Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992
Box 49, Folder 10, Vatican Council II [Session 3], 1964.
Mr. John Slawson  
Executive Vice-President  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, N.Y.

Dear John:

As you will know from Zach Shuster's reports, we have developed during the Third Session of the Council a policy-making cooperation which has been really fruitful.

I have made it known in higher circles here that AJC has the merit of having persuaded other Jewish organizations to adopt a statesman's-like restraint. Due to this, the neutrals, who were very nervous in the Second Session because of all too pessimistic press campaigns, have in practice joined the progressive, so that the majority obtained for the Jewish Declaration is near to unanimity.

Herewith copy of my latest letter to Proskauer and to Sidney Rabb, who have been repeatedly asking me for news. You will also find copy of my letter to Max Bay.

I felt it my duty to send you this thank-you-letter because, without our long tradition of cooperation and friendship with AJC, the problem might not have been raised. Through the first concretely successful action of the Church against discrimination into Countries in 1957. Without this, business audiences of the AJC on July 29th, 1957, and the patient work of high prelates to oblige Church authorities to consider the reasons for generalized intergroup cooperation, we might not have reached in time the first decisive and irrepressible starting point for the future of better pluralism.

In one of the first books now being prepared in the Sperry Center, a historical introduction will make clear the merits of AJC.

I will keep you informed about further developments.

Totus tuus Pro Deo,

Félix A. Morlion, O.P.

P.S.: Please pass this letter to Dave, Simon and Mark.
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The second postponement of the vote on religious liberty makes it more difficult to form public opinion the right image of the Council, and specially of Pope Paul VI who, after having accepted three petitions of the progressive Cardinals, did not accept the fourth petition of November 19, 1964, for which more than twelve hundred Council Fathers signed, requesting a vote on the new text presented in the same week to the Council Fathers. The present analysis comes out of repeated talks with Cardinals Suñens, Lercaro, Rupiner, progressive members of the Body of Locators (the fourth, Card. Agagianian, is a "middle-of-the-roader"), with Cardinal Tisserant, Jean, Cardinals Léonard, Ciroy, Frings, Caggianello, Leger, Alfrink, progressive members of the Council of Presidents (Card. Spellman has become a middle-of-the-roader, Card. Ruffini is the head of reactionaries, and Card. Siri, Tapparelli, Szyszynski are conservative in many matters).

The members of the Coordinating Committee are: Léonard, Lercaro, Rupiner, Suñens, progressives; Agagianian, Spellman, Urbani, Confalonieri, Roberti, middle-of-the-landers.

Amongst the other leading progressive Cardinals are Card. Léger, Gerlier, De Barros Camara, H. da Silva, Feltin, Cushing, Richard, König, Lefebvre, Litter, Quintelo, Landeuzuri-Nicetka, Silva Henriquez, Baa. With all these Cardinals there were repeated conversations in the different phases of the session, and furthermore, with the General Secretary, Mgr. Pericle Pelioli, the Assistant Secretary Mgr. Vincenzo Fagiolo, who centralizes the work and is also a member of the top organ coordinating Commission, with Archbishop Forcillo, Undersecretary for Organization, Archbishop Krol, Undersecretary for Archives.

The present analysis is made for high civic leaders who can exert responsible action in furthering balanced judgment in the circles where they have influence.

1) It was Pope Paul personally who overcame the Curia opposition which had hindered Pope John in allowing fairly complete information for the press. In general, the work of top journalists has been of high quality, especially in "New York Times", "Le Monde", "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" and most completely perhaps, "L'Avvenire d'Italia". (Panieri della Valle, successor and former cooperaor, as well as friend, of Rainiero Mazzini, appointed by Pope John, Director of the Vatican organ, "L'osservatore Romano"). The democratic-minded Curia, not yet accepts the fact that democratic assemblies are better than secret government, and repeats that they now learn the decisions which regard them, in the press.

2) Pope Paul miscalculated the effect of his public address to the Curia, indicating the necessary reforms and internationalization less than three months after he was elected (just before the Second Session of the Vatican Council, 1964).
In fact, the conspiracy of silence succeeded very well. The persons concerned had not understood the address, nor read or conserved the published text. They seemed confident they would win in the long run, as expressed by the slogan: "The Council Fathers come and go, we stay."

In the essentially new period of Church history, Pope Paul had the intuition (Cardinal Tisserant advised him in the very beginning) he should not intervene visibly with authority, imposing his will, but should let the sound majority of the international Counselling Body vote freely, after thorough discussion, the necessary changes, so that the bureaucratic-minded men would be put in the right place by a Pope not acting on his own, with danger of isolation and passive boycott, but by a Pope who executes the will of the majority, overwhelmingly numerous. This is why the great event of the Church in this century is the nearly unanimous vote in favor of the principle of collegiality, which makes of all the Bishops and other Church Superiors colleagues, and not servants of the Pope and of the Heads of Vatican Departments who speak in his name. Now that the wonderfully organic, and systematically organized Decree "De Ecclesia" is voted and promulgated, the Pope can really start the reorganization of the Curia. He has held up the convocation of the Consistory for the creation of new Cardinals, till this was achieved, and many other steps are being prepared. In private conversations, Pope Paul, who avoided speaking clearly during the first months, is now very precise and energetic in a calm way, as a manager who is starting programming after careful planning.

