



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

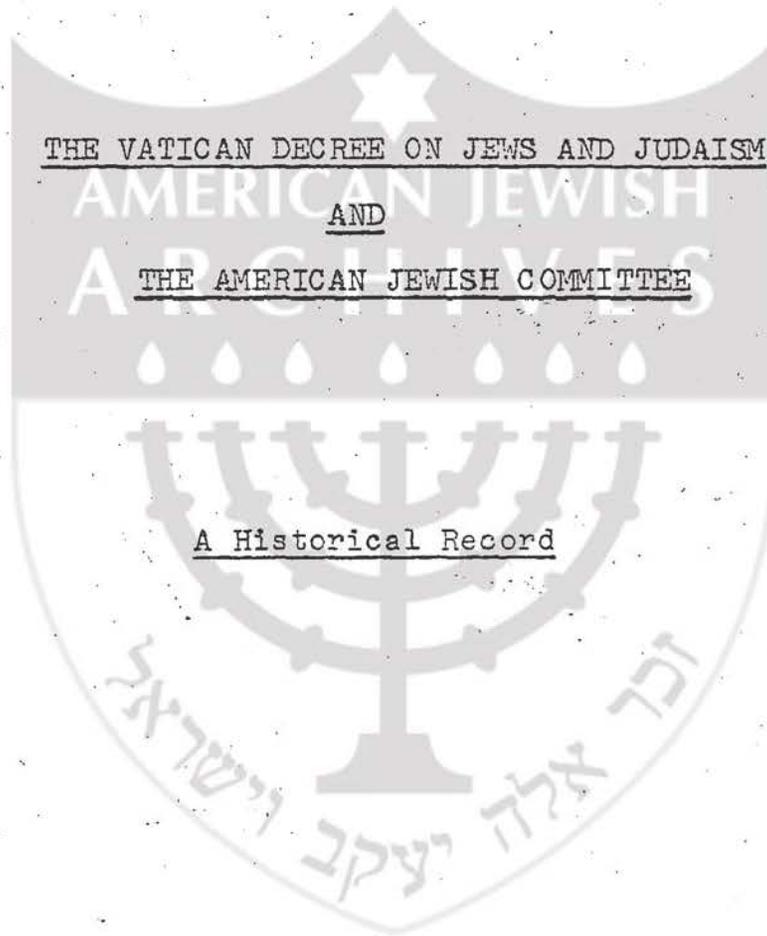
Preserving American Jewish History

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

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 51, Folder 11, Vatican Council II - "Vatican Decree on Jews & Judaism & the American Jewish Committee, A Historical Record", 1964.

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(Subsequent developments to be added)

Introduction

On October ____, 1964, the Fathers of the Roman Catholic Church, assembled in Rome at the third session of the Second Vatican Council, adopted a declaration, entitled " _____," which contained the following words:

(QUOTATION FROM DECLARATION AS ADOPTED)

With these few sentences, the Church unmistakably and irrevocably condemned one of the most baneful ideas in the history of the Christian world: the belief that Jews as a group, past and present, bear the whole guilt for the death of Jesus; that for this reason they are and always will remain cursed and despised by God; and that the exile and persecution they have suffered are a divinely ordained punishment for their crime of "deicide" or "killing God."

The misery this belief has wrought over the centuries is beyond calculation. Though it was never

actually taught as Church dogma, it has provided seeming religious sanction for anti-Semitic brutality in nearly every century. It inspired the mass killings of European Jews by the Crusaders of the Middle Ages; it inflamed the peasants of Czarist Russia to orgies of killing, looting and burning; it prepared, if it did not directly motivate, the Germans of our own time to acquiesce or assist in Hitler's "final solution." It survives wherever the Jews are slurred as "Christ-killers"; and where it survives, it spreads new seeds of hate.

The perspectives outlined in the Council's declaration are a result of profound soul-searching that has been taking place in the Christian world since the Hitler era. The rise of nazism dramatized the precariousness of relationships between Jews and non-Jews in large areas of the Western world; the ensuing holocaust showed that Christian tradition had

failed to stem--indeed had unwittingly contributed to--
a deep undercurrent of anti-Semitic hate. Obviously,
a new departure in Christian-Jewish relations was overdue.
Within the Roman Catholic Church, such a reappraisal was
signaled as early as 1938, when Pope Pius XII concluded
a condemnation of anti-Semitism with the words: "We
are all of the seed of Abraham; spiritually we are
Semites." The Council's action has now created an
official Church policy in harmony with Pope Pius's
statement.

The adoption of the Declaration at this time reflects
the ecumenical spirit that began to pervade the Catholic
Church and the entire Western world during the pontificate
of Pope John XXIII (1958-1963). It is proof of this
new spirit that Jewish and other non-Catholic groups
were privileged to contribute, through consultation
and discussion, to the framing of the new policy the Church
set for itself. One of the groups so privileged was the
American Jewish Committee. In the pages that follow,
the Committee's role

is described--not in order to claim undue credit or belittle the efforts of others, but solely to record ^A ~~one~~ phase of the momentous development that is not likely to be documented elsewhere.

The Catholic Church and AJC

The American Jewish Committee has collaborated with Catholic groups, in one way or another, for four decades. The earliest of these contacts was inspired by a concern for the freedom of religion in American society--a freedom which the Committee has always considered indivisible. In 1925, a brief by the Committee's president, the noted constitutional lawyer Louis Marshall, took up the cause of the Catholic plaintiffs in the epoch-making "Oregon case" (Pierce vs. Society of Sisters). In this historic case, the United States Supreme Court struck down a state law designed, in effect, to outlaw Catholic parochial schools, and thereby confirmed the right of all

religious organizations to conduct their own schools as an alternate to public education.

In the decades that followed, the Committee's path repeatedly crossed that of the Catholic Church, abroad as well as in this country. In 1944, for example, the Committee, through an intermediary, appealed to Pope Pius XII to help save the Jews of Hungary, then slated for extinction by the Nazis. It was later revealed that thousands were saved through "protective passports," many of them issued by the Vatican. Five years later, the Committee was one of the first Jewish organizations to issue a statement condemning religious persecution in Communist-ruled Hungary--particularly the trial of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty.

Besides these and similar short-term undertakings in the political sphere, the American Jewish Committee has been ^{continually} ~~deeply~~ involved in long-range efforts to

improve the relations between Catholics and Jews.

During the war years, AJC specialists--notably the late Moses Jung--prepared background studies which identified the issues that had divided Catholics and Jews in the past and pointed out possible avenues to better understanding. Some of these explorations anticipate ideas that were to become widely current in the years following the catastrophe of European Jewry and that ultimately found expression in the Catholic Church's 1964 declaration.

Thus, certain recommendations made by Dr. Jung in a memorandum in 1942 were echoed five years later by an interfaith emergency conference on the persistence of anti-Semitism in Europe, held in Seelisberg, Switzerland. In the words of the Conference, there was an urgent need "to emphasize the close bonds which exist between Judaism and Christianity; to present the Passion story in such a way

as not to arouse animosity against the Jew; and to eliminate from Christian teaching and preaching the idea that the Jewish people are under a curse."

In its interfaith ^{religious} work, the American Jewish Committee has for many years devoted much attention to the religious training of children and young people, on the assumption that early conditioning is what chiefly shapes the individual's attitudes toward persons of other backgrounds. As early as 1932, the Committee joined Drew Theological Seminary and the National Conference of Christians and Jews in a pioneer study of Protestant teaching materials, for the purpose of [replacing negative statements concerning Jews with positive ones]. In subsequent decades, under AJC auspices, the scope of this research was enlarged to include Catholic and Jewish as well as Protestant textbooks, and to survey how other groups besides Jews were represented.

By the early 1960's, the Committee had gained so much expertise in interreligious education that a Committee staff member, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, was invited to serve as Jewish consultant or lecturer to two ^{Catholic} of the Church's central educational agencies in the United States. A new textbook for young children, issued since, testifies to the value of these undertakings; perhaps for the first time in a Catholic publication of this sort, the Jewish roots of Christianity are acknowledged--through references to patriarchs and prophets in the text, and through Hebrew legends and Semitic faces in the illustrations.

