element of idolatrous provenance. Where he seems to come closest to it (i.e. in Gal. 3:13; Rom. 8:2; Gal. 3:19; 4:8-10) he was most likely misunderstood. The phrase "curse of law" means legitimate curse, not cursed law; the "law of sin and death" stands opposite God's law (Rom. 7:23!); the "world-elements" of Gal. 4 are not cosmic spirits, stars, or idols, but (as in Hebr. 5:12; Col. 2:8) selected elements of human teaching. According to Paul it is not Jesus Christ but sin that makes the law an opportunity for increasing sin (Rom. 7:7-11). The law in itself is not "weak and beggarly",

but its misinterpretation by the Colossians is a shame (Col. 2:8-9). It is the flesh that "weakens" the law (Rom. 8:3). The law itself is never called dead or killing, but it is its letter read without the aid of the Spirit of the Lord, that is dead (Rom. 7:6; 2 Cor. 3:6), and it is man who "dies to the law", once he is legally executed (Gal. 2:19).

Paul's attitude to the law is summed up by himself in the statement, "Do we then abolish the law through faith? Far be it, but we establish the law!" (Rom. 3:31). Why and how? Because Jesus Christ is for Paul the one man who lives as doer of the law (Lev. 18:5). Jesus Christ himself is the prototype of the righteous who lives by faith (Hab. 2:4). From his obedience the Christians' faith cannot be divorced. It is his faith, obedience, love that makes them realize that love is the sum and substance of all the commandments.

Second, the (falsely so called) Judaizers whom Paul opposed in Galatia were most likely not born Jews, but Gentile-Christians. Or else they would not have selected and singled out circumcision from among the other 612 commandments and considered it a substitute for keeping the whole law (Gal. 5:3; 6:13; cp. Rom. 2:25). Also if they had been Jewish Christians, they would have been circumcised; but Paul says that they were in the process of accepting circumcision (Gal. 6:13). It is against ritualistic, pagan born distorters of the Gospel, not against Jews or Jewish Christians that Paul blasts away. But he never scolds unbaptized or baptized Jews for upholding amongst themselves circumcision, dietary laws, a holy calendar. He held nothing against these Jewish laws in themselves; he even observed them when he was in Jerusalem or elsewhere among Jews (5:6; 6:15; I Cor. 9:19-20; Acts 16:3-4; 21:24-26). His opposition to imposing the whole Jewish law (all 613 commandments and prohibitions) upon Gentiles, was in line with Rabbinic teaching on the Adamite or Noahite commandments. He was convinced that Gentiles could inherit the kingdom of heaven without being subjected to the full burden of all commandments.

The Mosaic law is for Paul a privilege granted to Israel. This law makes sense only upon the basis of God's promise to the Fathers and his covenant with them (Gal. 3; Rom. 4; 9:4). Since God did not elect the nations, and did not give the Torah to the Gentiles, it must not be imposed upon them. Since even according to the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings the justification of man depends upon the gracious judgment of God, not upon the mere possession of the Torah and some acts of compliance, Paul preaches that no man is justified by law or by works of law. It is his conviction that the king (Messiah) appointed by God, not a book, is the judge of man. The law is a summons to that judgment--for the Jews, not for the Gentiles (Rom. 2:12, 21-24; 3:19-20).

H. J. Schoeps (in his book Paul of Tarsus) argues that Paul's stance on the question of the validity of the law for Gentiles can only be understood by Jews and belongs to an inner-Jewish debate that will never be fully understood, let alone arbitrated, by Gentile-born Christians. It is possible that he is right. But it appears more likely that Paul's polemics against righteousness by works is part of a discussion between Paul and

Gentile-Christians for which Jews bear little if any responsibility. Paul's basic intent was certainly not to depreciate the law as such. He wanted to glorify its function for Israel and to protect it from becoming a condition of salvation to be imposed upon Gentiles who had been confronted with the unified, fulfilled, personalized will of God -- even with Jesus the Messiah.

Third, it is unlikely that there ever was that basic disagreement between Jewish and Gentile-Christianity which the Tübingen school of church history writing believed to have discovered and upon which it throve. Paul himself was a Judaeo-Christian; he reports of troubles he had with some false brethren, once also with Peter, on the question of imposing the law upon Gentiles (Gal. 2:3-5, 11-14). Certainly these false brethren were Jewish-born. But his own report on an official Jerusalem meeting about mission work, and Luke's report about another, probably later, meeting (Acts 15), reveal harmoniously that the Jerusalem "pillars," Peter, James, and John agreed fully with Paul on all decisive issues. The Christians in Judaea and Jerusalem had better things to do with the money Paul had collected for their relief (Gal. 2:10; 2Cor. 8-9; Acts 11:27-30) than to buy tickets for expeditions that were to follow Paul whenever he went and to make trouble for him. This is not to deny that in several places on the mission field troubles arose on the occasion or because of some Judaeo-Christians (Gal. 2:12; Acts 15:1,5; 2 Cor. 11:13,22; Phil. 3:2). But according to Acts 15:24 the Jerusalem leadership and congregation disavowed these anonymous individuals. "Some persons from us troubled you with words, unsettling your minds, although we gave them no instruction." Is this only Luke's way of cluttering history and creating harmony where there was none? There is no indication whatsoever that Paul considered his theology basically different from that of the pillar-apostles and the earliest congregations. In Gal. 2:7-9 the opposite is stated: the same Gospel is entrusted by God to Peter and Paul, though for different recipients. The same God works through Peter and Paul. The "pillars" acknowledge gladly the grace given to Paul. And not only the earliest Jerusalem apostles! But "the churches of Judaea...praised God on my behalf" (Gal. 1:22-24). Of course, since the theology of Jerusalem was never, not even among the earliest Christians living in that city, a closely knit, unchangeable, systematic unit, Paul could not always be sure of the mother church's attitude toward him. At least once he "submitted" to them the Gospel he preached among the Gentiles with fear and trembling "lest I run or have been running in vain" (Gal. 2:2). But it is obvious that he hoped for unity and that this hope was justified by events. "They gave me the right hand" (Gal. 2:9).

We proceed now to a third major point where current research challenges the verdict, and maybe also eliminates the suspicion, of Pauline anti-Semitism.

3. Recent research in the Prophets has shown that the 19th century's, especially the idealistic Wellhausenian, picture of the Biblical prophets was far from accurate. Today it is no longer feasible to oversimplify issues and strain the available data by considering the prophet as a man who resists and denounces ceremonies and cultus in the name of social morality; who condemns all institutions in the name of the charismatic individual; who repudiates

all external acts in the name of personal devotion; who knows of no tradition because he lives from inspiration alone. Much more important things have been brought to light: prophets have a place and function within as well as against Israel's institutions. They break with certain customs and criticize current culture by reviving more ancient traditions. They preach against wicked priests in order to establish a truer service of God in the temple and on the street. Some of them were priests or came from priestly families and saw few reasons to soil the basis from which they had started.

It is just as impossible to see Paul any longer as a rugged individualist who fosters a religion of mystical experience, ethic quietism, psychic introversion, and satanic overestimation of sin -- in deadset opposition to a Jewish or Judaeo-Christian religion of tradition, discipline, corporate responsibility, ethical values. Paul did not throw out priestly sacrifice and the necessity of circumcision. Rather he magnified both by showing what good was done to all mankind by the one sacrifice made on the cross. He calls the death of Christ a circumcision (of the race?) in Col. 2:11 (as E. Lohmeyer has shown in his commentary on this passage), and in Eph. 2:11-16 he reveals that by ^{Christ's} flesh and blood the wall between Jews and Gentiles was removed. Paul did not abandon all tradition, but rather his writings are spiced with quotes from the Bible; with a method of exegesis learned from the rabbis; with the ability to think in cosmic terms inherited from apocalyptic writers; with elements of Wisdom Literature which has at all times incorporated non-Jewish elements; with creedal and liturgical formulae taken over from the Jerusalem church and the earliest Hellenistic congregations. He did not found a religion for the individual existentialist, but rather he founded churches and gave them a staff, he provided them with detailed and general ethical instructions; he insisted upon common worship and he knew no faith except the one working in love. From what is known from the Book of Acts he preached in synagogues until he was thrown out or no longer invited, and he observed the festivals whenever he could. Not the destruction but the renewal of Israel was his goal. Just as Moses offered his life to God to make, if possible, atonement for his people, so Paul writes, "For the sake of my brethren, my relatives according to the flesh, I would wish to be cursed myself (and cut off) from Christ" (Ex. 32:32; Rom. 9:3).

A man who writes thus is hardly an anti-Semite. Rather he stands in the tradition of the prophets like Jeremiah who had to say in God's name cruel words to their own people. A reformer or prophet is never popular among his own people. But this does not prove that he hates or despises them. When Paul posits a spiritual temple as over against the building of stone; when he calls for circumcision of the heart, not of the flesh only; when he puts righteousness and love, brotherliness and humility, full obedience and faith above all virtues or accomplishments claimed by contemporaries, then he wages a very Jewish war. He resists the hardness of heart and the hypocrisy which he perceives. He seeks to move Israel to give honor to God. Israel has been and is still elected to be the living and suffering, the courageous or timid, but always the personal evidence and witness of God's blessing among the Gentiles. Because he feels called to fulfill the Jewish mission among the nations, Paul should never have been quoted for supporting

a "mission to the Jews" which treats Jews as if they were like any other nation.