3) The ups and downs of the Declaration on the relations of the Catholic Church with non-Christians have brought forth a lasting document, with higher authority and infinitely more vigor than the first draft of 1962, First Session. As Bishop Wright stated, the Catholics must thank the Jews not only for having affirmed their own values, which must ever more enrich Christians, but for having given the whole Church "besta pacis visio". In fact, in the first Session, the Declaration on the Jews was courageous, but formally only a rider on the Decree on Ecumenism, which is essentially an inter-Christian statement.

The second version, watered down for formal reasons, brought the Council Assembly to affirm much more strongly the truths which had been left out to avoid discussion. More discussion has brought about the most human, dynamic document of the whole Council, adding exceptionally profound and powerful statements about salvation offered to all, about the authentic values of hinduism, buddhism, islam, universal fatherhood of God and fraternity of all men, recognizing the light given to all born on this earth, and the duty to uproot all forms of discrimination.

In this wonderful vision of spiritual peace on earth, the strongly enriched statements on the common heritage of the Christians with the Jews are much deeper, more vital, more compelling and more central than the first version which was widely admired. The "non-planet" votes, last Friday, were unanimously 5% (99 on 1,992).
As the text is more than four times the original length of the first version, it is not surprising that amongst the votes in favor there were 242 "placet iuxta modum", which means "in favor, with suggestions for supplemental amendments". Technically this means that the text distributed is approved by 95% in all its important principles, because those who are not of this opinion, vote "non placet". In the new parts, there will be further improvements, taking into account the suggestions made in writing by those who voted "placet iuxta modum". As the text has practically been made public, action of implementation can already start before the last detailed amendments are voted on in the next Session.

4) The Declaration on Religious Liberty is less vivid than the first version, but much more thorough and systematic. This text was distributed only very few days before the end of the Session. Considering the matter from the point of view of the expectations of public opinion, it might have been better to have a vote as for the Declaration above. But the Pope applied the democratic regulations of the Council, and refused to take responsibility of overpowering this rule and having a vote without any discussion on a substantially new text. On the other hand, the vote might have shown a very much smaller majority than 95%, and this would have given the impression that the Church had not yet decided quasi unanimously that modern pluralism had to be faced realistically. The Council Fathers who promoted and signed the petition were right in showing to public opinion that more than half of the Council Assembly is impatient to stand up for religious liberty. But the Pope cannot be accused of having hindered religious liberty when he had, in practice, applied again the principle of liberty of discussion in the most solemn assembly of the Church itself.

5) The Thirteenth Decree on the Church and the Modern World is now entering in its third phase. The first phase was a document perhaps too detailed and daring for an assembly of Church Fathers. The second phase was a continuation of combinations between exaggerated prudence and generalities, and exaggerated social science teaching. The long text distributed is a hybrid (second version) that the Curia itself tells friends privately that it is not a good text. In fact, to make clear the official statement on family, population problem, economic-social development and peace, the Council organs permitted the distribution of a three times longer document, presented as an appendix, without indication if it was official or not official. The Commission on Decree XIII, composed of seven progressives, will start its meetings in Rome again in February, and will now succeed in making a clear and strong document.

It is the Thirteenth Decree which most directly concerns the secular world, which will permit the progressive majority to cause as many subsequent Sessions of the Council as will be necessary, to get the Roman Curia used to the fact that a government in the Church cannot become again bureaucratic. Till collegiality is introduced in the Roman organs, with positions of authority for representatives of all important nations, there will probably be, for years, a periodical and peaceful invasion in Rome by Bishops from all over the world, to deliberate with authority under the Pope.
[end]

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November 21, 1964

To Judge Joseph M. Proskauer
300 Park Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Judge Proskauer:

The ups and downs of the Council battles around the Declaration on Judaism have been so full of unexpected turns that I have started six times making a report for you.

Now that we have reached the goal, ġhbad only one day of what you could read in the newspapers, I have used the last Council day to summarize the great issues. You can use this not only with the friends of Kaufmann, but also in high circles, naturally without indicating the source. I know no man who has more experience as statesman of freedom, who can better understand and explain the deeper issues, not always understood by journalists meeting a deadline.

I do hope to see you again soon, or to hear from you.

Totus tuus Pro Deo,

Félix A. Morlion, O.P.

Encl.: "Conclusive Analysis"
August 28, 1964

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

Dear Marc:

Thank you for your kind letter. I was sorry that the New York Times did not include reference to my call for interreligious cooperation on the highest level in New York aimed at working toward realistic solutions of intergroup problems. I will have to try that again sometime.