2. Not true

By this time, too, the Committee had gained the conviction that the Church had not made its position toward Jewry and Judaism clear enough to forestall the teaching and preaching, inadvertent or otherwise, of anti-Jewish notions--indeed, that Church authorities

were not sufficiently aware how widely such potentially dangerous notions survived among Catholics. It was out of this conviction that the Committee undertook to play a special role as an unofficial consultant during the preparations for the Second Vatican Council.

The Committee and Pro Deo University

What chiefly enabled the Committee to serve in this capacity were the ties it had maintained for some time with a unique institution close to the Vatican: the International University for Social Studies "Pro Deo" in Rome. It was through Pro Deo that the Committee was to gain entree to important members of the Roman hierarchy.

Pro Deo specializes in the training of future public administrators, businessmen, industrial managers and labor experts, most of them from underdeveloped countries. By preparing these future leaders for their tasks, Pro Deo seeks to provide the new nations with a

practical alternative to communism. The university's underlying philosophy is a firm commitment to democracy, based on religious values; its style and methods are strongly influenced by American models.

Though closely connected with the Vatican and headed by a priest, Father Felix A. Morlion, a Dominican



from Belgium--Pro Deo is not run by the Church, nor is it populated or supported wholly or even primarily by Catholics. Students and faculty alike come from the most varied religious backgrounds; financial support is largely provided by sponsoring boards, in Europe and the Americas, on which Jews and Protestants rub elbows with Catholics. For these reasons, as well as because of its concern with group-relations problems, Pro Deo appeared--and in the event proved--singularly suited to become a point of contact between different religious and different continents.

The working relationship with Pro Deo University began about 1950, when Father Morlion sought the Committee's help in creating a supporting organization in the United States--a body which came into existence as the American Council for the International Promotion of Democracy under God (C.I.P.). Soon, officers and key members of the Committee, acting as individuals, began to serve on

the Council, among them Alan Stroock, Paul Warburg, Ralph Friedman and the Committee's Program Director (now Associate Director), David Danzig. The two last names have functioned as the Committee's chief liaison men with Pro Deo ever since.

In 1961, a ^C scheme for more direct cooperation was created. Under a three-year contract, the Committee agreed to endow a professorship of intergroup relations-- the first in any European university--and to assist in framing an intergroup curriculum at Pro Deo. The eminent social psychologist, Otto Klineberg, formerly of Columbia University, was subsequently named to the new chair. For several semesters, Dr. Klineberg lectured with noteworthy success to graduate social-science students and to priests in training, covering such topics as race and culture, ethnic stereotypes, the causes of prejudice and the nature of Nazi anti-Semitism. At

the same time, AJC helped set up a reference library on intergroup relations and launch a sociological journal.

Even before this close collaboration began, AJC's friendship with the University proved of value in the diplomatic sphere. Thanks to Pro Deo's good offices, a delegation of 10 AJC representatives, led by Irving M. Engel, was granted an audience with Pope Pius XII during June 1957--an event described by a highly placed cleric as the opening of a new chapter in the Vatican's attitude toward Jewish problems.

As publicly stated, the object of the visit was to thank the Pontiff for aid he gave to Jews during the war; but the ^{delegates} ~~Committee~~ also had some more immediate purposes in mind. One was to ask Papal action against anti-Semitic propaganda voiced by the clergy in Poland since the coming of the Gomulka regime had eased the political pressures on the Church in that country.

Another was to request that the Pope encourage Latin American countries, especially Brazil, to give asylum to Jewish refugees from Egypt.

Pope Pius presented his visitors with a formal statement--the first he had even given to a Jewish organization--in which he condemned anti-Semitism and called on the world's nations to open their doors to the victims of religious persecution. Possibly in response to this widely publicized appeal, Brazil soon admitted a large number of refugees from Egypt. Anti-Jewish excesses in Poland also subsided--thanks to Papal censure, it was subsequently learned.

The Committee's diplomatic relationship with Pro Deo was later formally defined. In the working agreement of 1961, Pro Deo explicitly undertook to assist the Committee in submitting documents to the Council.

As it turned out, the advice and the contacts the Committee

obtained under this agreement were to prove crucial on more than one occasion.

The AJC Research Memoranda

The climate during these years--the pontificate of the widely beloved Pope John XXIII--was one of anticipation and increasingly high hopes. Immediately upon his accession in 1958, Pope John set the Church on a course of aggiornamento or adaptation to the modern world; his call for an Ecumenical Council in 19__ ^{in Jan. 1959} was tangible proof that major innovations were contemplated. It appeared as if Catholic attitudes toward Jews and Judaism might be slated for a ^{fundamental} (comprehensive) reappraisal, (the first in the Church's nearly 2,000 years;) ³ and it seemed at least possible that in the course of this reappraisal Jewish experts and organizations would receive a hearing. If so, then the American Jewish Committee's expertise in intergroup relations and inter-religious education could be put to work at a far higher level than AJC had ever dared to hope.

During 1960, an approach to this historic task was worked out. Zachariah Shuster, the director of AJC's European office, spent long hours in private consultation and correspondence with leading Jewish and Christian experts in interreligious affairs. One of the Christian advisors in Europe was an old friend of Shuster's: Paul Demann, the author of a study of intergroup teaching in French Catholic education (La Catéchèse Chrétienne et la peuple de la Bible, 1952), analogous to the investigation sponsored by AJC in this country. Another was James Parkes of Great Britain, noted as a Protestant authority on Christianity and the Jews (Antisemitism, 1963). In addition, advice was continually provided by Pro Deo University.

Simultaneously, consultations were held with Catholic experts in the United States, several of them involved in one ^{way} or another with the preparations for

the Council: Abbot Leo Rudloff of the Benedictine
Priory in Weston, Vermont; the late Father John La Farge,
S.J., associate editor of the Jesuit journal, America;
_____ editor of the Paulist magazine,
The World; and _____ of the National
Catholic Welfare Conference. Advice was also sought
from Father Louis Hartman, C.Ss. R., General Secretary
of the Catholic Biblical Association, who as early as
1952 had assured Moses ^{Young} of the Committee that the
notion of the Jews as a deicide people had no basis
in Catholic dogma.

Chief among AJC's Jewish consultations at this
stage was the late Jules Isaac of France, a historian
noted for his studies on anti-Semitic elements in
Christian tradition ^{Jesus et Israël, 1952, Le Genesis de l'antisemitisme, ?)}
~~(L'Enseignement du mépris, 1962)~~. Dr.

Isaac was currently in touch with the Vatican; in June
1960, he was granted an audience by Pope John, who was

check
with
Jack
Hartman

then pondering whether a special subcommission on Catholic-Jewish relations should be set up. ^{Prof. Isaac's close friend and foremost disciple in America, the} Other ^{author Claire Huch} advisors ^{were sought who represented} embodied the whole range of Jewish religious

thought; Among them were Dr. Elio R. Toaff, Chief

Rabbi of Rome; Dr. Jacob Kaplan, Chief Rabbi of

France; Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik, Professor of

Talmud at Yeshiva University; Rabbi Louis Finkelstein,

Chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America;

and Dr. Salo W. Baron, Professor of Jewish History at

Columbia University. ^{Dr. Simon Wolfson} Much help came from Rabbi Abraham

J. Heschel, Professor of Jewish Mysticism at JTSA,

who subsequently was to play an important role on

AJC's behalf in Rome.

