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VATICAN-ISRAEL RELATIONS ON A ROLLER-COASTER

BY Marc H. Tanenbaum

(Rabbi Tanenbaum, director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee, is a widely-recognized authority on Vatican-Jewish relations.)

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NEW YORK - Fasten your ecumenical seat-belts. The latest cycle of Vatican-Israeli diplomatic relations has again become a roller-coaster and for the months ahead, it now appears the ride will be bumpy and probably rough.

For nearly a year, a number of influential Catholic cardinals in the United States, Europe, and Latin America began making public statements indicating that "there was something new in the air in the Vatican" about movement toward establishing diplomatic ties with Israel. A distinguished and knowledgeable Israeli diplomat confirmed those reports of some positive new attitudes in Rome toward Jerusalem.

During three years of ~~xxx~~ off-the-record meetings between representatives of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC) and key authorities of the Vatican Secretariat of State several concrete proposals were discussed as possible interim steps that could culminate in full-scale ~~xxxxx~~ diplomatic ties between the Holy See and the Jewish State. The two most likely models examined were the American model of an Apostolic Delegate becoming a Papal Nuncio, and the Polish Working Group of the Holy See that relates politically to the Polish Communist Government.

Then, suddenly within the past two months, the momentum seemed to reverse. John Cardinal O'Connor, the popular Archbishop of New York and a demonstrated friend of the Jewish people, went to Lebanon and

made a number of statements that seemed both to signal and confirm this shift. Both publicly as well as in private conversations with this writerx, Cardinal O'Connor said that he favored Vatican diplomatic ties with Israel but there were preconditions:

Israel should "assist substantially" in finding "a Palestinian homeland;" Israel should help achieve peace in Lebanon; and, most strangely, Israel should help bring about the security of some 8 million Christians in Arab countries.

Not a word was addressed by Cardinal ~~xxxx~~ O'Connor directly nor explicitly to Syria, the Shiite and Sunni Muslims in Lebanon, Iran, nor Libya - all of whom have been active in destabilizing Lebanon and in massacring Christians for their own fanatic purposes of converting the Middle East to an Arab-Muslim hegemony.

(Ironically, a Roman Catholic priest, Monsignor John Esseff, the former American director of the Pontifical Mission in Beirut, in a telling interview published in the Australian, May 6, gave eloquent personal testimony to that brutal fact: "He said Iran, Syria, and Libya's support for extreme, radical groups such as the Hezbollah - widely believed to be responsible for the blowing up of the American Embassy and compound in 1983 - the fanatical anti-Western organization, the Muslim Brotherhood, and the various PLO factions were the major reasons for Lebanon's momentous tragedy.")

Then on July 7th, the National Catholic News Service reported that Bishop James Malone of Youngstown, Ohio, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, wrote a letter to President Reagan urging him "to convince the Senate to drop legislation that could force the U.S. Embassy in Israel to be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem." He referred to an amendment proposed by Sen. Jesse Helms (Rep., N.C.) on the embassy

transfer.

Bishop Malone, who has also been a forthright friend of American Jews, termed the Helms amendment "very dangerous" and said that "Our position, then as now, has been guided by the overall position of the Holy See on Jerusalem."

How does one explain that sudden toughening of the Vatican line towards Israel after all the soft music that began to build up publicly during the past year - topped by Pope John Paul's historic visit to the Great Synagogue in Rome last April.

There will be undoubtedly many explanations in the weeks ahead, but the most convincing was given to me by an informed observer of the Middle East and the Vatican last week. I was told by an unimpeachable source that during the past two months a high Vatican official went on a mission to Lebanon and Syria seeking to bring an end to the massacre of Christians in Lebanon and contain the brutal civil war with Muslims and Druse. During the meetings in Damascus, a Syrian foreign ministry official is reported to have read the riot act to the Vatican emissary, telling him that any move toward Vatican-Israeli diplomatic relations would result immediately in massive and bloody reprisals against Christians not only in Lebanon but throughout the Arab world.

The Vatican emissary returned to Rome shocked and frightened by the Syrian threats. And then, my informant told me, the emissary ordered his associates to put the issue of Vatican-Israeli ties "on the back burner."

Clearly, one hears echoes of that Syrian intimidation in the one-sided imbalances found in Cardinal O'Connor's recent statements.

The crucial issue, it seems to me, that now has to be faced by the Vatican, as well as by Catholic and Jewish leaders, is whether capitulation to Arab ~~xx~~ blackmail and threats has shown itself to be wise and effective.

The United States and Israel have repeatedly called the bluff of Arab fanatics with certain positive results. The Vatican could easily win the backing of the United States and Western European powers if it would show strength and firmness. Weakness is a sure invitation to further reprisals and loss of lives.



His Eminence

Jan Cardinal Willebrands, President
Vatican Secretariat on Religious Relations
with the Jewish People
via del Erbe
Vatican City, Italy

Dear Cardinal Willebrands,

As you know from the cable sent to you on ~~xxxxx~~ Friday, June 21, the International Jewish Committee, ~~for~~ Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC) and its members agencies are very concerned about a number of aspects of the "Vatican Notes" published in L'Osservatore Romano on June 24.

As indicated in our telex response ^{5/} to those "Notes," we welcome those positive affirmations which confirm the heartening growth in mutual understanding and reciprocal esteem ~~which~~ that has unfolded during the past twenty years since the adoption of "Nostra Aetate."

apparent
At the same time, we are deeply concerned over what we regard as regressive ~~theological~~ formulations regarding the Catholic Church's present views toward the autonomy and legitimacy of Judaism and the Jewish people. ~~xxxxx~~ A number of references in the "Notes" recall some of the most troublesome formulations in Eusebius' "Preparatio Evangelica," which reduce our proud faith to the status of ~~xxxxxx~~ second-class validity.

recent pronouncement of Pope John Paul II,
~~No self-respecting religious community can enter comfortably as a partner in dialogue when so conceived by the other. Beyond that, these formulations depart significantly from the more advanced conceptions contained in the 1975 Vatican Guidelines, as well as in almost every other major declaration issued by the National Episcopacies in France, Germany, Belgium, Austria, the Netherlands, Brazil, and the United States.~~

In addition, as we indicated, we are dismayed over the wholly inadequate formulations, in our view, of the Nazi holocaust and the State of Israel.

therefore a
The purpose of this communication is to seek ~~an urgent~~ meeting with you of ~~our leadership~~ at the earliest possible date ~~in Rome~~ in order to discuss these "Notes" and their implications for ~~our~~ future relationship. It is essential that we arrive at some fundamental clarifications of these questions ~~before we proceed with plans for our participation in the October 1985 observances in Rome commemorating the adoption of Nostra Aetate.~~

best
May we look forward to your reply at your early convenience?

Respectfully yours,

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman

Chairman

we are Above all, we are dismayed by the failure to engage in consultation with us on the notes which ~~have been in preparation since before March 1982~~ *apparently* ~~is now~~ *apparent* This represents a departure in the previous practice established in connection with the 1975 Vatican Guidelines.

ISRAEL AND THE VATICAN--AGAIN

by

Balfour Brickner

Rabbi, Stephen Wise Free Synagogue

Co-chair, Interreligious Affairs Committee, Synagogue Council of America

October 28, 1985 marked the 20th anniversary of "Nostra Aetate," "In Our Time," the famous papal encyclical, formally and officially repudiating anti-Semitism and removing the perfidious deicide charge from the Jewish people. That document and all that flowed from it revolutionized Catholic-Jewish relations throughout the world and especially here in America. Not surprisingly, this date was deliberately chosen by Pope John Paul II to meet at the Vatican with the delegation of the Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews and the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Relations. This was our 12th meeting together, our second visit with the Pope in the past 6 years.

I am a veteran of those meetings^{and} I was part of the latest delegation. Included in that group were also two distinguished representatives of the Israeli's Council for Interreligious Consultations, Jerusalem, and Dr. Gerhart Reigner, senior official of the World Jewish Congress and recognized by all as the dean in these matters for the past four decades.

While the Holy See statement to us on this occasion contained no specific reference to the State of Israel, he did specifically refer to the recently promulgated "Notes on the correct way to present the Jews and Judaism in preaching and catechesis in the Catholic church." These "Notes" do refer to Israel. In fact, it is here that one finds the first official reference to the state and to the people of Israel. The "Notes" reflect official Vatican policy. Their promulgation in June, 1985 and Jewish unhappiness with part of their contents partially stimulated our recent meeting in Rome. What they, the "Notes" say about Israel should be read carefully.

"...the existence of the State of Israel and its political options should be envisaged not in a perspective which is in itself religious, but in their reference to the common principles of international law."

Admittedly, a somewhat tortured paragraph, obviously writting by a well-schooled, seasoned curial hand. Nuanced--almost too cleverly. The "Notes" then proceed:

"The permanence of Israel...is a historic fact and a sign to be interpreted within God's design..."

But, what precedes these paragraphs is even more important:

"Christians are invited to understand this religious attachment (to Israel) which finds its roots in Biblical tradition, without however, making their own any particular religious interpretation of this relationship (cf. Declaration of the US Conference of Catholic Bishops, Nov. 20, 1975).

Dr. Eugene Fisher, Executive Secretary for the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, verbally and in a written text, explained the unique significance of that reference. Traditionally the Holy See does not quote other Catholic bodies. This is the only direct reference in the "Notes" to any statement of any other Episcopal conference, a fact which ^{significance.} heightens its/

The U.S. Catholic Bishop's statement declared:

"In dialogue with Christians, Jews have explained that they do not consider themselves as a Church, a sect, or a denomination, as is the case among Christian communities, but rather as a peoplehood that is not solely racial, ethnic or religious, but in a sense a composite of all these. It is for such reasons that an overwhelming majority of Jews see themselves bound in one way or another to the land of Israel. Most Jews see this tie to the land as essential to their Jewishness. Whatever difficulties Christians may experience in sharing this view, they should strive to understand this link between land and people which Jews have expressed in their writings and worship throughout two millenia as a longing for the homeland, holy Zion."

We were further reminded of the words of Pope John Paul II's apostolic letter of Good Friday, 1984:

"For the Jewish people who live in the State of Israel and who preserve on that land such precious testimonies to their history and their faith, we must ask for the desired security and the due tranquility that is the prerogative of every nation and condition of life and of progress for every society."

To even the uninitiated, such language might, at least, suggest de facto, if not de jure, recognition of Israel by the Holy See. In fact, such recognition is already a part of political life. Anyone, especially Israel's ambassador to Rome,

as well as her special representative to the Vatican, knows this. The issue is neither de facto nor de jure recognition. It is a matter of diplomatic recognition. Even Arabs know this. They also know that the Vatican does not grant diplomatic recognition either to the State of Jordan or to a whole host of other nations in the world (more than 50.)

There are other signs of de facto recognition. An official Apostolic delegate is to be found in Jerusalem, strategically situated in the valley of Gehinnoam, between east and west Jerusalem. The Roman Catholic Church, thankfully and prayerfully, received back the famous hospice of Notre Dame in Jerusalem. It has been restored by the government of Israel after the 1967 war.

Most interesting, of course, is the fact that, at this moment, the government of Israel itself does not seem to press for full diplomatic relationship. Perhaps it too understand that such an act by the Holy See could stimulate serious bloodshed directed against Jews and Catholics in Arab countries. Elements of those populations have histories that suggest that they are easily stimulated to violent and terrorist behavior. Is a formal legal act, given everything that is now in place, worth the risk of another religious pogrom?

Had the spokespersons for the World Jewish Congress, who so publicly made this demand for recognition at, strangely enough, a dinner sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League, been present in Rome and participated in our deliberations there (in addition to Dr. Reigner for other representatives of the World Jewish Congress attended the Rome meeting), perhaps they would have reconsidered the nature of their remarks. Clearly they did not coordinate their president's New York statement with those of other members of their organization who, only a week earlier had spent close to an hour with the Pope, and who subsequently met for 3 days with his representatives. In light of the above, one cannot help wondering what stimulated some quarters of the organized American Jewish Community, publicly to press the Vatican for more.

At that dinner, it might have been far more productive to have challenged the Cardinal of the Archdiocese of New York to strengthen a working, viable Catholic-Jewish Relations Committee in this city where matters of real substance could be seriously explored, including of course the cardinal's rather disturbing attempt to equate abortion with the holocaust. In fact, no such working committee now exists. What does exist is a small group, whose Jewish constituents are basically Jewish organizational professionals. Usually they try to plan high visibility events designed to promote their own organizations' images. There is either no, or very little,

representation of congregational clergy, either Catholic or Jewish, those who live and work in the concrete roots of this city.

Once, some years ago, during the tenure of Cardinal Cook, a feeble effort was made to initiate such a committee. It was weak, ineffective and died. I know, I was a part of its birth and went to its funeral.

A cardinal, giving speeches to Jewish organizations or groups, no matter how sincere, is no substitute for an ongoing working relationship. Neither are ceremonial dinners where distinguished princes of the church receive fabricated awards, an adequate replacement for the kind of ongoing efforts that emerge only from people working together in a local community or neighborhood. Other media reports have suggested that Catholic-Jewish relations in Manhattan are booming. In fact, they hardly exist, and here in a city that holds the largest group of self-assured, sometimes somewhat aggressive, Catholic and Jewish populations.

Dramatic challenges, imaged posturing, designed as much to attract media attention as they are designed to produce professional relationships between the two groups, will not be effective. In fact, they may damage a working relationship that has taken 20 years of careful work to establish. While, surely, I am no apologist for the Pope, or for Vatican bureaucracy, clearly no Jewish body can publicly embarrass the Pope or the Vatican into doing what we Jews feel should be done. We cannot dictate our terms to them. The Vatican is a state as well as a church. Like any state, it has its own timetable. It has its own foreign policy considerations. It will act in its interests in its own time.

In the meanwhile, Catholic-Jewish relations proceed. One cannot meet the Pope, or dialogue with his delegated authorities without coming away from those encounters convinced that the Roman Catholic Church is serious about its positive, improving relations with the Jews. Sometimes, I wonder how serious the Jewish community is about those relations. If we continue publicly to "shoot ourselves in the foot," as we seem to do with increasing frequency, we just might create a situation where even Catholics begin to wonder about the answers to that question.

#

Catholic-Jewish relations seen improved since '65

By ROBERTA ELLIOTT

A two-day interfaith conference in Sao Paulo, Brazil, last week is seen as evidence that Catholic-Jewish relations have indeed been improving during the last 20 years.

The conference — sponsored by the National Conference of Brazilian Catholic Bishops, the American Jewish Committee and the Confederation of Brazilian Jewish Communities — was attended by 75 Jews and Catholics, including 15 prelates from all over Latin America.

As one of the final acts of the assembly, a resolution was passed by unanimous vote stating that "Zionism does not carry the stain of despotism or racism."

Six other resolutions had been passed earlier.

Among them were declarations seeking changes in Brazilian textbooks to include "five centuries of Jewish presence in the Americas" and a call for Catholics and Jews to "confront the Holocaust together."

The conference in Brazil, the world's largest Catholic country, was an outgrowth of the interreligious conclave at the Vatican last month to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the passage of *Nostra Aetate*, the Vatican document which revolutionized the church's approach to Judaism.

Representatives of Jewish organizations met with Pope John Paul II Oct. 28 amid interreligious tension, caused by publication earlier in the year of "Notes on the Correct Way to Present Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church." In that

document, the church stated: "Israel should be envisaged not in a perspective which is itself religious."

Viewed by the Jewish community as backsliding by the Vatican after 20 years of forward movement, the notes prompted attacks by World Jewish Congress Chairman Edgar Bronfman and its executive vice president, Israel Singer, neither of whom attended the Vatican meeting. Their primary criticism is the failure of the Vatican to recognize the state of Israel diplomatically or religiously. Several times in recent weeks, they have used public forums to urge recognition by the Holy See.

According to Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, international affairs director of the American Jewish Committee who has been involved in interreligious discussion since Vatican II in the mid-1960s and who reported on the Sao Paulo meeting, such demands are "counterproductive."

"The Vatican is currently traumatized by the massacre of Christians in Lebanon; it is afraid of massive reprisals against Christians in Moslem countries throughout the world if it recognizes Israel," Tanenbaum said. "By making this the central issue of 20 years of interreligious dialogue, untold damage could result."

As a result, he favors ongoing efforts by the Israeli government through its embassy in Rome, citing Prime Minister Shimon Peres' Vatican visit in February as proof of work in progress.

Tanenbaum also rejected accusations that the dialogue has proceeded at a "snail's pace," pointing

to "less flamboyant but fundamental changes" that have occurred over the last two decades. As an example, he cited alteration in Catholic school textbooks published in the United States.

"All six major Catholic textbook publishers have repeatedly submitted texts to my office prior to publication, with the result that not one text in use today includes a single anti-Semitic reference," he claimed.

Nevertheless, Tanenbaum admitted concern about certain aspects of interreligious relations, made more acute by publication of the notes, including the church's statement that Judaism and Catholicism cannot be seen as "parallel ways to salvation," its "trivialization" of the Holocaust and its stance on Israel.

"In this document we see the two faces of the church," he said, referring to the conservative elements led by Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, Vatican prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, and the liberal faction of Johannes Cardinal Willebrands, president of the Vatican Secretariat on Religious Relations.

Tanenbaum said he and his associates were greatly encouraged by Willebrands' speech at the opening session of the *Nostra Aetate* celebration in which the cardinal reconfirmed, "... there could never be a question of drawing back from *Nostra Aetate*. There can only be a question about going forward."

Virtually all Jewish participants concluded that the Vatican meeting had put "the locomotive of Catholic-Jewish relations back on the tracks," Tanenbaum said.

At parallel *Nostra Aetate* commemorations, Catholics and Jews met last week in Santiago, Chile; Seattle; and Lancaster, Pa. According to Tanenbaum, conferences will be held in the near future in Germany and Central America.

MAR 28 1986

Arthur Bloch
Pio Taglio

EAV Associates, Inc.

Suite 1924
250 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10107
(212) 582-8777

- ~~Cass~~ Descours (Sun. lunch w. Pope)
- Sylvestrini/Cassavola
- grass roots - outside N.Y.

March 27, 1986

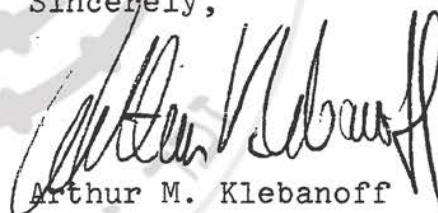
Rabbi Mark Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

You may recall our conversation some time ago regarding Vatican recognition of Israel. Steps that we initiated many months ago have now resulted in the enclosed letter to Pope John Paul II from ten American Governors. Governor Bruce Babbitt of Arizona organized the effort.

Hopefully, this won't hurt.

Sincerely,



Arthur M. Klebanoff

AMK:MJV

cc: David Hirschhorn

Enclosure

March 1, 1986

Your Holiness:

As governors of states throughout the United States of America, we welcome Your Holiness' statements urging religious toleration and ecumenical understanding. Your activism on issues of world conflict, particularly in the turmoil of the Middle East, has helped lay the ground work for peace.

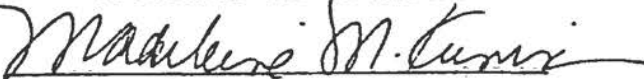
We also applaud your regular and productive contacts with Jewish leaders from this country as well as from Israel, and appreciate your pronouncements condemning antisemitism. We observe that the Vatican has close and frequent ties with the State of Israel, a de facto recognition. We also recognize your deep concern for the safety and well-being of Christians living throughout that troubled region.

Today, we believe Your Holiness could take a most important leadership step by extending formal diplomatic recognition to the State of Israel. This historic action would enjoy the overwhelming support of the citizens of all the United States of America.

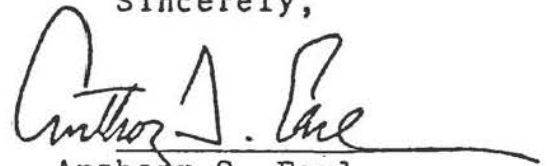
Sincerely,



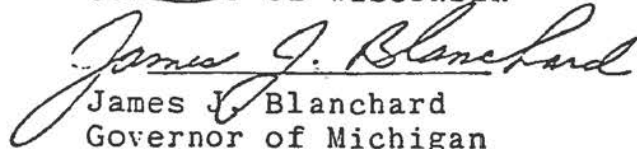
Bruce Babbitt
Governor of Arizona



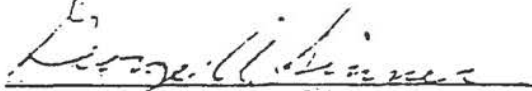
Madeleine M. Kunin
Governor of Vermont

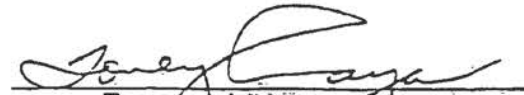



Anthony S. Earl
Governor of Wisconsin

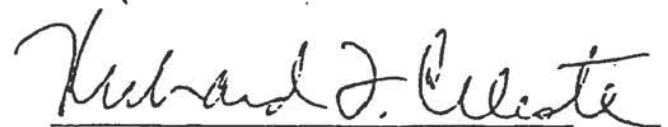



James J. Blanchard
Governor of Michigan

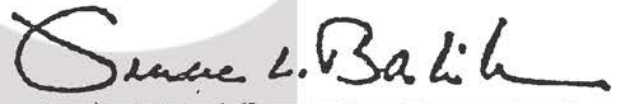

George A. Sinner
Governor of North Dakota


Toney Anaya
Governor of New Mexico

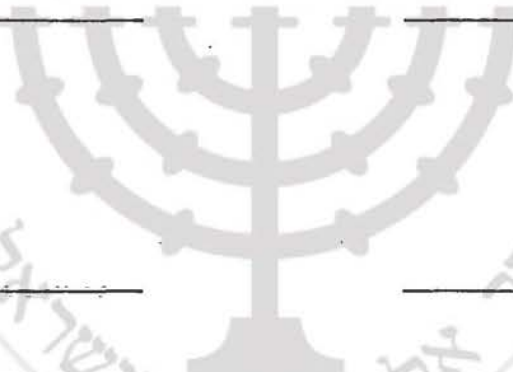

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DRAFT

THE VATICAN? ZIONISM, AND ISRAEL - MYTHS AND REALITIES

by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

(Rabbi Tanenbaum, director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee, is a widely-regarded expert on Vatican-Jewish relations. For 25 years he served as AJC's national interreligious affairs director, pioneering in virtually every aspect of Jewish-Christian relations. He was the only rabbi present as guest observer at Vatican Council II, and was an organizer of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Relations (IJCIC) which relates to the Vatican and the World Council of Churches.)

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It is impossible to understand the current state of Vatican-Israeli relations without having a sound, balanced knowledge of the history of the Vatican's attitudes and policies toward Judaism, the Jewish people, Zionism and the State of Israel.

Contrary to some conventional wisdom, that history has not been static. ~~As perceived in some Jewish quarters,~~ The Vatican's views and actions have not been one of unrelieved anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, nor of unambiguous opposition to the creation of the State of Israel. And in one of the areas of greatest emotion and misunderstanding - the Vatican's policies have not been fixed on the territorial internationalization of the entire city of Jerusalem.

This paper intends to sketch the evolution and changes of Vatican policies toward Zionism and Israel, suggesting that such comprehension is essential for any realistic and responsible strategy for constructive dealing with the present situation.

I - PHASE I - VATICAN'S FIRM OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM AND ISRAEL

From the inception of the Zionist movement in the late 1890s down to the creation of the State of Israel in 1947-48, the Vatican was mainly opposed to Zionism and its central objective - the establishment of a Jewish State in the Holy Land. The word "mainly" is intended as a qualifier because, in the context of general opposition during this period, there were some Papal and Vatican statements which were sympathetic to Zionism's purposes of creating a Jewish state in Palestine.

That historic pattern of ambivalence - denial/affirmation - becomes important for an understanding of the later evolution of Vatican policies toward the State of Israel, and in particular, to the status of the city of Jerusalem.

It seems clear that the Vatican's early opposition to Zionism and to the Jewish State was based on (a) theological reasons; (b) historical reasons; ~~ix~~ i.e., Christian claims to "own" Palestine since the days of Crusader invasion and domination; and (c) socio-political reasons; i.e., the intense pressures from Arab Christians and their fear of reprisals from the Arab-Muslim world.

THEOLOGICAL REASONS FOR OPPOSITION

On May 19, 1896 - three months after the appearance of The Jewish State, Theodor Herzl had an interview with Msgr. Antonio Agliardi, the Papal Nuncio in Vienna, for the purpose of enlisting the support of the Catholic Church for the Zionist movement. Herzl explained to Agliardi that he did not want a Jewish "kingdom" in the Holy Land and that he would be prepared to accord extraterritorial status to the holy places. According to Herzl's Diaries, the Nuncio gave him a cold reception.

Herzl persisted in his efforts to win Catholic support. On January 22, 1904, he was received by Rafael Cardinal Merry del Val, the Papal Secretary of State. The Cardinal made it clear ~~that~~ to Herzl that the Church could not allow the Jews to take possession of the Holy Land as long as they denied the divinity of Jesus Christ.

In response to Herzl's assurances that the holy places could have extraterritorial status, Cardinal Merry del Val said that the holy places could not be regarded as entities separate from the Holy

Land. Three days later on January 25, Herzl held a lengthy audience with Pope Pius X (1903-1914), who had assumed the Papacy the year before. While Pius X had good personal relations with the Jews, he too told Herzl that the Church could not favor Israel's return to Zion as long as the Jews did not accept Jesus as the Savior. In his Diaries, Herzl quotes the Pope as having said:

"We cannot prevent the Jews from going to Jerusalem but we could never sanction it....The Jews have not recognized our Lord; therefore we cannot recognize the Jewish people."

Herzl then pointed to the fact that the Ottoman overlords of Palestine also were not Christians. The Pope replied:

"I know, it is not pleasant to see the Turks in possession of our Holy Places. We simply have to put up with that. But to support the Jews in the acquisition of the Holy Places, that we cannot do."

"If you come to Palestine and settle your people there," the Pope then said to Herzl, "we want to have churches and priests ready to baptize all of you."

Quite possibly to soften the effect of Vatican rejection, Cardinal Merry del Val, in a meeting several weeks later, promised Herzl's close associate Heinrich York-Steiner that if all the Jews wanted ~~to~~ ^{was} to be "admitted" to the land of their ancestors, he would regard that as a "humanitarian" endeavor and would not impede their efforts to found colonies in Palestine.

The Vatican's general opposition to Zionism and to a Jewish State - based primarily on theological grounds - thus dominated the Holy See's policies from the late 1890s until the end of World War I.

A HISTORIC REASONS FOR OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM/ISRAEL

The Holy See's opposition to the establishment of Jewish sovereignty over the Holy Land has been traced by some scholars to "a Catholic nostalgia for the Crusades." In his landmark study, *Israel and the Holy Places of Christendom*, Dr. Walter Zander (Praeger Publishers, 1971), cites the writings of a Catholic authority, Pascal Baldi, "who considered it providential that 'Jerusalem was held under the domination of Italy, France and England (in this order!),' 'the three nations who had played so great a part in the Holy Wars', and who looked forward to 'the renewal of the splendours of the first century of the Crusades.'" "

Zander observes that "of the twin ideals which had dominated the Crusades," one was "the liberation of the Christian sanctuaries" from the ruling Moslem "infidels and heathens." That goal had been realized by the combined efforts of the Allies through their defeat of the Ottoman Turks in World War I. The second goal: Rome set itself to the task of ~~fulfilling~~ reestablishment of Latin Christianity in Palestine.

Originally, ~~Rome~~ the Vatican officially entrusted France with the role of protector of Catholic interests in the Levant, and urged France to become the protector over the Holy Land. When the Palestine Mandate was ultimately given to (Protestant) Great Britain, the Vatican attempted to secure a leading influence of Catholic countries in the control of the Holy Places.

Ironically, the Gospels do not contain any obligation for the Christian to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or the Holy ~~Land~~ Land. There is no connection between Christian salvation and Christian control or domination of the Holy Land. As Dr. Zander documents, many of the Church Fathers denied that pilgrimages to the Holy Land established a special spiritual link with Christ which could not be achieved elsewhere, and therefore such linkage with Palestine was not a special way to salvation.

Thus, among numerous references cited, St. Augustine (354-430 CE) proclaimed: "God is indeed everywhere, and He who created all things is not contained or shut in by any one place."

The Church Fathers were debating the spiritual value of pilgrimages at the time when Jerusalem was part of the Byzantine Empire and belonged, therefore, to the Christian world. Since Constantine the Great had accepted Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire, the Government which controlled the Holy Places had been Christian. ~~The~~

The situation changed, however, in 638 when the Arabs conquered Jerusalem under Caliph Omar. For the first time the Christian world was faced with the fact that its most sacred shrines were in the hands of infidels. The response of the Crusaders was that the Holy Land had to be reconquered by force and to be ruled by a Christian kingdom.

It took several centuries for this attitude to develop. The struggle between the Arabs and the West which extended from

Spain, over the Mediterranean, to the vorders of the Byzantine Empire, was not conceived at first in religious terms. In the East a change occurred in the tenth century when the Byzantine armies under the Emperors Nicephorus and Jean Tzimesces, advanced into Syria and Galilee, taking Tiverias, Nazareth, and Caesarea.

In "The History of the Crusades," Sir Steven Runciman wrote:

"Up to th t time, there was no greater merit in dying in battle for the protection of the Empire against the infidel Arab than against the Christian Bulgar; nor did the Church make any distinction. But both (Emperors) Nicephorus and John declared that the struggle^{was}/now for the glory of Christendom, for the rescue of the Holy Places, and for the destruction of Islam... Nicephorus emphasized that ~~xxx~~ his wars were Christian wars....he saw himself as a Christian champion, and even threatened to march on Mecca to establish there the throne of Christ."

In the West, up to the beginning of the 11th century, the Christian prinnes in the North of Spain were hardly conscious of the fact that 'they were involved in the sacred task of defending the Church'. It was ~~the~~ Order of Cluny that brought about a change. Under its influence a Christian renaissance spread through France and Spain, uniting all forces and giving them the dynamic conviction that war against the infidels was a sacred duty for the Christian. The idea developed of a Christian Holy War ~~againx~~ against the unbelievers, a war which would give the soldiders of Christ foregiveness for their sins and eternal reward.

PHASE II - VATICAN'S AMBIVALENT SUPPORT OF ZIONISM/ISRAEL, 1917-

Sir Mark Sykes, the British diplomat who negotiated the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 with France, and himself a distinguished Catholic layman, went to Rome to sound out the Vatican on its attitude toward having Protestant Britain rather than France - which was officially entrusted by the Vatican as protector of Catholic interests in the Levant - assume the protectorate over the Holy Land. On April 11, 1917, Sykes met with Msgr. Eugenio Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII, 1939-58), who was then Under-secretary for Extraordinary Affairs at the Papal Secretariat of State. A few days later, he had an audience with Pope Benedict XV (1914-22). From these talks Sykes assumed that the Vatican was ready to accept Britain as the mandatory power in Palestine.

According to the Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel (p.1083), "Sykes used his influence as a distinguished Catholic layman to explain to Vatican authorities that Zionism would not clash with Christian or Catholic wishes concerning the holy places in Palestine."

At Sykes' suggestion, Pacelli received Nahum Sokolow on April 29, 1917, when Sokolow came to Rome on behalf of the Zionist Executive to seek Vatican support for the planned Jewish National Home in Palestine. Pacelli was interested but insisted that the Zionists stay clear of an area extending well beyond the holy places. On May 1, Sokolow was received by the Papal Secretary of State, Pietro Cardinal Gasparri. Gasparri also discussed the holy places and claimed for the Church a "reserved zone" (similar to the one provided for in the Sykes-Picot Agreement), including not only Jerusalem but also Bethlehem, Nazareth, and its environs,

Tiberias and Jericho. AS LONG AS THE VATICAN'S REQUIREMENTS WERE MET, GASPARRI SAID TO SOKOLOW, THE HOLY SEE WISHED THE ZIONISTS WELL IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO SET UP A STATE IN PALESTINE. When Sokolow said that the Zionists wanted only an "autonomous home," GASPARRI ASSURED HIM THAT HE MIGHT COUNT ON THE SYMPATHY OF THE CHURCH.

On May 8, 1917, Sokolow was received in private audience by Benedict XV. Aware of Britain's interest in Zionism, the Pope listened attentively to Sokolow and declared that THE RETURN OF THE JEWS TO PALESTINE WAS A MIRACULOUS EVENT AND IN KEEPING WITH GOD'S WILL. As for the holy places, he said he had no doubt that a satisfactory arrangement could be worked out. "YES, YES," he told Sokolow, "I BELIEVE WE SHALL BE GOOD NEIGHBORS."

The Pope also said:

"The problem of the Holy Places is for us of extraordinary importance. The holy rights must be protected. We will settle this between the Church and the Great Powers. It is necessary that you respect those rights in all their extent."

Sokolow gave assurance that the Zionists would respect the holy places, and the audience ended with mutual assurances of understanding.

On the strength of Sokolow's report, Chaim Weizmann felt justified in telling a Zionist conference in London that the Church would not oppose Zionist aims in Palestine.

The issuance of the Balfour Declaration in November 1917 - due in large measure to Sir Mark Sykes' "faith and energy" - and Gen. Edmund H. H. Allenby's conquest of Jerusalem apparently stirred misgivings in the Vatican concerning the safety of the holy places under the new regime in Palestine. The Vatican was apprehensive that Palestine would not be placed under INTERNATIONAL RULE, as envisioned in the Sykes-Picot Agreement. By December 1917, Pope Benedict XV had expressed his concern to De Salis, the British Representative to the Holy See, lest **THE JEWS GAIN DIRECT CONTROL OVER PALESTINE'S AFFAIRS TO THE DETRIMENT OF CHRISTIAN INTERESTS.**

When Sykes revisited Rome in the winter of 1918, he noted a marked change in the Vatican's attitude toward Zionism. HE NOW FOUND CARDINAL GASPARRI THOROUGHLY UNSYMPATHETIC. On March 1, 1919, the Tablet published a denial of reports that the Pope had ever supported Zionism. On March 10, 1919, while the peace conference was meeting in Paris, Pope Benedict told a secret consistory in Rome that "IT WOULD BE FOR US AND ALL CHRISTIANS A BITTER GRIEF IF UNBELIEVERS IN PALESTINE WERE PUT INTO A SUPERIOR OR MORE PRIVILEGED POSITION." Although the Pope did not specify who the "unbelievers" were, he was evidently seeking to influence the peace conference to the end that JEWS WOULD NOT BE GIVEN A PREDOMINANT POSITION IN PALESTINE.

Z The Vatican was probably ready to accept a British Mandate, BUT WITH NO PRIVILEGES FOR THE ZIONISTS AND/, PREFERABLY, WITH INTERNATIONAL STATUS FOR THE HOLY PLACES. The Pope had probably been influenced by the reports sent to him from England by Francis Cardinal Bourne, who had visited Palestine in that period and wrote anti-Zionist letters also to Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour and Prime

Minister David Lloyd George. The British Government gave assurances to the Vatican on the safeguarding of Catholic interests in the holy Places, in case Britain were to receive the mandate, but it seems that the VATICAN STILL PREFERRED THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF PALESTINE.

(The ^{May} secret Sykes-Picot Agreement signed by ~~France~~ Britain and France in 1916, proposed the division of the Ottoman Empire between the three principal Entente Powers, Britain, France, and Russia. Russia claimed Constantinople and the Straits; France claimed Mosul and Greater Syria (which it understood to include all Palestine), while Britain wanted to create an independent Arab state in the interior of Syria and Mesopotamia. The Sykes-Picot Agreement provided that Palestine, south of French-controlled Lebanon down to a line running from Gaza to the Dead Sea, was to be set apart as an "international zone" whose administration was to be decided after consultation with Russia and other Entente allies. The Vatican supported this plan for the internationalization of Palestine - at least for several years.)