At any rate, precisely Paul's awareness of the responsibility of Israel for the praise of God, and for his engagement in attesting to God's name among the Gentiles, make Paul a true Jew. He was ready to suffer for his calling from the side of his own people.

Jewish history never was, and perhaps never will be, without internal tensions that approximate self-laceration. Paul is an exponent of that history. But the facts that his character was assassinated, that he was condemned by many of his own blood, and that many of his followers became anti-Semites, prove nothing about himself. Jews have been able to revise their judgment on other queer saints that have arisen in their midst. Why should it be impossible for them to see that Paul was something else than an apostate -- if only the interpreters of Paul cease to make a caricature of him?

4. Paul did not create or possess a system of faith. While there are innumerable attempts to describe or to imitate Paul's doctrines on Christ, on man, on sin, on atonement, on the church etc., and to prove how they could or should be brought into a systematic whole, the variety of Pauline epistles and the tension between their contents defy such enterprises. It is not even sure how many epistles ought to be considered authentic; how many of the canonized Pauline letters were originally a unit; which interpolations, if any, ought to be disregarded; how much Paul identified himself with formulae or whole blocks of materials that he took over from tradition. Certainly there is not "the" Pauline anthropology, soteriology, ecclesiology. But from occasion to occasion, from letter to letter, if not from chapter to chapter, the images, accents, and actual utterances on similar topics vary. This man was obviously not given at Damascus a set of dogmas which he then had to sell or apply in various circumstances to Jews, Gentiles, and Christians alike. But after the Damascus revelation he continued to live from further revelations (Gal. 1: 15-16; 2:1; 2 Cor. 12:1-4), and these revelations -- to judge from all we know about them from the Book of Acts (16:9-10; 18:9-10 etc.) -- never existed in the dictation of fixed doctrines or a system of doctrines. Rather this man was given to "learn by doing." Confronted with new situations he would find not only new formulations, but new elements, dimensions, insights, accents, as well. Like anybody else the longer he lived the more he was able to learn.

In this process he sought imperturbably to serve Jesus Christ alone (Gal. 1:10). Precisely this master made him free not to become stuck with positions taken earlier, but to move forward. He did not always speak of "justification." While he always preached Christ crucified and risen, (e.g. I Cor. 1:23; 2:2; 15:4-58) he placed more emphasis on his death in one context, and more on his resurrection in another. Sometimes he speaks of the first and the second Adam, sometimes of the old and the new man. Now the Old Testament argument is essential to his letter, but at other times there are almost no quotes or implicit references. Paul was not a machine grinding out doctrines. He was a living man who sought to be a faithful witness to God in the midst of different and often adverse circumstances.

Both the stability and the changeability of Paul can be observed specifically in his doctrinary statements on those Jews who have not been baptized:

I Thess. 2:15-16 is, like Ps. 69:22-28; 109:6-20; 137:7-9, a dreadful text -- explicable only upon the background of a very acute persecution in which probably worse things happened than the harassments recorded in Acts 17:5-13. Paul wrote to the Thessalonians, "(The Jews) killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out, and displease God and are opposed to all men by hindering us from speaking to the Gentiles that they may be saved -- so as always to fill up the measure of their sins. But God's wrath has come upon them at last." These verses are not only prone to misuse by people who are anti-Semites by disposition or education, but they are in themselves passionate, generalizing, hateful. Paul appears to refer to God just in order to justify what has been said without direct reference to him. These verses may indeed be called a sample of that anti-Semitism which is sometimes found not only among Gentiles but in worse form in the hearts and upon the lips of desperate Jews. The quote appears plain and powerful enough to negate all that we have said so far!

But more statements of Paul have to be considered. In Gal. 4:21-31 Paul alludes to the story of the slave girl Hagar and her son Ishmael who according to Sarah's wish and God's command were "cast out" into the wilderness by Abraham and thereby deprived of any inheritance of Abraham's patrimony. In his typological interpretation Paul equates Sinai, Hagar, and her children with the "present Jerusalem" where slavery rules. Freedom is only where Sarah, Isaac, and his descendants are triumphant. The Spirit-born Isaac is treated as an analogy to Christ and the Christians, the slave-child Ishmael to the Jews. The application seems clear: The Jews who do not believe in Jesus the Messiah are thrown out from God's house. In this context Paul fails to mention that according to the Genesis story (Gen. 16 and 21) God also protected and multiplied Ishmael.

When we follow that sequence of Paul's writings which has, with a fair amount of probability, been established by historical scholars of the last decades, a passage in I Corinthians (2:8) is to be mentioned next. Here the crucifixion of Jesus Christ is ascribed to "the rulers of this eon." The identity of these rulers is not defined; Paul may have thought of the Jewish or of Roman authorities, or of both. Most likely he identified them with angelic-demonic powers. Certain is that he ascribed their deed to ignorance: "Had they known (that Jesus is the Lord of glory) they would not have crucified him." Cp. Acts 13:27. "Those who live in Jerusalem and their rulers... did not recognize him." Deliberate malice is at this place not imputed to the Jews, and there is no hint saying that the contemporary Jewish authorities, much less all earlier and later Jews, were willful "deicides." Therefore a less condemnatory tone prevails in this passage.

In 2 Cor. 3:4-18 the indictment or condemnation of the Jews is again attenuated. A veil, comparable to the one worn by Moses to hide the splendor of God reflected from his face, is said to lie over the hearts of the Jews.

Thus when they read the Scriptures they cannot perceive that glory of the Lord which is seen when the Scriptures are read with unveiled face. It is not said that Israel is partially or as a whole rejected by God. But Israel is described as blindfolded. While the designation of Moses' ministry as a "ministry of death" looks malicious, the glory of the legislation on Mount Sinai is yet not denied. Only because of the greater splendor of the new covenant, the splendor of the former dispensation is no longer unique.

In 2 Cor. 3 and Gal. 4, the references to the "new covenant" and to the covenant with the "free" are not based upon something extraneous or foreign to Israel's Scriptures. Rather Paul attempts to show in both passages that in Israel's history itself two covenants are found. Abraham has two sons from two different mothers; God's promise alone decides who be the true son (cp. Rom. 9:7-9). Moses stands now unveiled before the Lord, now veiled before the people; only the chosen one can bear to meet God face to face. Paul does not create the cleavage. But the Bible itself tells the story of both mothers and sons, and of Moses' unique function. Since prototypes of ^{both} Jews and Christians are found in the books of Law, and even in the deeds of Moses, the Bible itself keeps Jews and Christians together. Paul does not intend to be wiser than the book he quotes from. While he recognizes his own and the Christians' place in specific features of the history of God and man recorded in the Bible, he does not deny that others also belong to it. As was said before, he participates in the dialogue and tension that forms the total of Israel's history.

Different again is the well-known simile of the olive tree and its branches by which Paul in Romans 11:16-24 illustrates the relationship between the church and Israel. There is the holy root (and stem) -- Israel. There are branches that were cut out and wild branches that were grafted in their place -- some Jews and those among the Gentiles who believe in Jesus Christ are meant. It looks as if Paul wanted to say just one thing: Israel has forfeited its privilege and is "out"; the Gentiles were graciously elected and are now "in." -- But the first impression is erroneous. What Paul drives at is to remind the Gentiles of their insertion in the holy root, Israel. He makes them aware of their adoption by sheer grace, warns them against boasting of their new position upon the sacred root. He goes as far as to tell them that God -- unlike any horticulturist! -- is able and willing to re-graft the original shoots into the original olive tree. Precisely the opposite is found here to the popular self-understanding of some Christians. Far from saying that the Gentile-Christians are now God's people at the expense of the Jews, Paul shows that to be God's people means to participate in the history of God with man. To be God's chosen people does not mean to have a status or character independent of historical events and changes. It means rather to accept God's will and to attest to his choice. God elects a servant, and then appears to ill-treat and abandon him in order to save many others. But God does not reject forever. His servant will be justified.

The climax of Paul's teaching on Israel is found in Ephesians. Because of linguistic, historical and doctrinary reasons many Biblical scholars are unable to accept Paul as its author. They still admit that the contents

of Ephesians show influences of Pauline thought. Perhaps the epistle is Pauline just because of its astonishing deviations from other, even from authentically Pauline statements. For only Paul himself, but scarcely a Paulinist, could afford to move ahead in his thinking as radically as this epistle shows.

According to Ephesians 2:11-22 the work of Christ, even the effect of his death, consists of adding those once far away, even the Gentiles, to the commonwealth of Israel and making of the two "one new man". This "new man" is according to this passage not each individual believing in Jesus Christ; he consists rather of a minimum of two people, a Jew and a Gentile who together approach God the Father for common service.