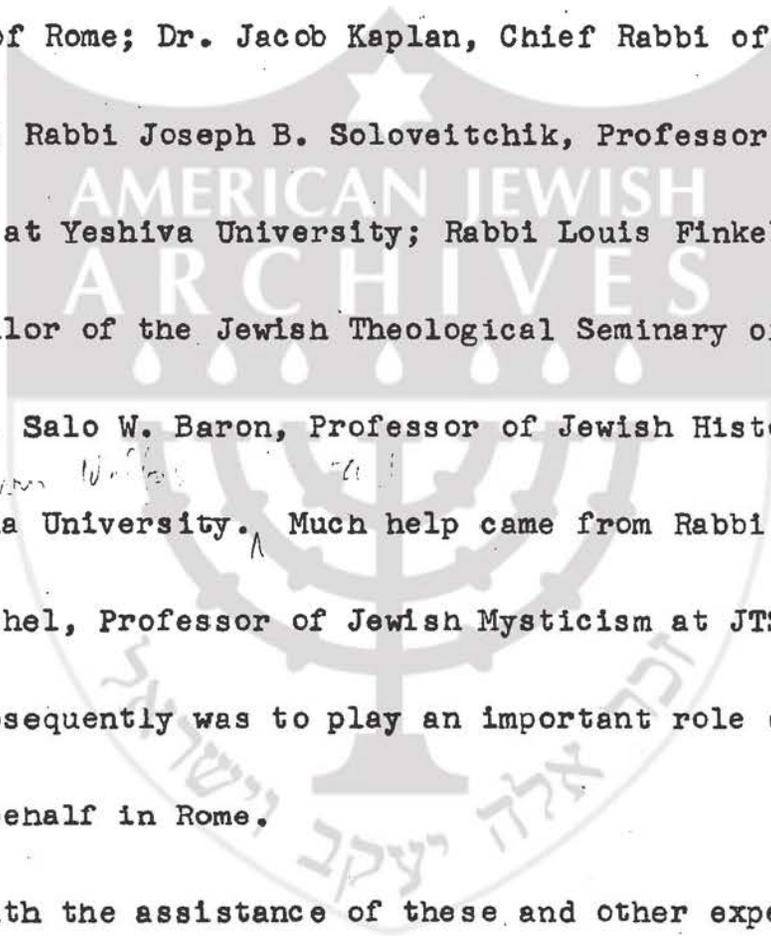
With the assistance of these and other experts,

a definite direction was established. AJC would not seek

to have observers or unofficial delegates invited to the

Council, it was decided. The most useful contribution

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A.



the Committee could make would be to present the appropriate Vatican agency with research materials identifying Catholic teachings and practices concerning Jews which ought to be modified. The presentation was to be made without publicity, to avoid giving an opening to conservative opposition in the Church or anti-Semitic agitation outside; and it was to be framed in terms of human relations, not theology, lest Jewish spokesmen appear to demand a change in Christian dogma.

On December 15, 1960, President Herbert B. Ehrman wrote to Pope John XXIII, offering AJC's help. He hailed the recent removal of anti-Jewish expressions from Catholic liturgy through Papal initiative--a procedure which, he suggested, might set a pattern for further improvements of liturgy and teaching. In the process, he continued, "the Church may deem it useful to consult Jewish scholars and theologians." AJC would be glad to help establish such contacts, and also to furnish "examples from religious educational texts and

other sources that, in our view, constitute an obstacle to better comprehension between Catholics and Jews."

It was to be hoped, ^{Mr.} Ehrmann added, that the Church would encourage further inquiries into such teachings, with a view to their eventual elimination.

Within a week, word arrived that the Pope was favorably impressed with the Committee's letter. As decided beforehand, these contacts were left unpublicized; but the Committee was bringing the broader issues before the public in the terms of which it was thought they should be considered at the Council. Thus between November 1960 and August 1961, AJC's French-language magazine, Evidences, printed a symposium in which leading European churchmen and intellectuals, Protestants as well as Catholics, set forth their views on Christian teaching concerning Jews.

Meanwhile, the American Jewish Committee, with Pro Deo's help, had established channels of communication with the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, to which Pope John had assigned the

question of Catholic-Jewish relations. It was the good fortune of AJC and of Jewry generally that the Secretariat was headed by a man who was a living embodiment of the ecumenical spirit: the distinguished Jesuit theologian and educator, Augustin Cardinal Bea, one of the Catholic world's leading authorities on the Hebrew Bible and the history of the people of Israel. Blessed with statesmanship and enlightened humanity as well as scholarly sophistication, the aged Cardinal was perfectly cast for the role of mediating between the concerns of two great faiths.

On July 4, 1961, Cardinal Bea received ^{Mr.} Shuster and the Chairman of AJC's Foreign Affairs Committee, Ralph Friedman, ~~in an audience arranged with Pre Dee's help.~~

The visitors expressed the hope that the Ecumenical Council would tackle the issue at hand both negatively and

affirmatively, doing away with anti-Jewish traditions,

and (*acknowledging the permanent value of Judaism as a living religion* affirming the bonds between Judaism and the values of

Christian civilization.) They then offered to have AJC submit a paper on specific anti-Jewish elements in Catholic religious teaching.

Cardinal

Bea's response was heartening. He asked that such a document be forwarded to him personally without delay; moreover, he suggested parallel presentations on anti-Jewish elements in Catholic liturgy and in literature on the Crucifixion. In closing, he explained that recommendations agreed upon by his Secretariat would be given to the Central Commission, the top planning agency for the Council, of which he was a member. "Our impression," Shuster reported, "was that Cardinal Bea and the Secretariat are seriously engaged in the preparation of a declaration of the Ecumenical Council stating the position of the Church toward Jews....From the spirit in which Cardinal Bea spoke, it might not be unwarranted to assume that this declaration might be of great significance."

The promised document actually had been in preparation for over six months, in anticipation of such a development. It was now rapidly completed and sent to the Cardinal. Entitled "The Image of the Jews in Catholic Teaching,"

the memorandum was based mainly on ~~preliminary findings~~ *staff research, supplemented by examples drawn from*

~~of~~ the AJC-sponsored study of American parochial-school

textbooks, then nearing completion at St. Louis University.

~~The writing was largely the work of~~ Claire Huchet Bishop,

a French writer and lecturer on Catholic subjects residing

and a disciple of Fr. Isaac, assisted in the formulation of the memorandum.
in New York ^{the} ~~her~~ drafts ~~had been~~ *were* reviewed by AJC's Catholic consultants and ~~amended by~~ Jewish advisors.

The memorandum quoted and analyzed derogatory teachings of various kinds: invidious descriptions ("the bloodthirsty Jews"), inaccurate comparisons between Judaism and Christianity ("law vs. love"), partiality shown in identifying only evil persons as Jews, and failure to acknowledge the Jewish roots of Christianity. The most pernicious theme of all, the notion of Jews as a cursed people of "deicides," was reported to be present in numerous texts, even though, as the document pointed out, the Church had officially disavowed this idea as long ago as the Council of Trent (1545-63), declaring that

in a theological sense all humans were responsible for Jesus' passion. The memorandum closed with a plea

...that His Holiness, Pope John XXIII, cause precise directives to be issued from the Vatican ... for improving Catholic teaching about Jews and Judaism, by cleansing all Catholic educational and liturgical publications of unaccurate, distorted, slanderous or prejudiced statements about Jews as a group.... We ... believe that the improvement of Catholic teaching about the Jews is an urgent task, of equal importance to the spiritual health of America and that of the whole world.

In October, AJC learned through Msgr. Carlo Ferrero, Vice President of Pro Deo University, that the memo--the first such document submitted to the Vatican by a Jewish organization in connection with the Council--had been well received. By November, the supplementary paper invited by Cardinal Bea, on anti-Jewish elements in Catholic liturgy and literature, was ready. Plans for this statement had been reviewed at length with Catholic

experts--book publishers, magazine editors and theologians;

but since some of these advisors acknowledged that as

Catholics they were too close to the subject, the ^{actual research} ~~writing~~

~~of the paper~~ had been entrusted to a Jewish expert in

liturgy, Dr. Eric Werner of Hebrew Union College--

Jewish Institute of Religion, subject to the usual review

by Christian and Jewish specialists.

Note:
Dr. Werner
as has indicated
he does not
want his
name
mentioned in
this connection
Please
check with
him first!

The second memorandum acknowledged the recent removal

of expressions like "perfidious Jews" from the liturgy,

but pointed out that references to the Jewish people

as ^{wilfully blind} ~~cruel~~ killers of Jesus still occurred both in the

Church's sacred texts, particularly those used during

Holy Week, and in the literature based on these texts.

"Mose Jews are profoundly convinced," the document stated,

"that the charge of deicide, uttered through the centuries,

has been a central factor in the ^{per}sistent anti-Semitism

of Western civilization Is it not time to put an

end to the un-Christian use of the Jews as a scapegoat

people?"

Encouraged by its success in obtaining a hearing for its critical observations, the American Jewish Committee now turned to the prospects for constructive contributions. Conceivably, the Council might be persuaded to recommend a positive program of education and enlightenment in the area of Catholic-Jewish relations. To explore this possibility, AJC enlisted the help of a Jewish theologian particularly qualified by his background, interests and personality to ^{meet} negotiate with ~~the~~ Cardinal ^{Bea:} Rabbi ^{Dr.} Abraham J. Heschel of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Like ^{Dr.} Bea, Heschel had received his training in Germany and had devoted much of his life to Biblical scholarship; like him, he combined the temperament of the scholar with ~~the~~ prophetic vision. It was, as events soon proved, a happy choice.