In April 1920, the San Remo Conference awarded the Palestine Mandate to Great Britain, subject to the approval of the League of Nations. On April 26, 1920, the Vatican made known its fears that JEWISH ELEMENTS MIGHT BECOME PREDOMINANT IN PALESTINE UNDER BRITISH RULE. These fears were discussed in Catholic circles even in England, where the anti-Zionist Cardinal Bourne told a nationwide Catholic conference in Liverpool that "A NEW NON-CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE WAS BEING DELIBERATELY SET UP IN THE LAND WHENCE COUNTLESS GENERATIONS OF CHRISTENDOM HAD LONGED AND STRIVEN TO OUST A NON-CHRISTIAN POWER."

By this time the Vatican appeared to have been influenced by the FEAR OF COMMUNISM. In 1921 representatives of the Zionist movement visiting Rome were informed by a Vatican spokesman that the Holy See did not wish to "ASSIST THE JEWISH RACE, WHICH IS PERMEATED WITH A REVOLUTIONARY AND REVELLIOUS SPIRIT," TO GAIN CONTROL OVER THE HOLY LAND. The Pope clearly had been impressed by anti-Semitic reports that the Jewish pioneers were Bolsheviks who were seeking to establish a Communist regime in Palestine.

In June 1921, Pope Benedict XV protested that THE CHRISTIANS IN PALESTINE WERE NOW WORSE OFF THAN UNDER TURKISH RULE AND CALLED ON

THE GOVERNMENTS OF ALL CHRISTIAN STATES, CATHOLIC AND NON-CATHOLIC TO MAKE A JOINT PROTEST TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE HOLY SEE IN THE HOLY PLACES. He did this despite repeated assurances from the British that they would afford ample protection to the holy places and that, as Sir Ronald Storrs put it to the Pope, THE JEWS WOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED TO "DOMINATE" THE HOLY PLACES.

Popes Benedict XV and Pius XI (1922-39) were further influenced against the British and the Jews by lurid reports from Msgr. Luigi Barlassina, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. Barlassina, WHO OVERLOOKED NO OPPORTUNITY TO SIDE WITH THE ARABS, TOLD ROMAN AND VATICAN AUDIENCES THAT THE BALFOUR DECLARATION HAD ENABLED THE JEWS TO COME OUT OPENLY WITH THEIR PLAN TO SET UP "THE EMPIRE OF ZION," that some kibbutzim in Palestine were run according to extreme Communist principles, and that Jerusalem alone now had 500 prostitutes.

In the spring of 1922, Weizmann arrived in Rome to help undo the damage caused by Barlassina's reports. He had two interviews with Cardinal Gasparri, who was still Papal Secretary of State. GASPARRI ASSURED WEIZMANN THAT THE VATICAN DID NOT OPPOSE A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE, PROVIDED THAT THE INTERESTS OF NON-JEWISH COMMUNITIES THERE WERE SAFEGUARDED AND THAT THE JEWS WERE NOT GIVEN A "PRIVILEGED POSITION" IN THE COUNTRY.

According to Weizmann's memoirs, Trial and Error, it seemed to him that Gasparri somehow considered the World Zionist Organization a branch of Britain's Palestine government. After Weizmann had reported to Gasparri on Jewish settlement and reconstruction work in Palestine, Gasparri remarked that he was not worried about Jewish settlement in the Holy Land. "It is your university that I fear," the Cardinal said, referring to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In a note to the British Embassy, Gasparri stressed again that "THE HOLY SEE DOES NOT OPPOSE THE ACQUISITION BY THE JEWS IN PALESTINE OF EQUAL CIVIL RIGHTS" BUT THAT IT COULD NOT CONSENT TO GIVE THE JEWS A POSITION OF PREPONDERANCE? LET ALONE AGREE TO THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE.

In May 1922, Gasparri submitted a memorandum to the League of Nations Council, which was then about to ratify the British Mandate

for ~~the~~ Palestine, protesting that the CREATION OF A JEWISH NATION A HOME IN PALESTINE UNDER THE BALFOUR DECLARATION GAVE THE ZIONISTS "A PRIVILEGED POSITION." The theme was REPEATED ON June 1 by L'Osservatore Romano, the semiofficial Vatican paper, which agreed to the British Mandate in principle but DEMANDED MODIFICATIONS IN THE DECLARATION BECAUSE ZIONISM WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO PEACE IN PALESTINE AND WOULD ROB THE NATIVE POPULATION OF ITS RIGHTS..

On Dec. 11, 1922, Pope Pius XI (1922-39), in an allocution at a secret consistory made a special reference to the question of the holy places and the rights of the Holy See, which SHOULD BE PROTECTED NOT ONLY AGAINST JEWS AND UNBELIEVERS BUT ALSO AGAINST ALL OTHER NON-CATHOLIC RELIGIONS. At a secret consistory on May 23, 1923, he declared that the Church would defend the "undeniable, obvious and overwhelming rights of Catholicism to the holy places in Palestine." In a papal bull of May 1924, he again called for the resolution of the problem of the holy places IN ACCORDANCE WITH CATHOLIC INTERESTS.

When Benito Mussolini's Fascist Party first assumed power in Italy (October 1922), its attitude toward Zionism was cool. ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS, THE VATICAN EXERTED PRESSURE ON THE MUSSOLINI GOVERNMENT TO TAKE AN ANTI-ZIONIST STAND. Later, Marchese Alberto Theodor, the Italian Representative to the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission assumed an ANTI-ZIONIST POSITION, claiming to protect the rights of the Catholics in Palestine. In 1927 Mussolini told Victor Jacobson that he had to take into account the feelings of his "neighbor" (i.e., the Vatican), WHICH WAS IMPLACABLY OPPOSED TO ZIONIST ASPIRATIONS.

Meanwhile, VATICAN OFFICIALS AND HIGHLY PLACED CHURCH CIRCLES CONTINUED ~~THEIR~~ THEIR CAMPAIGN AGAINST ZIONISM. Baxlassina, now a cardinal and papal representative in Jerusalem, alleged that the ZIONISTS WERE DRIVING ARAB WORKERS OUT AND REPLACING THEM WITH THOUSANDS OF THEIR "CORELIGIONISTS FROM RUSSIA."

Late in November 1929, L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO CARRIED AN EDITORIAL HEADLINE, "THE JEWISH DANGER THREATENING THE ENTIRE WORLD." The Oct. 3, 1936, issue of the Jesuit paper, Civiltà Cattolica, ~~which~~ which was close to the Holy See, said that "THE JEWS CONSTITUTE A SERIOUS AND PERMANENT DANGER TO SOCIETY..." Another issue of that year said, "Zionism might offer a way out, but the creation of a Jewish state would increase the Jewish menace." IN AN EDITORIAL (APRIL 2, 1938) THE SAME PAPER SUGGESTED THAT THE BEST THING FOR THE JEWS TO DO WAS TO RELINQUISH THEIR CLAIMS ON PALESTINE AND, IF POSSIBLE, LEAVE THE COUNTRY ALTOGETHER.

CIVILTA CATTOLICA WAS TO BE SINGULARLY CONSISTENT IN ITS OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM AND LATER TO ISRAEL. (IT HAD A RECORD OF ANTI-SEMITISM, GOING BACK TO THE 1880s, WHEN IT PUBLISHED OUTRAGEOUS ACCUSATIONS OF RITUAL MURDER AGAINST THE JEWS.)

The Vatican's firm opposition to a Jewish National Home in Palestine was reiterated forcefully between the summer of 1943 and the summer of 1944, when the Second World War was clearly going the Allies' way. According to Prof. Silvio Ferrari*, Cardinal Luigi Maglione, Vatican Secretary of State, wrote a letter ~~to~~ on May 18, 1943, to Amleto Cardinal Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate in Washington, instructing him to inform the U.S. Government that Catholics throughout the world "could not but be wounded in their religious pride. SHOULD PALESTINE BE HANDED OVER TO THE JEWS OR BE PLACED VIRTUALLY UNDER THEIR CONTROL."

In what will come as a surprise to many Jews (and Christians), Msgr. Angelo Roncalli, then Apostolic Delegate to Istanbul and later Pope John XXIII (1958-63), held similar but less hawkish opinions as expressed in a letter to Cardinal Maglione, Sept. 4, 1943. This would show that the Vatican Secretary of State's line met with the approval of the Vatican diplomats most actively involved in helping save Jews during the Nazi holocaust. Prof. Ferrari comments that "this leads us to the conclusion backed up by other documents* that the Vatican's OPPOSITION TO THE CREATION OF A JEWISH STATE IN THE HOLY LAND WAS NOT CAUSED BY ANTI-SEMITIC FEELING BUT RATHER BY THE VATICAN'S DETERMINATION TO PROTECT CATHOLIC INTERESTS IN PALESTINE. VATICAN OPPOSITION TO ARAB DOMINATION IN PALESTINE

The Vatican's resistance to a "Jewish Home" did not mean it favored Arab domination in the Holy Land. In April 1944, the Vatican's Secretary of State, Cardinal Maglione expressed to Myron C. Taylor, President Roosevelt's personal representative to the Pope, the Vatican's concern over the plan to create a Pan-Arab confederation (the Arab League) in the Middle East, which they felt would put the Christian community's future in "an uncertain and precarious position."

The Vatican urged that the Great Powers intervene to insure that "the basic legislation of the planned confederation would clearly give non-Muslims freedom of opinion, freedom of worship and parity with Muslims as regards civil rights and duties." Maglione said that this "was a sine qua non for making this plan at least

that these conditions were a sine qua non for making this plan "at least partly acceptable."

The Vatican feared that either Arab or Jewish domination would prejudice Catholic interests in Palestine. These interests, the Holy See believed, would be better protected by a solution where "neither Jews nor Arabs, but a Third Power, should have control in the Holy Land." The Vatican thus favored either a continuation of the British Mandate (or a mandate given to another Christian power) or the INTERNATIONALIZATION OF ALL PALESTINE UNDER UN SUPERVISION. Either solution meant that control of the Holy Land would be safely in Christian hands. They believed this would avert the danger of the Arab-Jewish conflict degenerating into open war and the possible threat of irreparable destruction to the Holy Places. /

Between 1945 and 1947, this proposed solution to the Palestine question was supported by Archbishop Spellman of New York and his adviser on "Palestinian affairs," Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon. The Vatican shared ~~their~~ their views but decided to make no public statement about a plan which was firmly opposed by both the Arab countries and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The Vatican followed an extremely reserved line, and avoided any official statement of its position on the Palestine conflict.

During the final years of the British mandate, the Vatican had apparently become impressed with the humanitarian work the Zionists had performed in Palestine, particularly in the resettlement of refugees from the Nazi holocaust. As indicated above, the Holy See now favored the "status quo", namely, the continuation of the Jewish National Home under the British Mandate, or the internationalization proposal. Some circles in the Vatican showed signs of supporting the Zionist "establishment" under Weizmann, whom they regarded as the link between the Zionist movement and the British authorities. They were, however, deeply worried about the civil strife waged by splinter groups such as the Stern group (Lohame ~~Hertz~~ Hertzut Israel) which they feared might result in damage to holy places.

On April 10, 1945, Moshe Shertok (Sharett), then head of the Jewish Agency's Political Department, had an audience with Pius XII (1939-1958.) Shertok told the Pope that the murder of 6 million Jews by the Nazis had been possible only because the Jews had no state of their own, that a radical change must take place in the life of the Jewish people after the war. Shertok said that he knew of no conflict of interest between Zionist aspirations in Palestine and the interests of Christianity and Catholicism there, and that the Jewish State to be set up in Palestine would

undertake to protect the Christian holy places. He then told Pius XII that the Jews hoped for the "moral support" of the Catholic Church for "our renewed existence in Palestine." The Pope's questions and answers were reportedly courteous but noncommittal.

Arab countries were now beginning to exert heavy pressure on the Pope Pius XII to mobilize the Catholic Church against the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. On Aug. 3, 1946, Pius XII was visited by a delegation from the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, which requested intervention against the Zionists. The Pope's reply was as follows:

"We deplore all resorts to force and violence from whatever quarter ~~xxx~~ they come. Thus we also deplored repeatedly in the past the persecution that fanatic anti-Semitism unleashed against the Hebrew people.

"WE ALWAYS OBSERVED (AN) ATTITUDE OF PERFECT IMPARTIALITY... AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO CONFORM TO IT IN THE FUTURE.

"But it is clear that this IMPARTIALITY, WHICH OUR APOSTOLIC MISSION IMPOSES ON US AND WHICH PLACES US ABOVE ~~xxx~~ THE CONFLICTS THAT ARE ARE RENDING HUMAN SOCIETY ESPECIALLY AT THIS DIFFICULT MOMENT, CANNOT SIGNIFY INDIFFERENCE. (We will) endeavor that justice and peace in Palestine may become a constructive reality, that the order springing from the efficient cooperation of all interested parties may be created and each of the parties now in conflict may have a guarantee of security of ~~xxx~~ existence as well as physical and moral living conditions on which may be established a normal situation of material and cultural welfare."

VATICAN'S VIEWS TOWARD PARTITION PLAN, 1947

In April 1947, Great Britain submitted the Palestine issue to the United Nations. There was now no chance that Britain's mandate in the Holy Land would be extended. Among other factors, doubts arose regarding the wisdom of entrusting Palestine to UN administration for fear of inviting Soviet penetration into the Middle East. The Vatican was now faced with an alternative; (a) a divided Holy Land resulting from the creation of a Jewish state and an Arab state, or (b) the creation of a single state in Palestine representing both sides but with an Arab majority.

The first proposal was clearly unacceptable to major Catholic leadership. Archbishop Spellman openly criticized the "Partition Plan," saying, "The Catholic Church strongly opposes any form of partition, primarily on the ground that the whole land is sacred to Christ." (Cited in a memorandum from U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, George Wadsworth, in a memorandum to Loy W. Henderson, Jan. 13, 1947.)

PJPT

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ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Tues., June 24, 1986

* The Pope's Example

Now that the drama of Pope John Paul II's visit to the Great Synagogue in Rome has subsided, it is worth reflecting on both the style and the substance of the pontiff's address and the implications of the event for Catholic-Jewish relations the world over.

By emphasizing the spiritual bond linking Christianity and Judaism, rejecting "hatred, persecutions and displays of anti-Semitism directed against the Jews at any time and by anyone" and firmly repudiating any possible theological justification for such acts, the pope strongly reaffirmed the official Catholic teachings since Vatican Council II. But it was the papal style — the warmth with which John Paul embraced the chief rabbi of the oldest Jewish community in Western Europe and the directness with which he delivered his words — that brought the message home.

There are people in the world for whom the photograph of the pope shaking hands with Yasser Arafat was an unwelcome symbol. For them, John Paul's embrace of Rabbi Elio Toaff is an important corrective. There are places in the world where the church's post-Vatican II stance toward Jews and Judaism has hardly penetrated. For them, the pope's personal reference to Jews as "dearly beloved brothers" may carry more weight than a dozen carefully crafted documents. Now it remains for people of good will in both faiths to work together to keep the message alive.

Mont Levy
Interreligious Affairs Commission
St. Louis Chapter
American Jewish Committee
Richmond Heights

JEWISH
LIVES



To the Editor:

Last fall, Congress banned new U.S. arms sales to Jordan unless Jordan's King Hussein engaged in "direct and meaningful" peace negotiations with Israel before March 1. Then President Reagan advised Congress to extend the ban.

Since the ban was imposed, Hussein has tried to persuade PLO chief Yasir Arafat to qualify himself as a negotiating partner by recognizing, even indirectly, Israel's right to exist. Unable to achieve that, Hussein went to Damascus, seeking the backing of Syrian President Hafez Assad for his efforts — an undertaking apparently quickly rebuffed by the Syrian leader, who still harbors the dream of "Greater Syria" encompassing present-day Lebanon, Israel and Jordan.

One can understand Hussein's reluctance to go it alone. In the Arab world, peacemakers are too often assassinated. But for all his difficulties and possible insincerity, Hussein remains a crucial player in the peace process, and he has much to gain now and in the future from an end to conflict with Israel. To achieve these gains he will have to take risks. An international conference is one way to minimize his risks. But in the end, with or without the PLO and Syria, he will have to come to the negotiating table with moderate Palestinians and deal directly with the Israelis. A U.S. ban on arms sales, combined with assurances of increased American support once he assumes the risks of statesmanship, should give Hussein a significant incentive to move in this direction.

J. David Levy
Chapter President
American Jewish Committee



MESSAGE OF HIS HOLINESS
POPE JOHN PAUL II
FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE
DAY OF PEACE

1 JANUARY 1982

PEACE:
A GIFT OF GOD ENTRUSTED TO US!

To the young who in the world of tomorrow will make the great decisions,
to the men and women who today bear responsibility for life in society,
to families and teachers,
to individuals and communities,
to Heads of State and Government leaders:

It is to all of you that I address this message at the dawn of the year 1982. I invite you to reflect with me on the theme of the new World Day: peace is a gift of God entrusted to us.

1. **T**his truth faces us when we come to decide our commitments and make our choices. It challenges the whole of humanity, all men and women who know that they are individually responsible for one another, and together responsible for the world.

At the end of the First World War my predecessor Pope Benedict XV devoted an Encyclical to this theme. Rejoicing at the cessation of hostilities and insisting on the need to remove hatred and enmity through reconciliation inspired by mutual charity, he began his En-

cyclical with a reference to "peace, *that magnificent gift from God*: as Augustine says, 'even understood as one of the fleeting things of earth, no sweeter word is heard, no more desirable wish is longed for, and no better discovery can be made than this gift' (*De Civitate Dei*, lib. XIX, c. XI)" (Encyclical *Pacem Dei Munus*: AAS 12 [1920], p. 209).

Efforts for peace in a divided world

2. Since then my predecessors have often had to recall this truth in their constant endeavours to educate for peace and to encourage work for a lasting peace. Today peace has become, throughout the world, a major preoccupation not only for those responsible for the destiny of nations but even more so for broad sections of the population and numberless individuals who generously and tenaciously dedicate themselves to creating an outlook of peace and to establishing genuine peace between peoples and nations. This is comforting. But there is no hiding the fact that, in spite of the efforts of all men and women of good will *there are still serious threats to peace in the world*. Some of these threats take the form of divisions within various nations; others stem from deep-rooted and acute tensions between opposing nations and blocs within the world community.

In reality, the confrontations that we witness today are distinguished from those of past history by certain new characteristics. In the first place, they are *world-wide*: even a local conflict is often an expression of tensions originating elsewhere in the world. In the same way, it often happens that a conflict has profound effects far from where it broke out. Another characteristic is

totality: present-day tensions mobilize all the forces of the nations involved; moreover, selfish monopolization and even hostility are to be found today as much in the way economic life is run and in the technological application of science as in the way that the mass media or military resources are utilized. Thirdly, we must stress the *radical* character of modern conflicts: it is the survival of the whole human race that is at stake in them, given the destructive capacity of present-day military stockpiles.

In short, while many factors could contribute to uniting it, human society appears as a divided world: the forces for unity give way before the divisions between East and West, North and South, friend and enemy.

An essential problem

3. The causes of this situation are of course complex and of various orders. *Political reasons* are naturally the easiest to distinguish. Particular groups abuse their power in order to impose their yoke on whole societies. An excessive desire for expansion impels some nations to build their prosperity with a disregard for—indeed at the expense of—others' happiness. Unbridled nationalism thus fosters plans for domination, which leave other nations with the pitiless dilemma of having to make the choice: either accepting satellite status and dependence or adopting an attitude of competition and hostility. Deeper analysis shows that the cause of this situation is the application of certain concepts and *ideologies* that claim to offer the only foundation of the truth about man, society and history.

When we come up against the choice between peace and war, we find ourselves face to face with ourselves, with our nature, with our plans for our personal and community lives, with the use we are to make of our freedom. Are relationships between people to continue inexorably along lines of incomprehension and merciless confrontation, because of a relentless law of human life? Or are human beings—by comparison with the animal species which fight one another according to the “law” of the jungle—specifically called upon and given the fundamental capability to live in peace with their fellows and to share with them in the creation of culture, society and history? In the final analysis, when we consider the question of peace, we are led to consider the meaning and conditions of our own personal and community lives.

Peace, a gift of God

4. Peace is not so much a superficial balance between diverging material interests—a balance pertaining to the order of quantity, of things. Rather it is, in its inmost reality, something that belongs to the essentially human order, the order of human subjects; it is thus of a rational and moral nature, the fruit of truth and virtue. It springs from the dynamism of free wills guided by reason towards the common good that is to be attained in truth, justice and love. This *rational and moral order* is based on a decision by the consciences of human beings seeking harmony in their mutual relationships, with respect for justice for everybody, and therefore with respect for the fundamental human rights inherent in every person. One cannot see how this moral order could

ignore God, the first source of being, the essential truth and the supreme good.

In this very sense peace comes from God as its *foundation*: it is a gift of God. When claiming the wealth and resources of the universe worked on by the human mind—and it is often on their account that conflicts and wars have sprung up—“man comes up against the leading role of the gift made by ‘nature’, that is to say, in the final analysis, by the Creator” (Encyclical *Laborem Exercens*, 12). And God does more than *give creation* to humanity to administer and develop jointly at the service of all human beings without any discrimination: he also *inscribes in the human conscience* the laws obliging us to respect in numerous ways the life and the whole person of our fellow human beings, created like us in the image and after the likeness of God. God is thus *the guarantor* of all these fundamental human rights. Yes indeed, God is the source of peace: he calls to peace, he safeguards it, and he grants it as the fruit of “justice”.

Moreover, God *helps* us interiorly to achieve peace or to recover it. In our limited life, which is subject to error and evil, we human beings go gropingly in search of peace, amid many difficulties. Our faculties are darkened by mere appearances of truth, attracted by false goods and led astray by irrational and selfish instincts. Hence we need to open ourselves to the transcendent light of God that illuminates our lives, purifies them from error and frees them from aggressive passion. God is not far from the heart of those who pray to him and try to fulfil his justice: when they are in continual dialogue with him, in freedom, God offers them peace as the fullness of the communion of life with God and with their

brothers and sisters. In the Bible the word "peace" recurs again and again in association with the idea of happiness, harmony, well-being, security, concord, salvation and justice, as the outstanding blessing that God, "the Lord of peace" (2 Thess 3: 16), already gives and promises in abundance: "Now towards her I send flowing peace, like a river" (Is 66: 12).

A gift of God, entrusted to us

5. While peace is a gift, man is never dispensed from responsibility for seeking it and endeavouring to establish it by individual and community effort, throughout history. God's gift of peace is therefore also at all times a human conquest and achievement, since it is offered to us in order that we may accept it freely and put it progressively into operation by our creative will. Furthermore, in his love for man, God never abandons us but even in the darkest moments of history drives us forward or leads us back mysteriously along the path of peace. Even the difficulties, failures and tragedies of the past and the present must be studied as providential lessons from which we may draw the wisdom we need in order to find new ways, more rational and courageous ways, for building peace. It is by drawing inspiration from the truth of God that we are given the ideal and the energy we require in order to overcome situations of injustice, to free ourselves from ideologies of power and domination, and to make our way towards true universal fraternity.

Christians, faithful to Christ who proclaimed "the Good News of peace" and established peace within hearts

by reconciling them with God, have still more decisive reasons—as I shall stress at the end of this message—for looking on peace as a gift of God, and for courageously helping to establish it in this world, in accordance with this longing for its complete fulfilment in the Kingdom of God. They also know that they are called upon to join their efforts with those of *believers in other religions* who tirelessly condemn hatred and war and who devote themselves, using different approaches, to the advancement of justice and peace.

We should first consider in its natural basis this deeply hopeful view of humanity as directed towards peace, and stress moral responsibility in response to God's gift. This illuminates and stimulates man's activity on the level of information, study and commitment for peace, three sectors that I would now like to illustrate with some examples.

Information

6. At a certain level, world peace depends on better self-knowledge on the part of both individuals and societies. This self-knowledge is naturally conditioned by information and by the quality of the information. Those who seek and proclaim the truth with respect for others and with charity are working for peace. Those who devote themselves to pointing out the values in the various cultures, the individuality of each society and the human riches of individual peoples, are working for peace. Those who by providing information remove the barrier of distance, so that we feel truly concerned at the fate of faraway men and women who are victims of war or injustice, are working for peace. Admittedly,

the accumulation of such information, especially if it concerns catastrophes over which we have no control, can in the end produce indifference and surfeit in those who remain mere receivers of the information without ever doing whatever is within their power. But, in itself, the role of the mass media continues to be a positive one: each one of us is now called upon to be the neighbour of all his or her brothers and sisters of the human race (cf. *Lk* 10: 29-37).

High-quality information even has a direct influence upon education and political decisions. If the young are to be made aware of the problems of peace, and if they are to prepare to become workers for peace, educational programmes must necessarily give a special place to information about actual situations in which peace is under threat, and about the conditions needed for its advancement. Peace cannot be built by the power of rulers alone. Peace can be firmly constructed only if it corresponds to the resolute determination of all people of good will. Rulers must be supported and enlightened by a public opinion that encourages them or, where necessary, expresses disapproval. Consequently, it is also right that rulers should explain to the public those matters that concern the problems of peace.

Studies that help to build peace

7. Building peace also depends upon the progress of research about it. Scientific studies on war, its nature, causes, means, objectives and risks have much to teach us on the conditions for peace. Since they throw light on the relationships between war and politics, such

studies show that there is a greater future in negotiation than in arms for settling conflicts.

It follows that the role of law in preserving peace is called upon to expand. It is well known that within individual States the work of *jurists* contributes greatly to the advancement of justice and respect for human rights. But their role is just as great for the pursuit of the same objectives on the international level and for refining the juridical instruments for building and preserving peace.

However, since concern for peace is inscribed in the inmost depths of our being, progress along the path of peace also benefits from the researches of *psychologists* and *philosophers*. Admittedly, the science of war has already been enriched by studies on human aggressiveness, death-impulses and the herd instinct that can suddenly take possession of whole societies. But much remains to be said about the fear we human beings have of taking possession of our freedom, and about our insecurity before ourselves and others. Better knowledge of life-impulses, of instinctive sympathy with other people, of readiness to love and share undoubtedly helps us to grasp better the psychological mechanisms that favour peace.

By these researches psychology is thus called upon to throw light on and to complement the studies of the philosophers. Philosophers have always pondered the questions of war and peace. They have never been without responsibility in this matter. The memory is all too much alive of those famous philosophers who saw man as "a wolf for his fellow man" and war as a historical necessity. However, it is also true that many of them wished to lay the foundation for a lasting or

even everlasting peace by, for instance, setting forth a solid theoretical basis for international law.

All these efforts deserve to be resumed and intensified. The thinkers who devote themselves to such endeavours can benefit from the copious contribution of a present-day philosophical current that gives unique prominence to the theme of the person and devotes itself in a singular manner to an examination of the themes of freedom and responsibility. This can provide light for reflection on human rights, justice and peace.

Indirect action

8. While the advancement of peace in a sense depends on information and research, it rests above all on the action that people take in its favour. Some forms of action envisaged here have only an indirect relationship with peace. However, it would be wrong to think of them as unimportant: as we shall briefly indicate through some examples, almost every section of human activity offers unexpected occasions for advancing peace.

Such is the case of *cultural exchanges*, in the broadest sense. Anything that enables people to get to know each other better through artistic activity breaks down barriers. Where speech is unavailing and diplomacy is an uncertain aid, music, painting, drama and sport can bring people closer together. The same holds for *scientific research*: science, like art, creates and brings together a universal society which gathers all who love truth and beauty, without division. Thus science and art are, each at its own level, an anticipation of the emergence of a universal peaceful society.

Even *economic life* should bring people closer to-

gether, by making them aware of the extent to which they are interdependent and complementary. Undoubtedly, economic relationships often create a field of pitiless confrontation, merciless competition and even sometimes shameless exploitation. But could not these relationships become instead relationships of service and solidarity, and thereby defuse one of the most frequent causes of discord?

Justice and peace within nations

9. While peace should be everyone's concern, the building of peace is a task that falls directly and principally to *political leaders*. From this point of view the chief setting for the building up of peace is always the nation as a politically organized society. Since the purpose for which a political society is formed is the establishment of justice, the advancement of the common good and participation by all, that society will enjoy peace only to the extent that these three demands are respected. Peace can develop only where the elementary requirements of justice are safeguarded.

Unconditional and effective respect for each one's imprescriptible and inalienable rights is the necessary condition in order that peace may reign in a society. Vis-à-vis these basic rights all others are in a way derivative and secondary. In a society in which these rights are not protected, the very idea of universality is dead, as soon as a small group of individuals set up for their own exclusive advantage a principle of discrimination whereby the rights and even the lives of others are made dependent on the whim of the stronger. Such a society cannot be at peace with itself: it has within it a principle

leading to division. For the same reason, a political society can really collaborate in building international peace only if it is itself peaceful, that is to say if it takes seriously the advancement of human rights at home. To the extent that the rulers of a particular country apply themselves to building a fully just society, they are already contributing decisively to building an authentic, firmly based and lasting peace (cf. Encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, 11).

Justice and peace between nations

10. While peace within individual nations is a necessary condition for the development of true peace, it is not enough in itself. The building of peace on a world scale cannot be the result of the separate desires of nations, for they are often ambiguous and sometimes contradictory. It was to make up for this lack that States provided themselves with appropriate *international organizations*, one of the chief aims of which is to harmonize the desires of different nations and cause them to converge for the safeguarding of peace and for an increase of justice between nations.

By the authority that they have gained and by their achievements, the great International Organizations have done remarkable work for peace. They have of course had failures; they have not been able to prevent all conflicts or put a speedy end to them. But they have helped to show the world that war, bloodshed and tears are not the way to end tensions. They have provided, so to speak, experimental proof that even on the world level people are able to combine their efforts and seek peace together.

The peace dynamism of Christianity

11. At this point in my message I wish to address more especially my brothers and sisters in the Church. The Church supports and encourages all serious efforts for peace. She unhesitatingly proclaims that the activity of all those who devote the best of their energies to peace forms part of God's plan of salvation in Jesus Christ. But she reminds Christians that they have still greater reasons for being active witnesses of God's gift of peace.

In the first place, Christ's word and example have given rise to new attitudes in favour of peace. Christ has taken the ethics of peace far beyond the ordinary attitudes of justice and understanding. At the beginning of his ministry he proclaimed: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God" (*Mt* 5:9). He sent his disciples to bring peace from house to house, from town to town (*Mt* 10:11-13). He exhorted them to prefer peace to vengeance of any kind and even to certain legitimate claims on others—so great was his desire to tear from the human heart the roots of aggressiveness (*Mt* 5:38-42). He asked them to love those whom barriers of any sort have turned into enemies (*Mt* 5:43-48). He set up as examples people who were habitually despised (*Lk* 10:33; 17:16). He exhorted people to be always humble and to forgive without any limit (cf. *Mt* 18:21-22). The attitude of sharing with those in utter want—on which he made the last judgment hinge (cf. *Mt* 25:31-46)—was to make a radical contribution to the establishment of relations of fraternity.

These appeals of Jesus and his example have had

a widespread influence on the attitude of his disciples, as two millennia of history testify. But Christ's work belongs to a very deep level, of the order of a mysterious transformation of hearts. He really brought "peace among men with whom God is pleased" in the words of the proclamation made at his birth (cf. *Lk* 2: 14), and this not only by revealing to them the Father's love but above all by reconciling them with God through his sacrifice. For it was sin and hatred that were an obstacle to peace with God and with others: he destroyed them by the offering of his life on the Cross; he reconciled in one body those who were hostile (cf. *Eph* 2: 16; *Rom* 12: 5). His first words to his Apostles after he rose were: "Peace be with you" (*Jn* 20: 19). Those who accept the faith form in the Church a prophetic community: with the Holy Spirit communicated by Christ, after the Baptism that makes them part of the Body of Christ, they experience the peace given by God in the sacrament of Reconciliation and in Eucharistic communion; they proclaim "the gospel of peace" (*Eph* 6: 15); they try to live it from day to day, in actual practice; and they long for the time of total reconciliation when, by a new intervention of the living God who raises the dead, we shall be wholly open to God and our brothers and sisters. Such is the vision of faith which supports the activity of Christians on behalf of peace.

Thus, by her very existence, the Church exists within the world as a society of people who are reconciled and at peace through the grace of Christ, in a communion of love and life with God and with all their brothers and sisters, beyond human barriers of every sort; in herself she is already, and she seeks to become ever more so in practice, a gift and leaven of peace offered by God

to the whole of the human race. Certainly, the members of the Church are well aware that they are often still sinners, in this sphere too; at least they feel the grave responsibility of putting into practice this gift of peace. For this they must first overcome their own divisions, in order to set out without delay towards the fullness of unity in Christ; thus they collaborate with God in order to offer his peace to the world. They must also of course combine their efforts with the efforts of all men and women of good will working for peace in the different spheres of society and international life. The Church wishes her children to join, through their witness and their initiatives, the first rank of those preparing peace and causing it to reign. At the same time, she is very aware that, on the spot, it is a difficult task, one that calls for much generosity, discernment and hope, as a real challenge.

Peace as a constant challenge to Christians

12. Christian optimism, based on the glorious Cross of Christ and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, is no excuse for self-deception. For Christians, peace on earth is always a challenge, because of the presence of sin in man's heart. Motivated by their faith and hope, Christians therefore apply themselves to promoting a more just society; they fight hunger, deprivation and disease; they are concerned about what happens to migrants, prisoners and outcasts (cf. *Mt 25: 35-36*). But they know that, while all these undertakings express something of the mercy and perfection of God (cf. *Lk 6: 36; Mt 4: 48*), they are always limited in their range, precarious in

their results and ambiguous in their inspiration. Only God the giver of life, when he unites all things in Christ (cf. *Eph* 1:10), will fulfil our ardent hope by himself bringing to accomplishment everything that he has undertaken in history according to his Spirit in the matter of justice and peace.

Although Christians put all their best energies into preventing war or stopping it, they do not deceive themselves about their ability to cause peace to triumph, nor about the effect of their efforts to this end. They therefore concern themselves with all human initiatives in favour of peace and very often take part in them; but they regard them with realism and humility. One could almost say that they "relativize" them in two senses: they relate them both to the sinful condition of humanity and to God's saving plan. In the first place, Christians are aware that plans based on aggression, domination and the manipulation of others lurk in human hearts, and sometimes even secretly nourish human intentions, in spite of certain declarations or manifestations of a pacifist nature. For Christians know that in this world a totally and permanently peaceful human society is unfortunately a utopia, and that ideologies that hold up that prospect as easily attainable are based on hopes that cannot be realized, whatever the reason behind them. It is a question of a mistaken view of the human condition, a lack of application in considering the question as a whole; or it may be a case of evasion in order to calm fear, or in still other cases a matter of calculated self-interest. Christians are convinced, if only because they have learned from personal experience, that these deceptive hopes lead straight to the false peace of totalitarian regimes. But this realistic view in no way prevents Christ-

ians from working for peace; instead, it stirs up their ardour, for they also know that Christ's victory over deception, hate and death gives those in love with peace a more decisive motive for action than what the most generous theories about man have to offer; Christ's victory likewise gives a hope more surely based than any hope held out by the most audacious dreams.

This is why Christians, even as they strive to resist and prevent every form of warfare, have no hesitation in recalling that, in the name of an elementary requirement of justice, peoples have a right and even a duty to protect their existence and freedom by proportionate means against an unjust aggressor (cf. Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, 79). However, in view of the difference between classical warfare and nuclear or bacteriological war—a difference so to speak of nature—and in view of the scandal of the arms race seen against the background of the needs of the Third World, this right, which is very real in principle, only underlines the urgency for world society to equip itself with effective means of negotiation. In this way the nuclear terror that haunts our time can encourage us to enrich our common heritage with a very simple discovery that is within our reach, namely that war is the most barbarous and least effective way of resolving conflicts. More than ever before, human society is forced to provide itself with the means of consultation and dialogue which it needs in order to survive, and therefore with the institutions necessary for building up justice and peace.