I am enclosing a copy of the Logumkloster findings together with my apology for not having forwarded a set to you sooner. As a matter of fact, an envelope had been addressed to you, waiting for a covering letter from me. Unfortunately, I had been so swamped the last few weeks that on those days when I have been in the office, I did not get around to a pleasant duty which should have been performed long ago.

I'd be delighted to meet with you early in September. Give me a call any time.

Cordially,

Philip A. Johnson

PAJ:er
enc.
Civil Rights Reorganization. Plans are progressing in Washington for a closer coordination of Federal civil rights activities, elimination of duplication and streamlining of functions. Proposals that the Community Relations Service and the Civil Rights Commission be merged have been put aside. Present thinking indicates that the Civil Rights Commission will serve as an auditing agency for the various civil rights programs with consideration being given to its establishing field offices throughout the nation. Vice President Humphrey's functions will be restricted to coordination and acting as an arbitrator rather than serving in an operating capacity, as plans presently stand.

Germanv-UAR-Israel. Bundestag President Eugen Gerstenmaier reported that Egyptian President Nasser informed him that he (Nasser) had no objection to the establishment of diplomatic relations between Germany and Israel. There would be difficulties for his position in the Arab world, however, if he accepted this without objection. Primarily, Cairo seems to fear that yielding on this issue would strengthen the position of Algerian President Ben Bella.

Civil Rights Conference. The Civil Rights Commission will hold a national conference in Washington on January 28th on compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. This title prohibits discrimination or segregation where Federal funds are used. Some 300-500 agencies and organizations dealing with such programs are to be invited to the one-day meeting with Federal officials concerned. It is anticipated that the civil rights groups will be asked to stay an extra day for a meeting to be sponsored by the Potomac Institute.

Religious Poll. A Gallup Poll published last week indicates that 45% of American adults attended religious services in a typical week this year, a decline from the high of 49% in 1958. Catholics, with 71%, led both Protestants (38%) and Jews (17%). Negroes attended religious services in as great a proportion as did whites. Those with college training (50% attending services) led those with high school (44%) and grade school backgrounds. Women (49%) ranked far ahead of men (40%) and those in the 50 and over age group (50%) led those at age levels 21-29 (39%) and 30-49 (47%). The survey resulted from 11,327 adults being asked: "Did you, yourself, happen to attend church in the last seven days?"

War Crimes. It is anticipated that members of Congress will be making a concerted effort next year to increase the pressures being applied on the German Government to extend the statute of limitations on war crimes, now scheduled to expire in May, 1965.

Early this month the Israeli Knesset informed the parliaments of all states having relations with Israel of its deep anxiety over the chance that Nazis may go free after expiration of the statute of limitations. All nations were requested to do everything in their power to insure that the Nazi criminals would be brought to justice.

Soviet Anti-Semitism. Plans are under way for a drive for passage by the House of Representatives of a resolution protesting Soviet anti-Semitism.

Meanwhile, in Israel, a public council has been set up under the auspices of the World Jewish Congress to publicize the situation of Soviet Jewry. In prospect is a national convention in Israel representing all sectors of the population to demand the restoration of all civil rights to Jews in the USSR and the reunion of families.
Third Parties. Third parties gleaned less than 1% of the national vote in the Presidential elections last month. Preliminary figures are as follows: Socialist Labor, 44,697; Socialist Worker, 32,327; Prohibition, 22,962; Constitution, 5,060; National States Rights, 6,953 and scattered, 9,929. The independent elector slate in Alabama received 210,732 votes.

Foundations. The Treasury Department is expected to make public soon its recommendations on legislation on tax-exempt foundations. It is anticipated that the recommendations will incorporate many of the more stringent proposals previously recommended but not enacted by Congress in the 1950 Revenue Act. The fact that the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee has other high priority legislation before it makes less likely enactment of these proposals in 1965.

Personalities. Washington AJC board member Richard Lyon has been appointed counsel for the Johnson-Humphrey Inaugural Committee.

AJC member Jay Janus has been named Executive Secretary of the National Citizens Committee of the Community Relations Service.

AJC member Stanley Marcus has been named chairman of the Employment Subcommittee of the Executive Committee of the Community Relations Service's National Citizens Committee.

Ex-AJC staffer Allen Lesser has been named Director of the Federal Assistance Program of the Office of Education, responsible for seeing that school aid programs are in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

AJC Associate Director David Danzig is scheduled to address the National Education Association's conference on extremism next month in Washington.

The public relations firm of Ruder and Finn, AJC members, is giving professional assistance without charge to the newly-created Community Relations Service.

Miscellaneous. Preparations are under way for a drive next year to enact the proposal by Sen. Harrison Williams (Dem-NJ) amending the Export Control Act to curb cooperation by American firms with the Arab boycott.

Moroccan Ambassador Ali Bengelloun addressed an AJC foreign affairs meeting in New York early this month; it was his first address before an American audience.

The newly-formed American Conservative Union has set itself a budget of $250,000 for its first year of operation.