While this common worship is publicly apparent wherever the church acknowledges Jesus Christ's work and praises God in words, deeds, and sufferings, the author does not limit Christ's work to the faithful only. In this passage those who are circumcized -- regardless of whether they believe in Jesus Christ or not -- are God's people. And the Gentiles are not saved by forming a new or true people, but they were added to those who always have been, are, and will be God's elect. Israel's special function, even if all its members do not confess Jesus as the Messiah, is therefore not over with the Messiah's coming. According to this passage and its context (2:1-10) they remind the Gentile-born Christians that they are called out of spiritual death to new life, and that they are associated to the house of promise and hope, by sheer grace alone. Their faith certainly reveals that the two have been united. The unity is confessed then only where there is "one faith, one baptism" (Eph. 4:4-6; cp. Gal. 3:27-28). But the work of Christ precedes their faith response. In Eph. 2:9 it is clearly said that not even faith is a merit to which salvation might be ascribed. Faith is a solid stance upon a previously laid ground, even upon the work of Christ which reconciled and united Jews and Gentiles "while we (all of us?) were still weak...impious...enemies" (cp. Rom. 5:6-10).

Looking back upon the way on which we followed Paul's thought from I Thessalonians to Ephesians, we observe a drastic change of language and imagery not only but also of content. There is certainly not a watertight system of thought before us and specifically not one hard-boiled opinion or judgment on "the Jews". But what starts with extremely unfriendly utterances in I Thessalonians ends up in the praise of peace and unity found in Ephesians. And on the road from one to the other there were stations having open windows toward the beginning and the end of the way. Some of these statements are prone to an anti-Semitic interpretation, but they are open also for deeper and more friendly reflection. True to its trend and message, Ephesians has left behind and treated as overcome all signs of hostility. In case that Paul himself was not -- in the last years of his life -- the author of Ephesians then it would have to be assumed that he never reached the end of the way we followed; it is still indubitable that he wrote Romans and that Romans 11 is near Ephesians 2. What if not Paul himself but one of his pupils added the

crown to his work? Nothing is detracted from Paul's relevance if he could produce such a follower who was able to go farther than his master? Certain is that the early church's inclusion of Ephesians into the Pauline corpus and into the New Testament canon amounted to an urgent advice to the worldwide church of all centuries to move onward with Paul on the way he was following.

Obedience to the Bible is less than perfect when it relies exclusively on certain isolated Biblical passages. Even literal understanding and legalistic obsequiousness to singled-out verses do not prove a man obedient and faithful to God. God gave the Torah as a "directive" or a signpost to direct Israel along a specific way. Equally the theology of Paul consists of signposts placed under different circumstances at different places. To learn from Paul, as from any other Biblical author, means to move with Paul, and not against him. Otherwise Paul's letters would become as deadly as any other scripts.

If Pauline theology is not a system containing infallible truth, it is yet a way to serve the Lord.

5. There is one discussion in Paul's theology which defies by nature inclusion in a system. I mean his reference to the future appearance of Jesus Christ, the so-called parousia (I Thess. 4:13ff; Phil. 4:5; Col. 3:4; Rom. 8:19). Since Albert Schweitzer's Paul and His Interpreters, Pauline scholars were no longer able to deny the presence of a strong apocalyptic element in Paul. Careful British scholars like W. D. Davies and C. K. Barrett, the ex-Bultmannian E. Käsemann, and the Jewish historian of religion H. J. Schoeps have put equal emphasis upon this element -- though for different reasons. The relation of Paul's apocalyptic preaching to Jewish orthodox theology is twofold. Inasmuch as Paul's word "now" has an eschatological ring (as in Rom. 3:21; Eph. 2:13; 3:5; 2 Cor. 6:2) it asserts what Jews deny: that with Jesus Christ "the end of the ages has come" and the "new creation" is already at hand (I Cor. 10:11; Gal. 6:15; 2 Cor. 5:17).

But the clash between Paul and the Jews need not lead to mutual excommunication. As was stated before, many Jewish teachers, among them Rabbi Akiba, have made similar statements on the basis of their respective identification of a Messiah. Though their belief in a Messiah who proved not to be the Messiah often caused great sufferings to Israel, yet these teachers were not ranked with pagan anti-Semites. Because the course of history since Jesus Christ's resurrection fails to prove to many Jews that Jesus was the Messiah, they may disagree with the core of Paul's message. But they are not forced to negate his Jewishness or to consider him an enemy of all things Jewish.

A second, this time a positive, relationship of Paul to Jewish expectation needs to be pointed out. Paul himself is convinced that Jesus has been bodily raised and that it was the crucified Jesus who appeared alive before his eyes on the Damascus road as he had appeared earlier to many of the earliest disciples. But though Paul took the trouble to collate all available traditions of the names and number of eyewitnesses (I Cor. 15:5-8), he yet knew that he could not show or prove the resurrected one to any Jew or Gentile

in Asia, Greece or Rome. The message of the crucified and risen Jesus Christ contained many references to events in history. But it do not rely on historical proof. Rather it called for faith. "When you believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved" (Rom. 9:9). "And so you believed" (I Cor. 15:11). The existence of congregations praising God because of the witness given by Christ's apostle may come close to a proof of the authenticity of his apostolate (Gal. 1:22-24; 2 Cor. 3:1-3); it is still not yet a proof of Jesus' Messiahship. Worldwide evidence of Jesus Christ's identity and of the success of his work will be given only when he appears in glory, as judge of the living and the dead, to be honored by all powers in heaven, on earth, and under the earth.

In expectation and descriptions of that day of judgment (as in I II Thess.; Gal. 6:17-20; Rom. 2:5-13; I Cor. 3:12-15; 2 Cor. 5:10, etc.), Paul speaks happily of good works, of reward, of a harvest, of a verdict according to works. Since he had at other places repudiated the value of works for justification, it was long believed that Paul (consciously or unconsciously) had here fallen back upon Jewish images of the last day. But some recent books on Paul (R. Bring's Commentary on Galatians; K. Stalder's Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus; E. Jungel's Paulus und Jesus) insist on pointing out that justification "without law" and "judgment according to works" must not be understood as contradictory terms. If the combination of both creates difficulties for Paul's interpreters, careful expositors have yet no right to solve the problem by sweeping one essential part of Paul's doctrine under the rug.

Paul's theology is a theology of hope for the public appearance of the Messiah on earth. It is an expression of hope not only for the triumph of God, of grace, of righteousness, but also for men and for the work of their hands. In living from and for this hope Paul neither refused nor combatted the hope for resurrection which is vital to Jewish prayer, teaching, and ethics, but he expressed it with vigor and he was ready to die for it. If Luke's report is trustworthy, it was Paul himself who on at least one occasion (Acts 23:6) professed his relation to Israel with the following words: "Brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees; with respect to the hope and the resurrection of the dead I am on trial."

THE SOURCES AND RELEVANCE OF THE PERIOD OF THE SECOND TEMPLE

Discussion group I

1. Which are the written sources available to study the period of the second temple?
 2. Which authority was granted to these books in according with or in opposition to the authority of the books of the bible?
 3. Are there scientific reasons to evaluate differently for that thime the written and theoral tradition?
 4. Which were the different concepts of Thora existing in that period?
 5. What were the different concepts of prophecy in that period?
 6. What was the authority and function of the Sanhedrin?
How did it take its decisions?
 7. Are there indications for a polemic in connection to Qumran and the apocalyptic movements?
 8. Does historical investigation induce us to reevaluate the period of the second temple?
 9. Has Jewish tradition integrated hellenistic elements?
 10. How is the relation between the "diaspora" and the yishuv in that period?
-

DIE BEZIEHUNG ZWISCHEN DER JUDISCHEN UND DER CHRISTLICHEN TRADITION

Gesprächsgruppe II

1. In welchen Stadien hat sich das "Schisma" zwischen Judentum und Christentum vollzogen?
 2. Aus welchen Gründen konnten Juden und Christen nicht mehr an einen gemeinsamen Gottesdienst teilnehmen?
 3. Aus welchen Gründen haben die Christen sich an den Kampf gegen Rom entzogen?
 4. Haben die christlichen Kirchen die Thora unter die Völker verbreitet?
 5. In welchem Sinne haben die Christen die Propheten betrachtet?
 6. Können Juden und Christen anerkennen, dass nach der Abschliessung von Thenach noch Propheten auftreten können?
 7. Welche waren die Vollmächte der Boten des Sanhedrins?
 8. Nach welchen Kriterien beurteilte man im Judentum das Benehmen der Goyim, der Halbproselyten und der Proselyten?
 9. Entsprechen die Noachitischen Gebote und das stoische Naturrecht dem selben Menschbild?
 10. Überliefert das Matthäus-Evangelium uns ein historisch verlässliches Bild der Pharisäer?
-