May it also realize that this work is something beyond human powers!

Prayer for peace

13. Throughout this message, I have appealed to the responsibility of people of good will, especially Christians, because *God has indeed entrusted peace to men and women*. With the realism and hope that faith makes possible, I have tried to draw the attention of citizens and leaders to a certain number of achievements or attitudes that are already feasible and capable of giving a solid foundation to peace. But, over and above or even in the midst of this necessary activity, which might seem to depend primarily on people, *peace is above all a gift of God*—something that must never be forgotten—and must always be implored from his mercy.

This conviction is certainly seen to have animated people of all civilizations who have given peace the first place in their prayers. Its expression is found in all religions. How many men, having experienced murderous conflicts and concentration camps, how many women and children, distressed by wars, have in times past turned to the God of peace! Today, when the perils have taken on a seriousness all their own by reason of their extent and radical nature, and when the difficulties of building peace have taken on a new nature and seem often insoluble, many individuals may spontaneously find themselves resorting to prayer, even though prayer may be something unfamiliar.

Yes, our future is in the hands of God, who alone gives true peace. And when human hearts sincerely think of work for peace it is still God's grace that inspires and strengthens those thoughts. All people are in this sense invited to echo the sentiments of Saint Francis of Assisi, the eighth centenary of whose birth we are cele-

brating: Lord, make us instruments of your peace: where there is hatred, let us sow love; where there is injury, pardon; when discord rages, let us build peace.

Christians love to pray for peace, as they make their own the prayer of so many psalms punctuated by supplications for peace and repeated with the universal love of Jesus. We have here a shared and very profound element for all ecumenical activities. Other believers all over the world are also awaiting from Almighty God the gift of peace, and, more or less consciously, many other people of good will are ready to make the same prayer in the secret of their hearts. May fervent supplications thus rise to God from the four corners of the earth! This will already create a fine unanimity on the road to peace. And who could doubt that God will hear and grant this cry of his children: Lord, grant us peace! Grant us your peace!

From the Vatican, 8 December 1981.

Joannes Paulus PP. II

Midway Between God and Man

THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF POPES

by J.N.D. Kelly; Oxford University; 347 pages; \$24.95

First there was Peter, who had denied Jesus three times before the cock crowed and who finally was martyred, according to Origen's histories, crucified upside down on a hillside. Then came St. Linus, St. Anacletus and St. Clement I, who may or may not have been drowned off Crimea with an anchor around his neck. These were the first of the heirs of St. Peter, the Popes of Rome, some of them loved, some feared, some venerated, some murdered. One of the proudest and most powerful, Innocent III (1198-1216), started calling himself the Vicar of Christ because he said he was "set midway between God and man" and given "the whole world to govern."

The Oxford University Press, whose famous anthologies have recently been diversifying from poetry into such novelties as *The Oxford Book of Dreams* and *The Oxford Book of Death* (not to mention *The Oxford Book of Legal Anecdotes* and *The Oxford Book of New Zealand Plants*), has now had the intriguing idea of compiling brief biographies of all 263 Popes (plus 39 antipopes) from St. Peter to John Paul II. It entrusted this enormous task to J.N.D. Kelly, an Anglican priest who has served as principal at Oxford's St. Edmund Hall and as canon of Chichester Cathedral, as well as chairman of the Archbishop of Canterbury's commission on Roman Catholic relations. His dictionary is correspondingly scholarly, cautious, meticulous, yet still a rich mine of arcane nuggets.

The dawn of the papacy, Kelly repeatedly confesses, is too shadowy for even the most intrepid scholar. Of St. Evaristus (c.100-c.109), for example, he says, "Nothing is in fact reliably known about him." St. Felix I (269-74) "is one of the obscurest Popes, even his dates being conjectural." Then there was Pope Joan, whose entire existence is conjectural. Kelly dutifully traces the oft-retold legend of a disguised woman Pope (who was found out when she gave birth while trying to mount a horse) to a 13th century work called the *Universal Chronicle of Metz*. The only Pope who never existed even in legend was John XX, whose nonexistence apparently occurred because John XXI (1276-77) was mistaken about the number of his predecessors. John was a bookish type who ordered a special cell built for his studies; his reign was cut

short when the ceiling fell in on him.

Kelly is no seeker of scandals, but by the 10th century, Peter's heritage had fallen into some rather unworthy hands. Pope Sergius III seized the papal throne by armed force and imprisoned his predecessor Christopher, who had already imprisoned his predecessor Leo V. Sergius then had both Popes strangled in jail. He also fathered an illegitimate son by a 15-year-old heiress named Marozia, who eventually got the debauched son chosen as Pope John XI soon after his 21st birthday. John's nephew, who was even more debauched, duly became John XII when barely 18.



Keepers of the keys, clockwise from top: Alexander VI, Innocent III, St. Peter

Excerpt

“Nine months after [Pope Formosus'] death they had his decaying corpse exhumed and, propped up on a throne in full pontifical vestments, solemnly arraigned at a mock trial presided over by [Pope] Stephen VI himself; a deacon stood by answering the charges on his behalf. He was found guilty of perjury, of having coveted the papal throne . . . His acts and ordinations were pronounced null and void. [His body] was . . . flung into the Tiber.”

Yet even then the seeds of renewal were sprouting. The great reformer Odo of Cluny went to Rome on a diplomatic mission, and there soon began the line of Cluniac Popes who rebuilt the entire church. They reached their apogee of power when Gregory VII marched northward in 1077 to depose the disobedient German King Henry IV by sheer willpower. His march was halted only when the humbled King knelt for three days in the snow at Canossa to plead for the Pope's forgiveness.

Kelly does his best to be fair to all. Of Clement VI (1342-52), who proclaimed that his predecessors "had not known how to be Popes" and then began staging bacchanalia for his "niece" and his courtiers, Kelly says judiciously, "The charges brought by contemporaries against his sexual life cannot be explained away, but he was personally devout, a protector of the poor and needy who showed charity and courage when the Black Death appeared at Avignon in 1348-49, and defended the Jews when they were blamed for it." So he did know something about how to be Pope after all.

Even the villainous Alexander VI (1492-1503), who won election by bribery, reputedly hired assassins and fathered the even more villainous Cesare and Lucrezia Borgia, gets good marks as an administrator and patron of the arts. It was he who persuaded Michelangelo to undertake the grand rebuilding of St. Peter's.

The modern Vatican is, of course, a somewhat less colorful place, but it remains a center of controversy. Pius XII (1939-58) "saw himself as the Pope of peace," as Kelly puts it, but his efforts to remain "strictly neutral" during World War II led to sharp criticisms of his failure to speak out strongly against the Nazis. Despite the claims of Pius defenders that he did speak out, Kelly concludes, "What remains clear is that the veiled or generalized language traditional to the curia was not a suitable instrument for dealing with cynically planned world domination and genocide."

Kelly offers measured praise to all the last four Popes: John XXIII ("warm-hearted and unaffectedly simple"), Paul VI ("He was able to steer the church through a period of revolutionary change"), John Paul I ("a man of practical common sense") and John Paul II ("Few Popes have had such wide-ranging intellectual equipment as John Paul, and none has had such a far-reaching impact"). Such judgments are quite unexceptionable, but a secular-minded reader will find more of interest in some of the bad old days.

—By Otto Friedrich

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FROM: LOIS GOTTESMAN

DATE:

3/18

TO : Marc Tanenbaum

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The Legal Aspects of a
Binational State

A. International Law

It is important to emphasize at the outset that, legally speaking, the commonly used expression "binational State" (or, for that matter, "multinational State") is a misnomer. The terms "nation" and "State" nowadays are virtually interchangeable inasmuch as in every State there exists a single nation so that there is an equal number of States and nations in the world community. A nation is the congregation of nationals of a State. In other words, a nation consists of the entire citizen body of the State: all the citizens (i.e. nationals) form the nation. Yet, within the ambit of one State and one nation, there can be several peoples. That is the meaning of the phrase "binational" (or "multinational") State. What is signified is the duality (or multiplicity) of peoples in the (one) nation and the (one) State.

It is exceedingly difficult to define the term "people". But, by and large, peoplehood is derived from a combination of an objective and a subjective element. Objectively, there has to exist an ethnic group linked by common history. Subjectively, it is essential for the group to have an ethos or state of mind confirming the will to continue to live together. Unlike the State, a people is not a corporate entity under international law since it does not possess a legal personality. Nevertheless, modern international law bestows upon peoples certain group rights which constitute collective human rights. These are human rights of a particular nature since they are granted to the members of the group communally, in conjunction with

one another. Each people is entitled at the present time to three collective human rights: (a) the right to physical existence (corresponding to the prohibition of genocide); (b) the right of self-determination (allowing a people to determine its political status); and (c) the right to dispose of the people's natural resources.

Peoples are not the only groups benefiting from human rights. Contemporary international law also accords rights on a collective basis to ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. An ethnic minority may constitute a whole people (which does not or cannot avail itself of the right of self-determination) or a segment of a people which is dispersed across the borders of two or more countries. The same people may form a majority in one State and a minority in others, or a minority in several States. The same group may simultaneously be an ethnic, a religious and a linguistic minority. But, be it as it may, every ethnic, religious or linguistic minority has a collective human right to enjoy its own culture, to profess and practise its own religion, or to use its own language. In other words, each one of the three types of minorities is entitled to preserve its separate identity as a group and not to be coerced into a national 'melting-pot'.

The group rights of peoples and minorities do not replace, but exist side by side with, a plethora of individual human rights which devolve upon every single member of the group qua human being (or, at times, qua national of the State). These individual human rights are numerous and cover a wide spectrum. They include, inter alia, freedom of expression, the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs, the right to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections, the right to work and the right to education. The international legal protection of human rights - which is afforded to human beings

directly, without the interposition of the State - is perhaps the most startling innovation of the present era in international affairs. Human beings, as individuals or as members of groups, enjoy these rights by virtue of international law irrespective of constitutional provisions in the national legal system. Every State is in duty bound to conform to the international legal system. It is obligated to adopt internally the required legislative measures with a view to achieving the full realization of international human rights within its boundaries. No State may deny the exercise of these rights in the name of "sovereignty", "domestic jurisdiction" or such-like catch-phrases. The conferment by international law of human rights upon human beings (as individuals or groups) implies limitations on the powers of sovereign States. Any subject-matter which comes within the compass of international human rights is automatically excluded from the domain reserved for the domestic jurisdiction of the State. In effect, the individual and the group are protected by international law against their own State of nationality.

B. Constitutional Law

The peaceful co-existence of several peoples within the confines of a single "multinational" State is theoretically possible even if the State has a unitary character (with all political powers retained by a central government). This is particularly true in two sets of circumstances. Firstly, where the proportion of ethnic minorities in the overall population of a State is miniscule (with a ratio of, for example, 10:1 in favour of the majority ethnic group). And secondly, where - irrespective of relative size - members of various ethnic groups (constituting the majority as well as the minorities) are equally dispersed throughout the national territory in such

a manner that a minority group does not emerge as an overwhelming majority in any given region. However, when members of an ethnic minority are concentrated in large numbers in clearly perceptible areas, experience indicates that some devolution (or delegation) of powers is indispensable to placate that group. The case for devolution becomes almost inexorable in circumstances of a "binational" State - that is, when only two peoples live under the same national roof - if, demographically speaking, the numerical ratio of majority versus minority is only a matter of degree (say, 2:1 or 60% to 40%) and, geographically speaking, the national minority forms a local majority in certain districts.

The constitutional distribution of powers between the central government of a State and regional governments creates a Federal State. Federal States must be distinguished from confederations of States. A confederation is an association of separate and independent States established by treaty. The treaty of confederation invests central organs with limited powers without thereby impairing the sovereignty of the confederate States. A Federal State is a single State in which governmental powers are divided between a single central authority and one or more local governments of autonomous regions. The division of powers differs in scope from one Federal State to another. Nevertheless, a condition sine qua non is that the guiding principles will be incorporated in a written constitution (or, at the very least, in an organic or fundamental law). An attempt to create a Federal State without a written constitution is practically of no value, inasmuch as the central government may then ignore with impunity the distribution of powers. It is

an old maxim that constitutions spring from a belief in limited government. The division of powers between a central and a regional government must necessarily be enshrined in, and safeguarded by, an instrument reflecting the supreme law of the land.

The crux of the issue is the creation of a system of checks and balances designed to vitiate any attempt to undermine the distribution of powers in the Federal State. Usually, the constitution of a Federal State covers the following salient points in order to preserve the federal structure from infringements: (i) A system of self-government ("home-rule") for the autonomous region must be established. Self-government, in practical terms, means (a) a local legislature elected by the inhabitants of the region; (b) a local administration (in charge, among other functions, of a local police or national guard) responsible to the local legislature; and (c) a local judicial system. It is the quintessence of a fully autonomous region that it possesses all three branches of government (legislative, executive and judicial). Otherwise, the political equilibrium between the central and the regional government is tilted in favour of the former. Furthermore, the powers allocated to the regional branches of government should not be trivial. Autonomy must not be relegated to the regulation of such matters as, for instance, the promotion of tourism and the organization of exhibitions, museums and zoos. In the final analysis, genuine autonomy entails the assumption and discharge of serious responsibilities relating to policy-making on the regional basis and the exercise of authority over a political unit. The basic principle is that of coordination rather than subordination.

(ii) The inhabitants of the autonomous region must be permitted to take part in the government and administration of the entire Federal State. In other words, self-government in the autonomous region is not a substitute for the inhabitants of the region playing an equitable role in the central government and the affairs of the State as a whole. If they vote as a bloc - and if the rest of the population is fragmented into many political parties - they may have a very strong bargaining position in parliamentary politics. At all events, there is a strong tendency to have a bicameral national legislature. One of the two chambers of the legislature (usually styled a senate) then reflects the political sub-division of the country.

(iii) In order to prevent the central government from determining by itself the de facto extent of its own powers, and so as to avoid mutual encroachments on the reserved domains of the central and the regional government, an independent constitutional court ought to be set up. The Court should be authorized to review national and regional laws and, if it reaches the conclusion that they exceed the bounds delineated by the constitution, must be competent to declare them to be unconstitutional and invalid.

(iv) The constitution has to include an entrenched Bill of Rights vouchsafing the equal enjoyment of fundamental freedoms by all and sundry. Evidently, a Bill of Rights need not be considered a hallmark of a Federal State: any State - either unitary or Federal - should have a Bill of Rights for the effective guarantee of human rights to all. Still, in the context of a Federal State, a Bill of Rights acquires a special significance. It is important to remember that (a) members of the minority ethnic group, for the sake of whom the autonomous region is created, cannot be forced to remain at all

times within the bounds of the region. Many will leave it temporarily for work, commerce and so forth. Others will leave the region permanently and settle outside it. Wherever they are, they should be entitled as individuals to all the basic human rights. (b) Conversely, members of the majority ethnic group may move into the autonomous region, either temporarily or permanently. In that area - where the national minority constitutes a regional majority - they are the minority and it is imperative to protect their rights. Only a Bill of Rights can do that in an adequate fashion.

(v) A system must be worked out whereby the process of amending the constitution - and modifying the distribution of powers between the central and the local government - is made dependent on the consent of both. The crucial importance of the constitutional provisions is such that neither the majority nor the minority, when acting alone, should be legally able to alter the balance of power. When revision of the inter-relationship between the central and the local government is called for (and the time for such revision invariably comes, sooner or later, due to changed circumstances), both parties must collaborate in effectuating the constitutional amendment.

C. Israel as a "Binational" State

At the time of writing, more than a million Palestinian Arabs live under Israeli administration in areas which are not, legally speaking, an integral part of Israel. As an intellectual exercise it is useful to consider what the situation is going to be should Israel somehow acquire legal title to these territories and absorb them within its domain. Clearly, the inhabitants of the territories will have to be absorbed as well: they will have to be

admitted to the national fold and will begin to enjoy the whole gamut of human rights which international law guarantees (rights which are not necessarily available under a military government in areas under belligerent occupation).

In the light of the preceding general comments, it is quite clear to this writer that an enlarged Israel with a significantly enlarged Arab population will require a written constitution which will change its character from a unitary into a Federal State. At least one, possibly more, Arab autonomous regions will have to be set up with a view to enabling the local Arab majority to exercise self-government in a meaningful way. There is palpably an enormous discrepancy between the extent of self-government which the Arabs will insist upon and that which Israel will be prepared to accept. In the light of the controversies which have already flared up in the course of the preliminary stages of the Autonomy Talks between Israel and Egypt, that discrepancy is no longer a matter for conjecture: it is a plain statement of fact. But it must be stressed that, even if all the bones of contention in this regard were to have been eliminated, major issues remain to be resolved insofar as the participation of the Arab minority in the central government of the State is concerned. It is one thing for Israel to have a small Arab minority of about 12% and quite another to have an Arab minority of approximately 35% or more. Israel is a democracy, and once the Arabs are granted - as they must be under international law - the right to vote in national elections, they will probably form a parliamentary bloc in the Knesset which is likely to leave an indelible imprint on Israeli politics.

Other issues which are not usually a cause for great concern in other Federal States are probably going to generate much discussion in the Israeli context. Thus, is it possible to exempt one-third or more of the population from compulsory military service? Will Jews be permitted to settle freely in the Arab autonomous region and, if so, will Arabs be entitled to a reciprocal right in the areas beyond that region? Or will there be a new Palestine of Settlement in Jewish history?

All these, and others, are cardinal questions for which there is not, as yet, an answer based on Jewish "national consensus". What is more serious is that no serious discussion has yet taken place in Israel about the general repercussions and implications of its potential status as a "binational" State should the administered territories be integrated into Israel. This writer believes that it is high time to commence such discussion in earnest.

The Catholic View

Brother Marcel-Jacques Dubois O.P.

Member of the
Committee

If practical behavior, in morals as well as in politics, reflects a theology, or is a consequence of it, the hesitations and reservations which have marked the official attitude of the Catholic Church to the State of Israel seem to manifest a rather negative doctrine. One has only to remember the complications and misunderstandings that marked Pope Paul's journey to the Holy Land in 1964, and the more recent visit of Prime Minister Golda Meir to the Vatican.

VATICAN RESERVATIONS CONCERNING THE STATE OF ISRAEL

Twenty-five years after the foundation of the State of Israel, the Vatican has not yet recognized its existence; and, where Jerusalem is concerned, the Yom Kippur War was the occasion for Roman diplomats to search among their files for the thesis of *Corpus separatum*.

There are three reasons for this reticence. The first is the current practice of the Holy See in international politics: it has never recognized a country in a state of war, or one whose political frontiers are not yet assured by international agreement. Thus, the frontiers between the German and Polish dioceses on the Oder-Neisse border were ecclesiastically defined only in 1972, i.e., more than a quarter-century after the end of World War II. Accordingly, the Holy See's recognition of Israel must not be expected before an enduring peace comes to the Middle East. The second reason is diplomatic and religious: concerned as it is with the fate of the Christian communities in Arab lands, the Holy See must take account of the reactions of Arab governments. The resulting restraints on the Vatican's diplomatic proceedings are obvious.

The last reason is deeper and more difficult to grasp, for it has never been clearly expressed: theological reservation. There can be no doubt that, in the realm of traditional teaching and the attitudes of official institutions, the Church is not yet ready to accept, even to understand, the return of the Jews to Zion.

THE THEOLOGICAL PROBLEM

It is a fact that the Christian conscience, which was felt to have been put in question by the tragedy of the concentration camps, received a new stimulus by the creation of the State of Israel. The ingathering of the Children of Israel in the Land of the Bible has obliged Christians to become aware of Jewish identity. From now on, Israel has a territory, a flag, a passport, institutions. The Six-Day War made Christians even more sensible of these facts, and this awareness is ever on the increase among attentive Christians who witness Israel's daily struggle for the defense and vindication of its right to exist. It has been reinforced in a tragic way, since the Yom Kippur War, by Israel's isolation among the nations.

Faced with this new situation, Christians have reacted in different ways, which may be defined as two attitudes. The first is marked by an approach more narrow than ever: lack of comprehension and inability to accept the facts. This virtual allergy derives from more or less conscious theological assumptions.

Many Christians regard Israel as a purely political and profane reality. As a result, they are unwilling to recognize any link whatsoever between the actual reality and the "old" Israel. Victims of a kind of inhibition, the theologians who defend this position fear that doctrinal or scriptural considerations may be used to justify Israel's political existence. In reality, by a curious contradiction, their theology of Israel consists in eliminating any theological outlook when the question of Israel is raised.

The thesis is usually presented according to the following argument. It was the ordained role of Jewry to prepare the people of God, namely the Church. Now that the Messiah has come, the Church—*Verus Israel*—has taken the place of the "old" Israel: the Jewish people no longer has any reason to exist, so the Jews as a nation may now vanish and, in any case, have no right to occupy the historic Land of Israel. This thesis, generally dressed up in theological garb, is all too often animated by political considerations, and is thus to be found among the slogans of those Christians who belong to the New Left. The meetings of the World Congress of Christians for Palestine at Beirut in 1970, and at Canterbury in 1972, were the clearest expression of this confusion of planes, in which, on the pretext of defending the Palestinian cause, theological reflection on Israel's existence is denied, while a potpourri of politics and theology, hostile to Israel, is in fact elaborated.

Emphasis must be placed upon the spirit and point of application of a theology rightly called the theology of the New Left. Actually, it is characteristic of a vast movement in which passionate fervor, often generous, takes precedence over objectivity and precise thinking. The theology of anti-Zionism enters into the more general context of a theology of revolution, whether it be called theology of hope or of violence, which is elaborated by Catholic political leaders to validate the struggle for justice and for the defense of the downtrodden. The impact of this theology on the Catholic attitude toward the State of Israel is all the more precise and manifest in that it is in fact a matter of justifying and promoting the rights of the Palestinians, who are used as the symbol and banner of the cause of all who are oppressed and exploited, whether they be the working classes or the developing countries. Thenceforth, in this simplistic manichaeism, Israel figures as the negative and baleful counterpart.

DEICIDE AND DIASPORA

In this way of thinking, however, another element shows traces of a certain traditional theology. For in this refusal to allow room for a theological consideration of Israel, one can in fact discern a consequence of the old theology of rejection according to which, in the Christian economy, no theological value whatsoever can be attributed to the people of Israel after the advent of Jesus. It seems, too, that there is a residue of the deicide myth, implying that the chastisement of Israel means that the Jewish people will never be able to return to its land. It is quite clear that a Catholic can no longer accept this accusation of deicide, but one may ask if a shadow of it does not still survive in the Christian subconscious. Does not this survival explain that indefinable discomfort felt by some Christians at the thought that the Holy Land, and Jerusalem in particular, is in the hands of the Jews?

The general tendency of such a position is roughly that the Diaspora is considered to be a consequence of the crucifixion, a punishment for deicide, and that Zionism must therefore be regarded as an arrogant presumption, in opposition to the will of God, who has punished His people, condemning them to exile and wandering. Most distressingly, such Christians believe that they can cite the supportive authority of Church Fathers, whereas in many cases they project their own anti-Semitism onto the Patristic texts.

It is thus strange, but true, that the most conservative of Christian theologians and the thinkers of the New Left find themselves in the same camp. They are at one in denying any authentic link between the People and the Land of Israel.

There can be no doubt that this refusal stems from the difficulty Christians experience in understanding certain elements of the Jewish conscience and existential condition. The most fundamental point in this contact is the singular combination in the Jewish identity of a national and a religious dimension: a people with a religious vocation, a religion with a national basis. The whole history of the Jewish people is a constant oscillation between these two dimensions. They are still essential components of Jewish consciousness, which has manifested itself as such throughout the ages to the present day, as witnessed by the attachment of the Israelis to their Land. Viewing this close union of religion and nation as leading necessarily to theocracy is precisely the mistake that one can easily make if one considers the Jewish and Israeli situation only from the outside.

However the Israelis may integrate the religious and national dimensions in their identity, it is to these that they have recourse, more or less consciously, in the articulation of their return to the Homeland.

If Christians feel so ill at ease in interpreting the peculiar brand of Israel nationalism, it is because they are not yet capable of accommodating in their faith the complex elements which, for the Jewish consciousness, are absolutely fundamental. Election and the Jewish people's link with the Land are, without any doubt, the most important of these. What, today, is the sign of election in the destiny of the Jewish people? What is the meaning of this people and of its election in the new economy of salvation established by Jesus? What remains of the ancient promises now that Christ has come? What is the value now of seeking to justify, from the Bible or religious tradition, the link of the Jewish people with the Land promised to it long ago? Plainly, Roman Catholic theology has not yet found a complete and satisfactory answer to these questions.

TRADITIONAL PREJUDICES AND THE CHRISTIAN OUTLOOK

It is only too clear that, in the face of these questions, traditional Catholic theology has inherited the prejudices of ancient anti-Judaism. This was based on a collection of affirmations

formulated of old during the bitter period of the implacable separation of Church and Synagogue. According to the spirit of these affirmations, Judaism was considered only as a preparation for the Gospel and nothing more: as something destined to vanish with the advent of the Redeemer: as a faith that was decadent and legalistic, in the time of Jesus at least and, after his coming, as a faith decrepit and empty of all spiritual substance: as a religion destined to survive only, according to Augustine's famous formula, "as a witness of the Church's truth and of the Jews' iniquity."

It can be said that these different affirmations manifest the permanence of a certain marcionism in Christian thought. The second-century heretic, Marcion, rejected the Old Testament as the word of a *demiurgos* and not the Word of God. Though condemned by the Church, marcionism has always tempted Christians. There is no doubt that it remains more or less implicit in the theological tendency that radically dejudaizes the Church, reducing the Old Testament to nothing more than a simple manual of pious thoughts: by a purely allegorical interpretation, it does in fact sever the Church from its historical and existential roots. All this has obviously weakened faith, both in the very consistency of biblical history and its divine significance and in the conviction that God can still act magnanimously in history—and in the specific history of the People of the Bible—as He did of old.

Yet for the Jewish conscience, even in a confused way and even if these elements are not clearly situated and recognized, Israel's election and its link with the Land are absolutely vital realities. If Christians wish to understand the Jewish destiny, the return to Zion, and the attitude of the Israeli, they must at least take into consideration the traditional inspiration of this national sentiment, respecting it as felt from within. If one believes in the continuity of God's plan, borne and announced by this people through its whole history, it seems more in harmony with the logic of the Bible and the Gospels to have confidence in the dynamism of God's gift.

Catholic theology today has given birth to a new outlook in line with this attitude. This renewal, first seen in the years preceding World War II, and whose first fruits were presented by the Vatican Council, continues to stimulate the conscience of the faithful and the reflection of theologians.

SIGNS AND STAGES OF REEVALUATION

There is now a more open attitude, one more respectful of reality—that of Christians with a knowledge of Israel's past and history and conscious of the permanence of God's plan, who study the modern history of the Jews within the general perspective of the history of Salvation. In this great adventure of Israel from Abraham up to the present day, they discover the continuity of a mysterious divine teaching with regard to a people that remains mysteriously marked by its original election. In particular, they acknowledge the fact that it is impossible to undertake a theological study of the Jewish State without the preliminary benefit of a renewal of traditional Christian theology concerning Judaism and, especially, relations between Israel and the Church in the one unified history of the people of God.

The first signs of this reevaluation appeared during the 1930s, when, with the rise of the totalitarian regimes, the Jewish people was to undergo new and most tragic suffering. Catholic theology and thought began to shed new light on the continuity of God's plan throughout the history of Israel, seeing in this one of the fundamental certainties of Christian faith. Such religious conviction can equally be seen in the spontaneous faith of the humblest Christians who studied the Bible as "sacred history" and who sheltered Jews at the height of the storm. It was then that the theological syntheses, such as those of Charles Journet, made their appearance. Furthermore, however they may differ in their genius, style, conception of the world, or political commitment, Catholic writers such as Léon Bloy and Charles Péguy, Georges Bernanos, Paul Claudel, Jacques Maritain, and François Mauriac, all share, each in his own way, this grasp of the Jewish historical continuity and regard Israel as an infinitely mysterious reality—mysterious in itself, mysterious in its relationship with the Church, mysterious in the different stages of its history. It is no mere chance that the witness borne by these different Catholic authors converges so distinctly in the love of Israel.

THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

The accession of Pope John XXIII confirmed this change in the Church's attitude toward Judaism and the Jews. His great humanity and, especially, his openness to the Jewish world did in fact bring about a notable evolution in the liturgy and in the Church's theological approach to Judaism. This is known to have been among the first concerns of his pontificate. At the

very opening of the Second Vatican Council, it was Pope John who charged Cardinal Bea with formulating a document on the role of the Jews in the death of Christ and on the attitude of the Catholic Church toward Judaism. The story of this document, and of its successive versions, suffices to show that the Jewish cause in general, and that of the Jewish State in particular, scarcely enjoyed wholehearted support in the upper echelons of the Catholic hierarchy. The doctrinal reservations of reactionary theologians found support in the arguments of the Eastern bishops, who feared the political consequences of a declaration favoring the Jews. Nevertheless, in the teeth of an opposition in which integrists, Eastern Catholics, and Arab diplomats were banded together, the declaration *Nostra aetate* was finally adopted by the Council in October 1965. Paradoxically enough, the very existence of the Jewish State and of Zionism, with all their political consequences, paralyzed final agreement on the text and delayed its passage.

With time, however, the importance of the Vatican Council on relations between Jews and Christians, and the Church's attitude toward Israel, will emerge more and more clearly. The Ecumenical Assembly has, so to speak, confirmed and solemnly defined the truths rediscovered by the Catholic conscience during the preceding 30 years. This finds expression in the magnificent chapter on the People of God in the Constitution of the Church, and especially in the introduction to the chapter on Judaism, in *Nostra aetate*:

As this Sacred Synod searches into the mystery of the Church, it remembers the bond that spiritually ties the people of the New Covenant to Abraham's stock.

Thus the Church of Christ acknowledges that, according to God's saving design, the beginnings of her faith and her election are found already among the Patriarchs, Moses, and the Prophets. She professes that all who believe in Christ—Abraham's sons according to faith—are included in the same Patriarch's call, and likewise that the salvation of the Church is mysteriously foreshadowed by the chosen people's exodus from the land of bondage. The Church, therefore, cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in his inexpressible mercy concluded the Ancient Covenant. Nor can she forget that she draws sustenance from the root of that well-cultivated olive tree onto which have been grafted the wild shoots, the Gentiles . . .

Thus, to become more clearly aware of their own identity, Christians are invited to return to their roots: the promise made to Abraham, the Covenant contracted with Moses. They are invited by the Church to a clearer awareness of their own selves, and to a better knowledge of Israel and Judaism in a deeper and more exhaustive grasp of God's plan considered in all its amplitude.

On a more pastoral and practical level, the Council condemned those pejorative and insulting references to the Jews which have too often been heard in Christian preaching, with tragic consequences. But the intention of the text goes further than mere refutation of deicide (in spite of all the difficulties concerning this point). Actually, stress must be laid on the positive dimensions of the Council's declaration. It opens the way to theological reflection by stressing the link uniting the Church with the Synagogue, and by recalling, in the light of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, the actual continuity of Israel's destiny. Evaluating the significance of this text a few years after the Council, Father Edward H. Flannery had no hesitation in observing:

If Israel's participation in the Election and Covenant is still valid for the Jewish People, the Covenant and Promise should be understood in their original meaning . . . They should, in other words, include Israel as a land. The burden of proof seems to rest on him who holds that Israel's continuing Covenant must be a landless one. Admittedly, this theological reclamation of the land revolutionizes the traditional Christian conception of Judaism. But so does the Vatican Council's statement on the Jewish People in other equally important respects. Then, too, the repossession of Palestine by Jews in our time is of a magnitude which invites revision of much thinking, secular as well as religious (The Bridge, 1970).

JACQUES MARITAIN'S APPROACH

The Council did not broach the subject of the State of Israel, since its sole purpose was to define the relations between the Church and Judaism from a religious point of view. However, long before the Council, in the 1930s, thinking on this problem had already advanced, thanks to the French Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain. Urged by the demands of his faith and

with the presentiment of rising anti-Semitism, he had often written on Judaism and the Jewish destiny. In this connection, it is important to remember that Maritain was subject to Léon Bloy's influence, and that he participated in the research of Monsignor (later Cardinal) Charles Journet, whose work, *Destinées d'Israël*, had during those same years brought about a progression in the Christian conscience. In a book published many years later which collected his articles on the subject, Maritain moved a step forward in regard to the Jewish condition. Reflecting on the existence of the State of Israel and on the Jewish people's link with its land, he wrote:

It is strangely paradoxical to behold Israel being denied the only territory to which—considering the whole course of human history—it is absolutely, divinely, certain that this people has a title. For this people, Israel, is the only people in the world to whom a land, the land of Canaan, was given by the true God, the unique and transcendent God, Creator of the world and of the human race. And that which God has given once, is given forever (Le mystère d'Israël et autres essais, 1965).

Maritain returned to the subject, in a book published not long after:

In saying that, I did not mean to declare the State of Israel a state by divine right—as has been suggested by some. The State of Israel as a state is like all other states. But the return of part of the Jewish people to the Holy Land, and its reestablishment there (of which the existence of the State is a sign and guarantee), is the refulfillment of the divine promise which is not withdrawn. One remembers that which was said to Abraham, Jacob, and Moses, and that which Ezekiel proclaimed... Not that we should consider the establishment of the State of Israel to be a kind of prelude to the realization of the prophecy—I know nothing about this, although it is not impossible—but surely we should keep in mind our respect for the ways of God? And I have no doubt that this event, mysterious as it is for Jews and Christians alike, bears the sign of God's faithful love for the people which is ever His. It therefore seems to me that once the Jewish people have set foot again on the land which God has given them, nobody can take it away from them again. To wish for the disappearance of the State of Israel is to want the nullification of that return which has at least been granted to the Jewish people and which allows it to have a shelter of its own in this world... anti-Israelism is not much different from anti-Semitism (L'Eglise, sa personne et son personnel, 1970).

However, it is strange that the great Catholic philosopher, considered to be one of those who inspired the Ecumenical Council and one regarded by Pope Paul VI as "his master," was so little heeded in this particular aspect of his thought by Christian authorities. Yet in April 1973, a few weeks before Maritain's death, a document published by the French Episcopal Committee for Relations with the Jews revealed how much his thought found an echo in the Catholic conscience on the subject of Israel.

THE FRENCH EPISCOPAL COMMITTEE'S DOCUMENT

The text published by the Episcopal Committee of the French bishops ("Episcopal Aspects of the Attitude of Christians toward Judaism") on the eve of Passover 1973 undoubtedly represents progress with regard to former theological positions, in particular those of the Vatican Council, but it is a progress desired by the Council itself. The declaration *Nostra aetate* invited and encouraged further research, and the French bishops rightly considered their work to be in line with the Vatican Council's declaration: "The Christian conscience has begun a movement which reminds the Church of its Jewish roots." The principal import of this document is thus a pressing demand made upon the Christian conscience for the discovery in its own image of features received from its Jewish roots. This, of course, implies knowing and respecting the original values of Judaism, which have too often been ignored or misunderstood by Christians.

This is far less a question of purely theoretical study than of a discovery which concerns the very progress of Christian life: "Christians, even if only for their own sake, must acquire a true and living knowledge of the Jewish tradition." Much more, the text wishes "that all Christians... seek to understand the Jew as he understands himself, instead of judging him according to their own way of thinking." So the Jews are no longer a pure object and Judaism a simple theological issue. Christians are asked to discover Jewish subjectivity from within.