The December 10th London Economist reports a story that "the Russians are trying to recruit Germans now employed in the United Arab Republic." The Economist also names some fifteen ex-Nazis who hold responsible posts in the Nasser regime.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is publishing a nine-part study on the church and state under Communism. The studies were prepared by the Library of Congress.

A Congressional Quarterly survey shows that the so-called "conservative coalition" appeared on only 15% of the total House and Senate roll calls in 1964, a decrease from the 28% high for this Administration in 1961.

A delegation of the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine has been touring several of the new African nations seeking support for their cause.

Nearly 200 Federal aid programs are covered by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a recent study shows.

The Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization anticipates that some 3,385,000 aliens will register next month, an increase from the 1964 total of 3,335,000.

Statistics published by Southern School News indicate that 2.14% of Negro public school students in the 11 former Confederate states are attending integrated elementary and high schools. In the six border states and Washington, D.C., 59.2% of Negroes are enrolled in biracial schools.
December 21, 1964

Mr. Morris Abram  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Abram:

Osbert Hastings reports on the third session of the Ecumenical Council.

An advance copy of his article, appearing in the current issue of The Reporter, is enclosed.

If you would care to comment, we should like to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Shirley Katzander  
Director of Promotion

SK:ld  
Encl.
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THOUGHT IN A GREEN SHADE
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THE LIBRETTO AS LITERATURE
THE REPORTER PUZZLE
The Pope, the Bishops,  
And Edward Gibbon  
OSBERT HASTINGS  

The sun shone on the flaking gilt of Marcus Aurelius’s horse that bright autumn day which marked the two hundredth anniversary of Edward Gibbon’s inspiration in the same square to write The Decline and Fall. He loved his pagan emperors.

And he found Christians thoroughly distasteful, although it was they who mistakenly spared this statue dominating the Capitol in the belief that it represented Constantine, leaving it to stand as the one surviving equestrian bronze of a pagan Caesar in Rome. Behind him are those ruins of the Capitol and the Forum through which the historian walked “with a lofty step” in the autumn of 1764 to find, in a rare moment of enthusiasm, the resolve to write his work.

“Isn’t it marvelous?”—this is one of the last of the season’s tourists looking at the Forum—“Isn’t it marvelous that it still stands up?” Well, people have to say something, but it is not the best remark to make within hearing of a possible shade of Gibbon returned to look at the old place.

Without much doubt he would like to be back—even though his reappearance would ruin his own frank disbelief in an afterlife. (With eighteen-century skepticism, he would have looked forward to nothing more after death than fame and a secure place on the Index of prohibited books.) And if he did return he would have seen the Roman Catholic Church, which won his most flashing scorn, facing up to its place in the modern world. Two thousand prelates in St. Peter’s were over the worst of their difficulties at the end of this third session of the Vatican Council on November 21 and had sustained the culminating debate on how the Church should face the needs and the problems of contemporary life.

Of course Gibbon had seen it all before; in his vanity he might at first have thought it not worth while to put on one of his flowered velvet jackets, pick up the handbag and sword he affected, snap shut the lid of his snuffbox in contented self-admiration, and slip back to see what was happening. He might simply recall his own final dictum on General Councils, that “The progress of time and superstition erased the memory of the weakness, the passion, the ignorance, which disgraced these ecclesiastical symbols... But he could be man enough to put aside his prejudice against Christianity when the need arose, and could well have done so on this two hundredth anniversary if he cared to look about him.

“The condition of the human race
was most happy and prosperous" under Marcus Aurelius and his like, Gibbon believed. Today for something on the imperial scale it is the prelates to whom one must turn, to the representatives of a Church that has spread far beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire to continents unknown to the emperors. It is a commonplace that the Christian Church, with its center of power in Rome ("From every cause, either of a civil or of an ecclesiastical nature, it was easy to foresee that Rome must enjoy the respect, and would soon claim the obedience, of the provinces"). became the heir of the Roman Empire. And it is just as common knowledge that Gibbon, for all the respect he claimed for ancient Rome, implicitly rejected the idea of putting Christianity among the elements in the process of imperial decay, seeing it instead as a somewhat benighted aspect of the Dark Ages to come.

"The People of God"

"The outcry of the Bishops," he recorded in a private letter after the publication of his volume dealing with the rise of Christianity, "and of a great number of ladies respectable equally for their age and their enlightenment has been raised against me." Quite understandably, because he was unkind to bishops. Gibbon would have had little but a cynical smile for the passages in the decree De Ecclesia promulgated by the Pope on November 21 defining acceptance of the idea of an episcopal college. In fact, he might have wondered why they were going through all this again. He had found the idea fairly clearly existing among third-century bishops (those prelates who "imperceptibly changed the language of exhortation into that of command, scattered the seeds of future usurpations, and supplied, by scripture allegories and declamatory rhetoric, their deficiency of force and reason"). Those long-departed bishops went on to exalt the unity and power of the Church, "as it was represented in the episcopal office of which every Bishop enjoyed an equal and undivided portion. Princes and magistrates, it was often repeated, might boast an earthly claim to a transitory dominion; it was the episcopal authority alone which was derived from the deity and extended itself over this and over another world." De Ecclesia put the matter in rather different terms, recognizing the "full and sovereign" authority of the episcopal college—with the Pope at its head, of course—over the government of the Universal Church. This part of the decree suffered a little from the odd fact that unexplained changes had been made in its wording after it had been approved in an earlier vote. At one stage in the debate it somehow lost its "full," but got it back again after the Council had expressed its indignation.