On November 26, 1961, ^{Mr.} Shuster introduced Rabbi Heschel to the Cardinal, accompanied by AJC's German consultant, Professor Max Horkheimer of the University of Frankfurt. From the start, the meeting -- conducted in German -- was most cordial, resembling a colloquy between fellow

theologians rather than a diplomatic conference. Taking off from the two scholars' shared interest in the Song of Songs, the conversation ranged over a variety of theological and historical topics bearing on the rift between church and synagogue.

Dr. Heschel voiced the hope that the Council would accord recognition to Jews as Jews, not merely as potential Christian converts, and offered to prepare a paper suggesting positive steps toward a Catholic-Jewish rapprochement. Cardinal Bea, agreeing that a new departure was needed, warmly welcomed Dr. Heschel's offer and invited the visitors to see him again. He then explained--possibly in response to AJC's first memorandum, which had requested concrete directives against anti-Semitic teaching--that any Council declaration would be framed in general terms, the specifics of implementation being left to be worked out later. At the end of the meeting, the Cardinal spontaneously turned the conversation to current anti-Jewish unrest in Argentina, which he knew had been a _____

source of concern to the Committee, and promised Vatican intercession against a priest who was spreading anti-Semitic propaganda in that country.

Dr.
While ~~Rabbi~~ Heschel was working on the promised statement, ^{Cardinal} Bea and his staff began to prepare their recommendations to the Central Preparatory Commission of the Council. In June 1962, the draft of a declaration on Catholic-Jewish relations was being readied by an informal working group within the Secretariat. What information was available indicated that this document paralleled or reflected much of the thinking in the Committee's memoranda: It acknowledged the close bond between the Old and New Testaments, with emphasis on the importance of the Old Testament to Christians; it contained expressions of tribute and respect for the Jewish people of today; and it firmly condemned anti-Semitism.

Whether the draft actually repudiated the notion that Jews are "deicides" cursed by God, was not known at this time--though on April 25 ^{the Cardinal} Bea told The New York Times

that the Council probably would discuss measures for removing this stigma. Convinced that the deicide issue was the most important of all, ^{Dr.} ~~Reb~~ Heschel urged in his paper that it be explicitly dealt with--a request reiterated by AJC's president, A.M. Sonnabend, in a letter to the Cardinal.

^{Dr.} ~~Reb~~ Heschel's document, submitted on May 22, was entitled "On Improving Catholic-Jewish Relations." It reviewed the longstanding tensions between Catholics and Jews and went on to outline remedial measures, beginning with a declaration that would not only recognize Jews as Jews and condemn all anti-Semitism, but would explicitly reject the deicide charge. Among other practical steps, Heschel proposed a Vatican commission to watch over Catholic-Jewish relations and take the lead in combating prejudice. At the same time, he suggested, mutual understanding could be promoted

through a forum on Judaism for Catholic priests and theologians, through joint research projects or publications, and through official encouragement for interfaith cooperation in civic and charitable endeavors.

A parallel documentary effort was meanwhile going forward in another part of the world under the Committee's auspices. AJC's Latin American office, headed by Abraham Monk, carried out a survey of anti-Jewish material in Catholic textbooks used in Brazil. The initiative for this study came from the Executive Director of the National Conference of Catholic Priests in Brazil, Father Bertrand de Margerie, S.J., a close associate of Cardinal Bea's. The results were forwarded as added evidence to ^{Cardinal} Bea; they were also printed in the journal of the Conference of Catholic Priests, and as a result, a large-scale program of textbook revision was immediately launched at the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro.

By the spring of 1962, the AJC had succeeded in establishing channels through which the desires and opinions of Jews could be effectively presented to certain crucially important persons within the Church. At this moment, however, an injudicious move by another Jewish organization aroused furious resentment at the Vatican against Jewish involvement with the Council and for a time endangered the relationships so laboriously established.

The Question of Jewish Representation

What precipitated this crisis was the sensitive question whether Jewry should be represented at the Council, by observers or unofficial delegates. Ever since Pope John announced plans for the Council, the consensus in Jewish circles had been that this matter should be approached with the greatest delicacy, if at all. Thus, as early as November and December 1960, such leading rabbis as Joseph B. Soloveitchik of the United States

and Elio R. Toaff of Italy opposed formal participation; and the Conference of European Rabbis stated that it expected no invitation to Jewish spiritual leaders.

The American Jewish Committee, as already noted, had decided early to seek no representation; in addition, the Committee now emphasized to its friends at Pro Deo that the Vatican should not be misled into singling out any one group as a representative of world Jewry, because none could speak for all Jews. If there were to be Jewish observers at all, AJC said, distinguished religious leaders should be chosen, since the questions under consideration would be religious and moral. Any other form of representation would carry undesirable political overtones.

These cautious attitudes notwithstanding, the issue had once before been prematurely brought before the public. On November 4, 1960, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, the head of the World Jewish Congress claimed in the London Jewish Chronicle that Cardinal Bea had told him in a recent

audience the Pope might invite Jewish religious representatives as observers, and that certain unnamed American Jews, though not yet invited, were thinking of attending. Bea quickly disavowed this assertion, saying that he did not think ^{Dr.}Goldmann "representative of the entire Jewish people."

A statement issued by the Vatican a few days later, to the effect that only leading Jewish religious experts would even be considered as partners for discussion, was interpreted as a rebuke to Dr. Goldmann for rushing into print without notifying Bea.

This incident closed, the World Jewish Congress had seemingly adopted the view that no representation should be sought. Rabbi Soloveitchik had convinced him of the wisdom of this course, Goldmann told the Conference of Jewish Organizations during August 1961. But on June 12, 1962, in a complete about-face, the World Jewish Congress announced that it had named an unofficial observer and representative for the Council: Dr. Chaim

Wardi, on leave from his job as counselor on Christian affairs to Israel's Ministry of Religion.

Coming out of the blue as it did, this move evoked deep consternation and strong protests. Jewish organizations felt ^{Dr.} Goldman had broken a dual pledge: to take no action concerning the Council without consulting them, and to send no delegate. The American Jewish Committee, anxious over the confusion of political and religious matters implicit in letting a secular Israeli public servant seem to represent world Jewry, voiced serious objections to Israeli officials.

But these reactions were nothing compared to the catastrophic effect in Church circles. According to Zachariah Shuster, the Committee's European director, the action "produced a real sense of calamity and shock among the highest Vatican personalities....It has caused Vatican

officialdom to become much more reticent with regard to the subject of Jews and the Ecumenical Council."

Dr. Wardi inevitably was considered an Israeli spokesman, so that the whole issue of Catholic-Jewish relations took on a political cast. Arab diplomats at the Vatican immediately protested against "giving Israel ^c access to the Council," when no other country was granted similar privileges. Certain Church officials, too, believed the affair was a plot between the Israeli government and the World Jewish Congress to obtain representation for Israel, and named it as the reason for restrictive measures then being taken against the Church in Arab countries. "We have worked hard trying to help you and will continue to do so," a high-placed monsignor told Mr. Shuster. "But why are you Jews making our task so difficult?"

Cardinal Bea, whom Mr. Shuster visited on July 7, declared himself outraged and seriously embarrassed by this new affront. The incident obviously had weakened

his position vis-a-vis the Church's powerful conservative wing, which opposed any liberalization of traditional attitudes toward Jews. He had been "thunderstruck," he said to learn about the Wardi move from the newspapers; Dr. Goldmann had visited him just before but had not breathed a word about the impending announcement. Cardinal Bea's top-ranking aide, Msgr. Jan Willebrands, was even angrier. "We shall not admit Mr. Wardi to any session of the Council," he said. "If he is in Rome, he is there as just another tourist."

It is a measure of Cardinal Bea's stature that the meeting with Mr. Shuster nevertheless ended on friendly terms. The Cardinal indicated that some Jewish as well as other non-Christian observers might yet be invited to the Council as guests of his Secretariat. Moreover, he indicated that in order to help pave the way for a Council declaration he was writing an essay opposing the notion of collective Jewish guilt for the death of Jesus. Proofs would be sent to Pro Deo officials and to Dr. Heschel, who might

want to suggest modifications; the article would then appear in the influential Jesuit journal, Civiltà Cattolica. Finally, he would try to see the Pope about the need for a strong statement on anti-Semitism, with particular reference to the Nazi period. But he as well as Msgr. Willebrands made it clear that the Jewish issue would be laid aside until tempers cooled.