STRUKTUREN DES MESSIANISMUS UND DER APOKALYPTIK

Gesprächsgruppe III

1. Mit welchen Worten und in welchen Strukturen wird der Messianismus in Thenach erwähnt?
 2. Welche Stelle nimmt das messianische Denken und Handeln im historischen Judentum ein?
 3. Wie liegt das Verhältnis zwischen Messianismus und Halacha?
 4. Kennt der Talmud eigene messianische Strukturen?
 5. Gibt es neben dem Messianismus im Judentum noch andere eschatologische Strömungen?
 6. Wie liegt das Verhältnis zwischen messianischen Erwartungen und den apokalyptischen Bewegungen?
 7. Gibt es Kriterien für einen Unterschied zwischen Messianität und Pseudo-Messianität und zwischen Apokalyptik und Pseudo-Apokalyptik?
 8. Wie verhalten sich die verschiedenen Gruppierungen in Israel den messianischen Erwartungen ihrer Zeit gegenüber?
 9. Kann man innerhalb der Gemeindes der ersten Christen messianische und eschatologische Auffassungen feststellen?
 10. Findet man im Neuen Testament messianische und eschatologische Gedanken, die von den der Phariseer grundsätzlich abweichen? Wie steht es in dieser Hinsicht z.B. mit den Auffassungen Pauli und des Hebräerbriefes?
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P R O G R A M

C R E D O - S Y M P O S I O N

COMPENDIUM RERUM IUDAICARUM AD NOVUM TESTAMENTUM

Conference House "De Hoorneboeg", Hilversum, Netherlands

9 - 12 April 1967

Sunday April 9th

16.00 - 18.00 Arrival
18.30 - 19.30 Dinner (Centre)
19.30 - 20.45 Dr. van Praag introduces the
Compendium project (Library)
20.45 - 21.00 Tea (Stalheim)
21.00 - 22.00 General discussion

Monday April 10th

7.30 Reveille
8.30 - 9.15 Breakfast (Centre)
9.15 - 10.15 Lecture: Prof. S. Safrai (Jerusalem)
on Pilgrimage in the period of the
Second Temple (Library)
10.15 - 10.45 Discussion (Library)
11.00 - 11.30 Coffee (Stalheim)
11.30 - 13.00 Group discussions:

Group 1 in Stalheim

Group 2 in Library

Group 3 in Centre

13.00 Lunch (Centre)
15.00 - 15.30 Tea (Centre)
15.30 - 17.00 Staff consultations
17.00 - 18.00 Opportunity to consult lecturer
18.30 - 19.30 Dinner (Centre)
19.30 - 20.30 Lecture: Dr. J. van Goudoever on The
significance of the sefirath-ha-omer

in the period of the Second Temple
and Early Christianity

20.30 - 21.30 Tea and discussion in Stalheim
Music or film

Tuesday April 11th

7.30 Reveille
8.30 - 9.15 Breakfast (Centre)
9.15 - 10.15 Lecture: Prof.M.de Jonge (Leiden)
Messianic Expectations in the Qumran
texts (Library)
10.15 - 10.45 Discussion (Library)
11.00 - 11.30 Coffee (Stalheim)
11.30 - 13.00 Group discussions (as on Monday)
13.00 Lunch (Centre)
15.00 - 15.30 Tea (Centre)
15.30 - 16.30 Lecture: Prof.S.Sandmel (Cincinnati)
Certainties and Uncertainties
Since Prof.Sandmel cannot be present,
his paper will be read by one of the
Committee members (Library)
17.00 - 18.00 Opportunity to consult the lecturers
of last night and this morning
18.00 Dinner (Centre)
20.15 Theater: Musical Fiddler on the roof
(Dutch title: Anatewka) in Carré
theater Amsterdam

Wednesday April 12th

7.30 Reveille
8.30 - 9.15 Breakfast (Centre)
9.15 - 10.15 Lecture Prof.R.Le Déaut (Rome)
The story of Pesach in the New Testament
(Library) Lecture in french
10.15 - 10.45 Discussion (Library)
11.00 - 11.30 Coffee (Stalheim)

11.30 - 13.00 Group discussions in pleno, three
groups together (Centre)
13.00 Lunch (Centre)
15.00 - 15.30 Tea (Centre)
15.30 Staff consultations
17.00 - 18.00 Opportunity to consult the lecturer
18.30 Dinner (Centre).
20.00 - 21.00 Lecture: Prof.O.Michel (Tübingen)
Appraisal of the Sources Mishnah and
Qumran for a proper understanding of
the New Testament (Library)
Lecture in German
21.00 - 22.00 Tea and discussion (Library)
22.00 Closing speech by Dr.H.van Praag

Thursday April 13th

7.30 Reveille
8.30 Breakfast
Departure



Christian anti-semitism—

youth study suggests problem is
not the beliefs but believers

By Merton P. Strommen

OF ALL THE MALIGNANCIES that might be isolated within the Christian Church, few are more hideous than prejudice. Christ said, "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, that you have love for one another." Yet there comes a book, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism*, which identifies a significant portion of today's church membership with expressed attitudes of bigotry. We can be grateful that the problem is exposed, that it has been made a public issue.

Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark of the Survey Research Center at the University of California, Berkeley, are the authors of the book, which is the product of their research and was published by Harper & Row in 1966.

Their approach is unorthodox. The authors freely admit that they do not start with a hypothesis which the data must then support or reject. Rather, they abandon the objectivity of scientists to declare their interpretation in the beginning of the book. The subsequent chapters are in the form of a trial where statistical witness after witness is summoned to establish the guilt of the accused. The authors excuse this approach by saying they were shocked by the data and could not stay within the restrained role of scientists.

Although this approach is offensive to most social scientists, it has served the purpose of making their findings a public issue. It is a tragic fact that church members, and especially those who are often the most vocal in conservative churches, tend to reject Jews as unpatriotic, conniving and dis-

honest. They view Jews, and not all men, as the ones responsible for the crucifixion of Christ. They harbor the belief that a special curse therefore is upon these people.

Regardless of the criticisms which can be leveled at the research methodology of Glock and Stark, they cannot be used to discount a major contribution of the book. The finding is this: *a large proportion of the absolutist type of believers hold anti-semitic beliefs.*

AS THE TITLE itself suggests, a strong inference of the authors is that orthodox Christian beliefs cause anti-semitism. They establish this thesis by showing that prejudice increases in direct relation to the absoluteness with which statements of Christian doctrine are held. The obvious implication for the reader is that a theological about-face is desirable—the shedding of particularistic beliefs. (The authors say, however, that this solution is unacceptable and unrealistic.)

The authors freely admit the dangers of making causal inferences from their data. And dangers there are. A correlation can be simply coincidental, as for instance the high correlation between drownings and the sale of Pepsi-Cola. Both stand in direct relationship to hot summers. A social scientist who wishes to identify causative factors must operate at a sophisticated level of research that is painstaking and costly. If he stays with simple correlations, he can only establish empirically that no causality is involved.

Glock and Stark, while acknowledging the slipperiness of a correlation, still use this one statistical tool to indict particularistic beliefs. However, in one of their last chapters, they do ask the reader to present another explanation or show where they are wrong.

In their own search for spuriousness, they suspect that other causes, such as educational or economic level, occupational status, size of community,

region, political allegiance, sex, or age might explain the apparent connection of orthodoxy with prejudice. But none break the correlational tie when each is considered singly. The authors are suspicious, however, of the age factor. They acknowledge the possibility that the correlation between beliefs and anti-semitism might vanish when the responses of youth comprise the data. Should this happen, then the burden of blame for prejudiced attitudes would shift from Christian beliefs to some other factor. Thus we have a legitimate interest in hearing from youth.

I was asked to test this major thesis by using two national samples of high school youth from my studies of Lutheran bodies. (A full description of these samples is given on pages 260-268 and pages 297-304 of my book, *Profiles of Church Youth*.) I have the responses of these youth to items dealing with racial discrimination and general intolerance. If Glock and Stark are right, then the young people who rank highest in orthodoxy should be the most intolerant and prejudiced; those rejecting supernatural beliefs should be the most humanitarian in outlook.

NO CHRISTIAN can approach the topic of prejudice with his head held high. His Church is inextricably linked with generalized intolerance and a dark history of anti-semitism.

This melancholy account of prejudice cannot be dismissed as "a tale once told." At least every other year during the 40's, 50's, and the early 60's an important research study appeared to say that this malignancy is still with us. To illustrate, a study not unlike the one by Glock and Stark was carried out in the 40's on a Minneapolis population. The resulting close correlation between prejudice and orthodoxy led the author, Kirkpatrick, to conclude that religion is not a fount of humanitarianism and should not be supported as such. The spate of studies that followed led to this rule of thumb: *the more conservative the beliefs, the less humanitarian the outlook.* The general impression of these studies is: *the less biblical the Christian, the nicer the person.*

As might be supposed, I found this attitude of intolerance in our youth study. Take, for instance, the findings on a cross-sectional sample of Lutheran pastors and youth. Although they agreed on how doctrinal items should be answered, they disagreed on how we should relate to the Negro. Our most sensitive youth showed their awareness of this lack of unanimity in leadership. When they came to the item, *A goal of the Christian Church*

is the elimination of all racial discrimination, as many disagreed as agreed. The evidence is tragically before us—the Christian Church is inextricably linked with racial discrimination.