Of particular importance is what is meant here by "Jewish existence." It is, of course, a question of "the actual existence of the Jewish people," but also of "its precarious condition

throughout its history, its hope, the tragedies which it has known in the past and, above all in modern times, its partial ingathering in the Land of the Bible." A little further, the text speaks of "its search for its own identity among other men, its constant effort to gather together in a reunified community."

This text has predictably aroused criticism and misunderstanding. It touches on so many delicate points with regard to a problem whose dimensions are so difficult and so painful that such reactions are inevitable.

First, there are purely theological reservations. The document comes back to the delicate question of deicide and traditional Christian teaching on the Jews: it poses, benevolently, the question of the mission of the Jewish people and of the permanence of its election. Certain theologians, including Cardinal Daniélou in the French newspaper *Le Figaro*, were disturbed by the rather new approach to these traditional problems.

The strongest reactions, however, concern the political relevance of the text. Primarily, the French bishops have been reproached for mixing politics with theology. In fact, the document alludes several times to the new ingathering of the Jewish people in the Land of the Bible. In the passionate climate that affects everything concerned with the Middle East, it was too quickly concluded, with enthusiasm or with bitterness, that the French bishops were proposing a theological justification of Zionism. Their document was seen as an injustice, and even as contempt for the Palestinian cause. They were accused of using the Bible improperly for political ends. Such were the comments emanating from the Arab countries, in particular the reactions of the Algerian and Egyptian bishops. In many cases, however, those who reprove the political consequences of a theology reject it finally because it is not in line with their own politics. Yet a complete and attentive reading of the text shows a determination for justice and equilibrium which forbids any simplist or unilateral interpretation. Certainly, it is clearly affirmed:

Beyond the legitimate diversity of political options, the universal conscience cannot refuse to the Jewish people, which has undergone so many vicissitudes in the course of its history, the right and the means for a political existence among the nations.

However, it is evident that Israel is not mentioned as a state and that Zionism is not named. Above all, the authors of the text are very conscious of the extreme complexity of the problem and wish to place the document in its full context: "It is, at the present time, harder than ever to make a serene theological judgment on the movement of the Jewish people for a return to 'its' land."

Bearing this in mind, it is easier to discern the real intention of the document. The French bishops ask their faithful to become aware of what a return to Jerusalem means to the Jewish spirit, and to question themselves about the significance of this new ingathering: "In the presence of this [return], we cannot, as Christians, forget the gift formerly made to the people of Israel of a land in which it was called to be reunited." Henceforward, Christians "must take account of the interpretation given to their regathering around Jerusalem by the Jews who, in the name of their faith, consider it a blessing." It is to be recognized that on this precise point the text takes a courageous and decisive stand. It in no way denies the Arab cause: on the contrary, it dramatically recalls it and recognizes that "by this return and its repercussions, justice is put to the test. On the political plane, there is a confrontation between the diverse demands of justice." Thus, the document invites Catholics to understand that at the root of the Middle East conflict there is, in truth, a conflict between two justices. It desires peace for Jerusalem and it sees in its realization the sign and the pledge of peace for all men.

A NEW APPROACH TO THE ISRAEL REALITY

At the present stage of this reevaluation it can be said that, at a more rigorously theological level, the least apparent but most decisive, many Christians are beginning to ask themselves questions, in a clearer and more urgent way, about the significance of Judaism and the destiny of Israel. This theology is still under research, but one may elucidate its most important features:

1. Israel is considered from the viewpoint of its vocation and, in face of its present destiny, the question is: What remains of the election? What does it signify today?
2. In the destiny of Israel, in that of the people of the Bible—as also of the Jews throughout history—the exemplar of man's spiritual destiny is seen, and the Scriptures are read in this light.
3. More and more plainly, especially since Vatican Council II, it is realized that the inheritance of Israel is one of the elements of Christian identity.
4. Finally, more and more attentively, what might be called Jewish subjectivity is treated

with respect and one places oneself in its angle so as to understand Israel's actual mode of conduct, even accepting that the Jewish soul may be faithful to its own identity.

In this perspective, the Return to Zion seems to imply a return to God or, at least, allegiance to a mysterious vocation, of which Christians rejoice to be the attentive and urgent witnesses.

From this point of view, one may say that recognition of the State of Israel assumes the multiple and unpredictable form of contacts between Christians and Israelis. These contacts are established at the level not of institutions and principles, but of everyday life. More and more Christians come to Israel in order to explore all its aspects, work in kibbutzim, or study at the Hebrew University. Likewise, Jewish and Christian intellectuals meet in study groups for common research and true dialogue. To be sure, these people are still isolated cases, often ignored by the authorities, and sometimes even feared or regarded as unrepresentative individuals. Often these Christians are, indeed, still pioneers, but their presence and their contacts with Israeli friends are a new facet of the relationship between the Church and the State of Israel, full of promise for the future.

Of course, the theology of this question is still under research; ways of expressing such a difficult and essential reality more adequately are still sadly lacking. Fortunately, however, some Christians, without yet being capable of defining their convictions with reasons and words, are beginning to sense that it is impossible to consider, justly and truthfully, the present situation in the Middle East without recognizing the peculiarity of the Jewish people, with all that this implies: its permanence through time, its spiritual tradition, its historical dynamism, the continuity of its religious and national conscience, the living link of this people with the Bible and with its Land.

In such an evolution and reevaluation, what could bring about a new step forward? It would seem that persons rather than institutions must take the initiative, at least in the first stages of the thaw. Just as, in Christian history, facts precede and prepare laws, so it is the experience and reflection of the faithful that enable theology to progress. For the Church is not only the hierarchy: it is the whole Christian community; and theology is not the mere transmission of a mass of lifeless truths, but the fruit of a living faith. Thus, an adequate and exhaustive account of the present state of Catholic theology concerning the State of Israel necessitates taking careful heed of the way in which Catholics are beginning to discover and understand the reality of modern Israel.

An old maxim of traditional theology expresses the dependence of faith in its relation to liturgy: "*lex orandi, lex credendi*," Applying this to the theology concerning the State of Israel, it could be rephrased as "*Lex diligendi, lex credendi*." It is love that helps the believer in the discoveries and expression of his faith. It is certain that, at this level of Christian existence and the concrete life of the faithful, the rediscovery by an increasing number of Catholics coming to Israel of the Jewish people and of their link with their Land appears to be rich in significance and pregnant with hope.

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ISRAEL'S MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS AUDIENCE OF THE POPE

The following is the official communiqué, as published in the weekly edition of L'Osservatore Romano.



On Thursday, 7 January 1982, the Holy Father received in audience His Excellency Mr Yitzhak Shamir, the Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Minister was accompanied by H.E. Mr Yochanan Meroz, Ambassador for Special Assignments, Mr Yoseph Ben-Aharon, Chef du Cabinet of the Minister, Mr Nathan Ben-Horin, Minister Counsellor of the Israeli Embassy in Italy, and Mr Avi Pazner, Director of the Press Office of the Foreign Ministry.

In the course of the conversation between the Holy Father and Minister Shamir, which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding, the present situation in the Middle East and the attempt in progress to solve the conflict were reviewed.

His Holiness, after having taken note of the implementation in progress of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, expressed the urgency of intensifying efforts to reach a fair and stable peace, for the benefit of all the populations in the region who have suffered so much and are still suffering as a result of the conflict that has been prolonged for decades, and he emphasized the necessity that the process of negotiation should reach all the parties concerned, tackling with a resolute determination for peace the questions still unsolved, and abiding in the meantime by international conventions, so as to facilitate dialogue and negotiations.

Among these questions, the problem of the Palestinians is of particular importance, whether they are resident in the Holy Land or refugees in neighbouring countries. A firm commitment for its just and rightful solution, taking into account also the problem of the security of the State of Israel, would give a new and decisive impetus to the process of peace. It will be an effective contribution if the Palestinians of West Jordan and Gaza enjoy serene conditions, in full respect of all rights.

At the same time, the Pope expressed the earnest hope that the crisis in Lebanon, still in a state of tension and insecurity, with attacks in various parts of the country, will be solved. It is to be hoped that all the parties will make their contribution to extending and consolidating the truce reached some months ago in the southern regions, with commitment and a spirit of moderation.

The Holy Father confirmed the well-known position of the Holy See for a just and agreed solution of the question of Jerusalem, highlighting the necessity that the Holy City should be made a cross-roads of peace and meeting for the faithful of the three religions — Christianity, Judaism and Islam — which look to it, whether they reside there or go there on pilgrimage or, in any case, venerate it as a sacred centre of the history and life of their own religion.

H.E. the Minister set forth the efforts of Israel in order to reach peace in the Middle East by means of the implementation of the Camp David agreements, which comprise both the peace agreement with Egypt and the plan for autonomy.

The Minister stressed the efforts and concessions made by Israel to arrive at the peace agreement with Egypt and its commitment to arrive at a global and just solution of the conflict, safeguarding the security of Israel.

The Minister expressed his deep concern at the massive influx of arms into the region and referred to the serious problem of terrorism.

H.E. Minister Shamir set forth the position of Israel on Jerusalem and emphasized that the present situation of the Holy City reflects its particular significance in the history of the Jewish people and bears witness to the consideration on the part of the Government of Israel for the universal interest in it. In this context, Minister Shamir outlined the commitment of the Israeli Government for the safeguarding of, and free access to, the Holy Places of all faiths and their self-management, as well as its efforts to ensure the welfare of the various communities.

The Holy Father and Minister Shamir pointed out with satisfaction the contacts between Catholic and Jewish institutions and organizations and stressed the importance of promoting relations between Christians and Jews.

After the talk between His Holiness and Minister Shamir, the members of the suite were introduced to offer their homage to the Holy Father. Subsequently, the Minister met His Eminence Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of State, together with H.E. Monsignor Achille Silvestrini, Secretary of the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church.

* * *

This was the first high level visit to the Vatican since 1977 when Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan met with Pope Paul VI.

Foreign Minister Shamir's audience of His Holiness in the papal library lasted for thirty minutes. The two men, both born in Poland, briefly discussed the situation in that country in their native language and then switched to French.

After his meeting with the Pope, Mr Shamir held foreign policy talks with the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli. Their discussion lasted for ninety minutes.

POPE JOHN PAUL II RECEIVES DELEGATES OF CHURCH'S COMMISSION FOR RELIGIOUS RELATIONS WITH JUDAISM

On 6 March, Pope John Paul II received forty Church leaders from fifteen countries, members of the Roman Catholic Church's Commission for Relations with Judaism and special representatives of the Eastern Orthodox, Anglican and Lutheran Churches and of the World Council of Churches in Geneva.

The Commission had spent the previous four days discussing the progress achieved in the Christian-Jewish encounter, and had considered the biblical, theological and political problems involved. The biblical problem in Jewish-Christian relations was presented by Father Maurice Gilbert, sj, Rector of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome and Jerusalem; the theological problem, by Father Marcel J. Dubois, op, of Isaiah House in Jerusalem, a consultant to the Commission; and the political difficulties and implications, by Dr Eugene J. Fisher, of the Secretariat for Jewish-Catholic Relations of the Episcopal Conference of the USA, who is also a consultant to the Commission. There was also a presentation made by Sofia Cavaletti of a first project of orientations for a catechism on Jews and Judaism.

The Papal reception, held in the Throne Room of the Apostolic Palace, was the first time that a Pope has received the Commission since it was established in 1974. The Pope addressed the gathering as follows:

Dear Brothers in the Episcopate and in the priesthood, Sisters, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Coming from different regions of the world, you are here reunited in Rome to take stock regarding the important question of relations between the Catholic Church and Judaism. The importance of that problem is equally underlined by the presence among you of representatives of the Orthodox Churches, of the Anglican Communion, of the World Lutheran Federation and of the World Council of Churches, which I am particularly happy to greet and thank for their collaboration.

To you who are Bishops, priests, religious, and lay Christians, I express equally my deep gratitude. Your presence here, as your involvement in pastoral

The Catholic Church and the State of Israel — after thirty years

BY MARCEL JACQUES DUBOIS, OP

PART I

THE MOMENTOUS, THIRTIETH year of Israel's independence has seemed an apt occasion to pause and take stock of the course of events and of their significance. An area that has offered itself for such retrospective evaluation—though it, like all else, has been momentarily upstaged by the political breakthrough with Egypt—is the historically deep-rooted relationship between the young State and the Catholic Church. The thirtieth year has also seen the close of the pontificate of Pope Paul VI, a period remarkably rich in theological, political and diplomatic developments in Christian-Jewish and Vatican-Israel relations.

For many Jewish, especially Israeli, friends, the election of Pope John Paul II has intensified interest in the future course of those relations. This was no doubt a motivating factor in the visit to the Vatican, on 12 March 1979, by twenty-five representatives of major Jewish organisations from the Americas and Europe, with four delegates from Israel. The encounter, which was prepared jointly by the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism and by the International Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC), was positive and encouraging; such was the unanimous view. Pope John Paul II, recalling the documents

published after the Second Vatican Council and the initiatives of his predecessor, particularly the Guidelines and Suggestions for the Implementation of *Nostra Aetate* No. 4, (1965), explicitly declared his intention to pursue efforts in that direction. Those who had expected some stand to be taken with regard to the political reality of the State of Israel were somewhat disappointed. In his address to the Supreme Pontiff, Philip Klutznik, President of the World Jewish Congress, underlined the Jewish people's covenantal bond with the divinely-promised Land; the Pope, however, made no allusion to this when he spoke. What is clear, is that the event was of prime importance not least in that it revealed, in an objective light, the considerable intricacy of today's situation.

Relations between the Catholic Church and the State of Israel are singularly difficult to appraise because of the constant interplay of politics and religion. The Jewish State, in its essence and constitution, is an indivisible amalgam of the national and the religious, while the Catholic Church, at the level of international relations, is represented, on the one hand, by the Vatican, whose involvement in this world necessitates a certain political aspect, and on the other, by the diverse and worldwide Catholic community, with its dynamic spiritual reality, its faith, doctrine and traditions. The intrinsic complexity of both the Catholic Church and the Jewish State creates a constant crisscrossing between theology and politics which must be taken into consideration in any fair account of relations between the two entities.

Father Marcel Dubois, op, PhD, formerly lecturer in Philosophy at the Dominican Faculties of Paris and Toulouse, is a member of the Isaiah House Centre of Jewish Studies and Jewish-Christian Dialogue of the Dominican Fathers in Jerusalem and lecturer in the Hebrew University's Department of Philosophy.

The political existence of Israel has introduced a new factor into the traditional theological problem of relations between Christianity and the Synagogue, a factor which is at once a symbol and a catalyst. The Church and Judaism, the Vatican and Israel — two types of relationship operating at different levels and yet interacting. We shall try to analyse this complex reality by viewing it successively from each of its poles.

A. The Vatican, Judaism and the Jews

Official Church documents are the slowly maturing fruit of Christian reflection informed by the Spirit, and, as such, are a measure of progress. The documents which have taken shape in the wake of the Second Vatican Council bear the imprint of theological reflection inspired by the Council in circles of Judaeo-Christian encounter, and have, in turn, encouraged new thinking and an interest in Jewish reality. Most remarkable is the fact that this progress has been invested in institutions which will ensure continuity into the future.

The creation of high-level forums of encounter evidences this change of climate. Every year since 1970 the International Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee has brought together five Vatican representatives, who are nominated by the Pope on the recommendation of Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, with delegates from five of the most important Jewish organisations in the world.*

The Committee's aims are to promote mutual comprehension, cooperation and exchange of information in spheres of common responsibility and concern. Its founding reveals a desire on the part of the Roman Church for better acquaintance with Jewish reality. Seven meetings have already taken place. The venue in 1975 was Rome, at the time of the Vatican's publication of the Guidelines, which we will discuss later. The 1976 session was held in Jerusalem, a setting of particular significance which provoked, on both the Jewish and the Christian side, a lively interest not without contention. The agenda was geared to assessing the development of Catholic-Jewish relations since *Nostra Aetate*. A report by Rabbi Henry Siegman, truly a key document for future encounter, gives an extremely penetrating analysis, drawing special attention to

the openness demonstrated in the Vatican document.

March 1977 saw the sixth session, in Venice. The delicate issue under consideration — proselytism, mission and dialogue — could not have been treated with such frankness just a few years earlier. Professor Tommaso Federici of the Pontifical Collegio Urbano, presented the Catholic position in a documentary paper of enduring value. The novelty of his recourse to biblical tradition and the sympathetic tenor of his discourse earned it a favourable reception in concerned Jewish circles, while reservations were voiced in some Catholic ones. Although not all the implications of his thesis have been explored, none can deny the value of the debate and re-thinking that it provoked.

'The image of Judaism in Christian education, and the image of Christianity in Jewish education,' the theme of the seventh meeting, in Madrid, evinced forthright and objective exchange. Common research work and growing friendships were evidently beginning to nurture fresh progress. In addition, there was special significance in the presence of the Cardinals of Toledo and Madrid, which made this the first time since 1492, the date of the Jews' expulsion from Spain, that Jews and Christians had met officially in that country, and in such auspicious circumstances. What emerged from those days of shared discussion was the central and exemplary nature of the role which 'Catholic Spain' seems called upon to play in the nascent encounter between Synagogue and Church.

It had, no doubt, been the important work done by the International Liaison Committee that encouraged the Vatican to announce, in October 1974, the creation of a Pontifical Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism. With the deliberate symmetry that characterises initiatives by the Holy See, a Commission for Relations with Islam was set up at the same time. Perhaps insufficient attention has been given, on the Jewish side, to the important difference in the respective status of these two bodies. The Commission for Relations with Islam comes under the Secretariat for Relations with non-Christians; the Commission for Relations with Judaism is linked to the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. This arrangement bears the mark of a significant theological decision. It would be a grave misjudgement to see it — as some Jewish commentators have done — as a 'missionary' initiative, a desire to affiliate

*The Jewish Council in Israel for Interreligious Consultations, the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nei B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, and the Synagogue Council of America.

the Jewish people to the network of inter-Christian relations. Rather, it is a sign of the Catholic Church's growing awareness of its bond with the people of the Bible. It thus sets in motion the precepts of *Nostra Aetate*, namely, that in the quest for its own mystery, the Church 'remembers the bond that spiritually ties the people of the New Covenant to Abraham's stock'; for this reason, the Church 'acknowledges that... the beginning of her faith and her election were found already among the Patriarchs, Moses and the prophets.'

The Pontifical Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism lost no time in demonstrating the spirit and the direction of its undertaking. The beginning of 1975 saw the publication of the Guidelines. One of the main architects of this text and of the development that it signals was Father Pierre-Marie de Contenson, who was the first Secretary to the Commission and whose untimely death was our great loss.

The task of the authors of the Guidelines had been somewhat complicated by the publication of a Declaration by the French Episcopal Committee for Relations with Judaism on the eve of the Jewish Passover in 1973. This comprised 'pastoral directives' regarding Christian attitudes to Jews. A brief consideration of this text and its reverberations gives a concrete example of the cross-currents and the tensions within the Church, in the relations between the centre and the periphery.

The 'French Bishops' document seeks to encourage the line of progress invoked by *Nostra Aetate*, with which 'Christian conscience has... started [the] process which reminds the Church of its Jewish roots.' Three points have particular significance for our survey. First, the affirmation that the existence of the Jewish people not only challenges the Christian conscience but constitutes 'a reality which may bring [Christians] nearer to a better understanding of their faith, and illuminate their own lives.' Who could ask for a more positive outlook on Jewish reality! The crucial point is the meaning, in this context, of 'Jewish existence.' It is certainly the 'present-day existence of the Jewish people,' but also 'its often precarious state throughout its history, the tragic ordeals that it has undergone in the past and above all in recent times, and its partial regathering in the Land of the Bible.'

Recalling the characteristics of Jewish identity and the Jew's perception of his destiny, the text calls for an understanding of Jewish reality as 'a question which goes to the very heart of our faith: What

is the precise mission of the Jewish people in the Divine plan?' Never has the question been put so lucidly and in such direct correspondence with the very substance of our creed.

There is also progress to be seen on the issue of 'deicide,' especially when one remembers the difficulties raised in discussions on this in the Second Vatican Council. The ever-burning question is confronted in a paragraph in the French Bishops' text dealing with the respect which Christians owe the Jewish people in speaking about them; 'let us utterly expunge, and in all circumstances battle bravely against, caricatures unworthy of any decent person.' Particular emphasis is given to 'the travesty... more alarming yet in its consequences, of the Jew as a "deicide"'; not content merely with condemning biased or degrading caricatures, the Episcopal Commission invites Christians to regard Jews in a theological light — 'the Jew is deserving of our attention and our esteem, often, our admiration, sometimes, surely, of friendly and fraternal criticism, but always of our love.' This has been perhaps the most serious and reprehensible lacuna in the Christian conscience. We are beckoned to approach the Jews in the same spirit as Popes John XXIII and Paul VI approached their Protestant and Orthodox brothers.

But it is the mention of the return of the Jewish people to the Land of the Bible which has inspired the most passionate debate. In the stormy climate that characterizes matters relating to the Middle East, it has often been rashly concluded, whether in approbation or anger, that the Bishops had drawn up an apology for Zionism. Yet a careful reading of their Declaration, which refers to the issue more than once, reveals a desire for equity and justice that defies any simplistic or unilateral interpretation. True, the text states plainly that 'beyond the legitimate diversity of political options, universal conscience cannot deny the Jewish people which has undergone so many vicissitudes in the course of its history, the right and the means to its own political being among the nations.' There is no mention of Israel as a State, and no allusion to Zionism. Fully aware of the extreme complexity of the problem, the authors seek to situate the document within the broadest bounds of its context: 'It is more difficult than ever today to pass a calm theological judgement on the movement of return of the Jewish people to "its" Land.' If one takes careful account of these specifications, the true intention is easier to discern. The Catholic

faithful are asked to realise the significance, for the Jewish soul, of the return to Jerusalem and of the meaning of the ingathering: 'first and foremost, we cannot, as Christians, overlook the gift that was vouchsafed long ago by God to the people of Israel of a Land wherein it was summoned to dwell again'. Christians, therefore 'should take account of the interpretation which the Jews themselves set upon their regathering about Jerusalem—in the name of their faith, they consider it as a blessing.' On this point, however, the Commission takes a bold and decisive stand that is far from one-sided. Referring to the Arab viewpoint, it recognises that 'this return, and its repercussions, put justice to the test. On the political level, there is a confrontation between different requirements of justice.' Thus, without posing as judge, the Commission calls upon Catholics to understand that the origin of the conflict in the Middle East lies in a conflict between two justices. It hopes for peace in Jerusalem as the augury of peace for all men.

Compared to this generous and hopeful invitation to the Christian conscience, the Guidelines appeared to many, to our Jewish friends especially, as a brake, even a regression.

Such reaction was doubtless caused by an over-hasty reading of the document, and misunderstanding as to its authority and influence. One must keep in mind that the purpose of the Guidelines was to state, for the benefit of the Church as a whole, ways of implementing *Nostra Aetate*. One can therefore understand that the style could not parallel that of the French Commission. The introduction to the Guidelines recalls the main decisions of the Second Vatican Council, with their condemnation of antisemitism and all forms of discrimination and their call for reciprocal esteem and understanding. It asks of Christians a better grasp of Jewish tradition and Jewish self-identity. In this spirit there are a number of practical suggestions: fraternal dialogue, common research, and even encounters in the unity of prayer. Recalling the link between the Christian and the Jewish liturgies, the Guidelines also ask Christians to give special attention to the translation of biblical texts and to commentaries on them. They encourage in-depth study of correspondences between the two Testaments and state the desirability of Jewish-Christian collaboration in a scholarly clarification as to what constitutes both the continuity and the differences between the Jewish hope and the Christian hope.

The last section of the document envisages the possibilities of joint action in the search for peace and justice. In short, Christians are encouraged to see to the correction of clichés regarding a misunderstood tradition.

The reaction from Orthodox Jewish circles, notably the Chief Rabbis of Israel, was one of disappointment. But the majority of those, Orthodox and observant among them, who are actively involved in dialogue with Christians, have received favourably the positive elements of the document, acknowledging the progress which it betokens. At the same time, they have drawn attention to what they see as regrettable understatements and omissions. For example, some have deplored the fact that the firm condemnation of antisemitism did not recall in a spirit of remorse the times when the Church did not act in the manner that it now prescribes. Others, while taking note of the exhortation to Christians to learn 'by what essential traits the Jews define themselves in the light of their own religious experience,' find it difficult to accommodate the very fact of this openness. There were, for instance, misgivings that the invitation to common prayer could occasion misunderstanding among loyal Jews. But the most serious defect, in their eyes, is the failure to acknowledge the central role of *peoplehood* in religious Jewish thought and, as a consequence, the *religious* character of the Jewish people's historic link with the land of Israel, as essential features of that people's self-definition. Many Jewish commentators have asked whether it is possible, in the 1970's, truly to understand the Jews, and to communicate with them on their aspirations and their concerns, without taking into account the role played today in the Jewish conscience by the State of Israel. One can share, or at least understand, this disappointment. But it would be a mistake to compare the two documents, the declaration from Paris and the Guidelines from Rome, and conclude that Christian theology on Israel and Judaism has suffered a setback. That would not be making an allowance for the innate disparity of the two texts as regards their authority, context and tone. It is precisely the doctrine and practice inaugurated by the Second Vatican Council which permitted such an initiative to be taken by the Episcopal Commission. The Council gave a measure of freedom to local Church bodies in their manner of addressing the needs of Christian life in different parts of the world.

(continued on p. 52)

reasons, as the place of the crucifixion and burial. In the days of General Gordon, some scholars thought it unlikely that the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre could have been outside the city walls of 30 CE. Today, every serious archaeologist, Jewish and Christian, dismisses such doubts.

- 2 Josephus, *The Jewish War*, V.4.2.
- 3 Another tomb, containing the *kokhim* (burial niches) and trough graves typical of the early Roman period, can be visited just west of the Holy Sepulchre; not far from there a third tomb was found, but it is now hidden below the Coptic monastery. The presence of these tombs is one of the most convincing archaeological proofs for the authenticity of Jesus' burial place. The second tomb is in the Syrian chapel and is popularly called the 'Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea.' The fourth-century foundations of the Basilica can be seen lying directly upon the graves, which must have been there before 42 CE, since, in that year, Agrippa enclosed the area with the construction of the Third Wall and no more tombs could be added.
- 4 In that area, Professor Nahman Avigad has brought to light the now famous 'Herodian Mansion,' which might have been one of the buildings of the lower Herodian palace. West of the ruins of the Crusader Church of St Mary, he also uncovered an impressive pavement of a Herodian street running east-west on the axis of Robinson's Arch. This street might have been laid contemporaneously with the erection of the Upper Palace (ca. 23 BCE), connecting the latter with the lower Hasmonaean Palace and the Temple. It is possible that the extension of this street to the east was the Lithostrotos which lay on 'Gabbatha' (height), as mentioned in Jn 19:13 and in the accounts by Cyril of Jerusalem and by an Armenian pilgrim. 'Gabbatha' refers, perhaps, to the rocky height still visible opposite the 'Western (Wailing) Wall.' Modern research thus offers the following hypothesis on the final part of Jesus' route. He passed along the Herodian street (mentioned above), then turned right through the 'Upper Market' street (Josephus) towards Gennath Gate. After passing through the Gate, he crossed the busy thoroughfare (today's David Street) which ran along the First Wall, and, following a path along the Second Wall, traversed a park which had formerly been a quarry area, until he came to the small hill of Golgotha.
- 5 See 'Noch einmal das Pratorium' in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, Band 95, Heft 1 (1979), where historical, literary and archaeological evidence is adduced for siting the praetorium in the area of today's Yeshivat Porat Yosef, Yeshivat Hakotel and the ruins of the Crusader Church of St Mary.
- 6 After noting the (Judeo-Christian) synagogue behind the 'ghetto walls' of Zion, the pilgrim walked along the Cardo Maximus towards Nablus Gate (Damascus Gate) and saw 'to the right, towards the (Tyropeon) valley, the ruins of Pilate's praetorium' and 'to the left the *monticulus* of Golgotha.'
- 7 The red-roofed building (fig. 3 on diagram), which is generally accepted as the Byzantine praetorium (St Sophia), shows two columns in its wall which symbolize

the judgement seat, and the red-golden 'stone on which Christ stood before Pilate' (Pilgrim of Piacenza). These features could be seen in the Church.

- 8 See 'Discovery of the "Nea" Church—Jewel of Byzantine Jerusalem,' by the Israeli archaeologist Meir Ben-Dov, which appeared in *Christian News From Israel*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, 1977.
- 9 Meir Ben-Dov has uncovered, just to the east of the south-east corner of the 'Nea,' a Byzantine stairway and part of the street which might have been the one connecting Caiaphas' house, the Gate and the Sophia.
- 10 Predecessor of today's Dormition Abbey. ♦

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND ISRAEL

(continued from page 14)

Each locality and each Church has specific, sometimes very different, attitudes and problems as a consequence of their respective conditions. It is therefore no easy matter for the central Vatican authority to legislate for the worldwide Church. This dilemma was foreseen at the time of the Council. The French document is one such local initiative designed to respond to the particular situation of the Church in France. Thus, rather than comparing the two texts by the same criteria, it would be more instructive to see in their differences an example of the tension, of which we have already spoken, between centre and periphery—a tension which may in the end prove fruitful. Nonetheless, the documents are strikingly akin in that they share, as their mainspring, the same basic intuition. Resuming the essence of the 'Declaration,' one could say that it invites the Christian conscience to discover in its own countenance the traits which derive from its Jewish roots: '[Christians] should seek to understand [the Jew] as he understands himself, instead of judging him according to their own modes of thought.' This is indeed the prerequisite to a true perception of the Jewish soul. It is also the single most significant message in the Roman document: in prompting Christians to learn the essential traits of Jewish self-definition, the Guidelines confirm the essence of the 'Declaration' and give it, so to speak, a universal value. At this level of dialogue, which is unquestionably the deepest one, the two documents have marked decisive progress. Indeed, the trend in relations between Jews and Christians in our day has become irreversible; it is too deeply and strongly embedded to be undone. ♦

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FROM ROME

DAYAN AT THE VATICAN

The recent visit of Moshe Dayan, Israel's Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Vatican did not create any sensational headlines. The Pope did not, as Dayan may have wished, announce the establishment of diplomatic ties between the Vatican and Israel. Dayan did not, as the Pope might have hoped, change his stance on either of the issues that have long divided the two states: the Palestinian question or the status of Jerusalem and the Holy Places.

The two men, in fact, merely reiterated their well-known positions which in the past have created so much friction between the Catholic and Jewish states. In an obvious allusion to the Palestinian people, the Pope spoke of the need to "put an end to the sufferings of all the peoples of the Middle East, respecting the rights of all and establishing a foundation for a fruitful co-existence among them." Recalling the Vatican's proposal to solve the problem of Jerusalem—"that unique and sacred city that is the spiritual center for the three great monotheistic religions of the world"—the Catholic leader insisted once again on the creation of a "special status" for the city which is internationally guaranteed and which renders justice to the pluralistic character of the Holy City.

Dayan, on the other hand, spoke only of the need to assure free access to the "Holy Places" without mentioning the taboo subject of Jerusalem itself—"that eternal and indivisible capital of the Jewish state."

No dramatic about-face, therefore. Yet something had changed since the polemic visit of Golda Meir to the Vatican in 1973. The mutual suspicion and antagonism that have so often marked Vatican-Israel relations were gone and in their place was a spirit of cooperation and compromise.

The relationship between the state of Israel and the Holy See has never been a very happy one: the most thorny issue has been above all the problem of Jerusalem and the Holy Places. When the state of Israel was created in 1948, it was not recognized by the Vatican and in December of that year the Vatican supported a United Nations resolution which stipulated that Jerusalem and the surrounding area should constitute a "corpus separatum." Between May 1948 and November 1949, Pope Pius XII wrote three encyclicals calling for the internationalization of the Holy Places. The resolution was never carried out and the Holy Places—and Jerusalem—remained in the hands of the Israelis and the Jordanians.

When Pope Paul VI ascended the papal throne after

the death of John XXIII in 1963, he immediately began to speak of a trip to the Holy Land, a trip which he undertook in 1964. The first Pope to visit Jerusalem, Paul has continually returned to the problem of control over the Holy Places and the city itself. After the 1967 six-day war when the Israelis militarily occupied the Arab part of the Holy City, he proposed that Jerusalem be declared an "open city." In 1971 he spoke of the need for a particular status for Jerusalem and the Vatican's official organ, *L'Osservatore Romano*, criticized the urbanistic plans which, violating the UN resolution, were tending to establish "with the logic of a *fait accompli*" the sovereignty of Israel over all of Jerusalem.

These appeals had always fallen on deaf ears. The all-time low ebb of Vatican-Israel relations came, however, during the visit of the then Prime Minister Golda Meir to the Vatican in 1973. Emerging from her colloquy with the Pope, which had obviously not been a smooth one, a perturbed Golda Meir told the Vatican journalists that the Pope had invited her to come to Rome, adding that the cross she saw in the Pope's study had reminded her of the Nazi swastika. Embarrassed Vatican officials quickly issued a communiqué denying that an invitation had been extended to the Israeli prime minister. No one is invited to the Vatican, the note corrected; the door is open to all.

Signs of a détente between the Vatican and Israel came, however, at the end of last year. Pope Paul in a letter to the Israeli President, which the Israelis interpreted as a *de facto* recognition of its existence, asked for the liberation of Archbishop Hilarion Capucci, the Melkite rite Catholic patriarchal vicar for Jerusalem, who was accused of aiding Palestinian guerrilla fighters and was serving a jail sentence. The archbishop arrived in Rome in November. Also in November the Pope, speaking from the window of his studio, called the trip of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat to Jerusalem "a sign of peace." An observer from the Holy See was sent to the Conference of Ismailia in December. On Christmas day the Pope underlined the "importance which will perhaps be determinant" of the conference between Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin for the return of peace and justice to "their land which spiritually is also ours."

These manifestations of moral support by the Vatican for the on-going peace initiatives provided the background for Dayan's visit. No concessions on either side, but for the first time a recognition by the two

parties that if there was to be a lasting peace it must be forged together. During his meeting with the Israeli leader, Pope Paul emphasized the need for "all the interested parties to participate in the negotiations" and reconfirmed the Vatican's willingness to contribute to "the construction of peace." The importance of these remarks did not escape the Israeli Foreign Minister:

he thanked the Pope for his promise to aid "all the parties in cause."

Not a victory for Israel nor a victory for the Vatican, Dayan's visit to Rome was perhaps a small victory for the cause of peace.

MARGO HAMMOND

(Margo Hammond, a frequent contributor, is an American journalist based in Rome.)



IN EL SALVADOR

THE CATHOLIC FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

General Carlos Romero, the President of El Salvador, has a problem which no other Latin American dictator confronts: a militant clergy determined to organize the peasants into an effective labor union. As a result, General Romero has started a campaign of vilification against the 225 priests and six bishops in El Salvador.

In a talk of over an hour which I had with President Romero on a trip to El Salvador in January, the President, who took over on July 1, 1977, after a fraudulent election earlier that year, repeatedly told me that there would be no problem whatsoever in El Salvador if the "priests would only stay with their religious duties."

The end of the first phase of a classic church-state confrontation is occurring in El Salvador. During the past year the government at least acquiesced in the murder of two priests and made little effective protest when a right-wing terrorist group threatened the Jesuits either with expulsion or extermination. This openly anti-clerical campaign boomeranged on El Salvador, making that tiny nation of 4.5 million people notorious in the international press.

The second phase in the campaign to liquidate the farmers' unions began with a systematic oppression of the work of catechists and of all groups that come together for religious exercises.

The government is also engaged in a studied attempt to divide the clergy and to portray social activist priests and bishops as a tiny minority. The scurrilous and omnipresent literature which attacks Archbishop Oscar Romero (no relation to the President) is absolutely incredible. Virtually every attempt to discredit the clergy is tied in with a contention that the clergy has been infiltrated by Communists.