In the end, the harm done turned out even more severe than the Cardinal had thought. Publication of his article for Civiltà Cattolica was indefinitely deferred. Worse, the Council's Central Preparatory Commission abruptly tabled the proposals of the Secretariat for Christian Unity on the subject of Jews and Judaism -- under pressure from the conservatively-minded Vatican Secretariat of State, it was learned later. By an irony of history, the final session of the Commission, at which the matter was to have been taken up, had begun on June 12--the very date of Dr. Goldmann's announcement.

The World Jewish Congress, meanwhile, made no move to halt further damage, despite mounting protests. On July 25, the late A.M. Sonnabend, then President of the American Jewish Committee, wrote to Israeli Ambassador Avraham Harman in Washington that ^{Dr.} Wardi's further presence in Rome served no purpose, and that the Israeli government ought to clarify its stand without delay. Finally, on July 29, The New York Times reported that in deference to Jewish opinion the Wardi appointment had been cancelled.

Dr. Goldmann took issue with this version of the facts; in another about-face, he asserted that the World Jewish Congress had never favored Jewish observers at the Council and that ^{Dr.} Wardi was to have been merely one among many officials representing the organization in capital cities. In any event, Wardi was making his exit, and the incident was ostensibly closed. But there can be little doubt that the ~~wardi~~ ^{wardi} affair, by confounding world-wide Jewish concerns with Israeli ones, did much to stiffen and consolidate opposition against any Council action favorably to Jewry.

The First Session

As the opening of the Council approached, Cardinal Bea, true to his word, continued to seek a declaration concerning the Jews. In mid-September 1962, Mr. Shuster -- accompanied this time by Ralph Friedman -- saw him again and learned that his intended conversation with Pope John had taken place. "The Jews, too, have immortal souls," the Pope had said, "and we must do something for them." Other Church leaders, however, would need more persuasion than ever, Bea warned. His own views on the subject had not changed, he assured the visitors, and he would continue to study ways in which it could best be brought before the Council.

In the course of the same visit, Messrs. Friedman and Shuster, together with de Angelis, of Pro Deo University, sought the help of Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, the Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals and a member of the Council's Preparatory Commission. Cardinal Tisserant stressed that the deicide charge was not Catholic dogma and declared himself unaware that a discussion of it was on the Council agenda; but he promised to look into the matter

and requested a written statement of the Committee's position. The conversation was amiable, with numerous digressions into such subjects as the Cardinal's childhood recollections of Jewish neighbors and his studies in Near Eastern cultures.

On the eve of the Council, the Secretariat for Christian Unity was reported to be quietly working to obtain backing for a significant declaration on Jews and Judaism. Through Abbot Leo Rudloff, who was now a member of the Secretariat's unofficial working group on Catholic-Jewish relations, ^{Dr.} Heschel learned that a member of Bea's staff, Father Stephan Schmidt, was seeking support among the high clergy of the United States. ^{Father} Schmidt had specifically mentioned two men as important potential allies: Bishop John J. Wright of Pittsburgh, and Richard Cardinal Cushing, the Archbishop of Boston.

How rightly the Secretariat had gauged Cardinal Cushing's temper soon became apparent. He quickly emerged as the American clergy's leading champion of an interfaith rapprochement. On October 10, the day before the opening session, he publicly characterized the Council as "an occasion for Catholics, Protestants and Jews to know each other better. There are many differences among us, but there are still more things that we have in common ... We must stand together, love each other and know each other." He added that both Jews and Protestants had sent him good wishes for the Council's work.

At Mr. Shuster's suggestion, A.M. Sonnabend sent a message to the Boston prelate, praising his leadership and foreseeing a "new order of Christian-Jewish solidarity." Epoch-making developments seemed to be in the air; at the end of the first week's sessions, Mr. Shuster cabled: "Prospects for Council adopting declaration embodying all our major objectives; excellent;

caucus American Cardinals including Spellman have promised support Bea position." An article by ^{Rabbi} Tanenbaum in the New York Herald Tribune ended a review of former unhappy relations between Catholics and Jews with these words:

"Many Jews believe that the Ecumenical Council could literally start a new cycle in Christian-Jewish relationships by condemning vigorously all manifestations of anti-Semitism." Prayers for the Council were said in leading American synagogues, at the Committee's suggestion; and in São Paulo, Brazil, Chief Rabbi Kritz Pinkuss preached a sermon about the Council in the presence of a Catholic prelate.

By early November, it had nevertheless become clear that the matter of Catholic-Jewish relations was not likely to be taken up during the current session, which had only one more month to run. On the assumption that the second session would tackle what the first could not, Cardinal Bea stepped up his search for support among his colleagues in

various parts of the world. The American Jewish Committee, he suggested, might discretely help with that undertaking. He did not think it wise for an outside organization to approach any of the Church Fathers while in Rome, but was convinced that much might be gained by seeking them out privately in their home localities. The help of Latin American prelates was particularly essential, he indicated.

Just before the end of the year, ^{Cardinal} Bea informed the Committee that he felt sure the Council would ultimately act on the issue of Catholic-Jewish Relations, probably in the context of ecumenism, and perhaps also in that of religious liberty. At the same time, he repeated earlier warnings against rash moves and ill-considered publicity.

In March 1963, Father Schmidt indicated to ^{Mr.} Shuster that a strong, comprehensive new draft was in preparation. The text, Schmidt said, would emphasize the positive ties between Judaism and Christianity, and would deal with contemporary as well as ancient Jewry.

Cardinal Bea in America

Even before and during the Council's first session, the American Jewish Committee and its friends at Pro Deo University were discussing plans for an interreligious enterprise of an unusual kind, in the course of which, it was hoped, Cardinal Bea would visit the United States. The object was to strengthen interreligious ties in general, and also, if possible, to deepen the Catholic-Jewish dialogue.

Pro Deo for some time had sponsored a series of so-called agapés -- fraternal banquets of clerics and others concerned with matters of religion. The most recent of these gatherings, held in Rome during January 1962, had been a demonstration of interfaith amity unprecedented.

in the history of Catholicism; no less than 15 non-Catholic churches and non-Christian creeds had been represented. The event and its organizers were subsequently commended by Pope John.

Messrs.
^ Friedman and Shuster had attended the January agapê ~~ea~~ on behalf of the Committee, and an essay by the former had been included in the printed proceedings of the event. When the two men saw Beagain, during their September audience, they inquired whether he might consider presiding over a similar agapê in America; and soon afterwards, Shuster learned that the leaders of Pro Deo University were definitely planning such a gathering.

The event was to give expression to the ecumenical spirit by bringing together representatives of various religious and racial groups who would proclaim their solidarity on the basic principles of human dignity and equality. The Committee, it was learned, would probably be asked to help with the arrangements, especially to advise on what Jewish and Protestant representatives should be invited.

On December 28, 1962, ^{Cardinal}Bea received a formal delegation of the Committee, including President A.M. Sonnabend and Executive Board Chairman Morris B. Abram, as well as Professor Klineberg, whose work on race and psychology Bea had cited in his own writings. Plans for the Cardinal's journey were crystallizing; he would lecture at a Catholic-Protestant colloquy at Harvard University during March, and would also visit New York. ^{Mr.}Sonnabend now formally offered AJC's help in arranging whatever agapè might be planned; he also invited the Cardinal to speak at some Committee function in either New York or Boston.

Bea, who was in a relaxed and affable mood -- "indeed somewhat impish at times" according to an eyewitness -- seemed receptive to the suggestions. In the course of the audience, he also reassured the delegation concerning the prospects for the Council's second session. "You _____"

have many good friends at the Council," he said, smiling.

"You have Cardinals Cushing, Alfrink [of Utrecht], Liénart

[of Lille], Gerlier [of Lyons] -- and Cardinal Bea! He

again welcomed the Committee's help, suggesting that the

Committee proceed according to its own best judgment,

"for a poor old Cardinal cannot do everything himself."