It would, however, neither be true to personal observation nor published research not to add that, paradoxically, Christians are also linked with brotherhood. Some of the most ardent advocates of racial justice are religiously motivated. Some of the most orthodox Christians are relatively free of prejudice. As Allport observed in 1954, "religion both makes and unmakes prejudice." To ignore this paradox is to ignore a reality and an open door for more sensitive and discriminating studies. Though Glock and Stark acknowledge there are orthodox and unprejudiced people in their sample, they unfortunately make no provision for them in their model. I introduced this fact of paradox, not as a defensive measure, but as a necessary context to the discussion which follows.

This brings me to the main section of my presentation—a discussion of our youth findings as they relate to the major thesis of Glock and Stark.

First, a word about our items. We found, as did Glock and Stark, that items dealing with an attitude of prejudice or intolerance interrelate to a high degree. In our case the underlying variable that obviously united the items could be identified as an attitude of tolerance or intolerance. We called the items "Humanitarianism." Eight of these inter-locking items were used

to form a scale. Here are some of them:

Although there is no essential difference between negroes and white people, it is preferable for them not to mingle together socially.

The church should not send relief to communist people.

Persons of certain nationalities and religions should be kept out of our country.

Enemy countries should suffer as they have made others suffer.

Unfortunately, we had no items specific to anti-semitism at the time we sampled our two populations. Now we do. I assume, however, that these new items on anti-semitism will intercorrelate with our "Humanitarianism" scale.

I wish to do three things, using our youth populations: (1) test the relationship between orthodoxy and intolerance; (2) demonstrate that the way one relates to his beliefs is an important variable; (3) show how the religiously prejudiced and the religiously unprejudiced groups differ.

To assess orthodoxy, we used 17 catechism-type items which reflect a theology as conservative as the Glock-Stark orthodoxy index. Here are a few that we used:

To know Christ is to know God.

Miracles take place today.

Belief in the devil is outdated thinking, and a modern Christian does not need to believe this.

After death there is a heaven or hell for every person.

If the Glock-Stark thesis

holds for general prejudice and intolerance, then the 100 youth scoring highest in their acceptance of conservative beliefs should be most prone towards racial discrimination and the least humane in their outlook. The 100 scoring lowest should be the most humane. What do we find? *Our data shows the reverse to be true!* Nine percent of the most conservative youth believed that excluding Negroes from church activities would be justified in some communities. This contrasts with 38 percent of the least conservative youth who agreed to this item.

Take another single item. Sixteen percent of the most conservative in theology said there are some non-church activities from which they could justifiably exclude certain people because of their racial differences, whereas 38 percent of the least conservative agreed to such discrimination.

These two items illustrate what is true on other items measuring humanitarianism. Those who accept the conservative beliefs of the Church tend to show the greatest sensitivity to human need, whereas the least accepting of a conservative theology tend to be the least sensitive to human need. When we correlated these two variables using our national sample, we found a correlation that cannot be accounted for by chance factors. Hence, *we conclude that there is a positive relationship and a significant one between orthodoxy and tolerance.*

The advantage of this finding is that it is based on a national probability sample. It is one, also, that we

New York youth are enraptured by a socio-drama, available through National Conference of Christians and Jews, dealing with prejudices in young people and their parents.



can cross-validate in 1967 using anti-semitic items.

But what accounts for the dramatic relationship between orthodoxy and prejudice? A partial answer, I believe, is found in the type of respondent which Glock and Stark singles out as the "committed believer."

THE GATE-KEEPING EFFECT of the orthodoxy and particularism indices of Glock and Stark is to classify church members on a continuum of absoluteness of belief. This is seen by examining the items. The most committed Christians are those who have "no doubts" and who tend to think in exclusive and absolute terms. It is highly significant that three of the four items used to validate their particularism index include the word "absolutely." These items then, tend to weed out the person who struggles with doubt, who knows times of suspended judgment, and who comes to realize that his certainties must always be held in a degree of uncertainty.

Let me show the effect of this quite subtle distinction by finding a somewhat comparable continuum in our youth sample.

Certain vs. Uncertain Youth. I singled out the 100 youth in our sample who responded to each of the 73 belief items in our study with either a "yes" or "no." This would be the closest we could come to isolating a comparable type. Because they seldom if ever used a question response, we can assume that they apparently had no doubts regarding what they believed. I compared them to the 100 youth at the other end of the continuum—those who used the question mark most often. As you would expect, those most certain of what they believe scored higher on orthodoxy. Their scores averaged at a 69th percentile. The "uncertains," on the other hand, scored on the 22nd percentile of this scale. You could say the first are the more theologically orthodox, and the second, the more theologically liberal. When we use this continuum, our data tends to agree with Glock and Stark. There is a slight correlation between orthodoxy and prejudice. The theologically certain youth are more intolerant and prejudiced (42nd percentile on the Humanitarian scale) than the uncertain (50th percentile).

LET ME GO A STEP further and show what happens when another way of relating to one's beliefs is used. In this case I use perception or particularism rather than absoluteness of belief.

Particularists vs. Generalists. We have a group of belief items for which

the desired response is not obvious. These are not the immediately apparent catechism-type answers to which one might conform or accede. Rather they are statements that express a folk religion. They are some of the oft-repeated concepts of a generalized, non-particularistic religion. (We have found through our validation studies that those who reject such statements are youth of perception and a particularistic faith.) Here are four examples of the 12 statements we use in our scale:

The Bible teaches that God is like a friendly neighbor living upstairs.

God is satisfied if a person lives the best life he can.

Sin is whatever people (society) think is wrong behavior.

Although there are many religions in the world, each one leads to the same God.

I singled out the 100 in our sample who most frequently reject these affirmations of a generalized religion. I call them particularists because they discriminate between items that describe a particularistic or a generalized faith. Their scores, for instance, on the "Justification by Faith" scale average at the 96th percentile.

Now again to test the Glock-Stark thesis: Are the orthodox and particularist youth the more intolerant? For the Missouri Synod youth the answer is No. In attitudes of tolerance and humanity they rank well above the average for our national sample of 2609. These 100 youth score at the 71st percentile of the "Humanitarianism" scale.

It seems reasonable to conclude from our youth study that a faith which claims an absoluteness and finality for Christ does not predispose the believer towards an exclusionist stance. It is not the particularistic faith that causes intolerance, but rather, *the way the person relates to his faith.* Those who hold their beliefs with an absoluteness and little discernment are the ones to be identified with the group which Glock and Stark have identified. The tragedy is that these outspoken and opinionated people are often found in positions of congregational leadership. They, more than other church members, see themselves as the defenders of the faith.

But how about that significant group whose lives evidence charity, who hold to a particularistic faith with a minimum of prejudice? They are the salt of the earth—the ones who light candles. Let me speak of one way these people may be identified. The description is useful because it suggests directions for our educational program.

STUDIES in the 50's and early 60's have shown the possibilities in classifying church members so that the more prejudiced are separated from the less prejudiced. One of the most fruitful distinctions has been Gordon W. Allport's concept of an *extrinsic* and *intrinsic* religion. In extrinsic religion the master motive is always self-interest; religion plays an instrumental role only. The person does not serve his religion; it is sub-ordinated to serve him. Allport observes: "The relationship between religion and prejudice hinges on the type of religion that the personal life harbors. When it is extrinsic, the tie with prejudice is close; when intrinsic, prejudice is restrained."

Last year Russell Allen established more explicit categories for distinguishing the religious-prejudiced from the religious-unprejudiced. By means of his criteria, the judges, from taped interviews, were able to make these classifications with a high degree of reliability: those in one he called "the committed religious," and those in the other "the consensual religious." Two out of three of those classified as consensual were found to be prejudiced; only one out of ten of those classified as committed were found to be so. Here is a summary of the criteria which distinguished them.

Briefly, the individuals composing the *committed* group think about their religion largely in terms of abstract principles, intangible ideas, and relational expressions. They organize these ideas and express them with relatively clear meaning. These individuals have a large vocabulary of religious concepts which they relate to one another in a complex way without using over-generalized or over-simplified concepts. They candidly examine and thoughtfully consider different or similar opinions, beliefs and practices in a frank, straightforward manner. This indicates an open and relatively accessible religious outlook. Religion, for them, is a matter of personal concern and central attention, where the emotional commitment to religious ideas, ideals, and values seems to account for or at least be relevant to daily activities.