This was all at about the time when several unfortunate little intrigues gave the Council a genuinely Gibbonian atmosphere—among them the false issue of instructions in what appeared to be the name of the Pope. In a few words, two letters were addressed to Cardinal Bea, head of the Vatican's Secretariat for Christian Unity; one stated that the declaration on the Jews was to be drastically cut and inserted into De Ecclesia and the other that the declaration on religious liberty (both documents valued mainly by the progressives) should be revised by a new commission weighted in the conservative direction. Cardinal Bea soon satisfied himself that neither was the Pope's intention, and a group of largely Western European cardinals met at the lodgings of Cardinal Alfrink, Archbishop of Utrecht, to draw up an appeal to the Pope said to have started with the phrase cum dolorem magnum, to show that there was sorrow as well as anger. There the affair ended.

Or nearly: details of the worries of Cardinal Alfrink and his friends were made public by a South American ecclesiastical news service. (There was a South American cardinal present.) There were protests against their publication. The layman who directed the service under ecclesiastical authority was dismissed. It was an ill-timed act; the Council had arrived at its debate on the position of laymen and many a bishop was calling for greater respect and greater responsibilities for them. ("The progress of the ecclesiastical authority," said Gibbon, "gave birth to the memorable distinction of the laity and of the clergy, which had been unknown to the Greeks and Romans."). But here Gibbon would have been on unfamiliar ground, the reverse of what he might have expected. After the bishops had dealt with their own powers, they turned with some enthusiasm to give the laity a more prominent place. Suggestions were heard such as those calling for greater use of the laity in the Curia to replace priests; Archbishop d'Souza of Bhopal went so far as to propose that they be Papal diplomats.

Only the laymen present as observers in the Council seemed uncertain about an enhancement of their own status and were divided among themselves as to how far they should really aspire. Whether or not the laymen do in the end manage to make use of the generous offers coming their way from the bishops, they—and everyone else for that matter—can look to De Ecclesia with the satisfaction of seeing that by "the Church" it means "the people of God." It says so in as many words. It is a broad view, much broader than what Gibbon had to say on the subject of laity and clergy: "The former of these appellations..."
comprehended the body of the Christian people: the latter, according to the signification of the word, was appropriated to the chosen portion that had been set apart for the service to religion. a celebrated order of men which has furnished the most important, though not always the most edifying, subjects for modern history." There is no wonder that Cardinal Newman, while admitting Gibbon was the "chief, perhaps the only English writer who has any claim to be considered an ecclesiastical historian," prefaced his remark with the words: "It is melancholy to say it but . . ."

Keeping Up to Date
There have been two outstanding points at this third session of the Council that Gibbon, had he been recording it for history, would be obliged to acknowledge, even with an accompanying skepticism. First, acceptance of the idea of episcopal collegiality completed the work of the First Vatican Council (1869-70) on the government of the Church by supplementing the decrees on Papal infallibility and supremacy with a definition of episcopal status. Second, by its debate on the last document of outstanding importance—the famous thirteenth draft—the Council became the first in the history of the Christian Church to work out a sensible method of keeping up to date with modern problems.

This is the draft called "The Church in the Modern World." It was the most difficult document to prepare. It was hedged with such worries as how to offer guidance without giving the impression that as to give an attitude, not an exhaustive answer. It was historic. But there were complete differences of opinion even on its value as a basis for discussion. For Cardinal Spellman this was the culminating moment of the Council, epitomizing all the hopes set upon it. Dr. Heenan, the Archbishop of Westminster, dismissed it as a "set of platitudes," calling for a new drafting commission to be given several years to try again and do better the next time. There were speeches of real nobility, such as the plea from Cardinal Lercaro to put aside fear and face this difficult debate ("We have promised and must keep our word"), and the appeals for a fresh look at the theology of marriage from the Melchite Patriarch Maximus IV Saigh of Antioch; from Cardinal Suenens, Archbishop of Malines-Brussels; and from Cardinal Leger, Archbishop of Montreal. There was rather harsh insistence on the old ways from Cardinal Ruffini, the Archbishop of Palermo, and a beautifully delivered, practically impromptu piece of oratory in Latin from the formidable Cardinal Ottaviani, Secretary of the Holy Office, who begged the fathers not to forget Divine Providence, not to encourage a questioning of Divine Providence, which had never, he assured them, been questioned by his own parents, who had had eleven children, he being the tenth.