In the months that followed, David Danzig of the Committee worked closely with Father Schmidt of the Secretariat's staff in readying arrangements for the Cardinal's visit to New York, scheduled for March 31 and April 1. One of the by-products of this activity was a meeting between Cardinal Cushing, who was acting as Bea's host, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director of Interreligious Affairs at the Committee-- the first of many encounters that were to prove increasingly fruitful. Cardinal Cushing said he would like to help improve relations between Catholics and Jews, as well as get other American prelates to do likewise; he also touched on the possibility of starting a chapter of C.I.P., Pro Deo's American supporting organization, in his diocese.

At Cardinal Cushing's invitation, Dr. Heschel and Rabbi Tanenbaum went to Boston on March 27 to welcome the illustrious guest. Cardinal Bea greeted his callers warmly, addressing Dr. Heschel like an old friend; Heschel presented a copy of his book on the Sabbath, whereupon Bea took him to the Chancery library for a wide-ranging private conversation. Things were going well, the Cardinal said: "The Pope and I are completely agreed on these matters; I saw him last Friday before I left on this trip, and he had this problem on his mind." A Papal statement explicitly condemning the notion that Jews are accursed as deicides was not beyond possibility. Bea again hinted that Jewish observers might be invited to attend the Council's second session as guests of his Secretariat, provided they could be selected without embarrassing contretemps. Finally, he expressed interest in the idea of a permanent subcommittee for improving relations between Catholics and Jews through joint ventures in such fields as Biblical scholarship—much as had been suggested

by Heschel in his memorandum ten months earlier.

The New York agape, held at the Hotel Plaza with C.I.P. as host, was devoted to the theme "Civic Unity and Freedom Under God." It turned out to be a memorable occasion, graced by the presence of such figures as U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations; Sir Muhammed Zafrulla Khan, president of the UN General Assembly; Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller; Mayor Robert F. Wagner; and C.D. Jackson, publisher of Life magazine. Organized religion was represented by Cardinal Cushing; Greek Orthodox Archbishop Iakovos; the Reverend Henry Pitney Van Dusen, president of the Union Theological Seminary; Bishop Stephen Gill Spotswood of the A.M.E. Zion Church; Father Morlion; and Professor Heschel.

Cardinal ^{his} Bea spoke movingly of ^{his} hope that mankind was headed toward greater fraternal unity. The unity he envisioned was "not that of well-oiled wheels and parts of a machine," he explained, and was not to be obtained merely by increased physical contact. It was, rather, "the conscious, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ free decision of responsible

persons to live together in peaceful harmony ... the mutual exchange not merely of material goods but above all of spiritual riches."

Dr. Heschel, in a stirring reply, declared that "minds are sick, hearts are mad and humanity is drunk with a sense of absolute sovereignty ... God and nuclear stockpiles cannot dwell together in one world." He called for "a revival of reverence" among all men, in the words of Moses: "I have put before thee life and death, blessing and curse. Choose life."

The agapê was widely reported in the press, as was a news conference at which Cardinal Bea emphasized that Catholic doctrine recognized the right of every man to choose his^s own religion or no religion, even though the Church in some countries (it was thought he meant Spain) admittedly had failed to respect this freedom. Yet perhaps neither of these occasions was as significant as a meeting which had taken place without fanfare the day before: a colloquy between Cardinal Bea and a select

group of Jewish religious leaders at the American Jewish Committee's Institute of Human Relations.

The idea of a reception ^{such} ~~for Ben~~ ~~at the Committee~~ had been broached to Father Schmidt as early as mid-January.

That it materialized was in part due to Cardinal Cushing, who did not think it would be right for the distinguished

visitor to meet only Catholics and Protestants, as

initial plans had foreseen. The six eminent rabbis

(^{who attended} finally chosen to attend) -- as individuals, not as spokesmen for their organizations -- ^{were} ^{active of} represented all three

branches of Judaism. They were: Louis Finkelstein

(Chancellor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America),

Theodore Friedman (President, Rabbinical Assembly of

America), Julius Mark (President, Synagogue Council of

America), Albert Minda (President, Central Conference of

American Rabbis), Joseph Lookstein (President, Bar-Ilan

University), and Abraham J. Heschel.

The meeting was held in private at the repeated request of Cardinal Bea, who feared that publicity would play into the hands of Arabs and other hostile elements in Rome. The intimate setting encouraged frank discussion, and the meeting developed into something almost unheard-of in Catholic-Jewish relations: a candid, informal exchange of viewpoints concerning issues and problems that stand between the two faiths.

As a basis for discussion, a list of searching questions, with answers by the Cardinal, had been prepared beforehand in painstaking negotiations between Father Schmidt and ^{Mr.} Danzig. The specific issues raised were:

- (1) whether the Council could explicitly reject the idea that Jews are an accursed people guilty of deicide, and acknowledge the integrity of Jews and Judaism;
- (2) whether the Council could condemn unjust allegations and imputations about religious, racial or other groups generally;
- (2) whether dogmas and moral principles in

this sphere might be translated into concrete regulations through Council action; and (4) whether appropriate Church authorities might encourage the creation of a center for interreligious and intergroup studies to stimulate communication and cooperation.

Cardinal Bea opened his prepared reply with a reminder that he could not speak officially for the Council but only state his expectations. He then outlined a theological approach to the elimination of the deicide charge. It was plain, he said, that only individual Jewish leaders, not Jewry as a whole, had been involved with the death of Jesus; and Jesus had forgiven even them. Furthermore, he pointed out, St. Paul condemned as sheer blasphemy the idea that God had rejected the Jews. Nor was the diaspora evidence of Divine punishment, as had been often been held, he emphasized; on the contrary, it had served to spread monotheism throughout the world. With these and related

arguments, the deicide charge might be refuted without attacking Jesus's claim to divinity or the credibility of the Gospels.

Turning to the specific questions posed, Bea stated that his Secretariat had centered its attention on the deicide problem and the recognition of Judaism as such, as well as on the roots of Christianity in the Old Testament. As for combating unjust generalizations against groups, the Council could lay down guidelines stressing the duties of justice, truth and love, he explained, but practical implementation would have to come through ordinary channels, such as teaching, preaching and confessional practice. Programs in intergroup collaboration were certainly needed and widely desired, the Cardinal agreed; some work of this kind was already being done through Catholic universities and other institutions, and more could be done even before the Church established special institutions.

In closing the colloquy, ^{The Cardinal} Bea again expressed optimism, on the ground that the Pope shared his views. But only two months later, John XXIII went to his reward; and though the new Pontiff, Paul VI, was considered ~~to be~~ a liberal, there was no positive assurance that he would adopt his great predecessor's enlightened attitudes toward Jews and Judaism.

Disappointment at the Second Session

For the moment, the optimistic climate persisted; but contrary signs and portents were beginning to appear. In June was heard the first of several reports that the subject of anti-Semitism had been dropped from the Council agenda, under pressure from Arab governments, who feared any step that might benefit Israel. The informant was Father Gustave Weigel, S.J., a consultant to Bea's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity and an old friend of the Committee. ^{Mr.} Shuster quickly established through his Vatican contacts that the report was erroneous and Father Weigel declared himself happy to stand corrected.

(verify)

Yet in the light of what was to happen at the second session, the incident appears like an ill omen.

During the months preceding the reconvening of the Council, the American Jewish Committee sought to keep the "Jewish issue" before the public and the Catholic clergy. Thus, in August, an article by Mr. Shuster, entitled "Removing the Stain of Guilt," appeared in the influential London Observer. The essay, which was widely discussed in Catholic journals, called not only for a changed approach to the Crucifixion, but also for affirmation of Judaism's and Christianity's common roots. It was reprinted in booklet form with a companion piece, "Rooting out the Fatal Myths," by the eminent Catholic journalist and economist, Barbara Ward Jackson, and copies were sent to the entire American episcopate.

Early in September, Mr. Shuster found members of Bea's Secretariat still in a hopeful mood. There now were indications that Pope Paul approved the direction of

Bea's efforts, he was told; a strong declaration had been drafted and stood a good chance of adoption about the middle of the session.

The conservatives in the Church, meanwhile, were keeping their own counsel. On September 21, for example, Ralph Friedman called on Guiseppe Cardinal Siri of Genoa and gained the impression that Siri, though a traditionalist, would not oppose contemplated liberal moves such as Bea's program. In retrospect, ^{Cardinal} Siri's attitude would seem to have been much less positive; seven months later, at any rate, he voiced the opinion that the Council had best not speak on relations with the Jews, nor on race relations or religious freedom.