By contrast the religiosity of the individuals composing the *consensual* group appears to be more tangible and literal. Practical, observable images are preferred to more abstract, philosophical ideas. Yet their view of religion is apparently vague, obscure, unclear, and indistinct in meaning and reference as reflected in "conventional" statements, vague generalizations, and amorphous, subjective impressions. Their religion tends to be expressed in a small vocabulary of ideas, many

global generalizations and over-simplifications, and a tendency to evaluate ideas as simply "good" or "bad," rejecting complex distinctions. Such a religion is relatively restrictive or closed to differing ideas and practices in that these individuals apparently try to narrow or encapsulate religiosity by rejection and distortion, or by an "insistence" on appropriate ideas, proper behavior and "right" beliefs. Lastly, the religion of such individuals tends to be detached and neutralized. While considered important, it rarely influences or involves daily activities and behavior.

S THIS DESCRIPTION is useful because it helps to define the persons who will be helpful in combating prejudice and who should be sought out to teach our children.

But this raises another problem. Shall we conclude from the Glock-Stark data that a greater number of extrinsic, consensual Christians are found in the conservative churches? Such may be the case. But there may be other factors involved than those considered in their book. For one thing, no attention has been given to the impact of the parish educational program that has characterized the liberal vs. the conservative churches.

During the past decade, the immanence of God and man's relationship to man has been stressed in the so-called liberal churches. On the other hand, the transcendence of God and man's relationship to God has been stressed by the conservative churches. It may be that the Glock-Stark findings should be interpreted as evidence of the impact which years of parish education can make when the emphasis is on man's relationship to man. It provides good evidence, too, on how irrelevant Christian beliefs can become when the transcendence of God is stressed to the exclusion of his immanence.

In spite of the methodological weakness that I have noted, the fact remains that an uncomfortably large percentage of orthodox church people assent to prejudicial statements. Those who should be especially alarmed are the leaders in our theologically conservative church bodies because these attitudes constitute a potent threat. In my opinion, this evidence alone represents an impressive contribution.

S The Presentation of Jesus in the temple is depicted in a new biblical series, prepared under Roman Catholic auspices for school children, emphasizing Christianity's Jewish heritage.



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BROTHERHOOD WEEK

- Harry Golden's views
- The man who shares
- Understanding the Jews





The Shofar (left), is an ancient battle horn used in Jewish religious ceremonies

UNDERSTANDING THE JEWS

An interview by Monsignor Vincent A. Yzermans with Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, National Director of Inter-religious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee.

DO you think that a good deal of the prejudice among Christians and Jews that has grown up over the centuries has largely been because of ignorance?

Rabbi: I think this is true not only in the Catholic-Jewish communities, but also in the Catholic-Protestant-Jewish communities, as it is also true in the white and Negro communities. Americans are illiterate about the history of the slave trade and what this meant to the Negroes in this country. Therefore, when Negroes begin making claims a great many people react to this with violence.

I think, for example, a great many people do not understand what the early immigrant history of the Irish Catholic in this country was. Catholics were confronted by bitter prejudice which resulted in the burning of churches and convents. One of the Catholic responses to this was to back away from American society and form a culture of its own. Americans who do not know this history do not understand the contemporary behavior of the Negro people or the Catholic people. They take this as essential to the character of the Southern Negro or the Irish Catholic.

People who go to the trouble to try to understand, however, why Catholics react in such a way will understand the developmental process which is going on. History can be a great solvent in this way, helping to provide the insight which helps one overcome primitive understandings of the behavior and attitude of other people. I think this thing works reciprocally with the Jews. Unless one understands the history the Jews have gone through the greater part of the last 1,800 years in many countries you cannot begin to understand why the Jews react the way they do to even a suggestion of anti-semitism and prejudice.

Intelligent people who guide their lives by information and seek to understand what it is that leads people to behave in this or that way, will respond to new insights and develop new empathies. It is certainly a first step that we seek to obtain basic information about each other's histories and traditions.

Q. Could you tell me the name of a good popular history of the Jewish people that an ordinary Catholic should read to know his Jewish neighbors better?

Rabbi: In terms of available history books there are now a great many of them in paperback editions that can be easily obtained. One that I would suggest as a good introduction would be "Jews, God and History" by Max Dimont. It would be a good counterpart study of Philip Hughes' "Popular History of the Catholic Church." This book we are recommending to Jews to read because I think there is also a great problem among Jews. They think they know a great deal about the Catholic Church and the Catholic community but in point of fact they know very little about the doctrines, the tenets, and the teachings of the Church.

Q. What would you think would be some of the religious values the Jewish religion could share with the Christian community?

Rabbi: I do not think that Jews presume to want to suggest to Christians that we have the secret answer to life or that we necessarily have a superior way of life. I think that most Christians who believe that Jews have certain virtues would be most welcome to look for certain things. For people who think that there is something admirable and valuable in what they see in their Jewish neighbors I would point to several that I would consider to be more or less outstanding.

Q. I have often marveled at the family life of Jews: the beauty of their familial relationships.

Rabbi: You really put your finger on what has been in many ways the secret of Jewish survival. Jewish family life is; as close as we can say, a sacrament. When the temple was destroyed the institution that preserved the Jews in the exile from Babylon on was the family. The Jewish family is probably different from many Christian families in that the family has traditionally been, primarily, the institution that has given the whole religious orientation towards life to the children.

Q. Would you tell a little about the religious education within the family circle?

Rabbi: It begins in the morning with the parent instructing the child in the morning prayers. The first thing the child does in the traditional Jewish home is recite a prayer of thanksgiving for having his soul restored to him in the morning by God. At breakfast a blessing is recited before the meal, and another blessing after the meal and the whole round of the day in a Jewish family is an act of celebration, thanksgiving and blessing for what God has given to us.

When the Jewish family was at its strongest, the child, by the time he reached school age, had already been indoctrinated into the basic religious orientation and had known by then all of the blessings and had a whole system of religious instruction. This is not thought of in terms of pedagogy but simply as a way of living so that the child comes to know all the blessings of the bread and wine, over the meal and after the meal. It is part of the normal life of the household.

Now this has undergone changes in America. The Jewish family today in America has been subjected to much of the stresses and tensions that all the other families have and this is one of the major problems that we have.

Q. What other religious values would you single out?

Rabbi: I would think the great emphasis that Jews have placed on education, and this orientation towards education spilled over in America when Jews were given the opportunity of achieving a secular education. Jewish parents who came here as immigrants sacrificed everything for this goal. You hear stories of Jewish mothers pawning their watches, their jewelry, their rings and clothing in order to see to it that their children received a good education. Part of the tradition in

Judaism, in keeping with the maxims and ethics of the Fathers, is the saying that an ignorant man cannot be a pious man. One is supposed to worship God with reason as well as with faith. Therefore there has been this great emphasis on education.

Also, we must consider that the saints of Judaism, the sages, have been the teachers of Judaism. Moses, who is the model of the rabbi, is referred to as Moses Our Teacher. This emphasis on education has been in many ways a contributing factor to the strength of the family. It has also developed in Jews the ability to accommodate their lives to the changing circumstances of life throughout the whole period of the diaspora.

Q. Is it not true that the Jewish people are tradition-bound people, people who have sunk deep roots in their tradition and passed their tradition down to their children?

Rabbi: I do not think we should over-generalize. There are a great many Jews who continue to identify with a tradition and certainly are deeply enriched by this tradition that goes back 4,000 years. The awareness of the covenant is re-enacted every year by every Jewish family at the Passover. Then is recounted the idea that each of us lives through the Exodus, each of us is responsible for telling our children what the Exodus meant in the lives of our people, how God with his mighty hand and an outstretched arm had redeemed us from slavery and to freedom.

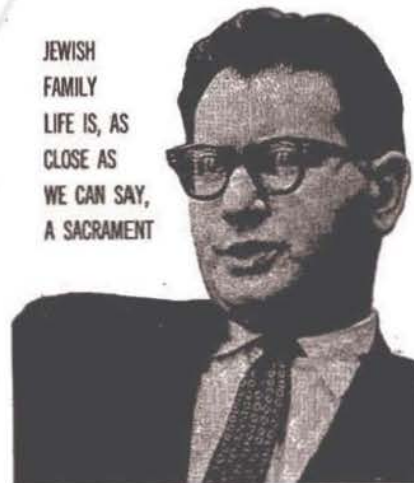
Every Jew has this profound experience of a link with the past, with an ancient and glorious culture and has a responsibility for continuing this tradition and pass it on to future generations. In a sense no Jew feels alone; there is always a feeling of a great identification with the great saints, sages and mystics of Jewish tradition.

Our great problem now is how to pass this on to future generations in the kind of world in which the attachment to these values is not as great and the general culture is not as congenial. That is a challenge that all of us face together.

Q. I have always thought that the Jewish people had a vivid understanding of their being the chosen people of God, the living witnesses of the living God. Is this still true?

Rabbi: There is no question that the Jew has kept alive this awareness of being the people of God. They have felt this as a real thing in their existence, that is, the whole conception of the suffering servant represents Israel as a people as the suffering servant. The New Testament, of course, speaks in terms of Christ being the suffering servant. This, however, is at the background.

JEWS
FAMILY
LIFE IS, AS
CLOSE AS
WE CAN SAY,
A SACRAMENT



of the religious ethnic community of the Jews. They feel themselves not just professing a creed but are a religious civilization, a religious community.