On March 5, 1977, the Episcopal Conference of El Salvador stated that there "has been a campaign against the church not only through the press, but through other means, such as threats and intimidation of priests, laymen, institutions and publications of Christian orientation." That campaign continues and has the backing of President Romero at least as the by-product of his repression of the peasantry.

In the countryside in El Salvador one can literally feel the fear, anguish and desperation which fills the lives of the peasants. I heard at least 40 separate stories of murders, disappearances or jailings of husbands or sons against whom no charge was brought.

All of the terrorism on the part of the government has been legitimized by the enactment on November 25, 1977, of the "Ley de Orden"—authorizing the banning of strikes and demonstrations, the suspension of habeas corpus and the banning of any statement which could be construed to even question an act of the government or of the armed forces.

The government of El Salvador is approaching with great apprehension the first anniversary on March 12 of the martyrdom of Father Rutilio Grande, S.J. This priest was probably the most prominent clergyman in El Salvador. He was the president of the Priests' Senate and the headmaster of the Jesuit high school. He had also devoted himself to a rural parish where he was massacred by gunmen whom the government never sought to apprehend. I was astonished to witness the President himself holding up a picture of Father Grande while protesting in an emotional outburst that the people of his country should not portray him, the President, as the murderer of this priest. Even General Romero appreciates the ancient Christian adage that the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians.

The U.S. Congress can, if it so desires, terminate some \$4 million worth of economic assistance given to El Salvador through AID. This is a feeble protest which actually could hurt the people rather than the government of El Salvador. The Congress, however, was not given the opportunity of voting on the granting of a \$90 million loan for the San Lorenzo Dam to El Salvador. That loan had been held up by the International Development Bank since May, 1977. In the fall of 1977, Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher decided to assist El Salvador in the construction of this hydroelectric project. El Salvador had already arranged for European financing of the dam, but the State Department instructed its representative at the Inter-American

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The Church And Israel

AMONG THE CHANGES in the teaching of Christian doctrine that have taken place during the last decade, the most revolutionary concerns the attitude of Christians toward Jews. Not so long ago, it was taken as axiomatic that Christians not only should witness to their religion, but should preach it. To convert non-Christians, Jews and others, was taken as the command of Jesus when he said: "Go! Preach to all nations." Indeed, Jews have often been special targets of Christian proselytism. Christians used to feel that Jews above all others should believe in Jesus, seeing that Jesus—according to Christian belief—was the expected Messiah of the Old Testament.

Now this outlook has been replaced. A quite explicit expression of the new view is contained in the official statement put out this year by the prestigious Liaison Committee, which is composed of representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC). Rome-based Professor Tommaso Federici read a paper to the Committee in which he explained the change.

The first key concept of the new attitude is that Israel plays a prominent and fundamental role in the salvation of the world. God, Federici states, once made a covenant with the Jewish people, a covenant which can never be abrogated. Because of this, the Jewish people have a role separate from the role of the Christian Church. They have a permanent place in God's plan for the world, a function only they can discharge. Now, Federici concludes, no Christian may interfere with that role by making Jews the object of conversion attempts. To change their Jewish-

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ness would be to destroy their value in God's eyes.

The second key concept concerns the Church. Fundamentally, as Federici puts it, the mission which God gave the Church is "to live in faithfulness to God and to men," and to practice "service without distinction of persons." Any preaching, any evangelization the Church does must be self-directed: its "preaching, catechesis, and pastoral activity" is to be directed at its own members exclusively, not at Jews, nor indeed at any other non-Christians. And this applies not only to Christians vis-à-vis non-Christians, but to Christian churches vis-à-vis each other: no church may attempt to convert members of another church to its way of thinking.

Because Jews have a special position, Christians owe them two special duties. Christians must first of all study the Jewish people, "exploring in depth the spirit, the existence, the history, and the mission of Israel, her survival in history, her election and call, and her privileges." Second, Christians must listen to what Jews have to say. "In being ready to be taught and in being willing to learn in a spirit of gratitude," Christians must be able "to listen to Jews who want to talk about themselves and their vision of reality."

Deliver Israel . . .

This teaching has one extremely practical application: to the State of Israel. The overwhelming consensus of the approximately 15 million Jews in the world today is that the State of Israel is essential to the existence and the destiny of Jewry. According to the new view, then, Christians, because of their special obligations toward the Jewish people, have a special duty to see that nothing interferes with the continued well-being of Israel.

According to Federici, it is the Jewish sense of this special Christian duty which makes Jews continually remind Christians about their past guilt in this matter and their present obligation to support Israel. Many in sympathy with the new view would assert that this is why the Vatican should recognize the State of Israel. That would, of course,

involve the Vatican in a political stance as regards the Palestinian people, as it has already involved those other Christian denominations that have "declared for Israel." But, then, political stances are not new to the Vatican.

We can find other practical applications which generate further problems. Should all Christian churches cease to send men and women to Asia, Africa, and Latin America to convert the natives of those lands? Should all efforts by American churches within the U.S.A. to evangelize those of different churches stop, each church as it now is remaining within its present confines? Or is it, perhaps, only the Jewish people who must not be the object of conversion attempts by Christians?

And for Our Salvation

There are, of course, larger issues of theological doctrine involved here. There is the salvation Christians say Jesus won for all men, and the need of Baptism in the name of Jesus for entry into the Kingdom of Heaven. Obviously, Christians may go on believing that Jesus' sacrifice and Baptism are necessary for their own salvation. They can even believe that both are necessary for the Jewish people. In Federici's view, however, they cannot preach this at Jews or about Jews.

In Federici's view, they should not preach it to anyone, or even think in this way. But then problems arise for Christian belief which neither Federici nor any of the Liaison Committee seem to have considered. One principal difficulty Christians may have is that Federici says nothing about duties of Jews to Christians. Are there any? Should Jews be as diligent in studying Christian history and belief as he would have Christians be about studying Judaism? Or is there a special privilege for the Jewish people in this matter also?

The Federici paper and the attitude of the Liaison Committee have not yet evoked official reactions from the various churches. However, they will soon have to recognize that this new view is another aspect of the profound change we see in every sector of our lives today. □

RAUSTEIN
CLARY

1975

World Jewish
Committee

a Roman Catholic view of Israeli opinion

On 22 February, *The Tablet* published a study of Israeli reactions to the Guidelines in an article by its Jerusalem Correspondent, Desmond Sullivan, who wrote:

THE Israeli reaction was a characteristic combination of fascination and distrust regarding the Vatican. The document itself was an unusually calm, open and brotherly statement for Catholics and other Christians outlining the methods and theological principles of Christian Jewish dialogue.

The political background can be seen in the origin of the consultations which led up to the document. The World Jewish Congress, a body representative of the Jewish Diaspora as well as Israel, was the driving force from January 1969 when their leaders had an audience with Pope Paul. A liaison committee with the Secretariat of Unity set up in 1970 suggested the Commission on Judaism which in turn produced the guidelines in January 1975. However, the World Jewish Congress, though it contains elements representative of Israel and the World Zionist Organisation, has an uneasy relationship with the Zionist organisations which dominate the politics of Israel. The resulting guidelines seemed to touch those very points of disagreement by separating Judaism qua religion from Judaism qua the political ideology of the Israeli regime.

This Vatican determination "to abstain from politics," as Fr. P. de Contenson, the man behind the document, put it, also illustrates the theological background against which the guidelines appeared. Previous Church statements on Christian-Jewish relations have taken more committed stands. At one extreme is the French episcopal committee's declaration of 1973 saying that Christians should support the national and political identity of the Jewish people as a matter of conscience. Intermediate was the African Assembly of Churches at Lusaka in 1974, which declared that Christians must distinguish "between Judaism as a religion of the Jewish people and Zionism as a political ideology." The African assembly then declared that "Zionism should be combatted as a form of settler colonialism, and racial discrimination against Arabs and Jews." The

most extreme Christian declaration was the Cairo meeting of the Churches of Africa and the Middle East in June 1974. They condemned Zionism as "the idolisation of the land of Israel which tended to make them neglect God" and was also unbiblical.

The Vatican guidelines had to choose between this spectrum of varying Church views, and formulate guidelines for Catholics, which would open the doors to a real dialogue capable of bridging the gap and acceptable both to Catholics and to sincere Jewish people.

The Vatican's middle way did not accommodate the French thesis of a duty to support the politics of Israel, or the Cairo statement of theological opposition to Israel, it chose rather to address itself to Judaism as a religion. The silence about both the "State of Israel" and the goodness or badness of the two sides in the Middle East conflict is there as a deliberate silence—but under these circumstances is also a statement that for true dialogue with Judaism the Church must avoid polarisation over the rightness or wrongness of either side.

The Israeli establishment has been waiting, at least since the Pope's visit in 1964, for some political and moral recognition from the Vatican. This expectation is partly based on their own conviction of the religious justification of Israel's existence and actions. However, some Christians in Israel have also fostered this hope. Protestants and a few Catholics in Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa have, over the years, maintained that Christians, as a matter of faith and of conscience, are obliged to support the State of Israel. The French episcopal commission's declaration of 1973 was often quoted to support this expectation and at that time was welcomed by one Catholic priest as a "wonderful Passover gift."

The Vatican guidelines, seen by some as an answer to the French document, were a great disappointment for many in Israel, and as a measure of that disappointment the Minister

of Religions, Yitzhak Raphael, speaking as a NRP party man rather than as a minister, picked on the Vatican in harsh terms, listing three notable omissions: no sign of remorse for past persecution, no guilt confession for the holocaust, no recognition of the divine mission of Israel. Over and above these omissions the document contained a statement of the Church's mission and hinted at her implied superiority. "No dialogue without political recognition of the State" was the minister's conclusion.

After this immediate reaction, Israel's experts in Christian affairs made more careful statements. Dr. S. P. Colbi (of the Ministry of Religions) and Professor Ashkenazi on the Jewish side, Fr. Marcel Dubois OP and Dr. Michael Krupp (Protestant) all welcomed as positive the new elements in the Vatican's approach: "condemnation" of antisemitism; fostering of understanding by Christians of the theology, spirituality and mentality of Judaism. Dr. Krupp said the allegation of a "conversionist tone" in the document resulted from a misreading of the text and tone of the document. Fr. Dubois pointed out that the document's silence on the "State of Israel" was a disappointment, but it was a silence which did not exclude such support.

Various ecumenical bodies, which in Israel are sponsored in different ways by the government, pointed to one principle: for Jews, they said, politics and religion cannot be separated. The secretary of one of these bodies put the argument to me as follows: the Jewish people have by their religion an essential connection with the land of Israel. It is a religious imperative to live or want to live in the land. The State of Israel is therefore both a religious right and necessity for Judaism, the centre of world Jewry—a centre of faith, that is, and as the only means of ethnic survival. A document of a religious nature, therefore, based on Jewish self-understanding must acknowledge this "religious truth." The Vatican failed to do so thus proving it is "not sensitive to the feel of Judaism."

The fact that the Vatican deliberately separated Judaism qua religion from Israel qua State is seen as a direct snub to the ideology of the State of Israel. This ideology interweaves the religious past and the recent history of the Jewish people into a rationalisation of the State's politics. The Zionist ideology takes the "gift" of the land by God to the Jewish people as establishing today's political right to sovereignty over the Holy Land. The various prophecies of the Old Testament about return to the Land and theology of the

"centrality" of Jerusalem demand that the State become the "survival" focus of the Jewish people throughout the world.

The original dream and some of the current idealism favours a Jewish state with a guaranteed Jewish majority and constitution but unaligned politically with either the east or the west—an acknowledged haven of peace and neutrality like a Switzerland or a Sweden set in the Holy Land. It was to be the homeland of any Jew seeking refuge, and also the embodiment of Judaic culture. It is this idealism, rather than the actual situation, which is presented as worthy of recommendation.

Seen in the light of this dream one can understand the kind of spiritual bullying which is directed against the guidelines. Christians are constantly reminded that theologically Judaism was their parent religion, that morally Christians were responsible for Hitler's concentration camps, and that historically the Church has either persecuted or converted Jews. In all conscience Christians should therefore acknowledge their errors and make up by throwing their moral weight behind the State of Israel. In December 1974 a member of the Knesset expressed this in a letter to Fr. Daniel Rufiesan, a Catholic priest of Jewish origin. "A great moral test," he wrote, "faces the Catholic Church." He asked Fr. Daniel to mount a world wide campaign to mobilise Christian support for Israel.

On a theological level the well known American Jewish scholar, Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum, stated the principle of the theology of equality. There is, he said, a new "Christian theology" which states that Judaism is for the Jews and Jesus is for the Gentiles; the guidelines should have stated such a theological position to clear the air of any suspicion.

A discussion here of the political implications would be clearly contrary to the spirit of the guidelines. It is perhaps sufficient to point out that for the last three years the Vatican has had two of its top men in its delegation in Jerusalem reporting the situation, men who have excellent relations with both the Israeli authorities and the ordinary people of the land.

The guidelines have provided Catholics, amid all the complexity of Jerusalem, and under a great deal of pressure, with a way of expressing their love and loyalty to the Jewish people without getting entangled in the controversial and often odious politics of the Middle East. They have provided Jews living in Israel with some hope of Christian support for an alternative to the ideology that

has brought 25 years of war to Israel. Paradoxically the guidelines have also unmasked some of the humbug and political orientation of much of the ecumenism which goes on in Jerusalem.

Outside the sphere of government influence the purely religious reactions in Israel to the guidelines have been revealing. One commentator pointed out that, for all the criticism of the Vatican, the Catholic Church is far ahead of the other Churches in devising a religious approach to Judaism. He reminded critics that the World Council of Churches has been struggling for over 25 years trying to formulate some statement, but has failed to produce anything like *Nostra Aetate* or the present Vatican guidelines.

Some of the quiet believing Jewish people have welcomed the guidelines. One venerable old Jewish rabbi said: "It takes a Vatican document to show Israelis the way back to true Judaism, as it takes Arab oil to teach us to seek peace." A distinguished leader of a Jewish organisation said that the centrality of the State is a very dangerous doctrine for Judaism: "The Torah is the centre of Judaism, and to speak of the land as central is nonsense."

The strong Christian Churches of the Holy Land have not reacted officially to the guidelines. But priests I have spoken to have indicated some of the trends within the Churches. One said: "We can do very well without all the statements and declarations; they only arouse controversy, and we have had enough of that." A Melite married priest spoke of the need for mutual respect on both sides. In actual fact the Church is suffering. "In ten years my parish will be dead," he said, "because of the alarming exodus of young Christians leaving the land." Another priest spoke of this exodus as a practical example of mixing theological with political problems. "The Jewish people, theologically, must keep the Old Testament and remain a race apart until the Messiah comes." The exodus of the young he added, is like a haemorrhage. "The life is going out of us," he said. In these circumstances a religious dialogue and religious freedom of expression remain difficult to achieve until the political question is settled.

Since the guidelines appeared, the Inter-religious Commission for Jewish-Christian Dialogue meeting in Rome heard something of the Catholic viewpoint on other issues arising from the guidelines. As regards the question about Christian remorse over the holocaust, Pope Paul has pointed to the efforts by the Holy See to rescue Jews from the camps,

the efforts of Christian nations to defeat Hitler and to the numbers of Christians who shared the same persecution as the Jews.

Some of these theological and practical questions were discussed here in Jerusalem by the small but influential Catholic Society of the Work of St. James. This is a group of religious and lay Catholics who describe themselves as "Hebrew-speaking Christians" and are committed to Israel and to work for better Jewish-Christian dialogue. Under the leadership of Fr. Michael de Goedt they discussed the guidelines. They saw the document as a simple, thoughtful and positive guide for Catholics. It opened many doors; it was a great encouragement to understanding and it established the relatively new principle that Catholics must not look on the Jewish people as an anachronism found in books but try to understand them as they understand themselves today. If Catholics all over the world were actually to put into practice and live these guidelines, minimal though they may seem, there would be a revolution in Jewish-Christian relations. Being mostly of French origin, the group compared the guidelines with the French document of 1973. The French commission, they said, did not go deep into the theology of Judaism, but put out proposals which went beyond solidly based theology, and needed many qualifications and explanations. On the other hand, they felt that the new guidelines gave a clear sound outline of the presently-agreed theological position and do not jump to unwarranted conclusions.

Dialogue in Jerusalem has always included the special question of Jerusalem's future. Israel considers it is mandatory that Jews control Jerusalem as a city and in modern terms this is held to mean political sovereignty over a united city. In Islamic thought the city is sacred and has for seven years now (since 1967) been in bondage. The view put forward by Pope Paul is that Jerusalem is sacred to the three religions and this religious character is the only basis for its true peace. The mystery and uniqueness of Jerusalem's spiritual vocation and also the future peace of the city will, says the Vatican, only be safeguarded by a political structure which would guarantee the equality of the three religions, ensuring that one does not dominate the other. In Jerusalem, Jewish-Christian dialogue will crystallise in practice around this key question, which expresses in a physical way the theology, politics, economics and sociology of this international problem.

concluded on p. 17

Why should Christians come together to proclaim this good news? A cynic might answer that in these days of diminishing membership one cannot be too choosy about one's bedfellows! But of course the answer lies deeper. It lies, first, in the spirit of toleration which a whole post-Christian world has been preaching to us, only we have been too busy to listen. To accept our division as normal, the world has been telling us, is monstrous. And gradually and more recently we have begun to see that the world is right.

However, the answer lies even deeper than that. If the gospel we preach is the good news of God reconciling men to himself, then it is preposterous to do this on a denominational basis. Not that we should sink our denominational differences, or do a little horse-trading to reach a compromise, a Lowest Common Denominator religion. Each denomination has something unique and irreplaceable to contribute. It would be a tragedy if people did not realise this and began to abandon their deepest traditions. Rather, these traditions should enrich, not battle against, each other. The barriers we Christians have built around ourselves are a scandal to the rest of mankind. They very effectively deny the gospel of reconciliation we pretend to preach.

Christians should proclaim this gospel together, I presume, first by beginning to live together so that our inbred separatist and sectarian attitudes start to change. In other words, by beginning to act like a united Christianity, not waiting till the theologians have dotted all the i's and crossed all the t's. When Christians live their faith, they are already closer to each other than when they formulate it, and all know this.

We need to live together more in worship and in social action, and probably in education, so that we trust, and feel at home with, each other. Yet that aspect of ecumenism has scarcely begun, let alone the more worthwhile proclamation of the gospel which would come out of it.

If a programme could be mounted whereby a group of Christians of different denominations learned together to take Christianity seriously, to show the Resurrection as a fact in today's world, they would come to see how unserious a denominational theology is. They would then be finally and irrevocably discontented with the ordinary run of Church life such as they know it in their respective Churches. They would have tasted

Christian blood, and would never again be content with their preferred brand of Christian sherbet (Sebastian Moore, "Reflexions on the 'People Next Door' Project," Clergy Review, 1964).

A final note of caution is appropriate. For Christians to agree to proclaim the gospel together will always be an ambiguous business. There will always be room for telling others what we Christians stand for, but that is not the whole of ecumenism. To devise ways and means of being united in that sort of proclamation could end simply in becoming a bigger, better and more self-satisfied corporation. Ecumenism always calls us to something deeper than that, it calls for the conversion of each of us. A Christianity much the same as it is now, except united, would be a hideous travesty.

Christians in their separation must continue to devise ways and means to listen to each other, so that each can realise a little less onesidedly what it means to be a Christian. If we can succeed in doing that, then Christians together must devise ways and means to listen to non-Christians, so that we can understand a little more deeply what it means to be human. The command of Christ to preach the gospel to all nations, is not fulfilled when we have scoured the world looking for people to baptise. It is fulfilled when we have penetrated every corner of the globe to give what help we can to bring about that unity of all men in love which is what the gospel is about.

And perhaps, for the time being, it is no bad thing the various Christian bodies are doing that separately.

ISRAELI OPINION

concluded from p. 7

During Fr. de Contenson's first visit to Jerusalem just before Christmas we were walking from the Jewish part of the city, across the old "no man's land", to the walled city, full of Christian Churches, to visit the patriarchs and archbishops who are the heads of the different Churches, and he said significantly: "You see religion opens all doors. I have visited the Jewish authorities and now I visit the Arab Christians." Jerusalem and the Holy Land are complicated; religion may be the reason for its division—it may also be the clue to its peace.

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American Jewish
Committee

ISRAEL IN THE HOLY LAND:
CATHOLIC RESPONSES, 1948-1950*

Esther Feldblum

PRECIS

The first reaction of Roman Catholic officialdom to the establishment of the state of Israel was largely to refrain from comment, with a few notable exceptions. The Catholic press slowly and ambivalently began cautious acknowledgement of the existence of Israel. Ultimately, neutrality was the attitude of this early period.

The two issues which received the attention of U.S. Catholics were the internationalization of Jerusalem and the Arab refugee problem. The internationalization of Jerusalem was vigorously supported by the United Nations, and eventually by the Vatican and U.S. Catholics. One of the foremost Americans supporting internationalization was Msgr. Thomas McMahon. Though Catholic support continued, attention was eventually redirected toward the refugee problem, in response to which the Catholic Church conducted extensive relief activity. The Catholic press tended to side with the Arabs on this issue, and concern for the Catholic minorities in Arab territories also provided motivation for humanitarian projects.

Finally, a theological problem emerged: "how to fit the unexpectedly renascent Israel into Christian doctrine and eschatology." The various approaches within Catholicism toward resolving this issue are considered. Only after Vatican II could a positive attitude toward Israel develop. The author presents the events producing this reassessment.

A German nun, living in Jerusalem when the State of Israel was proclaimed, recently recalled: "I well remember our firm conviction that it would never come into being."¹ James O'Gara, an American Catholic journalist, echoed the same sentiments in an autobiographical essay in which he observed,

There are those who spread the myth that the Jews were condemned to wander through the world until the end of time— a myth so

*This article is part of the author's larger study, "The American Catholic Press and the Jewish State, 1917-1959" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1973). In the footnotes, the abbreviation "AAS" is used for *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*.

¹Address by Charlotte Klein to a joint seminar of the Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies and the American Jewish Committee on October 28, 1970.

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strong that many Christians feared that the establishment of the State of Israel contradicted the Sacred Scriptures.²

The incredulity and consternation felt by Catholics, laity and religious alike, were confirmed in a scholarly article by Fr. Edward Flannery. Indeed, shock was the most pervasive immediate reaction of Catholics to the Jewish State, and this shock was rooted in a theological assumption that the dispersion of the Jews was a divine punishment of perpetual duration.³

The impact of the new reality was neither tempered nor allayed by official statements of the Church. Nevertheless, it seems that the Vatican, too, was in a quandary. On the one hand, it did not cherish the idea of Palestine's being engulfed again in the Moslem world and, on the other hand, it could not be happy with Jewish dominion over the Holy Land. Misgivings toward the former were rooted in a history of strife; discomfiture with the latter was enmeshed in theological sensitivities. At the same time, the Vatican could not easily disregard the repentant mood of the Christian world following the Holocaust and oppose a Jewish state. Perforce, its policy veered towards a non-committal silence. As late as two weeks before the proclamation of the State, a papal encyclical touching on the events then transpiring in Palestine made no mention of the two proposed states in the area. The Pope only expressed his "keen anxiety" for the safety of the Holy Places, and alluded with masterful vagueness to a just solution to the Palestinian strife.⁴ In the later allocutions and encyclicals, the political entity of Israel was deliberately and consistently ignored. When the Pope wished to refer to the territory of Israel, he used the terms "Holy Land" or "Palestine."⁵ Non-recognition surely did not indicate a positive attitude toward the State, but neither were there official statements of outright condemnation.

Taking its cue from the Vatican, the American hierarchy refrained from comment on the establishment of Israel. The diocesan press, likewise, reflected a pervasive hesitation and ambivalence. Most of the papers simply ignored the existence of Israel with its connotations for Christendom and narrowed their attention, as the Pope had done, solely to the fighting in Jerusalem and the dangers to the Holy Places. The notable exceptions were those papers which had

²James O'Gara, "Anti-Semitism: A Catholic View," in *The Star and the Cross, Essays on Jewish-Christian Relations*. Ed. Katherine T. Hargrove (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1966), p. 84.

³Edward Flannery, "Theological Aspects of the State of Israel," *The Bridge* 3 (1958): 304.

⁴"Auspicia quaedam," *AAS*, Series II, 15, May 10, 1948, p. 171.

⁵"Holy Land" is, of course, traditional usage and, indeed, was frequently used. The curious fact is that the Pope did not always use "Holy Land" to circumvent the term "Israel," but did, occasionally, substitute "Palestine."

been openly hostile to Zionism in the pre-State period. The *Brooklyn Tablet*, for example, published a bitter attack on the State. Its editor denounced Israel for being a wholly secular, modern, and materialistic state which would respect neither God, nor Jesus, nor the "momentoes of Christ." Concluding his censure, Scanlon recommended that "Christians, meanwhile, must pray that God deliver the Holy Land from the blind and wicked who know not God."⁶ *Sign's* editor, Ralph Gorman, patiently waited. After the Bernadotte truce, however, sanguine confidence in the ephemerality of Israel dwindled. In the July issue, Gorman deplored the mistake of the United States in permitting a Jewish state to arise in Palestine, and a news editorial decried the lavish and complimentary coverage the "self-proclaimed" state was receiving in the press and on the radio. The paper chided Christians for hesitating to criticize Israel for fear of being labelled anti-Semites.⁷ Also in July, the editor of *Catholic World* spoke up. Fr. Gillis lashed out against President Truman's "unholy haste" in recognizing the Jewish state in Palestine and condemned the "special pleading" which had brought about its establishment.⁸

It is interesting to note that following the President's recognition of Israel, the National Catholic News Service (NC-NS) in Washington prepared a carefully worded statement which took cognizance of the fact without official comment. Yet the release also quoted Arthur Vandenberg's explanation of the President's action as a "logical and proper step," and readers were further informed that the new State's Declaration promised to ensure religious equality and the safeguarding of the shrines.⁹ Several days later, the News Service received bulletins from its Vatican bureau. These releases, quoting liberally from the *Osservatore Romano* and the Catholic Action daily, *Quotidiano*, denounced the fighting in the Holy Land as sacrilegious and blasphemous. While the *Osservatore* blamed Christians for "spiritually abandoning" the Holy Land, the *Quotidiano* urged the Church to take immediate action.¹⁰ As the weeks went by, the reports streaming into the diocesan press reinforced the anxieties of the Vatican release, rather than the guarded assurances of the Washington release.

Even the few papers which took cognizance of the State in more positive tones did so with ambivalent feelings. These papers, not unfriendly to Jewish aspirations in the pre-State period, now assumed the stance of interrogators,

⁶*Tablet*, May 22, 1948.

⁷*Sign* 27 (July, 1948): 2, 4-5, 15ff.

⁸*Catholic World* 167 (July, 1948): 289-290. Cf. the gentle chiding of *Ave Maria* 68 (August 7, 1948): 165.

⁹NC-NS Bulletin, May 17, 1948 (S), p. 4.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, May 24, 1948 (F), p. 1. *Quotidiano* did not specify exactly what action should be taken, but the paper was later involved in promoting a Franciscan militia for the Holy Land.

some with barely veiled suspicions. Typical of this distrust were the questions raised by an editorial in *Commonweal* on May 28. Would Israel be able to curb its extremists? What would be its relationship to Russia? What were its expectations regarding boundaries? Explicit criticism of Israel, however, was confined to a Christian demurrer on the name of the State.

As Catholics, Israel's arrogation of a universal name for so local an habitation must distress us. It is a good example of what Prof. Toynbee has called an archaizing tendency. Israel, for every Christian, is the whole redeemed world, and all peoples, since the Incarnation, are equally chosen in fulfillment of the prophecies to be heirs to the glory. Despite our sympathy for Israeli and Jew, we must not forget that to think of the Law and the Prophets as historically given only to their physical descendants is a minimizing and a belittling of the greatest fact in history.¹¹

America's first editorial on Israel began with a rehearsal of Arab versus Jewish claims to Palestine, but concluded:

The recognition extended by seven governments to the new state is recognition of a fact: that the Jews have staked their claim and do not intend to abandon it. . . . The extermination or subjugation of Israel would not sit well with world opinion. And that again is a fact which should be recognized.¹²

Nonetheless, apprehensions for the safety of the Holy Places and the security of Christian missions in Arab lands lent a quavering tone to *America's* support.

To sum up Catholic press reactions to the State of Israel, one may say that there were few discordant notes in what seemed to be an orchestrated response. The majority of the papers prudently adopted a "wait and see" attitude. Only those papers with well-known anti-Zionist biases were outspoken in opposition to the State, while the papers reputedly sympathetic to Zionism were less than enthusiastic. As the months wore on, reports from Catholic functionaries and observers in the Holy Land began filing into the press, and neutrality gave way.

By the first week of June, 1948, Catholics in Jerusalem had lodged a number of protests against Israel. The first was in the form of a Manifesto of the "Christian Union of Palestine." Drafted at the office of the Latin Patriarchate and signed by Catholic and non-Catholic clergy, the Manifesto charged that three priests were killed and fourteen Christian institutions were destroyed or dam-

¹¹*Commonweal* 48 (May 28, 1948): 151-152. Surely the name "Israel" must have irritated many Catholics, but I found no editorials as frank as this one on the subject of the name. Some papers substituted "Palestine" or "Holy Land" for "Israel."

¹²*America* 79 (May 29, 1948): 186.

aged "since the Jews began the attack." Moreover, the Union claimed that the "largest part of the shells falling on the Holy Sepulchre and on churches, convents and Christian institutions are of Jewish origin." The same statement praised the Arabs for their reverence of the Holy Places and absolved them of all guilt in the war damages. Despite the blatant misrepresentation of facts, the Manifesto received serious attention in the Catholic press.¹³ Simultaneously, another statement of protest, signed only by the Catholic priests in Jerusalem, was sent to the Vatican and the U.N. Over the signatures of Msgr. Michael Assaf, Vicar General of the Greek Catholic patriarchate, Vicar James Ghergossian of the Armenian Catholic patriarchate, and Msgr. Alberto Gori, the Franciscan Custos, the letter vigorously objected to Israeli military operations. Included in the protest was the sinister allegation that the Jewish purpose in attacking Jerusalem was "to plunder it as they had done in Haifa, Tiberias and Jaffa." Again, the Arabs were pardoned. "If they (the Arabs) have occupied a certain convent it was only to defend the Holy City against Jewish attackers who tried to penetrate and spread death and confusion . . . if the Arabs shelled Notre Dame de France and the Convent of the Reparatrice Sisters . . . it was to return fire."¹⁴ Brother Anthony Bruya, the NC-NS correspondent, kept the diocesan papers informed from Arab Jerusalem. Hardly a communique failed to report damages and destruction.¹⁵

Alarm reached a peak in August, 1948. Msgr. Antonio Vergani, Vicar of the Latin Patriarchate for the Galilee, warned that the Jews may "start a continual expropriation of ecclesiastical properties which may have not small repercussions in the Christian world."¹⁶ Msgr. Thomas McMahon, executive secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, promptly drafted a letter to the U.N.

¹³The text of the Manifesto is given in the NC-NS Bulletin, May 31, 1948 (Th), p. 1. For press reports, see especially *Michigan Catholic*, June 3, 1948, p. 2, and *Tabler*, June 5, 1948, p. 1. Even *Commonweal* disconsolately referred to it and admonished the secular press for relegating the news to a back page. *Commonweal* 48 (July 23, 1948): 343-344. A United Press report issued contemporaneously with the Manifesto and based on an eye-witness tour of the Old City asserted that damages to Christian and Moslem sanctuaries were slight, whereas Jewish Holy Places "are mostly in ruins." *New York Times*, June 1, 1948, p. 12. See also Natanel Lerch, *The Edge of the Sword: Israel's War of Independence, 1947-1949* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1951), pp. 122-131, 206-227.

¹⁴The letter was dated May 31, 1948. The full text was not printed, but excerpts appeared in NC-NS Bulletin, June 7, 1948, p. 1. It is a curious fact that Msgr. Gustavo Testa, Apostolic Delegate for the Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Cyprus territory, who came in May, 1948, to Palestine expressly to supervise the protection of the Holy Places, was not a signatory to either of these letters.

¹⁵NC-NS Bulletins, July to October, 1948.

¹⁶The charges were made on August 19, and appeared in the syndicated diocesan weekly, *Our Sunday Visitor* (together with mention of McMahon's letter to the U.N.), on August 29, 1948, p. 1.

which quoted the Vergani accusations and referred, as well, to other reports from the Holy Land of maltreatment of Catholics and desecrations of the Holy Places. McMahon urged the U.N. to begin an immediate investigation and closed his letter on an admonitive note:

It is our considered opinion that if these overt acts continue or are explained by ascribing them constantly to irresponsible forces, then the entire Christian world is justified in its apprehension over the disregard of Christian spiritual and material interests in the newborn state of Israel.¹⁷

The Israeli Minister for Religious Affairs, Rabbi J. L. Fishman (Maimon), categorically denied the allegations of Israeli intention to expropriate church property. He ordered an immediate investigation of other alleged abuses and damages and pledged severe punishment for all offenders. The Israeli army had already instituted drastic steps to enforce the security of Church property.¹⁸

To counteract possible anti-Jewish sentiments arising from these desecration charges, the American Jewish Committee also stepped into action. Its Community Service Division distributed a report, released by the Israeli Mission in Washington, which refuted exaggerated and unfounded accounts of vandalism. The same report included testimonials given by Catholic clergy and laity in Israel praising the government's exemplary behavior toward Christians. Attached to the report was a memorandum of the Community Service Division urging that the information be made available to Catholic papers in local communities. Indeed, the report was sent to every diocesan weekly and national Catholic periodical.¹⁹

Eventually Vergani and McMahon issued statements testifying that the Israeli troops treated Christians fairly, and that the Israeli government genuinely desired to repair the damages and maintain "proper" relations with the religious

¹⁷ McMahon to U.N. Secretary-General Trygve Lie, August 20, 1948. Quoted in full in Constantine Rackauskas, *The Internationalization of Jerusalem* (Washington, D.C.: C.A.I.P., 1957), p. 78.

¹⁸ The statement issued by the Foreign Office on behalf of the Ministry of Religious Affairs was published in the *New York Times*, August 24, 1948, p. 11.

¹⁹ *Memorandum*, Community Service Division, December 6 1948. American Jewish Committee Archives, Vertical File: Israel/Holy Places/AJC. One response to the report is found in the *Providence Visitor*, December 22, 1948. The editor noted, "Friends of the new Israeli Government are most anxious to disclaim the government's responsibility for any desecration of Christian monuments and shrines. They have investigated the charges and they can present testimonials. . . . We are inclined to accept the evidence." *Ave Maria* also quoted the Israeli report, but significantly added, "The fact that we give space to the favoring witnesses for the Jews has not by any means led us to crase the affirmations of the two archbishops (Hughes and Hakim)." *Ave Maria* 70 (July, 1949): 4.

institutions. Nevertheless, accusations discrediting Israel continued to appear in the press.²⁰ Hardly any attempt was made to balance the criticism of Israelis with parallel criticism of Arab aggression or of continuing Arab threats and terrorism. Inevitably, a distorted one-sided image of the new State was formed—that of Israel as the brute aggressor and Arabs and Christians as the innocent victims.²¹

In the early years following the establishment of Israel, U.S. Catholic opinion crystallized around two specific issues: internationalization of Jerusalem and the Arab refugee problem. Despite popular impressions to the contrary, internationalization was not originally a Vatican proposal. The idea of international territory in the Holy Land was first proposed by secular governments with rival interests in the Middle East. Soon after the outbreak of World War I, Sir Mark Sykes, a British Orientalist, and Charles George-Picot, a former French Consul in Beirut, prepared a draft agreement for the post-war disposition of the Ottoman Empire. Their proposed map provided that Palestine, west of the Jordan between Haifa and Gaza, be established as an "international administration." In the course of the war, this plan was superseded by other secret agreements and the recommendation of an internationalized area did not reappear until 1937, when it was again suggested by a secular government.²²

In conversations with the Vatican prior to the Balfour Declaration, the Zionist representative, Nahum Sokolow, suggested extraterritorialization of the Holy Places. Pope Benedict XV intimated that he would be satisfied if a charter would be drawn up assuring the protection of the holy sites, and he ungrudgingly gave his approval to a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Internationalization of the city of Jerusalem was not raised by the Pope.²³ Later when Benedict XV

²⁰Vergani's statement was published in *New World*, October 15, 1948, p. 1. McMahon's statement is included in his March 21, 1949, letter to the U.N.; see Rackauskas, *Internationalization*, p. 79. The more serious accusations which continued to appear in the Catholic press were those of Abp. Arthur Hughes and Msgr. Gori. See particularly *Register*, November 12, 1948, p. 1, and June 12, 1949, p. 1. The unfriendliness of certain leading Catholic clergy in Israel towards the government, at that time, was noted by the former U.S. Ambassador to Israel, James G. McDonald, *My Mission in Israel, 1948-1951* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1951), p. 219.