The Council reopened on September 29. It soon became apparent that ~~the~~ business would move slowly; by mid-October, discussion of the Jewish issue was not yet within sight. At this point a front-page article by Milton Bracker in The New York Times (October 17)

made public its prospective contents of the declaration being readied by Bea's Secretariat. The document, it was stated, would form the fourth chapter in a "schema" or theme on ecumenism. It would acknowledge the Jewish roots of the Church; reject the idea that the Jews, rather than all humanity, are to blame for Jesus's death; and repudiate hatred and persecution of Jews in the strongest terms.

According to the Times, the declaration was no longer expected to come to a vote at the second session, but was likely to be discussed at length--if only because of the wide public controversy stirred up by Der Stellvertreter (The Deputy), a new play by Rolf Hochhuth, in which the late Pope Pius XII was accused of failing European Jewry in its hour of need under Hitler.

In his report, ^{Mr.} Bracker revealed ^{Cardinal} Bea's dealings with Dr. Heschel and the American Jewish Committee--a topic with which he was familiar, since he had called on the Committee for a detailed briefing on the Catholic-Jewish aspects of

the Council before going to Rome. However, the article was not inspired by the Committee, as was alleged at the time. Indeed, the Committee felt somewhat concerned that its publication might set off overly enthusiastic responses on the part of Jewish organizations, contrary to ^{Cardinal} Bea's frequent requests for discretion. This concern, it was learned through confidential channels, was shared by Mr. Bracker himself.

In the days that followed, the Committee therefore took the initiative in forestalling pronouncements that might be ~~assumed~~ ^{construed} as pressure on the Vatican or stir up the opposition. AJC officials privately explained the need for discretion to representatives of the press. At the same time, Dr. Simon Segal, the head of the Committee's Foreign Affairs Department, enlisted the help of Israeli spokesmen in the United States, who, by means of cablegrams to Jewish groups all over the world, succeeded in muting reactions until a strategic moment.

That moment was not long in coming. Six days after the Times article, Cardinal Bea indicated to the Committee that the time was now ripe for Jewish organizations to express support of the proposed declaration before the leadership of the Church, though not yet before the world at large. In effect, the Cardinal was asking the Committee to act as the connecting link between his agency and world Jewry in furtherance of common aims. ¶ Lights burned late that night at Committee offices in New York, Paris, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, as the staff worked to mobilize the desired support. Within hours, numerous cablegrams to Bea himself, worded to help strengthen his cause before Pope Paul, were on their way from Jewish religious and communal leaders in Europe and the Americas. Simultaneously, spokesmen of the Committee sent messages to many of the American bishops, who, it had been learned, were about to hold a caucus.

The proposed declaration was finally submitted to the assembled Fathers on November 8, and thereby became an official

document of the Council. As predicted in ~~Braker's~~ ^{the} Times report, the text--entitled "On the Attitude of Catholics Toward Non-Christians, and Particularly Toward the Jews"--appeared as Chapter IV of a schema on ecumenical relations; a chapter on religious freedom immediately followed it.

The draft itself was not released to the public, but a detailed communiqué was issued by ~~Basil~~ ^{the} Secretariat. Judging by this release, the document was almost exactly what the Committee had hoped for. It emphasized the Church's appreciation of the Jews as the chosen people of the Old Testament, and as forebears of Jesus, his mother and the spostles:

The Church has its roots in the covenant made by God with Abraham and his descendants. This plan of salvation finds its culmination in the coming of Jesus Christ, son of David ... Through Him the divine call first given to the chosen people of old is extended through His church to the entire world.

The draft went on to assert that all mankind shared the responsibility for Jesus's death. The personal guilt

of certain Jewish leaders involved with the Crucifixion could not be charged to Jewry as a whole, it was stressed; nor was it true that God had rejected or cursed the Jewish people. Nothing in the Bible could justify disdain or persecution of Jews. Therefore, teachers and preachers must never foster hatred or contempt for them, but should seek to promote mutual understanding and esteem (a clause which would seem to open the doors for further revision of hostile texts used in teaching or liturgy). There is reason to believe that joint theological studies and fraternal dialogues between Catholics and Jews were also recommended, though this point was not mentioned in the communiqué.

The published statement was emphatic in disavowing any political intent. The declaration, it was emphasized, cannot be called pro-Zionist or anti-Zionist... Any use of the text to support partisan discussions or particular political claims ... would be completely unjustified and contrary to [our] intention.

The immediate reaction to the document was overwhelmingly strong and positive, particularly in the United States. Many of the American bishops at the Council at once declared themselves warmly in its favor. The daily press and Catholic papers praised it, frequently mentioning the American Jewish Committee's role in its preparation. Representatives of all three branches of Judaism, now free to comment publicly, hailed it as a historic event, as did numerous Jewish communal organizations. The Committee's president, A.M. Sonnabend, paid tribute to the deep religious feeling and humanism Bea and his staff had brought to the work; his statement was widely noted in the European press and radio, as was a news conference at which Zachariah Shuster characterized the submission of the draft as "one of the greatest moments of Jewish history." In Latin America, interreligious leaders such as the eminent Father Carlos Cucchetti of Buenos Aires, expressed similar sentiments.

Soon, however, the opposition made itself heard.

When the schema on ecumenism came up for debate on November 18, three patriarchs from Middle East countries bitterly attacked the proposed Chapter IV, warning of probable reprisals in Arab lands and objecting to the inclusion of Jews in an ecumenical Christian context. Even sharper criticism was uttered by Ernesto Cardinal Ruffini, the conservative Archbishop of Palermo, who took issue with what he called "giving honorable mention" to Jews, in preference to other (unnamed) faiths allegedly less hostile to Catholicism.

These attacks were at once vigorously countered by Joseph Cardinal Ritter, Archbishop of St. Louis. The following day ^{Cardinal} Bea himself, to loud applause, told the Council that the declaration had been explicitly ordered by Pope John and approved by him in draft form. One reason the matter was being raised, Bea said, was the persistence of Nazi-style anti-Semitic ideas in the minds of some Catholics. He reiterated that the document had

no political significance, and that the Arab nations had been so informed.

On November 20 and 21, more speeches were heard on both sides of the issue, including a spirited defense by Albert Gregory Cardinal Meyer, Archbishop of Chicago. The majority of the Council Father obviously favored Chapter IV, as well as Chapter V, that on religious freedom. But it was now becoming plain that the opposition was willing to risk a filibuster; and on November 21 the Council voted to defer the two chapters while adopting the rest of the schema for debate.

A week later, with the end of the session approaching, the chapters still remained tabled. As ^{Dr.} ~~Rabbi~~ Heschel pointed out in a cablegram to Cardinal Meyer, there was widespread anxiety that they might not be voted on at all. On November 29, Bishop Charles H. Helmsing of Kansas City and St. Louis urged at least a preliminary vote which he said was "expected by everybody"; but it was now too late.

The Council recessed on December 2 without having acted on the controversial chapters. Whether they would be taken up when the Council reconvened in the fall of 1964, and if so, whether they would remain under ^{Cardinal} Bea's jurisdiction, was doubtful. Bea thought so; "what is put off is not put away," he said, adding that his Secretariat would welcome suggestions for amendments. But not all observers shared his optimism.

The closing days were further marred by an ugly incident. An anti-Semitic pamphlet, Gli Ebrei e il Concilio, by an author writing under the pseudonym Bernardus, was sent to the members of the Council. It was not the first such event; an anti-Jewish book had been circulated late in 1962. But whereas that publication, believed to have been financed by Arab propagandists, was a crude, self-defeating piece of work, this one was written in a sophisticated theological terms and based on longstanding anti-Jewish traditions in the Church itself. At least one observer thought it might have been prepared with the tacit approval of certain conservative elements in the Curia.

Cardinal
Bea and other Church spokesmen stated officially,
then and later, that only lack of time had prevented action
on Chapters IV and V. And it is true that only a fraction
of the items on the second session's agenda ever came to
a vote. Nevertheless, there was a distinct sense that
the liberals among the Fathers (including most of the
American prelates) had been outmaneuvered. Analyses by
the Committee's staff held that action was blocked chiefly
by conservative churchmen, particularly the tradition-
minded Italian bishops, who opposed ecumenism generally,
and by clerics from the Arab nations. These forces were
helped by prelates who, while agreeing with Chapter IV,
did not think it belonged in the context of Christian
ecumenism, and by others who opposed the chapter on
religious liberty, with which it was linked. Finally,
pressure seemed to have been brought to bear by reactionary
Italian business interests who feared ecumenism might
strengthen socialistic tendencies, and by Arab diplomats
who opposed any step favoring Jews.