One is born into this community and remains a member of this community and the question of observance remains only one of degree. One may be more observant and another less; but one always feels himself to be part of the people. That of course, has been always a very powerful factor in retaining the strength of the community and solidarity of the Jewish people.

Q. Do you see a danger of indifference in our present ecumenical encounters?

Rabbi: I think all of us have to be very care-

ful about that. If the ecumenical movement would lead to relativism and indifference we would all be endangering the integrity of our faith. None of us wants to see that happen. In fact, if that were the price to pay then I think ecumenism should be put to a very quick stop.

I do not, however, think that is what is involved here. When it is honestly and frankly carried out, the dialogue has the tendency to confirm people in the fullness of their differences on the basis of mutual respect. It does not lead to obliteration. When one genuinely enters into dialogue, it means he listens to another. It means he is open to respect the sharp difference of the position of the other person and at the same time expects the other person to listen to his position. In a real sense, the dialogue seeks to deepen each person in his own religious commitment.

Q. Given the spirit of dialogue that we are all experiencing these days, what can be done on the grass roots level to improve Christian-Jewish relationships?

Rabbi: In terms of what this means to the average Christian or Jew on the street, I think it means a number of things. First of all, it means a basic attitude, namely, accepting as a real force in life that hatred of another person is a sin; hatred of another person for whatever reason and hatred for theological reasons is a double sin. If anything, the Ecumenical Council addressed itself to this reality. The declaration on non-Christians said among other things that one cannot hate his fellowman and love God. Essentially it is a matter of starting out with a positive attitude toward the other person based on respect and reverence for the human dignity of the other person.

Now how does one achieve that? One of the real problems is there is a lack of any real communication between our people of any significance. Statistics show us that this is a real issue especially for Catholics and Jews because 70 percent of the Jews in the United States live in the major urban centers in northeastern America and those are also the Catholic centers. According to the 1966 issue of the Catholic Almanac 50 percent of the Catholic community lives in 42 centers.

Catholics and Jews are also increasingly urban middle class people. This means that their social and economic interests are becoming increasingly identical. One of the things that is happening is both groups are beginning to work on the same kind of jobs.

Thus a way has to be found for people to relate to each other in social situations. We have found the organizations of dialogues with groups of lay people a very effective means and these are now springing up around the country. Groups of five or six Catholic couples meet with five or six Jewish couples in one another's homes once a month and talk about the things that are the greatest concern to them. They are frank and open and get to know one another as people with concerns, with needs. This also helps to develop mutual respect for one another's religious creed and gives members on both sides the opportunity to learn about the other's religious convictions.

I think, too, there is the question of the religious education that goes on in both of our communities, such as the problem of looking at the textbooks children use, of looking at the attitude of the teachers in the schools, the attitude of the priest and rabbi towards each other. It does not do much good to have a child read a good textbook which is positive about people outside of one's own faith and community and then to be exposed either to a religious leader or a parent who is anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic.

Q. What about cooperation in civic projects?

Rabbi: Right. I remember when the late Pope John first asked Cardinal Bea to begin work in the area of Christian unity and Christian-Jewish relations that he especially emphasized that relationships should begin on the level of works of charity which is the easiest way to begin and in many ways the most necessary place. The needs are so overwhelming in such areas as delinquency, race, poverty and others that no one community is going to be able to solve the problems by itself. Together we can perhaps begin to make a dent.

Q. Is it not interesting how we have found in recent years how much more we realize how much we need each other?

Rabbi: This certainly has been the blessing of Pope John who has made clear how it is possible to live in brotherly affection and understanding without giving up an iota of one's doctrinal position and finding that in the human relationship there is great strength. This is essentially the notion that Buber speaks of in creating a community rather than a collectivity.

the INTERFAITH KNIGHT

THE MAN WHO SHARES

By J. ALVIN KUGELMASS



BEN Swig has always been beguiled by an admonition in the form of a very old Jewish proverb he heard when he was a boy in his Orthodox home long years ago in Taunton, Mass. It takes the form of saying that if a fellow Jew in distress asks you for a loan and you cannot furnish it, then it is incumbent in the very least to furnish him with a sympathetic groan.

While the telling suffers somewhat in translation, it is one Swig, multimillionaire hotelman, financier and doer of startling deeds of beneficence, has never forgotten.

And although his bequests have gone to the lame, the halt and the blind of all faiths and to many institutions of higher learning, one ordinary Tuesday last September, he casually donated \$6 million to the University of Santa Clara in Santa Clara, Calif.

The Very Rev. Patrick A. Donohoe, who heads up the largest Catholic campus in the nation, although a very seasoned human being, confesses he lost his composure. There was a silence when Swig dropped his bombshell and emotion took over.

Doubled endowment

The sum more than doubled the university's present endowment and makes it possible to increase salaries of the faculty members who, because of their lofty level of scholarship and achievement, have won international fame in the arts, the sciences and the professions.

The gift was a kind of icing provided by Swig at a dinner marking the dedication of the Benjamin H. Swig Residence Hall for Men. Previously, the soft-spoken, unassuming man had given more than a half-million dollars to the university of which he is a trustee.

It has been wisely said by the French philosopher Henri Bergson that being a Jew "means belonging to a community of suffering."

But Swig will not accept this quite in toto. "All mankind suffers and though the Jew has been plagued and maligned, murdered and humiliated, the story of all mankind can tell the same tale."

He himself had very little schooling and sports merely an elementary school diploma along with the honorary degrees that have been showered on him by many great universities. It is for that very reason that while he showers great sums on all manner of great projects, his singular interest lodges in education.

His relationship with the Catholic communities in the Bay Area of San Francisco is unique since he is probably almost as well known to members of the faith as is Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken.

Honored by Pope

Last May, the Archbishop conferred a Papal Knighthood on Swig during investi-

Mr. Kugelmass lives in San Jose, California, where he is employed by the San Jose News.

ture ceremonies at Mission Dolores Basilica. It may be noted for the record that there was hardly a dry eye as those assembled witnessed the visible tremors that shook the simple man with the incredible mind that operates like some automated miracle. The official documents from Rome were carried personally by Francis Cardinal Spellman.

Late in 1965, when Swig's term as trustee of Santa Clara was about to expire, he vowed he would continue on "even if I have to go to Rome to get permission." He then added: "And if that won't do it, I'll go to Israel and get the permission of the Chief Rabbi." He probably could, at that, since he is considered a titan in that infant nation for he helped mightily to make possible the formation of modern industries against a backdrop of untouched and ancient sites and structures.

San Francisco is frequently called, because of its majestic and proud bearing sitting on the hills overlooking the Pacific, "Baghdad on the Pacific." And Swig rightly is a Haroun Al-Raschid, the caliph of legendary story who went about succoring the poor and helping the distressed.

He intervenes to help all peoples. Recently, for example, because of malicious rumor there was a ferocious run on a savings and loan institution in the heart of Chinatown. The Chinese-Americans lined up for two days and withdrew several million dollars.

Then, Swig appeared walking down the street, strolled into the building, raised a hand to obtain silence and quietly made a deposit. The run stopped as word spread and most of the withdrawn savings were back within a few hours. Such is his standing and such is his reputation.

Lover of lovers

There are stories told of him by employees at the internationally known Fairmont Hotel which he owns. One is of the groom who wished to shower his bride with gifts and luxuries he could not afford. The youngster was in trouble when he couldn't pay his bill. Swig called him in, gave him a receipt, said calmly, "my wedding gift," sent him and his bride on their way in his own limousine to the airport. First, however, he cautioned the groom not to tell his bride. "Later on," he said, "I'm 73 now and I remember how foolish I was when I was married."

At that presentation, Swig emphasized that God's greatest gift to him was the fact that, "He did not allow me to wait and leave what I possess in my last will and testament instead of sharing it in my lifetime."

It is quite palpable how much he has done to reach forward a strong, firm hand-clasp across the faiths.

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AMERICAN JEWISH

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Jewish, Catholic Spokesmen Examine State of the Dialog

ROBERT L. JOHNSTON
Star Herald Staff

PHILADELPHIA — While admitting that anti-semitism is not a "dead and buried" issue, it was agreed here by two churchmen who should know that Catholic-Jewish relations have reached a zenith in terms of understanding and cooperation in today's world.

Citing what he termed is a near "explosion of activity" in interfaith circles, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of the American Jewish Committee's interreligious affairs department, said that what has been an outpouring of "spontaneous relationships between Catholics and Jews must now be channeled and directed with more careful planning on all levels.

Rabbi Tanenbaum joined Msgr. George G. Higgins, director of the social action department of the U.S. Catholic Conference, at the first Institute on Catholic-Jewish Relations sponsored by St. Joseph College here Sunday and Monday.

Msgr. Higgins used the opportunity to comment on a new set of guidelines soon to be released by the American Bishops that will prompt Catholics in this country to "stimulate dialog" with Jews in order to foster better understanding.