²¹Exception must be taken for *America* and *Commonweal*, which were less guilty of this partiality. See, however, the editorial in *Commonweal* 49 (January 7, 1949): 317—which is a typical example of slanted criticism.

²²J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record, 1914-1956*, II (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1956), pp. 18-25.

²³Florian Sokolow, "Nahum Sokolow and Pope Benedict XV," *Zion* 1, no. 5-6 (January-February, 1950): 48-52. However, from accounts of Sokolow's discussion with the papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, it seems that the Church was considering some form of extraterritorialization, a "reserved zone" which would extend not only to Jerusalem and Bethlehem, but also to Nazareth and its environs, Tiberias, and Jericho. Isaac Minerbi, "The Vatican and Zionism," *Molad* 27 (May-June, 1971): 141.

became apprehensive over the consequences of the Balfour pledge on the Holy Land, he was explicit in his concern for Christian custody of the Holy Places.

For surely it would be a terrible grief for Us and for all the Christian faithful if infidels were placed in a privileged and prominent position; much more if those most holy sanctuaries of the Christian religion were given to the charge of non-Christians. . . .²⁴

Special treatment for Jerusalem and Bethlehem was again considered when a British Royal Commission recommended the partition of Palestine into sovereign Arab and Jewish states. As the Peel Commission explained, in its report of 1937, "The partition of Palestine is subject to the overriding necessity of keeping the sanctity of Jerusalem and Bethlehem inviolate. . . . It was, therefore, recommended that these two cities and their environs, as well as a corridor to the sea remain under permanent Mandatory administration."²⁵

When the partition scheme was abandoned by a subsequent Royal Commission and supplanted by an arrangement for an eventual Palestinian State constituting an Arab majority, the recommendation of a permanent mandate for Jerusalem-Bethlehem was not retained. Only the guarantees for the safety of the Holy Places and freedom of access were included.²⁶ It was not until the United Nations resurrected the proposal of separate Jewish and Arab states that the question of Jerusalem surfaced again.

The majority plan of the U.N. Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) divided the country into three units: an Arab state, a Jewish state and the City of Jerusalem. The last was to be placed, after a transitional period, under an international trusteeship system.²⁷ During the UNSCOP hearings, held from June to July, 1947, the representative of the Custos of the Holy Land, Brother Bonaventure Simon, refrained from endorsing an international regime for Jerusalem. He pivoted his concern solely on the Holy Places and implied a preference for a Western Commission, designed along the lines of a "protector" system, similar in role to that of France during the Ottoman period.²⁸ A scheme of

²⁴AAS 11 (1919), March 12, 1919, p. 100.

²⁵*Palestine Royal Commission Report* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1937), p. 286.

²⁶Hurewitz, *Diplomacy*, p. 223.

²⁷United Nations, *Official Records of the First Special Session of the General Assembly, Resolutions*, A/364.

²⁸Brother Bonaventure cited those requirements deemed necessary for assuring protection of the Holy Places in the following order: freedom of access; unhampered conducting of religious services; an enclave for the Holy Places in Jerusalem and the constitution of a Commission, composed of Western countries, to whom juridical recourse could be had in cases of interreligious disputes. Brother Bonaventure was questioned closely on what he

territorial internationalization for Jerusalem was incorporated in the majority plan and was adopted by the General Assembly on November 29, 1947. No official approval came from Rome. Yet it seems that the Vatican preferred the majority plan, which included the internationalization of Jerusalem, and in discreet diplomatic activity let that preference be known.²⁹

Announcement of the U.N. decision inflamed the Arab world and set off a wave of explosive violence in Palestine. Jerusalem was attacked on January 3, 1948. On May 1, on the eve of a rumored truce for the walled city, the Pope issued an encyclical *Auspicia quaedam*, in which he spoke of his "keen anxiety" for the safety of the Holy Places, but in which there was no clearly stated advocacy for the internationalization of Jerusalem.³⁰ The uneasy truce of May 2 fell apart on May 15 when full-scale war broke out in the Holy Land. By June 2, when another truce was being arranged for Jerusalem, the Arabs still held an advantageous military position in the city. Just a few days earlier (May 29), the Jewish Quarter had succumbed.³¹ During the night of June 1, the Pope received word of the Israeli acceptance of a cease-fire and the next day he addressed the College of Cardinals on "*la guerra in Palestina*." Again the Pope made no specific mention of internationalization for the war-ravaged city, although he intimated that the Christian world would not "look on with indifference or with barren indignation while the Holy Land . . . is still being trodden by troops at war and subject to air bombardments."³²

Several days before the June 1 allocution, the U.N. Mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte, in a conversation with French Foreign Minister Bidault revealed his plan for incorporating Jerusalem in the Arab State. Even after June 28, when Bernadotte's recommendation was officially delivered to the U.N., the Pope made no plea for internationalization.³³ It was not until October of 1948 that

meant by "enclave" and, in his explication, he dismissed internationalization of the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem as "not in accordance with the Holy Places as such." Ibid., Annexes, A/364/Add. 3, pp. 13-19.

²⁹ See Edward B. Glick, "The Vatican, Latin America and Jerusalem," *International Organization*, 11 (Spring, 1957): 213-219. Msgr. Thomas McMahon, in an exchange with Israeli authorities in the summer of 1949, revealed that the Pope had not opposed Jewish statehood in 1947, because he then understood that the Jews would abide by full territorial internationalization. Eugene H. Bovis, *The Jerusalem Question, 1917-1968* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institute Press, Stanford University, 1971), p. 72.

³⁰ A/15, Series II, 15 (1948), May 10, 1948, pp. 169-170.

³¹ Lorch, *Edge of the Sword*, pp. 182-188.

³² AAS, Series II, 15 (1948), June 2, 1948, pp. 252-253.

³³ Count Folke Bernadotte, *To Jerusalem* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1951), p. 12. Bernadotte later revised his plan for Jerusalem and espoused a scheme of special and separate treatment, as is evident from the posthumous publication of his progress report of September, 1948. United Nations, A/648. Cf. Bovis, *Jerusalem Question*, p. 65.

the Vatican openly and specifically espoused the U.N. plan. By then there was good reason to fear that the temporary division of the city, with Israel in control of West Jerusalem, would harden into a permanent arrangement. In the encyclical *In multiplicibus* Pius XII stated:

We are confident that these supplications and hopes, indicative of the value which such a large number of people attribute to the Holy Places, will deepen the conviction in the high assemblies in which the problem of peace is being discussed that it would be expedient, as a better guarantee for the safety of the sanctuaries under the present circumstances, to give an international character to Jerusalem and its vicinity. . . .³⁴

Several months later the Pope found it necessary to issue yet another encyclical on internationalization. Since the U.N. failed to implement its proposal for Jerusalem, the Palestine Conciliation Commission was authorized by the General Assembly to draw up a new plan which would take into account the changed circumstances in the city since the hostilities of May, 1948. The Commission, therefore, was entertaining suggestions which would provide maximum local autonomy for Jordan and Israel. On April 7, 1949, the Israeli government informed the Commission that it would be willing to concede to a functional internationalization (i.e., international control of the Holy Places), though it remained adamant on the point of territorial internationalization.³⁵ One week later Pius XII issued the encyclical *Redemptoris nostri* which restated Vatican demands for full territorial internationalization and, furthermore, exhorted Roman Catholics to pressure their respective governments to support this plan. The intensity and urgency of the papal appeal is extraordinary:

We have already insisted in Our Encyclical letter "In Multiplicibus" that the time has come when Jerusalem and its vicinity . . . should be

³⁴AAS, October 26, 1948, pp. 443-446. Eng. trs. in Rackauskas, *Internationalization*, p. 71.

³⁵The Jewish Agency accepted the plan of Internationalization in 1947, and according to informed sources the majority of the Jewish population was willing to implement the U.N. provision at that time. However, after the savage battles for Jerusalem and the wholesale destruction of the synagogues in the Old City, few Israelis were still willing to consider internationalization seriously. Kenneth Bilby, *New Star in the Near East* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1950), p. 202, and Dov Joseph, *The Faithful City* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), pp. 334-336. The Arab League, meanwhile, reversed its position on Jerusalem. Earlier, the League had railed against internationalization as an intrusion of Arab sovereignty but, now that Jerusalem was in the hands of Jordan and Israel, the League clamored for the U.N. plan. Jordan, which gained control of East Jerusalem, was even more obstinate than Israel in refusing internationalization. King Abdullah flatly refused the scheme of functional internationalization which the Israeli government was willing to consider. Bovis, *Jerusalem Question*, pp. 60-64, 79ff., 113-119.

accorded and legally guaranteed an "international" status, which in the present circumstances seems to offer the best and most satisfactory protection for these sacred monuments.

We cannot help repeating here the same declaration. . . . Let them, wherever they are living, use every legitimate means to persuade the rulers of nations, and those whose duty it is to settle this important question, to accord to Jerusalem and its surroundings a juridical status. . . .

Encourage the faithful committed to your charge to be ever more concerned about the conditions in Palestine and have them make their lawful requests known, positively and unequivocally, to the rulers of nations.³⁶

U.S. Catholics responded. The American hierarchy drew up a statement on April 27, which reiterated the plea of Pius XII. Cardinal Cushing spoke out forcefully on the issue at a mass rally in Boston's Fenway Park. The entire Catholic press, both diocesan and national, carried the papal pronouncement, and some appended editorials and articles promoting the Vatican view.³⁷

The most influential exponent of internationalization in the United States was Msgr. Thomas McMahon. During his visit to Israel in the winter of 1948-49, McMahon gave the impression of having other duties than the official charitable mission³⁸ on which he came. In fact, the Israeli Ministry for Religious Affairs had opened negotiations with him prior to his visit, and a member of the Ministry referred to him as an "unofficial representative of the Holy See on political matters." Confirming this impression, Pius XII told James G. McDonald that he hoped McMahon would be able to work out a settlement with the Israeli government.³⁹

³⁶AAS, Series II, 16 (1949), April 15, 1949, pp. 161-164. Eng. trs. in Rackauskas, *Internationalization*, p. 72.

³⁷Raphael Huber (ed.), *Our Bishops Speak, 1919-1951* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1952), pp. 364f. The statement was later reissued at the annual Bishops Conference, November 21, 1949, and published in the journal of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, *Catholic Action* 31 (December, 1949): 20. Catholic lay organizations, too, passed supportive resolutions. For example, the resolution passed by the Knights of Columbus at their annual convention, *Columbia* (October, 1949): 14. Cushing's efforts were praised in *Commonweal* 50 (July 1, 1949): 14. For representative editorials commenting on the encyclical, see in the national press, *America* 81 (April 30, 1949): 151, and in the diocesan press, *Register*, May 8, 1949, p. 5.

³⁸See below, p. 214.

³⁹McDonald, *My Mission*, pp. 93-94, 205-206, 190ff., 206. McMahon published a disclaimer of his diplomatic mission in his pamphlet, *Hills of the Morning* (New York: C.N.E.W.A. n.d., 1954?), pp. 17-18. However, on the basis of conversations with persons who

McMahon's position on internationalization rested on concepts which went beyond the rubrics of freedom of access and safety of the Holy Places. He insisted on the need for a full restoration and growth of the Christian population in Jerusalem in order to save the shrines from becoming mere "museum pieces." Jerusalem must develop into a vital center of Christianity. Only territorial internationalization would provide the atmosphere for the growth of a Christian population large enough to support such a center. Anything less than full territorial internationalization would compromise the Christian stake in the Holy Land, as McMahon understood it.⁴⁰

In September, 1949, the Conciliation Commission forwarded to the Secretary General its draft for Jerusalem. According to the Commission's plan, Jerusalem would be divided into two zones, an Arab zone administered by Jordan, and a Jewish zone administered by Israel. The protection of the Holy Places would be the responsibility of the U.N. Commissioner, and a system of international courts would deal with questions involving the Holy Places. The plan was neither fully territorial nor fully functional in its approach to internationalization. On the first day of the U.N. debate, the Australian representative introduced a draft resolution to reaffirm the territorial internationalization provisions of the 1947 partition plan. The Vatican radio commended the Australian resolution and Catholic action was channelled in its support.⁴¹ Perhaps the most heralded effort was made by Cardinal Spellman, who was later credited with garnering crucial Latin American votes in support of the Australian resolution.⁴² In the final vote on December 9, 1949, the General

are familiar with the Herzog and McMahon papers, it appears that McMahon, indeed, was a pivotal figure in American-Israeli-Vatican relations. As yet, I have had no access to the archives to enable me to document this assumption. The pertinent evidence would be found in the CNEWA archives in New York City (where I have limited access), the Spellman papers in the N.Y. Archdiocesan archives at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N.Y., and the Herzog papers which are now being assembled in Jerusalem.

⁴⁰McMahon's thesis was popularized in his numerous speeches and articles for Catholic audiences. He reported on the Palestine issues in the following pamphlets published by CNEWA (and found in CNEWA archives): *Job and Jacob: Only the Meek*; *The Pope and the Palestine Tragedy: Not by Bread Alone*; and *Hills of the Morning*.

⁴¹United Nations. *Official Records of the Fourth Session of the General Assembly*. Ad Hoc Political Committee, Annex, I. A/973: A/AC. November 12 was designated by the Pope as a day of prayer for settlement of Palestine in harmony with Christian rights. *America* 82 (November 26, 1949): 216. Vatican Radio support for the Australian resolution was reported in the *New York Times*, November 27, 1949, p. 27. See American efforts in Huber, *Our Bishops*, and *Catholic Action* 31 (November, 1949): 3.

⁴²This was particularly true for Cuba, Haiti, and Bolivia which had not supported the Australian proposal at the outset and then changed their votes in the final counting, "in keeping with the wishes of the Catholic countries." Glick, "The Vatican, Latin America and Jerusalem," p. 216. Glick noted that Spellman directed the papal nuncios of all Latin American capitals to make vigorous representations demanding that the Latin American

Assembly rejected the Conciliation Commission's plan for Jerusalem and reaffirmed full territorial internationalization. The Vatican hailed the vote but, again, the implementation of the decision was thwarted by Jordanian and Israeli opposition. By the Spring of 1950, the resolution was paralyzed by a stalemate in the General Assembly.⁴³

Official Catholic persistence in calling for the implementation of territorial internationalization continued unabated. In the U.S. the campaign was waged by the articulate Msgr. McMahon, who asserted that:

Come what may through the politics of *fait accompli* and the ineptitude of the U.N., the Church and churchmen have by no means abdicated their just right to demand their stake in the Holy Land of Jesus Christ.⁴⁴

America's editors, too, were on the alert to call attention to the unrequited claim of Christianity. Time and again the paper urged the U.N. to implement its decision, even advising that sanctions be imposed to force compliance. Editorials reminded Truman of his campaign pledge to support internationalization, and both Christians and Jews were criticized for praising Israel as long as it did not abide by the U.N. order.⁴⁵ One editorial even went so far as to draw a macabre analogy:

... the World Jewish Congress insisted that the graves of Nazi concentration-camp victims should not be entrusted exclusively to Germans—so, too, shrines of Christians cannot be entrusted exclusively to Jews and Arabs.⁴⁶

Apprehensions lessened, somewhat, as the Israeli government took effective action to eliminate causes of complaint. Access to Christian shrines in Israeli territory was open, incidents of desecration were rare, and the Israeli govern-

governments take an unflinching stand on full territorial internationalization. On Vatican pressure in the U.N. in reference to the vote, see also the *New York Times*, December 13, 1949, p. 1.

⁴³ Bovis, *Jerusalem Question*, pp. 78-91. Bovis gives a concise history of the meanderings of the resolution in the U.N.

⁴⁴ *Hills of the Morning*, p. 7. See also McMahon's letter to U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, September 16, 1953, and his telegram to President Eisenhower, November 4, 1954. Rackauskas, *Internationalization*, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁵ *America* 82 (December 31, 1949): 381, and (February 4, 1950): 511; 83 (June 17, 1950): 313, and (September 16, 1950): 619; 84 (November 4, 1950): 124; 86 (December 8, 1951): 275, and (December 15, 1951): 298.

⁴⁶ *America* 83 (June 17, 1950): 313.

ment was paying reparations for the damages.⁴⁷ Though the official Catholic stand on internationalization remained unchanged, the crusading spirit in the press ebbed. Critical reactions to Israel now turned largely on the second issue, the Arab refugees.

The Arab refugee problem can hardly be described objectively. Its history is enmeshed in polemic, news reports are charged with emotion, and most evaluations tend to disintegrate into political-moral debates. However, in order to place Catholic response in a reasonable perspective, it is important to review briefly the "facts" and the range of their interpretation.

On the origin of the problem Arabs and Jews differ. The Arab view claims that the Jews drove out the Palestinian Arabs by use of force, terror, and intimidation. Arabs point to the Deir Yassin incident as a confirmation of Israeli guilt and responsibility.⁴⁸ The Israeli counter-claim maintains that though the Jews wished to govern their U.N.-approved state in peaceful co-existence with the Arabs, the neighboring Arab countries invaded Israeli territory from all sides. Arab nationalist leaders encouraged, and even ordered, native Arabs to leave their homes to make room for the invading armies, while assuring the fleeing Arabs a speedy return to a wholly Arab country.⁴⁹

A dispassionate study of the problem reveals that the leaders of the Jewish state neither planned nor anticipated the Arab exodus. Much of the mass flight was voluntary, although sociological and psychological factors inherent in the 1948 situation contributed enormously to a contagious flight psychosis. Not least of these factors was the collapse of Arab morale, the absence of native Arab leadership, and the hysteria which fed on increasing Israeli military victories. Based on precedents of Arab warfare, Palestinian Arabs could expect nothing less than massacres if the Jews were victorious and an isolated incident gave credence to such fears.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Israeli Government, *Jerusalem, 1948-1951, Three Years of Reconstruction* (Jerusalem, March, 1952), pp. 28-29. *Christian News from Israel* published a chronicle of government regulations and transactions relating to the Christian communities. For example, on restitution of ecclesiastic properties and repair of churches and religious institutions during 1949-1950, see *Christian News from Israel* 1 (August, 1949): 2, 8; (September, 1949): 3; (December, 1949-January, 1950): 3; (March-April, 1950): 5-6. By November 16, 1955, all outstanding claims of the Roman Catholic Church in Israel were settled. *Ibid.* 6 (December, 1955): 21.

⁴⁸ Faye Sayegh, *The Palestinian Refugees* (Washington: A.M.A.R.A. Press, 1952), pp. 9-24. Deir Yassin was an Arab village massacred by a Jewish terrorist splinter group on April 9, 1948, before the Israeli military gained control.

⁴⁹ Israeli Government, *The Arab Refugees* (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 7-14.

⁵⁰ Don Peretz, *Israel and the Palestinian Arabs* (Washington, D.C.: Middle East Institute, 1958), pp. 4-8. Also, Joseph Schechtman, *The Arab Refugee Problem* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952), pp. 1-7. Schechtman outlines in detail the three major phases

The U.N. struggled with the refugee problem for many years. The variety of commissions and plans attest to the complexity of the problem. The first solution attempted was repatriation. Of interest is the initial Arab reaction to this proposal. Until 1949, the Arabs were opposed to repatriation, reasoning that it implied a recognition of the State of Israel and a reminder of their inability to dislodge the Israelis. In contrast, the Israeli government had no fixed position concerning the problem.⁵¹ Tables were reversed after the signing of the armistice treaties in the spring of 1949. Now the Arabs demanded repatriation, while the Israelis moved towards categorical rejection.⁵² The U.N. then turned to schemes of resettlement of refugees in Arab states, where their absorption would be not only economically feasible, but also beneficial to the host countries. These programs met with steadfast opposition from the Arab states. Even small-scale work-relief programs failed for lack of cooperation.⁵³ Unsolved, the problem remains a festering sore in the Middle East.

The Catholic Church took an early interest in the refugees. It prided itself on having preceded the U.N. in care and relief activities.⁵⁴ In the U.S. the New York-based Catholic Near East Welfare Association played a very prominent role in this charitable work. In August, 1948, Archbishop Arthur Hughes, papal Internuncio to Egypt, appealed for large-scale relief funds for the refugees. He sent one telegram to the Vatican and the other to Cardinal Spellman. In less than a month, Spellman dispatched \$50,000 from CNEWA and another \$25,000 from the War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.⁵⁵ Ship-

of flight. No accurate account of the number of refugees has been made. Relief agency figures are based on ration lists which have been found to be inflated. Bernadotte's figures in 1948 totalled less than 400,000. See Peretz, *Israel*, p. 30, note 2, for a discussion on the discrepancies in refugee figures.

⁵¹For early Israeli offers of repatriation, see *ibid.*, pp. 33, 40-50. Israel repatriated 25,000 Arab refugees, and another 8,000 returned under the "family reunion" scheme. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 55.

⁵²Israeli opposition was based on fears of harboring a fifth column as long as the insecure political situation, in which no peace treaties were signed, prevailed. These fears were amply supported by Arab rhetoric. Schechtman, *Arab Refugee*, pp. 24-26.

⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 35-41; Peretz, *Israel*, pp. 13, 77-94. Schechtman, an authority on world-wide problems of refugees, maintains that there are no precedents for successful repatriation of population, whereas resettlement has proven to be a feasible solution. He also maintains that an unofficial exchange of population actually occurred in Israel following the 1948 war when Israel absorbed 522,000 Jewish refugees from Moslem countries. Schechtman, *The Refugee in the World* (New York and London: A. S. Barnes & Co. and Thos. Yoseloff, 1963), p. 262.

⁵⁴*America* 80 (March 26, 1949): 677.

⁵⁵Minutes of the Executive Committee, CNEWA, August 27, 1948. CNEWA archives. Shipment of the monies was publicized in a NC-NS Bulletin, September 13, 1948 (S), 4.

ments of food, clothing and other supplies followed. At the Bishops' Conference in November, 1948, McMahon was authorized to go to the Holy Land as Special Representative of the American hierarchy in order to investigate the needs of the Arab refugees and to disburse \$75,000 of Emergency Relief Funds. By January, 1949, the diocesan press was printing appeals by McMahon to "adopt holy towns like Nazareth." McMahon returned in March, as the papers said, "Weeping at What He Saw." His report stimulated a Bishops Emergency Drive, which made a nation-wide appeal for funds on March 27, at the Laetare Sunday Mass.⁵⁶

Whether by design or inadvertently, the Catholic press presented the refugee problem largely from the Arab perspective. Phrases such as "driven out," "forced to flee," "brutally uprooted," left no doubt that the guilt lay solely with the Jews.⁵⁷ Reports detailed the misery and deplorable living conditions of the refugees, but failed to note the reluctance of Arab states to make any provisions for their kinfolk. It was the human interest angle, the emotional tug of the story, that seized the attention of the press, while the political background of offers and counter-offers went unheeded. More telling than the content of the stories were the analogies employed. In some papers the Israelis were likened to Nazis; in others, to Titus and a string of tyrants; and in still others, the Arab "expulsion" was paralleled hypothetically to "shipping off all U.S. Negroes to Portugal."⁵⁸ A typical conclusion was that of the syndicated weekly, *Our Sunday Visitor*:

Israel is a state that should not exist. How can it have God's blessing, how can it flourish when it is founded on the robbery of the 900,000 innocent people.⁵⁹

Anti-Jewish nationalism could now be legitimately couched in moralistic terms, and there was indeed a high correlation between earlier denunciations of

⁵⁶ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, CNEWA, November 18, 1948. CNEWA archives. Spellman was instrumental in the McMahon appointment and in obtaining papal approval for the mission. At the annual meetings of the following years (November 17, 1949; November 16, 1950; November 15, 1951; November 13, 1952), progress reports on the relief work were delivered. For press accounts, see *Catholic Action* 30 (December, 1948): 2; NC-NS Bulletin, January 7, 1949; *Register*, March 27, 1949, p. 2; *America* 80 (March 26, 1949): 678.

⁵⁷ These phrases cropped up, e.g., in papers as dissimilar as *Catholic Mind* 47 (June, 1949): 372; *Columbia* 35 (October, 1955): 4; *The Priest* 11 (December, 1955): 982; *Social Justice Review* 41 (February, 1949): 350.

⁵⁸ The most blatant examples are found in *Sign* 28 (May, 1949): 5-6; 31 (August, 1951): 2, and (November, 1951): 6; 32 (December, 1952): 9-12. Also, *Columbia* 35 (October, 1955): 4; and *Social Justice Review* 48 (November, 1955): 276-277.

⁵⁹ *Our Sunday Visitor*, March 25, 1956, p. 2. On the figure cited, see note 50.

Zionism and present moral indignation. It is not farfetched to assume that some papers exploited the refugee issue for its anti-Zionist content.

Only a small percentage of the refugees were Catholic, yet Catholics plunged wholeheartedly into relief efforts. Over 2000 priests and nuns administered to their needs in refugee camps.⁶⁰ Without questioning the humanitarian impulse which inspired these efforts, for Christian missionaries have always been involved in humanitarian causes in all parts of the world, one may ask if there were other motivating factors. McMahon's own words are suggestive:

For the Catholic effort in this humanitarian endeavor illustrates the fact that the Palestine problem is not bipartite but tripartite. There is a Christian stake in the Holy Land.⁶¹

It did the Church no harm to give visibility to its claim of historical and contemporary interest in Palestine.

Of at least equal importance was the concern of the Vatican for the safety of Catholic minorities in the Middle East. The precariousness of the position of these minorities was heightened during crises or periods of intense nationalism, when Arab was frequently equated with Moslem.⁶² Moreover, Christian communities were afraid of being identified with the Western countries which supported Israel. For fear of reprisals, many Christians sought to outdo the Moslems in support of the Arab cause.⁶³ The solicitude of the Vatican for the Arab refugees, regardless of religion, could serve to demonstrate effectively Catholic solidarity with the Arab cause. In June, 1949, Pius XII set up the Pontifical Mission for Palestine to consolidate and strengthen worldwide Catholic relief efforts in the Middle East. McMahon was appointed president of the Mission, and in his report of November, 1951, he announced that the Pontifical Mission had already expended ten million dollars in aid for the Palestinian refugees.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Estimates generally run to approximately 150,000 Christian refugees, of which only 55,000 were Catholics. *America* 80 (March 26, 1949): 677. Cf. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 12 (January, 1950): 114. The Pontifical Mission for Palestine Report of 1954 calculated that there were 268 Pontifical centers for refugees in the Middle East and 31,000 refugee children enrolled in Pontifical schools. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, CNEWA, November 18, 1954. CNEWA archives.

⁶¹ Quoted in *America* 80 (March 26, 1949): 677.

⁶² A. H. Hourani, *Minorities in the Arab World* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 34-36.

⁶³ *Commonweal* 48 (October 8, 1948): 614-615.

⁶⁴ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, CNEWA, November 15, 1951. CNEWA archives. Of this amount, two million was given in cash and the remainder in goods and services. Also, *Unitas* 1 (October-December, 1949): 79-80, and *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 8 (October, 1949): 269-273.

The magnanimity of the Church was both commendable and expedient.

Along with the problems of internationalization and Arab refugees, a theological problem also surfaced. To question the legitimacy and justness of a Jewish state may have appeared to be a necessity. Theologians were faced with an obvious dilemma of how to fit the unexpectedly resurgent Israel into Christian doctrine and eschatology, and on the practical level there were difficulties in preserving the atmosphere of a pilgrim's Holy Land in the technologically progressive and secular Jewish state.

At the outset, a conservatively traditional assessment dominated Catholic thinking. This approach assigned no positive role to modern Israel. It looked upon the State as a secular aberration, potentially inimical to Christianity. Jewish control over the Holy Land could not be lasting, for the land was promised to the "spiritual sons of Abraham," the *verus Israel*, which is the Christian Church.⁶⁵ Invoking Romans 9:6, "They are not all Israelites who are sprung from Israel," Msgr. Matthew Smith, editor of the *Register*, explained:

Therefore the present Zionist state can have nothing spiritual to contribute to the world, and on Biblical grounds it has not [*sic*] right to the Holy Land. If God has given any group a mandate to occupy the country, it is the Christians. . . .⁶⁶

An article in the monthly of the Catholic Central-Verein, *Social Justice Review*, also denounced the validity of any theological claim to Palestine on the part of the Jews:

There was a time when such a Palestine claim was warranted; that was during the days when the Jewish religion was God's one and only religion. . . . That was when they were given the land for the purpose of carrying out Israel's divine mission. That mission they have no more.⁶⁷

Speculations on the eschatological significance of the Jewish State were not lacking. *Pilot* adjured its readers to view the events and the war in the Holy Land as "something vastly different" from similar political events elsewhere, and mused upon the likelihood of its bringing about the Second Coming.⁶⁸ In line with a popular belief that the State of Israel was inherently evil, some even subscribed to the view that it would beget the Antichrist.

⁶⁵ *L'Osservatore Romano*, May 14, 1948, quoted in Pinchas E. Lapide, *The Last Three Popes and the Jews* (London: Souvenir Press, 1967), p. 282. This same belief was echoed in *Sign* 27 (January, 1949): 39-40, in a homiletical piece on the inevitable failure of Zionism.

⁶⁶ *Register*, March 6, 1949, p. 2.

⁶⁷ *Social Justice Review* 41 (June, 1948): 75-78.

⁶⁸ "We cannot but wonder if the problem of Palestine will go on plaguing the world until there is offered with the solution of the Jews and the solution of the Arabs, a solution of the Christians of the world." *Pilot*, August 27, 1948, p. 4.

There is an old legend, accepted by many Christian Fathers, that the Antichrist will be of Jewish descent and from the tribe of Dan, that he will be circumcised, will rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple, in which he will set himself up as God. Likewise, he will begin his seduction among the Jews, who will accept him as the Messiah.⁶⁹

Rev. Edward A. Cerny, in a presidential address to the Catholic Biblical Society, also spoke of the "messianic" implications of the new State. "Perhaps it is too early to say," he admitted, "but we cannot help taking notice. The question is already being put to us by our pupils." Cerny observed that there were two possible explanations for Israel's functioning again, "at least temporarily," as a nation. Either it was Divine Providence to bring Israel back to her ancient homeland as a "preliminary to that conversion and to her ultimate incorporation into the Church where she is destined to play a glorious part before the end," or it is that "an Antichrist, if not *the* Antichrist expected before the end, is already operating in Israel."⁷⁰

The first possibility found echoes in other voices. *Catholic World* printed a sermon contending that the political renaissance would usher in a new era of conversion. Articles reiterating this expectation appeared in influential American Catholic journals with large clerical readership.⁷¹ An in-depth theological development was assayed by French Dominican theologian Yves Congar.⁷² In his view, modern Israel was a stage in the fulfillment of the final promise. Political restoration was necessary in order to bring into the Holy Land a representative cross-section of the entire Jewish people who would ultimately find the way to Jesus in the disappointing realities of return. The "realities" which would jar Judaism from its complacency would be the disparity between statehood and messianic vision of the prophets, the difficulties of adapting the "laws of Moses" to a modern state, and the complications that would arise with rebuilding of the Temple. All of these problems would force the Jews into "a blind alley of grace," that is, Jews would recognize Christianity as the only solution. The new State, then, had a "positive" mission, although the generosity of Congar and the

⁶⁹ Editorial by Mgr. Matthew Smith in the *Register*, March 27, 1949, pp. 1, 6.

⁷⁰ The address was printed in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 12 (April, 1950): 119-120.

⁷¹ *Catholic World* 169 (August, 1949): 326-329, and 170 (December, 1949): 192-197; *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* 51 (October, 1950): 47-49; *American Ecclesiastical Review* 124 (January, 1951): 31-36. In the latter article, Nicholas Rieman, S.J., noted that a "surprising percentage of immigrants to Israel are Christian in sentiment, and at times, in belief."

⁷² Yves Congar, O. P., "Sens de la restauration (politique) d'Israël au regard de la pensée chrétienne," *Notre Dame de Sion, Sessions d'Information* (July, 1955). Congar's views reached the English-speaking public in the following articles: "The State of Israel in Biblical Perspective," *Blackfriars* 37 (June, 1957): 244-249; and "Modern Israel, Fulfillment of God's Promise?" *Theology Digest* 9 (Spring, 1961): 95-96.

theologians who espoused the same idea sprang from their expectations of Jewish conversion.⁷³ It was not until after Vatican II, when ecumenical-minded theologians began to recognize the validity of post-Christian Judaism, that an appreciation of the Jewish State, apart from missiological connotations, could emerge.

Preservation of the Christian *image* of the Holy Land was the practical problem which troubled Catholics. Not fundamental theologically, it nevertheless exerted a considerable psychological force. For Christians, the importance of the land lies primarily in its religious memories. It was the birthplace of Jesus, the land of his ministry, and the place of his martyrdom. The excitement of the land is not in its present, but in its past. Although some churches have invested heavily in establishing religious and cleemosynary institutions, the Holy Land is still primarily a place of shrines, and all Christian efforts on its behalf have been to safeguard these sacred places and to provide access to them for their pilgrims. Pilgrims who come to venerate these sites, consecrated through their association with the life of Jesus and his apostles, want to find them in their first century setting, in order to be able to experience the land of the Bible and the Gospels.

Not so the Jews. While they, too, have numerous biblical and post-biblical recollections which endow the land with a sacredness, the land, in and of itself, is venerated as the home of the Jewish nation. The land is part of an ongoing, pulsating national life. The ties of the people are to its climate, to its soil, and to its growth. The country which served a glorious past lives very much in the present, with great expectations for the future. Thus technological development enhances the land for the Jews, while for the Christians development is an intrusion which disfigures its essence. The pilgrim wants to recapture the presence of Christ's time, not a modern, bustling country! Understandably, pilgrim sympathies tend to be with the Arabs who (unwittingly) preserved that life, rather than with the Jews who (unwittingly) disturbed that image.⁷⁴ Pilgrim literature reverberates with the longing for a Pilgrim's Palestine. Happy is the visitor who can write:

The Holy Land, for the most part, has changed little since the time of Christ. . . . Shepherds still roam the fields, oxen still pull the plows, the fisherman's nets can still be seen drying on the shores. . . . The colorful garb of the natives provide genuine biblical atmosphere.⁷⁵

⁷³For example, Paul Demann, "Signification de l'Etat d'Israel," *Cahiers Sioniens* 5, no. 1 (March, 1951): 32-43; Charles Journet, "The Mysterious Destinies of Israel," *The Bridge* 2 (1956): 77.

⁷⁴Frankly stated by an American Catholic visitor to Palestine in 1946. *America* 79 (January 19, 1946): 428.