The conclusion of this debate on the thirteenth draft will come at the fourth session after an adjournment for more thought and a lot more revision. What was actually completed at this last session was note-
the petition of the minority. By doing so, he in no way prejudiced the cause of religious liberty—he is known privately to approve the draft—but postponed acceptance of the declaration for a year or so. Any doubts about the Council's feeling on the issue itself were swept away on the morning of November 19, when Bishop de Smedt of Bruges introduced the statement on religious liberty with a speech of great force and eloquence; the reception he was given, the clapping and cheering, the applause as he spoke, and the ovation at the end were like a lyrically emotional first night in one of the greatest theatres of the world.

The Pope was promptly condemned in some of the press and elsewhere for having placed his weight with the conservatives, thus reviving the pretensions of an obdurate minority. And there was further criticism when he closed the session with a speech devoted for about a third of its length to the Virgin Mary. He was himself profoundly shocked and disappointed at this reaction.

Knowing When to Wait

Skepticism ceases to be useful in any attempt to account of what the Pope did and what he had uppermost in his mind. Balance was required of him, on two different sets of scales. The first was the balance between his own primacy and the newly defined power of the bishops in De Ecclesia. The second was the balance between the moderate-to-progressive majority and a rather desperately conservative minority. At times the two balancings seemed to converge, but from the Pope's point of view they are better kept separate.

A majority of bishops was for greater powers and a far-reaching definition of episcopal authority. The Pope showed by words and gestures that he approved of the idea of a college of bishops. At the same time he would not allow an encroachment on his own office. This brought him to an insistence on his primacy in speeches and writings. The effect is that De Ecclesia gives the bishops what they wanted—and the Pope wanted them to have—while permitting no argument about Papal supremacy.

Had he ever been inclined to overlook the possible effect of collegiality on his own office, he would soon have had the connection pointed out. The conservative minority disliked it from the start, and opposed it nearly to the finish. The strength of this group was that many of its leading figures were personalities of the Curia. This meant that they extolled the Papal supremacy under whose shadow they themselves have handled the centralized machinery of the Church and had more than usual facilities for being in contact with the Pope himself. But their arguments that the supremacy was being jeopardized and that, to protect his office, he must oppose collegiality or substantially reduce it were rejected.

The progressives carried the day. On the whole they carried the whole session, for the ecumenism decree is marked by the same broad vision as De Ecclesia. The Pope had protected his office from incursions; he also set out to protect the rival groupings from each other. The length of the Marian passages of his closing speech and Mary's new title of Mother of the Church were evidently calculated to appeal to the men who disliked the decrees just promulgated (with loyally large majorities).

These majorities were the measure of the Pope's success. And he will surely be given the same overwhelming support for the document on religious liberty. He knows his Council—he was a member of it himself before his election. A few more months need make no difference to those who accept the principle of religious freedom but could give time for real thought to those who are unhappy about it. There are a number of such men in the Italian and Spanish hierarchies and elsewhere. Since the Council began, and because of the Council, they have learned to walk in that direction; they have not yet learned to run.

The Pope's own attitude on innovation may be surmised from his decision to fly to India, the first Pontiff, of course, ever to have gone so far afield. Christianity was there in India not much later than the death of Constantine. Quite apart from the Christian connection, Constantine received an embassy from India to congratulate him on the peace and prosperity of his reign: Gibbon tells us this, and that they presented the emperor with shining jewels and strange animals. It was the opposite of the Pope's own gesture on November 13 when he symbolized his wish for less external grandeur and more thought for the hungry by giving away his triple crown.

It is enough to make skepticism downright uncomfortable. One can imagine a velvet-clad spirit, with sword and bag, looking perhaps for a little comfort to the statue of Marcus Aurelius, one of the best of his pagan emperors, preserved in effigy because the Christians thought he was Constantine. Rome can still provide its compensations, even for the author of The Decline and Fall.
Message from Zach Shuster, Nov. 17, 1964

1. Section on Hinduism and Buddhism
2. Section on Moslems
3. Jewish Section

"As this sacred Synod searches into the mystery of the Church, it remembers the bond that ties the people of the new Covenant [of] Abraham's stock. With grateful heart the Church of Christ acknowledges that according to God's saving designs the beginnings of our faith and our election were already among the Patriarchs, Moses and the prophets. She professes that all who believe in Christ, Abraham's sons according to faith, were included in the same patriarchs call; likewise, that all salvation is typically foreshadowed by the chosen peoples exodus from the land of bondage. The Church therefore cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament from the people with whom God in his ineffable mercy concluded the former covenant. Nor can she forget that she feeds upon the roots of that cultivated olive tree into which the wild shoots of the Gentiles have been grafted. Indeed the Church believes that by his cross Christ our peace reconciled Jew and Gentile making both one.