He said the guidelines, similar to those issued with regard to Catholic-Protestant relations, will even go so far as to introduce topics of dialog which will lead to an intensive study of contemporary Judaism.

Msgr. Higgins classified one aspect of the guidelines as "negative," meaning those which tell Catholics what they should not do. An example was the inclusion of Jews in certain aspects of joint public worship which might be offensive

to Jewish sensibilities. He said there is a need for such teaching in the universities and seminaries, but even with this it will take time to build up the basis for a solid dialog.

"It is no more difficult to set up a dialog with Jews than with Protestants," the priest said in answer to a question, "but there is the problem of which Jewish group."

He said that like the Protestants who usually wish to dialog within a specific tradition, there are distinct groups within Judaism which could be classified as "religious" or "secular."

Both men agreed that difficulties in dialog over the years were a result of fear of proselytism by some Jewish groups, but they also agreed that the new Catholic guidelines on interfaith dialog help to minimize this fear.

Msgr. Higgins likened this problem to the reluctance of Catholics to dialog with Protestants for fear of engendering religious indifference and a "general weakening" of their faith. "But now Catholics understand ecumenism to be something else, not an attempt at mass conversion."

Rabbi Tanenbaum remarked that Christian ecumenism, in his opinion, helped set the stage for "internal Jewish ecumenism," that is, a sort of unity between various Jewish groups.

Msgr. Higgins added it is not the thought of Catholics now "to do away with Judaism. There will be a living Judaism and a living Catholicism in the years to come. If we survive, and each will be stronger for the other's influence," He declared.

"We'd better get into dialog in a world where believing people are so few," he said.

The Rabbi explained that dialog today must be an effort to create a



THOUGHTFUL AND ARTICULATE might describe the moods as well as the discussions engendered by the two participants in a Catholic-Jewish dialog held Monday at St. Joseph College, Philadelphia. At left is Msgr. George G. Higgins, director of the social action department, U.S. Catholic Conference, who joined Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of the interreligious affairs department of the American Jewish Committee for a press conference.

a new Jewish systematic theology.

The Jewish spokesman agreed that many Jews have retained their identity as Jews because of the threat of anti-semitism, holding on to ties which were more ethnic than religious. He added that if anti-semitism were to "magically disappear" they would be in a serious plight.

"However," he noted, "anti-semitism is quite an inadequate basis upon which to continue identity as a Jew. There must be a

name of ecumenism," he said. "Nor can we."

Both men called for the development of a "theological" dialog among Catholics and Jews, one which would transcend most contemporary dialogs which center on social issues such as poverty, Vietnam and civil rights.

Admitting that social level dialog is necessary, both said they expected more basic religious

dialog to emerge in the future, especially among scholars and theologians. The Rabbi pointed out:

"In an age where religious illiteracy abounds dialog provides a good instrument for adult religious education and quite possibly dialog may revive religious scholarship in the various faiths."

In effect, the proper cultivation of dialog may be the secret weapon of religious education.

Committee's interreligious affairs department, said that what has been an outpouring of "spontaneous relationships between Catholics and Jews must now be channeled and directed with more careful planning on all levels.

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Msgr. Higgins classified one aspect of the guidelines as "negative," meaning those which tell Catholics what they should not do. An example was the inclusion of Jews in certain aspects of joint public worship which might be offensive to them.

The guidelines, drawn up by a subcommittee of the American Bishops Commission on Ecumenism and Inter-religious Affairs, are intended to promote interfaith meetings for an exchange of ideas on various levels, he added.

Speaking during a Monday morning press conference at the college, Rabbi Tanenbaum noted that anti-semitism has been reduced from "overt expressions" to more "latent forms" in recent years, but cited the recent flareup in Wayne, N.J., as significant.

"We are studying this case now," he said, referring to the defeat of two school board candidates on the basis of their Jewish origin, "and we hope to determine whether it is an isolated case or whether it may be symbolic of other U.S. cities and towns."

The Rabbi pointed to the exclusion of Jews from high posts in business and industry as the "scandal of the executive suite." He indicated that perhaps here is one of the last outposts of overt anti-semitism, but one that is fading out.

Msgr. Higgins, in discussing the need for continued interfaith dialog, said few Catholics know much about contempo-

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"We'd better get into dialog in a world where believing people are so few."

The Rabbi explained that dialog today must be "an effort to create genuine human relationships... an instrument to confirm the other person in the fullness of his own beliefs, of his own difference. In this way each becomes a fuller self."

He said dialog is not an occasion to demonstrate the superiority of one position and the weakness of another, but the strength of both positions. In Judaism, he said, this is being made even more possible by the "new openness" of the Christian position.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said Jews in the past have used most of their energies to dispute with Christians; now they can use them to better ends. An example of this, he said, is the emergence of



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"However," he noted, "anti-semitism is quite an inadequate basis upon which to retain one's identity as a Jew. There must be a more positive basis upon which to build a religious faith."

Praising the new guidelines on Catholic-Jewish relations, Rabbi Tanenbaum called them "quite reassuring" in their avoidance of a call to proselytism and for their references to Jewish "sensitivities."

In answering a final question on differences in Catholic-Jewish positions on federal aid to schools, Msgr. Higgins said such disputes, where and if they exist, must be divorced from ecumenism.

"We can't expect a commitment to dialog to affect the convictions of a group. They cannot sacrifice their position in the

name of ecumenism," he said. "Nor can we."

Both men called for the development of a "theological" dialog among Catholics and Jews, one which would transcend most contemporary dialogs which center on social issues such as poverty, Vietnam and civil rights.

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Religious Leaders Attend Program



Many religious leaders of the area were in attendance last night at King's College for a program of Jewish and Catholic dialog. Pictured in attendance from left to right: Rabbi Earl Starr, Bishop J. Carroll McCormick, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, featured speaker; Rev. James Doyle, CSC, chairman; Magr.

Eugene Clark of the Diocesan Ecumenical Commission, and Rabbi Abraham Baras. Sharing the speaking spotlight was Magr. Philip Dowling, Philadelphia. Today, a teachers' institute on the dialog will be held at King's.

Catholic, Jewish Dialog Conducted

Before a large and distinguished audience of community leaders of many faiths, King's College last night sponsored in cooperation with the local chapter of the American Jewish Committee and the Diocesan Commission on Ecumenism and Human Affairs, a program of "Catholic-Jewish Dialog."

Included in the audience in addition to lay people of various faiths were priests, ministers, rabbis and nuns.

Leading the dialogue discussion were Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of New York City, national director of Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, and Magr. Philip Dowling, executive secretary of Archbishop John Krol's Commission on Human Relations, Philadelphia.

Magr. Dowling, speaking first, said that the dialog was a necessary step in the process of understanding and friendship between the two faiths. He noted that the dialog was a continuation of the work of the Second Vatican Council, which had introduced the concept of "dialogue" into the official teaching of the Catholic Church.

For the college, the welcome was extended by the Rev. Leo D. Kilgus, CSC, president.

Bishop J. Carroll McCormick of the Scranton Diocese said the program was another of many community endeavors of King's College in promoting good will. He said it probably was one of the happy results of the Second Vatican Council. The bishop pointed out that fraternal dialog were pointed out in the Ecumenical Council as a means to better relationships. The American hierarchy, he said, is setting out to implement the work of the Ecumenical Council. This is a determined effort on our part to do what the Ecumenical Council wants us to do, the bishop contended.

"Please God, lasting fruits will result," he concluded.

Discussing "Catholic-Jewish Relations: An Overview," Rabbi Tannenbaum told of various ecumenical meetings he had attended with different faiths.

The rabbi said that as one reviews and surveys present relations, he must come to a series of conclusions that three fundamental and unprecedented things took place in our lifetime, and some others have not been resolved.

The foremost spokesman of

Christianism have reached to the root causes of anti-Semitism and they have the conviction to end the sin and slander of anti-Semitism.

Some Jews see the statements as too little or too late. They have seen some such statements in the past. These statements have already caused basic and unprecedented changes, the speaker said.

In Rome, the American Catholic hierarchy created a commission which has published a series of guidelines moving toward a new understanding of Christianity and Judaism. The guidelines are not perfect, but they are a step in the right direction, and seek to clarify the Jews in the most comprehensive of terms. Institutes have taken place at major universities of the world. A certain gap still exists, he noted.

Speaker called for the writing of general ecumenical history to "fill in the missing pages of history regarding various minority groups." He stated there has been little understanding of Christianity and Jews for one another's religion despite many surface friendships.

Magr. Dowling spoke of the relationships between the Christian Church and the Jewish religion. The Vatican Council did give Catholics a brief message about other Christians and only a small message about the Jews.

"We could miss the full meaning through just looking at the document and trying to understand its message without studying into the background from which it came," the monsignor stated.

"There must be inspiration, motivation, desire, a conviction what it is to be a Catholic in the world today, he added. This must be attained by seeing it lived," he stated.

Magr. Dowling spoke of the great contributions of the late Pope John XXIII of the current Pope Paul. Through their great wisdom and understanding they have removed from Catholic worship that which was offensive to the Jewish people.

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