⁷⁵From a pilgrim's report in *Sign* 31 (December, 1951): 46-49. See also *Catholic*

The decade that followed the establishment of Israel brought with it an alleviation of some of these antagonisms felt towards the new State. In part it was due to Israel's own efforts. In larger part it was due to events outside of Israel. A not insignificant factor in creating the change in perspective was the political upheaval in neighboring countries in the Middle East. The relative security of Christian institutional and personal life in Israel, vis-à-vis the growing insecurity of Catholics in Arab countries, subject to Leftist coups, became an important factor in Catholic reassessments of the Jewish State.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. What was the initial Catholic reaction to the formation of the state of Israel, and what factors produced this reaction?
2. Why was the internationalization of Jerusalem crucial, and what events finally led to official Vatican support of internationalization?
3. How did Msgr. McMahon support his position on internationalization?
4. What were the motivating forces behind the Catholic refugee relief program?
5. How and why did the Catholic press tend to support the Arab side of this issue?
6. Describe the theological issue confronting Catholics over the establishment of Israel.
7. When did the Catholic theologians reassess their approaches to the state of Israel and why?
8. What lessons can be gained from a thorough investigation of this kind?



Digest 26 (December, 1961): 110-113, which praised Bethlehem's citizens for striving to retain the biblical image, and Richard Pattee in *Columbia* 35 (November, 1955), who noted the disappointment of Christian pilgrims in finding the towns of the Bible "modernized."

and financial disclosures by officeholders; stress on an official commitment to the rule of law for all offenses, from mugging to Watergating; disowning the use of "national security" as a cloak for illegal activities; opposition to "big brother intervention in our daily lives" by wiretapping and secret surveillance; an end to the kind of duplicity and secrecy in government that mired us in Vietnam and Watergate. In short, a realistic facing up to the sins that led to the present GOP plight.

Taken all together, Senator Percy's recommendations will be seen by many Republicans as plain horse sense. Even before the election to fill Mr. Ford's seat, there were a growing number of Republican officeholders who had decided not to seek reelection next time around—a good indication of their conviction that popular resentment directed at the President extends to other members of his political party. But what if the party manages to clear its skirts of the dirt of Watergate and create some distance between itself and the President? This will take some doing, of course, but if the GOP succeeds in this, by following the lead of men like Senator Percy,

its prospects in 1976 may not be as bad as they at first appear.

Just suppose, for example, that Senator Kennedy does not run in 1976 and that presently front-running Senator Henry Jackson wins the Democratic nomination. Suppose too that GOP leaders have sense enough not to get locked in with Vice President Ford as their pre-ordained candidate. Given Senator Jackson's stance on Vietnam, defense spending, the SST and various other crucial issues, what would be the reaction of independent and liberal voters to his candidacy? If the GOP candidate were Rockefeller or Reagan, the result might be a stay-at-home standoff. If the Republican man were Senator Percy or someone like him, many such voters might even find him preferable to Senator Jackson and cast a Republican vote, Watergate or no. Much depends on what the Democrats do, therefore, as well as on Republican efforts to cleanse their own house. Certainly, however, it is too early to write off GOP chances for 1976 entirely. While they still have a chance of shedding the Nixon-Watergate image, the Republicans are down but not out.

ARCHIVES

FROM ROME

THE VATICAN AND ISRAEL

On Monday, Jan. 14, while Henry Kissinger was commuting between Cairo and Tel Aviv, the Vatican made its own modest move in the Middle Eastern game. Federico Alessandrini, head of the Vatican press office, told journalists that the Pope no longer objected to the construction of a mosque in Rome (provided, of course, that "as for the location and outward dimensions, due regard would be paid to the special character of Rome as center of the Catholic Church"). Until then, the Vatican had always opposed any such plans on the strength of the Concordat, which obliges the Italian government to ban anything detrimental to the sacred character of the city (on the same ground the police once forbade the Roman performances of Hochhuth's play *The Deputy*). The little present had probably been intended for the Egyptian foreign minister Ismail Fahmi, who was supposed to visit Rome early this year, but Kissinger's rapid progress made it advisable to anticipate the announcement, as a signal of the Vatican's continued friendly feelings towards the Arabs and of its interest in another Holy City: Jerusalem.

One month earlier, on Dec. 22, Jerusalem had been the topic of an unprecedented meeting in the papal palace, where Paul VI received Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, President Gaafar Numeiri of Sudan, Vice President James Green of Liberia and Foreign Minister

Vernon Mawanga of Zambia. To his unusual visitors the Pope explained his project for the future of Jerusalem which consisted in the internationalization of the city and its administration by a mixed religious commission, chaired by a representative of the Catholic Church. The scope of the meeting (which appears to have been suggested by King Faisal and President Bourghiba) was to invite the African countries to sponsor the plan in the U.N.

The internationalization of Jerusalem had been a constant goal of Vatican diplomacy since the declining years of the Ottoman Empire, but especially since the rise of Zionism had made it likely that one day the city might fall into the hands of the Jews. At one time, between the two World Wars, the project had been close to succeeding, but the idea of setting up an international control board had to be abandoned, when the Vatican rejected the British condition of a Protestant chairman. After 1947 it became increasingly unrealistic, as it was clear that internationalization would not satisfy the aspirations of either Israel or the Arabs. Nevertheless it was forcefully upheld by Pius XII, who dedicated two encyclicals to the subject, and by the majority of Palestinian Catholics, led by the Franciscan Custodian Alberto Gori, unwaveringly hostile to the Zionist claims. But after the annexation of the Old City by Jordan, Gori

(who meanwhile had become Patriarch of Jerusalem) soon established a friendly *modus vivendi* and for the time being the subject of internationalization was quietly dropped.

The situation changed again radically in 1967, when the whole of Jerusalem was occupied by Israeli forces. The old project, which had been dormant for almost two decades, was at once revived by Pope Paul, who, even before the ceasefire, demanded the internationalization of the city. This hasty intervention, at a moment when the government had already announced its intention to respect the rights of Christians and Moslems to their holy places, was deeply resented in Israel and was met by a firm refusal of the government. In the following years the Pope referred to the problem in more cautious terms, notably in his message to the Islamic conference of Rabat (1969), when his careful avoidance of the word "internationalization" was taken by many to indicate a change of tactics, if not of policy. During the same period, however, the *Osservatore Romano* continued to insist on the necessity of internationalizing Jerusalem and published periodic attacks on the Israeli authorities for the "Judaization" of the city.

On Jan. 15, 1973, Golda Meir visited the Pope—a remarkable event, for the Vatican had never recognized the State of Israel, and no head of the Israeli government had ever been received by the Pope. Mrs. Meir herself spoke rightly of a "historical occasion," but she was immediately contradicted by Alessandrini, who minimized its importance in what was easily the rudest statement ever released after an audience. He pointed out that the Prime Minister had not been invited, that the Holy See had cordial relations with all Arab countries, and particularly insisted on "the native and inalienable rights of the three monotheistic religions" concerning

Jerusalem. Mrs. Meir reacted with utmost courtesy ("I certainly did not invade the Vatican," she said mildly), but the press and public opinion in Israel felt bitterly offended. Nobody had forgotten how easily the Church had adapted to the Jordanian occupation of the holy places, and it was also a well known fact that it had never protested against the prohibition for Jews (one of "the three monotheistic religions" the Vatican had so much at heart) to visit the Western Wall of the Temple, nor against the looting of their synagogues and cemeteries. Not unnaturally, Rome was accused of anti-Semitism, and the whole long story of old and recent griefs against the Church was retold.

The diplomatic activity of the Vatican after the Yom Kippur War shows that its aims are still unchanged; and if the Arabs may now prefer internationalization to the Israeli administration, there is no reason to suppose that to Israel the Pope's intervention is any more acceptable than before. Msgr. Pio Laghi, the Apostolic Delegate in Jerusalem, has certainly had the most unpleasant job of his life, when on Jan. 2 he carried out the instruction to explain the Vatican position to the Israeli government. A few years ago, in an article on Jerusalem and the Holy Places, Prof. François Delpech wrote: "The role of the Church is not to defend rights, but to live the Word of God and to witness to it. It is quite normal that she should desire basic freedom. But she must remain poor. She must not aim at power. She must not cause scandal to the whole world." At a time when others are making the first serious efforts towards peace in the Middle East, the danger of scandal is greater than ever.

HENRY TEN KORTENAAR

(Henry ten Kortenaar is Commonwealth's regular correspondent in Rome.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

THE REALITY OF THE BUDGET

The federal budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1 is now before the Congress—all 1071 pages of it—and disputes over its orientation and apportionments are reminiscent of the saw about the two housewives arguing over the back fence—they disagree because they're arguing from different premises.

The obvious premise underlying the budget—be it that drafted by a Democratic or a Republican administration—is that it is not only an economic but a political document. It is shot through with ambitions, tendencies, prejudices, private-sector pressures, campaign commitments and post-election compromises. More antiseptically stated, the federal budget is "both a statement of our

national objectives and a plan for achieving them," as the opening sentence of the budget summary states. It is, of course, both more and less than that.

Revenues to keep the budget afloat, it should be noted, still come from you and me. Fiscal year 1975 estimates are that individual income taxes will account for 42 percent of revenues for that year; second largest source is from corporation income taxes, 16 percent. And, as to where it goes, 29 percent will be spent for activities labeled "national defense."

One other fact to keep in mind is that, even with the most sincere of intentions, the federal budget may be, often is, statistically misleading. For example, head-

LIBERTY LOBBY

Continued from page 3

tive" organization, and indeed it has won the cheers of a number of ultra-conservative members of Congress over the years. But the gears of the Carto machine—the *American Mercury* and *Noontide Press*—turn on the national socialistic, "Aryan" racial philosophy of Francis P. Yockey, who despised conservatism and promulgated the doctrine of subservience of the individual to the glorified state. In private, Carto will admit his admiration of what Yockey called "the Revolution of 1933"—the advent of the Third Reich. And under the aegis of the "conservative" Liberty Lobby, Carto's front-men—at a series of secret meetings around the country during 1971 and 1972—outlined a vague contingency plan for a right-wing military dictatorship in the U.S. should "Communism" make further gains.

After visiting Yockey in jail, Carto wrote: "I knew that I was in the presence of a great force, and I could feel History standing aside me." The fundamental and visible part of that history is anti-Semitism, which has surfaced despite the "conservative" mask of Liberty Lobby.

The new radio series "This is Liberty Lobby" will carry the organization's extremist message to an ever-larger audience. The broadcast operation was started in March, 1973, with four subscribing stations. By the week of November 5, however, *Liberty Letter* could boast to its readers that some 107 stations were already airing the daily five-minute broadcasts and that there were hopes that a whole network of stations would be added in the near future.

That was the week—November 5-9—that Liberty Lobby focused on the Yom Kippur war in a five-part series calling for a halt to all American support for Israel. The Lobby's broadcaster pulled out the most worn and vicious of anti-Semitic canards to back his thesis of a conspiracy to involve the U.S. in the fighting—the "Zionists" had maneuvered this country into the two World Wars, the "Zionists" controlled the American press. Listeners were urged to send for the Lobby's anti-Jewish tract *America First* and to pressure their congressmen into demanding a change in U.S. policy in the Middle East.

IT WOULD BE a mistake to consider the Carto organization an inconsequential "fringe" group. With its trappings of "conservatism" and its cleverly contrived image as one organization that "really gets things done" in Washington, it has had broad appeal for years and is now seeking to expand its audience.

The fact that Liberty Lobby is engaged in the dissemination of blatant anti-Semitism is therefore a sobering one.

The Catholic Church And The State Of Israel

A Catholic priest explains why the Vatican still does not officially recognize Israel—and why there is hope of change.

by Marcel Jacques Dubois

THE JOURNEY of Pope Paul VI to the Holy Land in January, 1964, aroused extreme interest in Israel, even a deep if obscure hope. In the political circumstances of the time, the pilgrimage was veritably an attempt to square the circle: the Pope, on an official visit, was to go through a State whose existence the Vatican did not recognize! Despite the great goodwill, in Rome and Jerusalem, with which the itinerary was prepared, Jewish feelings were bound to undergo a measure of frustration that would at times be deeply wounding or resurrect earlier anguish. Thus, although the "Shalom, Shalom" with which the Pope ended his speech at Megiddo moved the Israelis profoundly, they were all the more surprised that the Holy Father had not made a single mention of the name of Israel. It was to His Excellency Zalman Shazar, Tel Aviv, that the Pope's telegram of departing thanks was addressed: a diplomatic subtlety which confirmed that the Vatican recognized neither the State nor its capital.

Paradoxically, however, it is when the Vatican seems most concerned with upholding its rights that, in spite of persisting in non-recognition *de jure*, its tangible attitude amounts to a recognition *de facto* of Israel as an interlocutor.

This was so at the time of the Six Day War. On the second day, the Vatican still referred to the doctrine of the *corpus separatum*, a domain under international rule, for Jerusalem and Bethlehem. At the end of the fighting, a Roman prelate, Msgr. Angelo Felici, was sent to Jerusalem to discuss with the Israeli authorities the status of the Holy Places and the situation of the Christian communities. Political observers saw in this encounter the opportunity for a very diplomatic exchange of complementary interests: it was altogether to Israel's advantage to come before the General Assembly with the prestige of having already received the Vatican envoy. On the other side, the Roman Church was no doubt desirous to

be the first to discuss the question of the Holy Places with the new occupant of Jerusalem. Whatever these interests and calculations may have been, in Msgr. Felici's visit to Jerusalem the Vatican did, in fact, recognize the Israeli government as an official interlocutor.

It is in this context that we must survey the multiplying encounters these last few years between the representatives of the State of Israel and Vatican dignitaries. In January, 1972, Msgr. Benelli, a figure of particular importance in the Curia, visited Jerusalem. Officially, it was a pilgrimage, but it is certain that he met several government personalities. Then there was the visit of Minister of Foreign Affairs Eban to Pope Paul VI in October, 1969. Above all, the Embassy of Israel in Rome maintains a permanent nexus with the Vatican Secretary of State, and in the Embassy there is a counsellor in constant touch with the Curia. From year to year, the relations between the Vatican and Israel have been improving: the cordiality of the personal links has toned down the official character of such conversations. The progress is evidenced by comparison of Vatican reaction to several events.

In December, 1968, a dynamite-filled car exploded in the *Mahane Yehuda* open-air market in Jerusalem, a crowded pre-Sabbath shopping rendezvous for Jewish housewives. Thirteen persons were killed. The Church hierarchy was silent. How different its reactions when in reprisal for the hijacking of Israeli civil aircraft, an Israeli military unit destroyed thirteen planes in the airport of Beirut, in a swift and skillful strike that harmed no human creature. Apprehensive of the consequences in the shaky equilibrium of Lebanon, the Holy Father sent a message of sympathy to President Helou.

Things were diametrically otherwise at the time of the Lod massacre in May, 1972, and the Munich crime in September. A cable from Pope Paul VI to the President of Israel won particular attention and respect, and even generated a sense of relief.

IT WAS RIGHT for the Jews and the Christians, at least on the highest level, to rejoice at the founding of an Interna-

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political struggle.

Moreover, the totalitarian radical left is convinced that because of the unique history and racial composition of American society, its oppressed racial minorities constitute an important explosive potential which can ultimately be perhaps the prime factor in achieving revolutionary transformation of the society. The totalitarian radical left chose to take sides against the Jews—not so much a matter of wanting to do battle with the Jewish community as a fixed determination to show the blacks, especially the most radical and nationalistic, that they could count on the total support of the revolutionary left. As for the Jews, they were expendable.

And just as the Jewish community was viewed as part of the enemy at home, the Jewish nation, Israel, was cast in the same role abroad. With the winding down of the war in Vietnam, the attention of the radical left shifted to the Middle East, where Israel and the Arab world were engaged in a desperate struggle. To radical left organizations the fact of Soviet and Chinese opposition to Israel confirmed that Israel was a redoubt of Western imperialism while the Arabs were an authentic third-world people struggling for independence.

The radical left is unmoved by truths because they are irrelevant to its concerns, which are less related to the realities of life in Israel and the Arab world than with the position of the United States in the Middle East. To the far left the backbone of world capitalism is America. To weaken and eventually destroy American influence in the world is the prime requirement for the world victory of "socialism." So the Arabs are the good guys, the Israelis the bad.

Jews, although never indissolubly wed to either liberalism or conservatism, had a long history of involvement in the left-wing movements that sought to improve not only their economic, social and political position but that of all. It was hardly a surprise, then, that large numbers of young American Jews in the fifties and sixties were attracted first to the civil rights movement and later to the New Left. Many opted out at the early signs of black nationalist and New Left hostility to American Jews and Israel—but many more did not. The result was a sharp conflict for many Jewish parents; Jewish organizations, religious and secular, were wracked by division almost daily on specific problems, the mere discussion of which pitted the "particularists" against the "universalists."

These debates failed to shed light on some historic truths, especially that Jews have never been secure in societies dominated by the right or by the left when extremists of either wing assaulted demo-

cratic institutions or created a climate in which peaceful democratic reform was thwarted. Moreover, these debates ignored the maxim that a Jewish community divided is a Jewish community even more than usually vulnerable to the hostility of others, that in times of stress the Jewish minority is the only one against which the majority and the other minorities have something in common—latent historic anti-Semitism that can quickly become a powerful political tool and is recognized as such by both the radical right and the radical left. The Jewish community today is the target of a pincers movement from both the right and the left, damned if it does and damned if it doesn't. And the pressure is being applied not alone by anti-Semitic political extremists but by many who consider themselves unbigoted, moderate liberals and conservatives.

No sooner had Israel successfully defended itself (in 1967) than the world began to impose on it the novel approach that in war the victor must sue for peace, that Israel must yield to Arab demands without so much as a concession from Arab leaders that the Jewish state had a right to exist.

From some government leaders, some church groups and some opinion molders throughout the world—notoriously silent for the 20 years that Jordan had illegally occupied the Old City of Jerusalem and barred entry to Jews and non-Jews who had passed through Israel—came the revived notion that perhaps Jerusalem should be internationalized after all, as if there were something odious about Jewish sovereignty over a historic Jewish city. That notion emanated from places as high as the American State Department and the Vatican, as well as Protestant circles that had long had both missionary and charitable interests in the Arab world.

From France—symbol of resistance to wartime Nazi occupation, Israel's ally in 1956, provider of the jets that were the backbone of Israel's air force—came a refusal to honor an agreement for additional aircraft and the supplies to service those on hand, salted with remarks about Jews generally as an "elite" and difficult group—and a deal to provide those same aircraft to one of Israel's enemies, Libya, with no assurance they would not eventually rest in the hangars of one of the continuing combatants, Egypt.

And the Soviet Union—which had lent its enormous weight to the Israeli side in the United Nations debate that resulted in establishment of the state—was supplying heavy military hardware to Israel's enemies and pouring calumny on her in the U.N.

No amount of sophistication about the

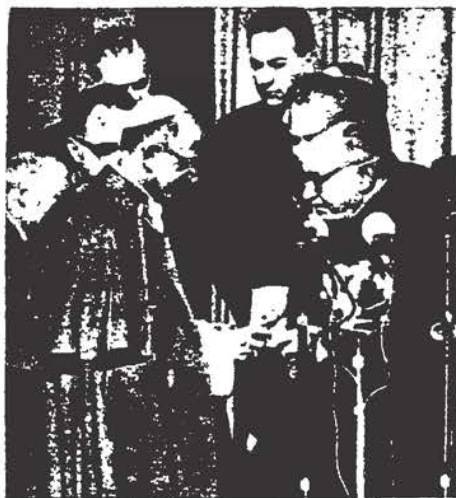
influence of self-interest, Arab oil and other hard realities of international political life and intrigue sufficed to explain the rapidity with which major elements in the world shifted gears on the Jews, particularly where Israel was involved. The only answer that seems to fit is that Jews are tolerable *only* as victims.

STATEMENTS AND PROPAGANDA calling for the destruction or dissolution of Israel are seen by Jews as attacks against themselves and against world Jewry—the ultimate anti-Semitism. Of course one can be unsympathetic to Zionism or oppose Israel's position on specific issues without being anti-Jewish; but many of the anti-Israel statements from non-Jewish sources, often the most respectable, carry an undeniable anti-Jewish message. Some of the public utterances that pass for legitimate discussion mask a real hostility to Jews as Jews, often couched in language or innuendo plainly anti-Semitic.

Gratuitous and illegitimate assaults on Israel provoke Jewish anger and awaken the ancient Jewish anxieties. For excepting the Jewish religion itself, Israel represents the greatest hope and deepest commitment embraced by world Jewry in two millennia. Just as Israel's survival depends in substantial measure on support from Jews in the United States and elsewhere, Jews in the Diaspora feel that their own security and the only hope for their survival as a people in a world from which anti-Semitism has never disappeared depends in large measure on the survival of Israel.

In an inspection of genuine anti-Semitism around the world, from some old and some very new sources, much of it having political overtones, and a hard look at the thinking and action of respectable elements in regard to Jews, the respectable community presents the larger problem. Its indifference or antipathy to Jews and Jewish concerns is far more subtle than the blatant forms of anti-Semitism and religious discrimination against which the Jewish community long ago constructed firm defenses, and far more rooted in self-righteousness. If Jews are now perceived as *legitimate* objects of criticism, scorn and calumny, if Jewish concerns are not regarded at least on a par with those of other minorities, we have either returned to an old and vicious form of scapegoating or there is something very new and potentially very dangerous at hand.

In either case, there is an obligation to alert the Jewish community and the general public. For only when the full information is made available—and the full pattern emerges—can persons of good will here and abroad call a halt to this fresh injustice against history's favorite victim.



Pope Paul in Israel with Zalman Shazar.

tional Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee to foster mutual comprehension, exchange of information, and collaboration in domains of common interest and responsibility. Its foundation incontestably manifests, on the part of Rome, a wish for openness to the Jewish reality. On the Catholic side, there are five members, prelates and theologians, appointed by Cardinal Willebrands, with papal approval; on the Jewish side, are representatives of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Synagogue Council of America and the American Jewish Committee. The meetings have been friendly and rewarding. However, if on the Catholic side there is full readiness for a dialogue, there is still unease among Catholics in Israel: the Jewish members of the committee understood instantly that the Jewry of Israel should be represented—Professor Zwi Werblowsky is the nomination—but no Christian from Israel is in the Catholic membership. The Hebrew-speaking Church of Israel was not apprised of the existence of the committee or invited to share in its work. This would hardly be so if the State of Israel were officially recognized by the Vatican.

The reasons why recognition is yet to come are of three different kinds. The first is the current practice of the Holy See in international politics: it has never recognized a country in a state of war, or one whose political frontiers were not yet assured by international agreement. The second reason is diplomatic and religious: concerned as it is with the issue of the Christian communities in Arab lands, the Holy See must take account of the reactions of their governments.

The final reason is deeper and more difficult to grasp, for it has never been clearly expressed: it is one of theological reservation. It is certain that, in the realm of traditional teaching and the attitudes

of official institutions, the Church is not yet ready to accept, even to understand, the return of the Jews to Zion. This reservation is complicated and aggravated by the problem of the refugees, where—strange but true—the most conservative of Christians and the New Left find themselves in the same camp.

IN SUCH SEEMING RIGIDITY, whence any hope of change? In persons rather than in institutions, at least in the first stages of a thaw. For the Church is not only the hierarchy, it is the whole community of all the Christian people. Therefore, an adequate and exhaustive account of the actuality of relations between the Church and Israel requires careful heed of how Catholics are beginning to discover and understand the Israeli reality. Many new facts appear that are rich in significance and pregnant with hope.

The Christian conscience which was felt to have been put in question by the tragedy of the concentration camps was given a new summons on the creation of the State of Israel. The assembling of the Children of Israel in the Land of the Bible has obliged Christians to become aware of Jewish identity. Israel has a territory, a flag, a passport, institutions. This awareness is ever growing in attentive Christians at the sight of Israel's daily struggle for the defense and vindication of its right to exist.

Faced with this new situation, Christians have reacted in different ways, grouped into two attitudes. The first is marked by an approach more narrow than ever: lack of comprehension, incapacity to accept the facts. This virtual allergy derives from more or less conscious theological assumptions. The general tendency is roughly this: the Diaspora is considered as a consequence of Christ's crucifixion, punishment for deicide, and Zionism thereupon appears as a proud presumption, in opposition to the Will of God, Who has punished His people, condemning them to wandering.

It should suffice to remind those who so think that the Diaspora is six centuries anterior to the death of Jesus. They should, in particular, be referred to the documents drawn up by the Second Vatican Council on Jewish culpability. Unhappily, such Christians are oblivious of this theological renewal and still reason along the lines of former categories and, most distressingly, believe that they have the support of the authority of the Fathers of the Church, whereas, in many cases, they impart their own anti-Semitism to the texts of the Fathers.

Likewise with the argument that it was the role of Jewry to prepare the people of God for the Church. Now that the Messiah has come, the Jewish people has no

longer any reason to be, so the Jews as a nation may now vanish and, in any case, have no right to occupy Palestine! This thesis, generally presented in theological garb, is too often mixed with political considerations and thus is to be found among the slogans of New Left Christians.

BUT THERE IS an opener attitude, more respectful of reality: that of Christians with a knowledge of Israel's past and of history, and conscious of the permanence of God's plan, studying Jewry's present annals in the general perspective of the History of Salvation. In this great adventure of Israel, from Abraham up to our own days, they discover the continuity of a mysterious Divine pedagogy towards a people which remains mysteriously marked by its original election. This acknowledgement is felt by the Christian conscience as an invitation to wait, to be attentive, to consider contemporary events of Jewish history in silence and in hope. More and more Christians are adopting this posture for the sake of the very exigencies of their faith in the plan of God.

The new style of pilgrims, priests and laymen, religious and secular, their number rising each year, come to venerate the Holy Places, to seek the traces of their Lord; but they are also concerned with discovering in the Land itself and in its landscape—particularly in Jerusalem—the roots of their faith, the vestiges of the history of a people which is also their own history. Many enter Israel's universities and schools to study Jewish sources and tradition so as to initiate themselves into the Jewish people's way of reading and hearing the Word of God.

And last but not least, on a more silent, more secret register, are those who, like the Psalmist, "have set Jerusalem at the height of their joy," who come to dwell in this Land because it seems impossible for them to live elsewhere. Without din or publicity, small contemplative communities have come to settle in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Israel to pray for Israel in communion with its destiny.

Finally, more and more attentively, we respect what might be called subjectivity and place ourselves in its angle to understand Israel's actual demeanor, and even vouchsafe the Jewish soul to be faithful to its own identity. In this perspective, the return to Zion seems to imply a return to God, or, at least, allegiance to a mysterious vocation in which Christians rejoice to be attentive and exigent witnesses.

The importance of such a movement cannot be exaggerated. Just as facts precede and prepare laws, the experience and reflection of the faithful advance theology. All this reflects hopeful progress in the relations between the Catholic Church and the State of Israel.

THIS MONTH

Continued from page 2

Seminary and ADL, attracted college, university and theological seminary faculty interested in practical methods of integrating Jewish studies in materials in their courses.

"THE ISRAELIS," an edited version of the CBS-TV news special, may be rented or purchased through ADL's audiovisual department . . . Dr. John Bunsel, president of San Jose State College, discussed the misuse of affirmative action programs by universities and corporations at a meeting of ADL's San Francisco regional board. Milton Jacobs, chairman of the board, and Stanley Jacobs, director of the Central Pacific office, explained ADL's purpose and programs on an hour-long KGO radio program . . . Benjamin R. Epstein discussed quotas and preferential treatment in college admissions on the NBC-TV network "Today" show and was also a guest on the WABC-TV "A.M. New York" program to discuss black-Jewish relations.

CHARLES GOLDRING, a member of ADL's national commission and national executive committee and chairman of the wills, legacies and endowments committee, was the subject of a full-length feature story in the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* magazine, "California Living," which talked about his two favorite avocations—ADL and spear-fishing!

DAYLE FRIEDMAN, a youth member of ADL's Denver executive committee, had her first-hand observation of Israel during the October war printed in the *Denver Times*. Seventeen-year-old Dayle is an exchange student in Israel . . . Abraham Foxman, director of leadership for ADL, was a guest with novelist Yuri Suhl on the N.Y. WEVD radio series, "World of Jewish Books" . . . Judith Herschlag Muffs, the League's program coordinator, is the author of an article on the late Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel in the magazine "Conservative Judaism."

Honors

ROBERT R. NATHAN of Washington, D.C., internationally known economist and government adviser, was named national chairman of ADL's Society of Fellows, a leadership group

which aids the League in campaigning, planning and program interpretation . . . Silvia Silbert (Mrs. Theodore H. Silbert), a New York City community leader, named chairman of the N.Y. Women's Division of the ADL Appeal.

FLORIDA GOVERNOR REUBIN ASKEW named 1974 winner of ADL's Leonard L. Abess Human Relations Award by the Florida regional board . . . Betty and Senator Herman Tamagge the recipients of the League's Abe Goldstein Human Relations Award at a Southeastern board dinner in their honor . . . Herbert J. Stern, the U.S. attorney for New Jersey and a member of the League's N.J. board, appointed to a U.S. District Court judgeship.

HERB G. GROSSBY, a member of the Indiana regional board, selected for "Who's Who in the Midwest" . . . Victor G. Rosenbaum elected chairman of ADL's Chicago executive committee . . . Rabbi Joel S. Goor, a member of the Pacific Southwest regional board, elected president of the Pacific Association of Reform Rabbis . . . Lester J. Waldman, retired director of leadership and development, appointed ADL archivist, historian and chief of protocol.

We Mourn . . .

JACK Y. BERMAN, assistant secretary of the Anti-Defamation League, a member of the national commission, the national executive committee and the national budget committee.

Of the numerous Jewish communal organizations to which he devoted his talents, resources and energy, his first love was ADL, which he served in many capacities for more than 30 years. One of the first chairmen of the Los Angeles ADL Council, he played a leading role in the establishment of the Pacific Southwest regional board in 1948, was its president and chairman of its executive committee, and held various leadership positions during the nearly two decades he served on ADL's national commission.

His commitment to justice and compassion for others inspired all who knew him. A beloved and dedicated leader and friend, he will be sorely missed. He was 67.

THRESHOLD OF PEACE

Continued from page 1

ment along the Syrian-Israeli lines. Any such move would also have to address the issue of Israeli prisoners of war. I recall all too vividly the torment of Americans over our P.O.W.'s in North Vietnam.

Secretary Kissinger judged very astutely the moment when Egypt and Israel were equally ready to go from a state of permanent hostility to a state of possible accommodation. He converted that readiness into a formula that both countries could accept. We pray that this can now likewise be done with regard to the

confrontation on the Syrian-Israeli front.

A process of awakening has started in the region where fear and death have stalked frontiers for over a quarter of a century. It has come at a terrible cost. The United States will continue to work in every way to encourage a permanent settlement acceptable to both sides. It is my hope that from such a peace will flow greater cooperation between the Arabs and Israelis and among all people.

Our enemies are not other nations or groups of humanity different from ourselves. Our enemies are hunger, disease, poverty, ignorance, hopelessness, fear and

hatred. Our great challenge is not in military confrontation but in harnessing the natural resources and industrial genius of humanity to assure better lives for all Americans and the entire family of man.

A Jewish sage made the beautiful prophecy that Israel will be rebuilt only through peace. This applies to the Arab states and to our own country as well.

The great religions of the Western World emerged in that holy land which is at long last on the threshold of peace. That land is also sacred to the believers in the Koran. Christian, Jew, and Moslem all share the same supreme Creator.

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ADL BULLETIN

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NOV 1967

Sister Charlotte Klein

Vatican and Zionism

1897-1967

FROM its very beginning the Zionist movement was followed by the Vatican with close attention. Some four months before the first Zionist Congress in Basle (29-31 August 1897) the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the semi-official Vatican periodical, edited by the Jesuits, published an article "The Dispersion of Israel over the Modern World" (April 1897). The anonymous author (until 1948 no articles were signed) states that, according to the New Testament, Jews had to live in the diaspora as slaves to the gentiles, until the end of time. The curse they had called upon their own heads and those of their children would hold good for ever.

Of what advantage would a country of their own be to them (it was asked), seeing that they refused to do manual work and preferred to live on usury? Moreover, it would be unthinkable to entrust them with the guardianship of the Holy Sepulchre, though no scruples were felt with regard to Muslim authority. As for a rebuilt Jerusalem as capital of a state of Israel, this would never happen, being contrary to the words of Christ himself. At the end of time the Jews would join the Church, but there was no promise that they would ever return to Palestine. The whole project was only a wild dream, a fancy of the "Isca-rioths" and "Caiaphases" (as the Jews were called). The remedy for the Jewish problem was not Zionism but a return to pre-emancipation times, when Jewish usury was kept in check by special decrees.

The second Zionist Congress (end of August 1898) was also commented upon (in September 1898). The Jews (it was said) were the hidden power behind the Dreyfus Affair (then at its height). They provided the money to keep up the agitation, long after Dreyfus's guilt had been proved. A report on the third Congress (September 1899) notes the absence

of any pronouncement on Jerusalem: "What kind of Zionism is that, which from the very beginning renounces Jerusalem and all the ancient realm of Palestine? Does this not mean that they are renegades and admit that their intentions are utopian? Why not give up the name of Zionism altogether? The race of deicides, though favoured by all anti-Christian sects, feels itself, even before the fight, overcome and defeated by the Nazarene" (p.749).

In the following years, until General Allenby's conquest of Palestine, Zionism is only briefly alluded to and always in the same negative spirit. In October 1902 on the occasion of the second Austrian Zionist Congress, the *Civiltà* is pleased to note that the Zionists are fighting among themselves. The Jews who had so far gone to Palestine were refusing to work on the land but exploiting one another as "usurers". A few lines in February 1911 say that the "wretched Jews" in Syria and Palestine have no need to work hard as Rothschild is looking after their needs. The same banker was financing also the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* which is often singled out by the *Civiltà* as the centre of Jewish world domination; through this organisation the Jews were able to infiltrate the Middle East.

After the first World War the paper reflects the serious attention given by the Pope to the consequences of the Balfour Declaration. In March 1919 a short article, interpreting a recent address by Benedict XV, "The Voice of the Pope in Defence of the Christian East", says the enthusiasm over Allenby's liberation of the Holy Places had been short-lived; the intention had clearly not been to further the Christian cause, least of all the Catholic cause, but to favour Jews and Anglo-Saxons Protestants who wanted to instal in Palestine a Jewish republic. Censorship during the war had prevented the Holy See from voicing its anxiety, but now the Pope could no longer remain silent. He must speak up for the interests of Christians. The Holy Places were in danger of falling into the hands of "the enemies of . . . Christian civilisation" (p.15). It would be an infamy if non-Christians were allowed

* The author of this original article is at present Tutor and Counsellor at the Open University, London; she is also a member of London Study Centre for Christian-Jewish Relations.

to occupy a privileged position in Palestine, especially if the Holy Places were entrusted to them. No comment was made on the fact that both the land and the Holy Places had been in the hands of non-Christians for many centuries and that the Vatican had accepted this situation. Pre-eminent now was the painful thought that with the "rule of the Zionists" imminent, Jews were intent upon the destruction of Christianity in the very place which saw its origin.

There was a further problem for Jewry itself (it is explained). Since the French Revolution Jews had flattered themselves on being fully emancipated citizens of the states in which they lived — Frenchmen, Italians, Americans, Germans, despite their different religion and race. And though they exploited this position to rule the economy of their adopted countries (*sic*) they attempted at least a show of patriotism. This would become impossible now: they would all be citizens of the new Jewish state and therefore foreigners in the countries of their residence. The dangers to Christianity by Zionism in the charter worked out by Balfour and "his Jewish banker Rothschild" were so great that they would have to be discussed more fully in a future article.

The May 1922 issue, in a lengthy article "Zionism in the Opinion of the Jews", describes how little attraction Zionism holds for wealthy Jews or for the pious. Rich Jews might found a bank for the Zionists but would not leave the countries where they were so well-off. Whatever the circumstances, it was highly improbable that much would come of the venture, when for nineteen centuries of Jews lamenting at the Wailing Wall "there was no other answer but the frightening echo of a curse 'May his blood fall on us and on our children'" (p.300). Some Zionists were envisaging even the restoration of the Temple, but "despite himself, the Jew will not dare to raise his voice against the voice of Christ" (p.211).