No less does she recall that the Apostles command the Church's mainstay and pillar as well as most of the early disciples who proclaimed Christ's gospel to the world, sprang from the Jewish people."
(Important paragraph) Even though a large part of the Jews did not accept the Gospel they remain most dear to God for the sake of the Patriarchs. This is the witness of the Apostles as is the utterance that God's gifts and call are irrevocable. (Quotation from Roman, New Testament) Romans 11:29-30: "For I am not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the power of God for salvation to every one who believes, to the Jew first and also to the Greek. In the company with the prophets, the same Apostles the Church awaits that day, known to God alone, on which all peoples will address the Lord in a single voice and serve Him shoulder to shoulder."

Since the spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews is of such magnitude, this sacred Synod wants to support and recommend their mutual knowledge and respect, a knowledge and respect that are the fruits upon all of biblical and theological studies as well as of fraternal dialogue. Moreover, this Synod in her rejection of injustice of whatever kind and wherever inflicted upon man remains mindful of that common patrimony and so deplores, indeed condemns, hatred and persecution of the Jews, whether they arose in former or in our own days.

May, then, all see to it that in their catechetical words or in their preachings of the word of God they will not teach anything that can give rise to hatred or contempt of Jews in the hearts of Christians. May they never present the Jewish people as one rejected, cursed or guilty of delicide. All that happened to Christ in his Passion cannot be attributed to the whole people then alive, much less to that of today. And besides the Church has always held and holds now that Christ underwent his
of his own will

 Passion and death freely, because of the sin of all man out of infinite love.

 It is, therefore, the burden of Christian preaching to proclaim the cross of Christ is the sign of God's all-embracing love and is the fountain from which every grace flows.
Dear Marc:

I trust that you received my recent communication to you relative to Cardinal Spellman's address before the AJC dinner.

In the light of the comments that I made at that time, I was very much interested to see the reformulation of the Ecumenical Council statement on the Jews as it was approved at the last session.

For me, it was gratifying to see the death of Jesus interpreted not as being caused by the sins of mankind but as his freely chosen method of helping "sinning mankind". While Catholic theology is a matter for the Catholic Church to decide, yet I did not think it psychologically feasible to rid Catholics of hatred for the Jew due to the supposed Jewish guilt for deicide by shifting the burden of guilt to themselves. Spellman's conception that the crucifixion is a "blessing" to free man from the burden of sin rather than the result of man's sin seems to me a healthier way to deal with the problem.

Meanwhile, of course, while the Jew is absolved from the guilt of having killed Jesus, I wonder what might be done to have the Christian forgive the Jews for having begotten Jesus. (Cf. The Great Hatred by Maurice Samuel.)

I was wondering whether you played any part in helping to bring about this reformulation.

Best wishes to you, Helga, and the kids for a Happy Hanukkah.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N. Y.
POPE PAUL VI
ON "THE CHURCH AND THE JEWS"

CARDINAL SPELLMAN
ON RELIGIOUS RESPONSIBILITY

DEAN RUSK ON HUMAN RIGHTS
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The question of religious responsibility for prejudiced attitudes takes up much of this issue's attention, as it well might in the face of recent major developments. Pope Paul VI, whose official statement on "The Church and the Jews" appears on page 4, told a delegation of American Jewish Committee leaders during a private audience that Cardinal Spellman had "spoken my sentiments" when the Cardinal condemned anti-Semitism at the Committee's annual dinner.

What the Cardinal said (page 6) has come to be seen as marking a crucial milestone in Catholic-Jewish relations. For the influential American church leader makes it clear that "it is simply absurd to maintain there is some kind of continuing guilt which is transferred to any group" for the death of Jesus, and furthermore, "anti-Semitism can never find a basis in the Catholic religion."

Both the Sperry Center (page 20) and the Catholic text study at St. Louis University (page 18) are clear manifestations of the deepening awareness within religion of its responsibility to seek out and uproot those sources of hostility which have been nourished by religion itself.

Editor

Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation (Act of October 23, 1962, Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code). As filed under date of October 1, 1963, Committee Reporter is published bi-monthly at 165 East 56th Street, New York, New York 10022 by the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 10022. Harold Steinberg, Editor; Martin Ducovny, Associate Editor, 165 East 56th Street, New York 10022. Owner The American Jewish Committee, a membership corporation, located at 165 East 56th Street, New York, New York 10022. Average number of copies each issue during preceding 12 months 30,000: paid circulation 23,845; free distribution 3,259; total copies distributed 27,104. Total for issue nearest filing date 30,000: paid circulation 24,547; free distribution 3,357; total number of copies distributed 27,904. (Signed) Harold Steinberg, Editor.
We thank you for your visit, and we greet with attentive esteem the courteous words you have addressed to us.

We have heard with gratification the resolution you have manifested “to safeguard the religious and cultural freedom of all people, and the rights of all groups to develop the human values God has given them, free from coercion and discrimination.”