In June 1921 Benedict XV declared: "We must deplore the persistent efforts made by many to change the sacred character of the Holy Places, turning them into frivolous places of entertainment" (13 June 1921, p.5), and a year later (May 1922) the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Mgr. Barlassina, comes to Rome to lecture on the "immoral" and "anti-Christian" activities of the Zionists in Palestine. In fact, under the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, they are said to be the real rulers of the country. Partly at least their power was based on the

enormous sums sent to them by world Jewry; all other ethnic groups had to give way before them. Arab landowners were ruined and dispossessed, most immigrants were Russian Communists. The "moral decadence" of Zionism is illustrated by references to brothels in the Holy City, prostitutes walking its streets and venereal diseases were spreading. The Zionists' main thrust was directed against Roman Catholics: in any dispute between Catholic and Orthodox Christians, the former were always seen in the wrong; the Protestants were profiting by the present situation. On the whole, Palestine was worse off under the Jewish than under the Turkish yoke. Citing once more the Pope's allocution in March 1919, *Civiltà* calls the case of Palestine a particularly saddening instance of general Jewish financial exploitation — it was a crime to allow the current "profanation" of the "sacred soil" of Palestine.

An article "Zionism in the Opinion of Non-Jews" (July 1922) speaks of the "unequal fight" the impoverished Arabs put up against the Jews. The latter were always supported by the British, as Sir Herbert Samuel, a Jew, was on their side. English planes were bombing Arab villages and reports of Jewish attacks were not allowed to get into the press. Brothels are mentioned again, now facing the Holy Sepulchre itself, and a watchful eye has counted 500 prostitutes. The Christian minority is said to be exposed to vexations and oppression. Indecent conduct had assumed such proportions that even the old orthodox Jewish inhabitants were condemning the Zionist settlers. The situation created by "the unfortunate Balfour Declaration" was so bad that Muslims too were asking for the intervention of the Holy See.

Those familiar with the precarious situation of the few Jewish settlers in the 1920s will hardly recognise the distorted picture. The land, dearly bought was in bad condition, and the Jews, as well as cultivating the long neglected soil, had to defend themselves against Arab marauders. The only "immorality" the colonists could be charged with was that the women working in the fields wore shorts. As for brothels, prostitutes and venereal diseases, they of course abounded in Middle Eastern countries, though the presence of the military may well have aggravated the situation.

Towards the end of the 1920s, a rather more important issue arose. In 1926, under the inspiration of a converted Dutch Jewess, Francisca van Leer, the procurator general of the Canons of the Holy Cross, Anthony van Asseldonk, founded the association of "The

"Friends of Israel", whose aim was both the conversion of the Jews and the fight against antisemitism. It spread rapidly among the clergy. Under the title *Pax super Israel* they published several pamphlets which, among other things, asked that Jews should not be spoken of as "deicides", that the Good Friday prayer *Pro perfidis Judaeis* should be changed — in short, they demanded the end of all religious anti-Judaism. In a Decree of 25 March 1928, however, the association was banned by the Congregation of the Holy Office.

This decree is of great importance, for on the one hand, despite the usual references to the expected conversion of the Jews and to their "blindness", it disapproves of the hatred known as "antisemitism"; on the other hand, it charges the "Friends of Israel" with having adopted a manner of speaking of the Jews which was alien to the spirit of the Church fathers and the liturgy. In a comment on the Decree (May 1928) *Civiltà* recommends rather "The Association of the Social Reign of Christ", one of whose main objectives was the conversion of the Jews. One should always remember the peril Jews constituted to society and that, owing to their wealth, they governed the world . . .

This is the last reference to Jews, Zionism, Palestine for more than eight years. Hitler's rise to power, even his advent in 1933, strangely fails to elicit any comment, not a word is printed on the early persecution of the Jews culminating in the Nuremberg Laws of 1935.

Not until September 1936 does the "Jewish Question" emerge again with an extensive discussion of two books, Léon de Poncin's *La mystérieuse Internationale Juive* (Paris 1936) and Joseph Bonsirven's *Sur les ruines du Temple* (Paris 1928). The reviewer's claim to objectivity is vitiated by the sympathetic consideration given to de Poncin's antisemitism. The Frenchman rejects Zionism as the "solution of the Jewish problem" because Palestine was too small and poor for the sixteen million Jews in the world and wealthy European and American Jewry had no intention of leaving the countries they were exploiting. Furthermore, Jews, being by nature parasites and destructive rather than creative, would never do manual labour nor had they ever been able to establish a state and to govern themselves. Should the British ever leave the country, not a single Zionist would remain alive. For Bonsirven, milder and more religiously inspired than de Poncin, the return of the Jews to Palestine might well be the providential means to

accomplish St. Paul's vision that they would gradually embrace Christianity.

One year later the book *Israel, son passé et son avenir* (Paris 1937), by the Dutch antisemite H. de Vries de Heekelingen, is quoted for the view that those Jews who did not want to go to Palestine would see "the Jewish International" confronted and defeated by the "Aryan International". According to the reviewer, the author had overlooked that Jews would make of Palestine a centre of both their financial and communist claims to world domination. How could one bear to see the Holy Places in Jewish hands? This was all the more undesirable since the Zionists had declared themselves openly areligious, if not downright atheistic.

The same opinion is expressed more forcibly in September 1938 after Britain had proposed the partition of Palestine. *Civiltà* does not like the idea. The concept of a "Jewish nation" was ambiguous (it says) because most Jews wanted to remain citizens of the states in which they resided. The British were to be severely blamed for having done everything to promote the Jewish "invasion" and nothing for the Arabs, except opening schools for them. But the Arabs had no use for education, which only took them away from the land. There remained one remedy: the Jews must leave Palestine and abandon any idea of establishing a state there. The more reasonable among them were admitting this. No mention is made in any of these articles of the by then (1938) more than desperate situation of the Jews in Central Europe. Tone, expressions, arguments are all in direct line with the many instances of an *a priori* anti-Judaism which has been evident in *Civiltà* from its beginning in 1850.

The last mention of Zionism before the war is a brief report (May 1939) on the British White Paper. The Jews are said to be profoundly dissatisfied because "the principle of 'historicity' on which they found their claims has been misunderstood" (p.478). From then on until 1945 there is nothing on Zionism and hardly anything on Jews, their persecution, the death camps, though *Civiltà* continues to appear regularly, with a slight pro-German and a strong anti-communist bias. In 1945 a short note mentions the World Jewish Congress's demand for a Jewish state in Palestine and their claim for the return of all stolen Jewish property in Europe.

The January 1946 issue contains a neutrally worded report of new Zionist efforts to secure a Jewish state and the immediate

admission of 100,000 Jewish immigrants. Between the lines a pro-Arab bias is still discernible. In September of the same year the Pope is reported to have been pleased to receive the Supreme Arab Committee for Palestine and expressed himself against all violence including fanatical antisemitic persecution. The right of all people in the Holy Land ought to be respected, he stressed.

During the summer of 1946 Jewish acts of terrorism are frequently recorded, as is the support they received from the U.S.A. *Civiltà* notes there are scores of ships in the Mediterranean, bringing Jewish immigrants and intercepted by the British, but none seemed to be available, laments *Civiltà*, to bring home Italian prisoners of war.

The "Exodus" is mentioned without a word of sympathy for its unhappy passengers, while the victims of Nazi gas chambers are consistently ignored. A declaration by Cardinal Spellman of New York on the rights of Christians to the Holy Places is given much prominence (August 1947), so are long speeches by Arab leaders denouncing partition and the admission of 50,000 Jewish children. Why should the children not go to the U.S.A. (*Civiltà* asks) where there is sufficient room for them? All Arab countries were preparing for war and the whole Middle East would rise if there were a Jewish state (November 1947).

When fighting breaks out, Jewish attacks are described in gruesome detail. No concern is shown at the Arabs' undisguised intention to wipe out 600,000 Jews. A report of the Jewish state's recognition by the U.S. and Russia has a distinct pro-Arab bias (June 1948). Credence is lent to an Egyptian report that Jews were poisoning the water supplies of Gaza and elsewhere with typhoid germs. The medieval legends die hard! Satisfaction is felt over the Transjordan account of how the Jews lost the battle over Jerusalem (June 1948).

24 October 1948 is the date of the first papal encyclical, demanding the internationalisation of Jerusalem and all Holy Places. A detailed description is given of the fate of the Arab refugees: they had fled from the pursuing Jewish gangs, wandering along the roads from Haifa and Jerusalem and having nothing to eat except olive leaves. Nothing must be expected from American justice (it is said) as Truman needed the Jewish vote. No one should wonder at Jewish military successes since the Soviets sent them all the arms. Russia would like to see a communist state established in Palestine and there were

at least three hundred Russian "observers" in the country. Their hopes were nearly fulfilled, for the first Israeli elections had resulted in a socialist government.

In December 1948 the first signed article, by the Jesuit A. Messineo, clarifies the Vatican's view. The Pope, as head of the Catholic Church, had the spiritual and historical right to intervene in the conflict. Though Jerusalem was the Holy City of three religions, the interests of Christians were far greater than those of the other two faiths. Like his predecessors, Benedict XV and Pius XI, Pius XII had to safeguard the rights of Catholics, because these rights were threatened by the Zionists; they must be protected against the fanaticism of non-Christians. The best solution would be to internationalise all Palestine; if this was not feasible, at least Jerusalem and its surroundings must come under a neutral administration. There were precedents for the internationalisation of whole regions — Memel, Danzig and Trieste . . .

Fr. Messineo then presents his version of what had occurred in Palestine under the British. Being Protestants they had been conspicuously anti-Roman and favoured the Zionists, the Eastern and Protestant churches. The Zionists had been allowed to exploit the country, cheaply buying up land belonging to poor Arabs. A "neutral" observer, Mgr. Barlissana, is quoted as a witness to the ruin of the wretched Muslims, to Zionist corruption and (once again) the increase of prostitution and venereal disease. As for Jerusalem, Muslims were probably more sincere in their promise to guarantee Christian rights, but in any case an international regime would be best.

The same author, in an article entitled "The Responsibility of the Nations in Regard to the Problem of Palestine" (July 1949), stresses the "superiority" of the papal claims which he says were supported by all Catholic nations.

The "dangerous influence of Zionism" is flayed in April 1950 by a Jesuit writer, G. de Vries. The bulk of Jewish immigrants in Palestine is found to be composed of young people "infected by the worst materialism" (p.42); they were full of racial fanaticism, considering themselves the "chosen people". These youngsters now belonged to the Stern gang or the Irgun. What might not happen if one day they were to form the government! It was these same young people who had violated churches and convents, profaned the most holy things in

Christendom, the Blessed Sacrament, the cross, statues of the Madonna and the Saints. This was partly due to Soviet influence, now firmly installed in Palestine, because the government had handed over to them the properties hitherto in the hands of emigré anti-Soviet Russians*

The author goes on to argue that while Christians had been humanely treated by Muslims they had suffered brutality at the hands of the Israelis. For the Jews, Christianity signified the negation of their faith, for Muslims Jesus was at least a revered great prophet. This explained why the Catholic religious authority, in March 1948, published a memorandum against the partition of Palestine. The main problem was not only that of the Holy Places but the salvation of so many souls, dear to the heart of Christ, who were "endangered" by the Jewish conquest of the Holy Land.

Fr. Messineo, who appears to be the specialist on Middle East affairs at this time, returns to the same argument in January 1951. Christians had fought for hundreds of years for the Holy Places, while the Jews were newcomers; the Balfour Declaration had allowed them to obtain possession of Jerusalem by force. The Zionists were priding themselves on their democracy, but precisely according to democratic principles they should evacuate the city, for the majority vote of the U.N. demanded it. The transfer of their government to Jerusalem was a scandal.

Occasionally there is a desire for greater objectivity. A "sincere wish of many Jews in Israel to co-exist in peace with Christians" is now noted. Invitations by the Ministry of Religious Affairs to heads of Christian institutions and churches to official functions, where they are treated with great respect, are appreciated as signs of goodwill; at the same time it is asked: are they not motivated by purposes of propaganda rather than by a sincere desire to foster neighbourly relations?

The apparently good intentions of the Israeli government are considered to be invalidated by a general negative attitude to-

wards religion. Israeli education is deprecated as being liberal or anti-religious, marxist and atheistic. Fanatical nationalism had taken the place of faith. Ordinary Jews were hating Christians and the cross. A progressive emigration of Christians would inevitably lead to the disappearance of the Christian community; those who had fled were not allowed to rejoin their families. All in all, the situation of Catholics in Israel was a tragedy.

Israel's advance in 1956 towards the Suez Canal is mentioned only briefly. The success is held due to surprise and foreign help. There is now, however, a rather objective report which tells of an Egyptian intention to destroy Israel as brutal as Hitler's.

The first account of Eichmann's capture is slightly biased. Ben Gurion's argument that, though international law must be respected, Eichmann's is a special case, is called "sentimental" (July 1960, p.221). The Security Council ought to have insisted on the illegality of the abduction. Yet the account of Eichmann's death shows some sympathy with the Israeli point of view. The justice of his execution is not questioned, he could be said to have deserved his end; his conscience had never rebelled against any of the orders he was given. His conception of the world had been totally pagan. The Protestant chaplain who saw him regularly during his last two months had to admit that "Eichmann is less ready than ever to meet his creator" (June 1962, p.618). May all political conceptions of the hegemony of the state — such is the wish of *Civiltà* — soon disappear like the ashes of Eichmann.

Paul VI's visit to Israel and Jordan, the meetings with President Shazar at Meggido and at the Mandelbaum Gate are reported with no comment, except for an allusion to Pius XII's help given to Jews during World War II, for this was the time of the world-wide controversy over Hochhuth's play *The Representative*. In the January 1964 article on "Paul VI — Pilgrim of Unity and Peace," the country is still called "Palestine" and Jews are only mentioned together with members of other faiths to whom the Pope presents Jesus and the Church as the only means of salvation.

More interesting and even sympathetic is another piece in January 1964. An Arab conference on proposals to alter the course of the Jordan provides the occasion for a brief account of the origins of the state of Israel, starting with the first colonies in 1882 going on to the Basle Congress and Herzl's words "Today I founded the Jewish state".

* The present writer lived in the country at that time and knows of no cases of wilful profanation, though certain acts connected with the war could probably not be avoided, by one side or the other. The Israeli army conceded a whole afternoon's special armistice at the New Gate, so that the Convent of Marie-Reparatrice nearby might be properly evacuated. As for the Russians, a few churches and monasteries passed under the authority of the Patriarch of Moscow, but there was little change in their status or personnel.

The people of Israel (the article explains) had never forgotten the bond linking them to the land of their fathers and had always aspired to return. Israel was also in need of Jewish immigrants from Russia who were forbidden by the Soviets to leave the country. The article ends by speaking of the inhuman suffering of the six million Jews under Hitler and hopes that Jews and Arabs, having both suffered, may reach a peaceful understanding.

Here is the first tangible evidence of a change of attitude. It must be seen against the background of the second Vatican Council, Cardinal Bea's efforts for the Declaration on the Jews, the pro-Israeli views of many wealthy American bishops (e.g. Cardinal Cushing of Boston), and it may be a consequence of John XXIII's activities. There are, however, two more reasons: *Civiltà* also carries many long articles on Soviet anti-semitism, which is severely denounced, and it takes determined action to defend Pius XII's silence during the war. Almost every number produces some material to prove the pro-Jewish attitude of the last popes.

The sympathetic treatment of Israel becomes even more obvious in the account of the Six Day War (July 1967). Arab countries are blamed for having sparked off the fighting, and Egypt is clearly meant by references to an insane hatred prepared to "exterminate" (p.96) a whole people. The Israeli-Arab hatred might be mutual (it is said) but when the Arabs called the Jews "usurpers" because they returned to the land of their ancestors, it was only right to remember that the Israelis had acquired the country by paying for it in gold.

A note in November 1967 explains how difficult it would be for Israel to take the Arab refugees back, when King Hussein himself had told them they could serve the Arab cause better by constituting a fifth column within Israel. How could Israel be expected to accept the return of Arabs who, in Syrian schools, had from an early age been indoctrinated against it.

Jerusalem dialogue

continued from p.3

their side, without waving flags or issuing statements of any kind.

Somehow we have to come to grips with the deafening silence of inert institutional presences. Because it is deafening us to each other as individual Christians and Jews. Somehow we Christians must realistically assess where we are with our Jewish brothers and sisters and find a way to say: "Some of our Christian friends may have been totally silent during the war, and that is depressing. Some of those who love you best may have spoken out, but in tones and sentiments that fall short of what you, with your own expectations, consider a Christian response of "whole-hearted" support. That is not depressing. Constructive criticism in a climate of respect and basic support is absolutely essential for genuine dialogue, and this is something that you must remain open to hear as well as ready to offer us Christians in return. We would hope that the institutional church leaders will someday catch up with us, but let us, for our part, proceed."

There is no cheap grace, and no easy reconciliation. If a radically new thing is ever to happen in the Jewish-Christian encounter, the moralistic clichés and simplistic generalities of the past have to be carefully cleared away. They just blur the focus of the hard questions that still have to be asked, each of the other. Tossed about by either Christians or Jews, they can too easily become a cop-out for the shared work of honest understanding that still lies ahead.

JUN 1974 Sister Charlotte Klein

the theological dimensions of the State of Israel

THE traditional Christian theological positions towards the fate of Israel, concerning its dispersion and return to the country, have erred principally for two reasons: they impose on Israel, both state and people, a preconceived Christian interpretation of the events concerning them and try to make them fit into an artificially constructed "history of salvation." Secondly, theologians tend to see the events of the first century A. D. in a kind of vacuum, totally disregarding two thousand years of history. It is impossible to understand the New Testament writings, as well as Jewish existence today, without taking into account the insights provided by this long history. It is moreover not only impertinent but absurd to theorise about Israel — state, people, religion — without being prepared to take notice of their own interpretation of their destiny and of their return to the land.

Any student of Judaism will very soon come up against the fact that Jews, except perhaps for one brief period in the Western diaspora, have never conceived of their existence independent of two factors, closely connected with each other — their election and the promise of a small strip of land on the shores of the western Mediterranean. One might even affirm that the election, as expressed in the covenant with Abraham and at Sinai, was in view of life in this particular country. It would be tedious to go over all the passages, biblical, rabbinical and liturgical, where this self-understanding finds expression. Even when far from the land

— and the diaspora began many centuries before 70 A.D. — Palestine was always considered the homeland to which they would one day return. Living among the nations, for however long a period of time and however brilliant the contemporary historical situation might have been — one could cite the Golden Age in Spain when Jehuda Halevi wrote his *Kusari* in which he affirmed that the Jewish people can serve God perfectly only in the chosen land — any foreign country remained still the exile, and Palestine the centre towards which all synagogues were directed, the focus of hope, the "home of our life," as the liturgy calls it. Throughout the ages individuals as well as whole groups have returned to the land, and it is accurate to state that at no time of its history has Palestine been without Jews.

Yet more significant than the presence of these Jewish groups is the phenomenon that in the Jewish mind the consciousness of their identity was ever closely bound up with the country, for there were their roots to which one day, and be it in the days of the Messiah — or occasionally a false Messiah — they would return. Martin Buber in his *Israel and Palestine*¹ has so comprehensively described this "History of an Idea" — his subtitle — that it is sufficient here merely to refer to it. Less well-known probably are the sporadic but sincere recent attempts of some Christian authors, like F. W. Marquardt's *Die Bedeutung der biblischen Landesverheissungen fuer die Christen*² and his contribution to *Gerechtigkeit in Nahost*³, further there is *Auf den Truemmern des Tempels*,⁴ edited by C. Thoma, and essays

* This is an extract from an article by the well-known Catholic theologian in the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, Autumn 1973. The footnotes have been renumbered.

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1. Martin Buber, *Israel and Palestine* (London 1952).

2. Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt, "Die Bedeutung der biblischen Landesverheissungen"; *Theologische Existenz Heute*, Nr. 116. (Munich, 1964).

by Jews and Christians in *Unwiderrufliche Verheissung*,³ edited by W. Molinski. These publications as well as some others try to assess the significance of the state of Israel in a new manner. To a certain extent at least they all fulfil the *a priori* conditions for an understanding of Israel by taking into account Jewish self-understanding and by abandoning former exegetical and theological positions. What all the churches suffer from today is the absence of an up-to-date theology of their relationship to Judaism. Were there such a *tractatus de Judaeis*, written with the help of Jews, who after all should best know their own Scriptures and their interpretation, the compendia in the hands of all biblical scholars, like Strack-Billerbeck and Kittel, would not continue to perpetuate, in spite of their good source material, a distorted, totally inadequate image of Judaism. In the absence of any such authoritative treatise, the obvious pitfall is to artificially impose a "theological dimension" on the state of Israel. It seems more prudent to speak of the sign value this state may possess for the Christian today.

Some brief notes on what a theology of Israel may contain cannot be omitted, however. Two points deserve to be emphasised again: the first is the promise of the land. There is an almost general consensus among Christians that the election and the covenant, as described in the Hebrew Bible, is bound up with the land. However differently certain concepts were reinterpreted in the light of new events, there was never any doubt in the mind of Israel as to the validity of her claim to the land. From the earliest strand of tradition to the authors of the Psalms it was firmly held that the country of Palestine was bound up with its existence. The exile in the sixth century B.C. only strengthened this bond. Deutero-Isaiah could even for a moment see in Cyprus a messianic figure because of his edict allowing the captives to return to their country. Two quotations are sufficient to highlight the role of the land in post-exilic times:

And when all these things come upon you, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before you, and you call them to mind among all the nations where the Lord your God has driven you and you return to the Lord your God . . . then the Lord your God will restore your fortunes, and have compassion upon you, and he will gather you again from all the peoples where the Lord your God has scattered you. If your outcasts are in the uttermost parts of heaven, from there the Lord your God will gather you, and from there he will fetch you, and the Lord your God will bring you into the land which your fathers possessed, that you may possess it. (Dt. 30, 1-6).

In the Psalms which reinterpret the events of Israel's history, not only is the covenant eternal but the promise of the land forms an integral part of the God-Israel relationship:

He is mindful of his covenant for ever . . . an everlasting covenant, saying: "To you I will give the land of Canaan as your portion for an inheritance" (Ps. 105, 8, 11).

The problem therefore turns on the concepts of election and covenant. If one is prepared to accept that these have not been abrogated, then it follows that the bond which links Israel to the land has to be accepted as equally still in force. And here is the rub! If Christians can admit, without being unfaithful to their own beliefs, that the Jewish people have never been released from their covenant relationship with the one true God, if post-biblical Judaism is accepted as valid — in whatever manner this Judaism wishes to interpret itself and its role — then one cannot deny equal validity to the part played by the land in the Jewish people's religious self-understanding throughout the ages, including their return to it in our time . . .

It remains the task of Christian theologians and exegetes to work out in full how the churches, without giving up the claim to the universality of salvation through Christ, must yet acknowledge Judaism as of permanent validity and as the particular way of God with this people, side by side with the churches. Valuable contributions towards such a theological understanding have already appeared. Even a professor of misology at the Catholic University, Washington, D.C., is definite that despite all the past efforts of proselytising: "Judaism remains firm. If it were merely the work of

3. F. W. Marquardt, "Der Zusammenhang von Volk, Staat und Land — christlich gesehen," in *Gerechtigkeit in Nahost — Juden, Christen, Araber*, Vorträge in der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Juden und Christen beim 14. Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchentag. (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 30-38.

4. C. Thoma (ed.), *Auf den Truemmern des Tempels* (Vienna, 1968).

5. *Unwiderrufliche Verheissung*, ed. Waldemar Molinski (Recklinghausen, 1968).

men, would it not have perished? Christianity has not been able to overthrow it. Must we not conclude then that it exists precisely because Almighty God, for his own reasons, wishes it to continue?"⁶ And he applies to Judaism Rabbi Gamaliel's words as reported in Acts 5, 38-39.

It is time now to return to Jewish self-understanding and to examine one particular period in their history. In the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century a representative part of Jewry in the West nourished the dream that they might escape their Jewishness in all that distinguished them as a particular people from among the nations. They would know no other fatherland than the one in which they were born, and would be Frenchmen, or Germans or Americans of "mosaic religion." Zion, Jerusalem, Palestine, belonged to the past and became spiritualised. References to the ingathering of the exiles, to the return to their own land and the restoration of the Temple were eliminated from many prayerbooks. There was to be no Jewish nation, only a more or less adapted religious faith. Such was the short-lived dream of the period of emancipation and assimilation. It was at the very height of this dream, in 1862, that Moses Hess, formerly an ardent believer in universalism and a disciple of Karl Marx, published his *Rome and Jerusalem*, in which he rediscovered, almost intuitively and under unpropitious circumstances, the fact that Jews are a nation *sui generis*, and that in order to lead a creatively Jewish existence they would have to return to their land. Hess's inspiration was not mainly religious, yet he perceived the permanent link between the country and the people. The true Jew, he says, needs his land to achieve the historical ideal of the Jewish people, God's reign over the whole world.

Hess was a forerunner of the modern Zionist movement started by Herzl, a movement that can be called purely secular in its inception. The Argentine, Uganda and a few other empty spaces around the world were all offered for the choice of a Jewish homeland, and Herzl himself was quite willing to opt for any that held some chances for a rapid colonization. The idea finally prevailed that it had to be the ancient home, Palestine — Zion, the name which gave the whole movement its impetus, at the same

time as it expressed its goal. Yet the men of the first Zionist Congress were, like Herzl himself, mostly assimilated Jews who knew little of the faith of their fathers; they did not belong to the "Lovers of Zion." Theirs was apparently a movement created in reaction to the then already visible failure of the assimilation tendency. The historian might be inclined to see this movement as part of the strong nationalistic currents which swept the European continent in the nineteenth century. Herzl's own version was, at least at first, limited and strictly practical: to found a refuge for those who encountered gentile hostility in the countries in which they lived. The Dreyfus experience in Paris had been decisive for him. Yet to the eyes of the believer, Jew or Christian, what he did went far beyond his expressed aim, particularly when evaluated seven decades after it was first stated.

If we consider thus in retrospect the history of emancipation, the almost pathetic belief of many Jews in the possibility of perfect integration in the Western world, the twenty-five years of the state of Israel, it is possible to discern in both Zionism and the state a more profound significance; perhaps one may speak here with great caution of a certain "theological dimension." Before doing so, however, it would be well to firmly exclude certain interpretations. It is, at least religiously speaking, legitimate to grant the Jewish people a right to its "promised land"; but it will not do to see in the establishment of the state, or in the amazing victories of the Six Day War, a kind of messianic event, an eschatological sign, a fulfilment of prophecy or a quasi miraculous divine intervention. Any such explanation of political matters is merely subjective speculation and highly unrealistic. We cannot claim to be divinely inspired interpreters of the facts of secular history, least of all of contemporary history. What kind of "theological dimension" is one then prepared to discern in Zionism and Israel the state? It would be too facile to write it off altogether theologically and to see in it nothing but a purely secular affair.

Both Jews and Christians could distinguish here two aspects which belong to the sphere of theology. The first would be that Zionism and its achievement in the state was a providential "salvation of Israel." This does not mainly refer to the events in Central Europe between the years 1933-1945, though there is a link between Auschwitz and the proclamation of a sovereign Jewish state. What

6. Ronan Hoffman, "Conversion and the Mission of the Church," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, V (Winter 1968), p. 16.

is meant here is that, thanks to the Zionist movement, Jewry became conscious again of the inexorable fact of their separate identity, not merely as a religious denomination but as a people with a peculiar history and a special task in the course of that history. The hard fact of the existence of a Jewish state makes it difficult for the vast majority of Jews who live among the nations to forget their Jewishness. This is of capital importance in a society which calls itself secular, "post-Christian," and therefore also "post-Jewish." One might then see in the state the most outstanding in a series of historical events, all of which tended to force Jews to survive *qua* Jews. It surpasses all such previous events because for the first time in almost two thousand years a mode of existence has become possible which guarantees them, up to a point, an independent political, cultural and religious existence such as they have not enjoyed since 135 A.D.

If the state serves therefore as a reminder to Jews that they are to remain Jews, it reminds Christians — and this is the second "theological dimension" — that Judaism is a living reality. It is a sign which Christians needed, a condemnation of their pseudo-theology of Judaism which goes back to at least the second century of our era. Christianity was not to substitute itself for Judaism, nor the "new" Israel for the "old." Judaism is not a "fossilised relic of Syrian society," as Toynbee put it. The state is proof of Judaism's dynamic vitality, of its right to exist and its right to choose its own form of existence, however contradictory this may seem to preconceived Christian ideas. It is precisely these ideas which stand in need of revision, for there is hardly a book by the most widely read famous German Old and New Testament scholars that does not explicitly affirm the end of the Jewish people as such in the year 70 A.D. One quotation may stand for many similar ones:

In him [Jesus] the history of Israel had come . . . to its real end. What did belong to the history of Israel was the process of his rejection and condemnation by the Jerusalem religious community. It had not discerned in him the goal to which the history of Israel had secretly been leading; it rejected him as the promised Messiah. Only a few joined him, and from them something new proceeded. The Jerusalem religious community imagined it had more important concerns, and kept aloof from this new movement. Hereafter the history of Israel moved quickly to its end.⁷

Thus the state is evidence that Israel lives and that it is meant to survive, that rooted in its consciousness there is a power at work which ensures its survival as a separate ethnic and religious entity. In the particular religious, political and sociological circumstances of our century the establishment of the state seems the necessary sign of the perpetuity of Jews and Judaism. Even if Jewish life should again assume another form and if the state should cease to exist, it would still have fulfilled this task of proving what hidden energies lie within this people. Even under the most adverse circumstances they are destined to survive *qua* Jews, and each period of history offered them — or imposed upon them — the means for the preservation of their separate identity.

So far the political implications of the existence of the state have been bypassed. To this a brief remark: if one does not assign to the state of Israel a messianic significance, why should its policies be judged by the ideal standards of the prophets who speak of eschatological times, when the lion will lie down with the lamb? On proclaiming the state, the Israelis entered the field of power; therefore they are forced to use the methods of such politics. It may be allowed to a Martin Buber, or more recently, to a Nachum Goldmann to declare themselves dissatisfied with the achievements of certain methods of Israeli policy towards, for instance, the Arabs, and to demand that Israel, because it is the covenanted people, should realise in its territory an ideal situation of justice and peace for all. Such a demand seems unjust and unrealistic. Our own bitter experience as Christians should teach us that any attempt to incarnate the ideal in the human situation is bound to fail. The time to beat swords into ploughshares is not upon us yet.

It has been Israel's unfortunate experience that she had to conquer or reconquer the land every time she came into it, and military conquest and justice for all are mutually exclusive.⁸ The Israeli state is trying to make the best of a very thankless job and, at least up to a point, remembers what it feels like to be a *ger*. In fact it cannot forget, since the great majority of Jews live among the nations and will probably continue to do so. As a Jewish writer has recently put it,⁹ Israel cannot be compared to a circle but rather to an ellipse with two centres, the one being the state, the

7. Martin Noth, *The History of Israel*. (London, 1960), p. 432.

other the diaspora, and Jewish existence will have to be lived in a delicate balance between these two poles.

It is not for Christians to judge but rather to delineate the pattern as it unfolds before their eyes and to fight all *a priori* views on the justification of the one or the other way of life. They may cautiously attempt to interpret the various forms of the existence of the Jewish people in history. In fact, they can hardly avoid so doing, for — to quote the not too felicitous terms of the Vatican II Declaration — as they search "into the mystery of the Church" they come up against "the spiritual bonds which tie the people of the New Covenant to the offsprings of Abraham." Never again however must Christians impose upon the phenomenon of Israel their preconceived notions as to the meanings of its destiny. The Jewish people are capable of being their own interpreters.

8. That the rabbis themselves were perturbed about the military conquest of Canaan is shown by Rashi's commentary on Gen. 1, 1, where he quotes the much older *Tanhuma*. It explains why the Torah does not begin with Ex. 12, as it logically should, but with the story of the creation of the world. The whole earth belongs to God and he therefore has the right to dispose of any country as he wishes. Cf. A. Néher, "Rabbinic Adumbration of Non-violence," in *Studies in Rationalism, Judaism and Universalism*, ed. R. Loewe (London, 1966).

9. Hermann Levin Goldschmidt, "Israel in der Hoffnung des Judentums," in *Unwiderrufliche Verheissung*, ed. Molinski.

the Anglican Archbishop leaves Jerusalem

A slightly shortened article by the Jerusalem Correspondent of the London Times, Eric Marsden. 25 February 1974.

The Most Rev. George Appleton leaves Jerusalem on retirement, and with him disappears the post of Anglican Archbishop in Jerusalem, with a pastoral care extending from Morocco to the Persian Gulf and from Syria to Sudan.

Within two years there is to be a reorganization of the Anglican (Episcopal) Church in the Middle East. The Dioceses of Jerusalem and Jordan, Lebanon and Syria are to be reunited, those of Iran and Egypt will continue as now and a new diocese will be formed consisting mainly of the chaplaincies of Cyprus and the Gulf. The four dioceses will elect a presiding bishop from their own dioceses.

In other words, the winds of religious change have begun to blow in Jerusalem, ahead of the political one so far as the Arabs are concerned—still late for some, too early for others.

The Archbishop said to me: "A lot of people regret the passing of the post of an English Archbishop for the area. But Anglican Church membership in the Middle East is largely Arab and the Arabs naturally would like to take over its leadership and responsibility for its affairs."

Archbishop Appleton has spent five years in Jerusalem and has not shirked the problems caused by Israel's occupation of the city and the West Bank. His work on the Inter-Faith Committee and his appeals for conciliation and an equitable settlement in the Middle East have brought him abuse from extremists on both sides, but the support of many influential Jews and Arabs.

Jerusalem has been reunified by Israel's 1967 victory by the time he arrived, but he feels that it "has not yet been reunited". Like others close to the problem, he is convinced that an agreement on Jerusalem and on the Palestine refugees will be the most difficult to reach, yet he is encouraged by signs of improving human relations.

"The key to long-term peace lies in deve-

Evolution

- ① V's firm opposition in 1920; 1943-44 -
'wounded in religious pride'

V's oppose not rec. anti-S. (Rocelli - Savoy Jews)

but protect RC interests in Palest (partly)

- V's did not favor Arab domination (oppose Arab League)

→ Fear that Arab or Jewish domination would prejudice RC interests in Palest.

- "Neither Jews nor Arabs, but a Third power, should have control"

- ② V found other alternative British Mandate (in another Xan parcel)
- on interest of all Palest under UP supervision
in Xan hands -

- But 45-47 - well opposed by Arab & Jews

- extremely reserved his, avoided any official statement
of its position - Spelman - Truman

- 1947 - Britain give up mandate; doubts re UN decision,
fear losing USSR penetration in M.E.

1947

- ③ V faced alternative - ① divided H.C. - J & A states

② Single state w. Arab majority & lesser Jew

- Spelman opposed PARTITION - agreed in principle, but
announced against public statement that capitulated to J. arguments for
national independence

- Despite pressure from Arabs, VMT DID NOT ANNOUNCE ITSELF
IN PART ARAB STATE

> V. PROPOSED DIVISION, INCL INTC OF J. (1947 UPSCON)

- POSSIBILITY INTC SURVIV JEW LED NOT CHOOSE PARTIAL

- IN PREVIOUS YEARS, V. DID NOT OPPOSE PARTITION; CONFIRMED
BY LATIN AMERICAN VOTE, HARRY TRUMAN BY V. POSITION NOV. 29, '47

Belgium, France, Lux, Philippines

June 30, 47 - LAT AMER DEFERRED / AUG 67 - NO LONDON TREATY

V - TERRITORIAL INTC - AUSTRIA - RE Austria