We are glad of the opportunity you offer us of confirming what is already well known concerning the attitude of the Catholic Church, and in particular of the Holy See, toward the Jews. This name of Jew, in fact, raises several questions, which we consider with serene attention:

First of all, the racial question, and in this regard we repeat the heartfelt wish expressed, on numerous occasions, by our venerated predecessors: namely, that this should never be for you, or for any other ethnic group, a reason for undergoing any diminution in your human rights, which every civilization truly worthy of the name cannot avoid recognizing.

Second, the political question, which it is not our business to pronounce ourselves upon, especially at this time, although we always desire and augur that it find just and peaceful solutions, both for the populations who have already sustained so many trials and suffering, and also by reason of the interests which the Catholic Church and other Christian churches, may have therein, and which must not be disregarded.

Finally, the religious aspect, which interests us most deeply, and motivates our particular consideration for the Jewish religious tradition, with which Christianity is so intimately linked, and from which it derives hope for trusting relations and for a happy future.

Hence, while we again strongly deplore the horrible ordeals of which the Jews have been victims in recent years, we wish you every favor from God, whom we invoke with all our heart on your behalf, and that of all those who are near and dear to you.
IN MEMORIAM

"Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world."

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY
35th President of the United States
May 29, 1917 – November 22, 1963

DEDICATION

This Conference and its fruits in improved human relations are dedicated to the memory of our late President, who met his untimely death just one year ago today. May his memory be a blessing and source of strength to us as we work for a better world, which he, too, sought.

The Committee
November 22, 1964
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
KEY FACTOR IN SHAPING HUMAN RELATIONS

Sponsored By
The Religious Education Association
of Metropolitan Chicago
and
The American Jewish Committee
Chicago Chapter
November 22-23, 1964

University of Chicago
Center for Continuing Education
1307 East 60th Street
Chicago, Illinois
### CONFERENCE PROGRAM

**Sunday, November 22, 1964**

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<td><strong>Speaker</strong></td>
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<td>Dr. Franklin H. Littel, Professor of Church History, Chicago Theological Seminary.</td>
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<td>The Religious Textbook Self-Studies - The Implications of Their Findings for Religious Education.</td>
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<td><strong>Chairman</strong></td>
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<td>Rabbi Herman E. Schaalman, Emanuel Congregation, Chicago, co-chairman, Conference Planning Committee.</td>
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<td>Sister Mary Nona, President, Edgewood College, Madison, Wisconsin.</td>
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<td>Dr. Marcus J. Preister, Professor of Christian Education, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, co-chairman, Conference Planning Committee.</td>
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<td>Mr. Vaile Scott, Director, Catholic Adult Education Center, Chicago.</td>
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<td>Miss Judith Herschcopf, Assistant Director, Department of Interreligious Affairs, The American Jewish Committee, New York.</td>
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<td>7:00 P.M.</td>
<td><strong>General Discussion</strong> (Discussants will also serve as Resource Persons to Workshops)</td>
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<td>Dr. David Weinstein, President, College of Jewish Studies, Chicago</td>
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<td>Resource</td>
<td>Sister Mary Nona</td>
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<td>Recorder</td>
<td>Sister M. Fredericus, O.P., Dean of Studies, Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois.</td>
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<td><strong>SEMINARIAN TRAINING FOR HUMAN RELATIONS SKILLS</strong></td>
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<td>Dr. Rosemary Bannan, Assistant Professor of Sociology, DePaul University, Chicago.</td>
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<td>Dr. Marcus J. Priester</td>
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<td>Rev. Clyde H. Miller, Executive Secretary, Department of Christian Education, Church Federation of Greater Chicago.</td>
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<td>Workshop D</td>
<td><strong>CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND TEXTBOOK REVISION FOR BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS</strong></td>
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<td>Sister M. Elizabeth, Director, PIUS XII Religious Center; Associate Professor of Philosophy, Marygrove College, Michigan.</td>
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<td>The Right Reverend Msgr. William E. McManus, Superintendent of Schools, Archdiocese of Chicago</td>
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GOAL

This Conference has as its goal the critical examination of the moral responsibility of Religious Education for improving human relations. It will seek to identify methods and techniques for achieving this end.

BACKGROUND

The American Jewish Committee, a pioneer human relations agency, initiated and encouraged self studies by Protestants, Catholics and Jews of their own curriculum material and helped and stimulated foundation support for these independent research projects.

The Protestant studies were undertaken by Bernard E. Olson at Yale University Divinity School, has been completed and published by Yale University Press, under the title "Faith and Prejudice."

The Catholic studies, supervised and directed by Father Trafford P. Maher, S.J., at St. Louis University, consist of three separate investigations covering literature and textbooks, by Sister Mary L. Gleason, C.S.F.A.M.; social studies textbooks by Sister Rita Madd, Ph.D., and religious textbooks by Sister Rose Albert Thering, O.P., Ph.D.

The school, including the religious school, is second only to the home as the place where the child's attitudes toward self and others are shaped. The religious school curriculum and materials, while designed to nurture the pupil in his faith, almost inevitably include reference to and comparisons with other faiths and ethnic groups.

The conference is directed at an examination of these self-study findings and their implications for Religious education.