Approaches to the Episcopate

The question of Council action on Catholic-Jewish relations thus was once more up in the air. The most promising strategy under the circumstances, Father Gustave Weigel advised Dr. Herzog on January 2, 1964, just before his untimely death, would be to work quietly with prelates who might intervene in Rome in favor of the decree.

From Europe, Zachariah Shuster sent similar advice. He also cautioned against laments concerning the second session, which would only cause annoyance. Pope Paul's impending journey to the Holy Land, he thought, might actually have been timed so as to put the Council temporarily into the background and let irritations subside.

The need for intervention by liberal prelates was becoming increasingly plain, for much of the news from Rome sounded ominous indeed. On February 20, it was privately learned that the Pope had instructed Cardinal Bea to eliminate the special chapter on Jews from his schema, and

to include the Jewish issue in a general declaration on non-Christian religions--a step that was thought likely to strip the hoped-for decree of much of its significance.

The Cardinal was said to be resisting; but in mid-March a news report stated that such a course was favored by many prelates, and that Bea had received mostly negative suggestions in response to his invitation. It appeared, moreover, that jurisdiction might be transferred to a Secretariat for Non-Christian Religions, yet to be established.

True, more hopeful interpretations were offered by such informants as Msgr. George Higgins, of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Father Morlion.

Simultaneously, Bishop Charles H. Helmsing of Kansas City stated publicly that Pope Paul had told him on March 7 he was hoping for "a good statement" on the Church's

attitude toward Jews, Mohammedans and "the whole world."

Still, this could be read to mean that Judaism would no longer be dealt with in its special context.

At this critical juncture, Cardinal Cushing again showed himself as the leading American champion of a strong declaration. On the day that brought the bad news, Dr. John Slawson, Executive Vice President of the Committee, and Rabbi Tanenbaum happened to meet him at the funeral of Father John La Farge. When they voiced their anxieties, the Cardinal indicated that he planned to intervene at the highest levels--in fact, that he was drafting a statement to be signed by several American Cardinals and sent to Pope Paul.

The same evening, Cardinal Cushing told a meeting of the National Conference of Christians and Jews that the whole world was waiting for the Church to condemn anti-Semitism and recall Christianity's debt to Judaism. During March, he reassured the Committee of his support and, in response to its concern, published a Lenten message in the Boston Traveler, which stated that "anti-Semitism is a profoundly unchristian attitude" and that "the spiritual

ancestry of Christians is Jewish ... The Golden Rule that Christ preached was taught in the temple ... When Jews do not accept Christ as the Promised One, they do not reject the ideals that Christ preached." Finally, he stated in a press interview that the proposed decree was a touchstone of the Church's ecumenical concern; failure to pass it would give seeming sanction to persecution.

Key men of the Committee meanwhile were privately seeking to arouse the concern of other prelates. Jacob Blaustein, a Honorary President of the Committee, maintained contact with Lawrence J. Shehan, the Archbishop of Baltimore. Early in April, the Archbishop predicted that both of the controversial declarations would pass and promised to consider making a public statement at an opportune moment.

Rabbi Tanenbaum approached Cardinals Ritter and Meyer, who had fought so valiantly at the second session. He found both convinced that the decree would pass. Cardinal Ritter volunteered that he had seen Cardinal Cicognani, who

was thought to be responsible for the sidetracking of Chapters IV and V, and that Cicognani had assured him they would be acted upon. He added that he would join Cardinal Cushing in presenting the American bishops' position to the Pope. Neither prelates, however, felt the time was ripe for a public statement. This feeling was shared by Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle of Washington, who had recently written to Cardinal Bea at Ritter's request.

(VERIFY)

In contrast, Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York was persuaded to take a public position at this time. Late in February, he met with Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, onetime President of the Committee and an old friend, who told him that the clergy appeared unaware how directly future interreligious relationships hinged on the declaration.

The Holy See, Judge Proskauer went on, seemed to have heard more from opponents of the decree than from supporters; the Cardinal could render invaluable aid by endorsing it before Pope Paul, and by helping to get it on the agenda.

By way of providing Cardinal Spellman with a forum, Judge Proskauer then invited him to speak at the American Jewish Committee's annual dinner. On April 30, the Cardinal appeared before some 1,100 members and friends of the Committee, together with U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk. He stressed the common origins of Judaism and Christianity, and, to deafening applause, proclaimed that "anti-Semitism can never find a basis in the Catholic religion." Though he did not explicitly refer to the proposed decree, he declared himself appalled by a recent report that persecution of Jews was still widely viewed as a punishment for their supposed collective guilt. In what appeared to be a reference to Hochhuth's play, The Deputy (then about to open in New York), he cited the condemnation of Nazi anti-Semitism by the late Pope Pius XII.

Cardinal Spellman's address aroused wide interest, particularly since he was known as a conservative in religious matters. The Saturday Evening Post saluted his contribution to religious amity. The Committee subsequently distributed some 15,000 copies of the speech, together with reprints

of ~~the~~ two articles on related concerns. One, a news story, reported on the definitive findings of the AJC-sponsored study of intergroup teachings in Catholic textbooks, just completed at St. Louis University; the other, "The Christian War on Anti-Semitism" (Look, June 2), was written with the Committee's help and referred to several of its inter-religious programs.

By early spring, many high-ranking churchmen had become visibly sensitized to the uneasiness in Jewish circles. Bishop James A. McNulty of Buffalo delivered a reassuring address to the local AJC chapter; it was said to be the first appearance of a Catholic bishop before a Jewish group in the city's history. Other prominent churchmen who spoke under Jewish auspices included Archbishops John J. Krol of Philadelphia and William E. Cousins of Milwaukee, as well as Msgr. Higgins.

Similar effect were going forward abroad. In Europe, Zachariah Shuster was working with the French Alliance Israélite, which obtained a hearing from Achille Cardinal

Liénart, Bishop of Lille, and other prelates just before a crucial assembly of cardinals and bishops during February.

In Latin America, sympathetic laymen and members of the lower clergy opened the doors of nearly all cardinals.

The meetings thus arranged were uniformly friendly and frank; most of the prelates visited drafted urgent messages to Cardinal Cicognani on the spot, or promised to do so.

The most colorful of these encounters took place at the rustic summer residence of Augusto Cardinal de Silva, the 88-year-old Archbishop of Bahia, Brazil. Alfred Hirschberg, the Committee's São Paulo representative, reported:

It is more than two hours' drive from the city, partly by dirt road, crossing swollen rivers on makeshift wooden bridged without railings. To be presentable, we changed into dark suits near the house, hiding behind bushes... We sat on an open terrace, with the view of the ocean. The Cardinal invited us for luncheon; we roamed through the fields of religion, science and the current situation in Brazil. Only after three hours he reluctantly let us go, accompanying us to the car.

The Declaration in Danger

During May 1964, Pope Paul took several steps which obscured rather than clarified the status of the hoped-for declaration. In an apostolic letter he said he would "not neglect any means" to have the Council adopt a decree committing the Church to the defense of all non-Catholics' natural rights. Shortly afterwards he announced the long-expected formation of a Vatican Secretariat for Non-Christian Religions, to be headed by a relatively little-known prelate, Paolo Cardinal Marella. How these developments would affect Jewish concerns was not immediately clear.

The press cited a Vatican spokesman to the effect that Jews would now be dealt with through the new Secretariat. At the same time it was reported that the declaration on the Jews had been taken out of the context of Christian unity and broadened to cover relations with non-Christians generally. A few days later, however, the Vatican newspaper, L'Osservatore Romano, said the new secretariat was being "set up outside the Council," and its establishment would not alter plans for clarifying relationships with Jews and

non-Christians at the third session--implying, perhaps, that the Jewish issue was to remain in Bea's jurisdiction.

In any case, signs that the declaration might be watered down on sidetracked were multiplying. Discussions with advisors at Pro Deo convinced the Committee that it was time to seek reassurance at the highest levels. Accordingly, a Papal audience was requested, and on May 30 a delegation consisting of AJC President Morris B. Abram, Ralph Friedman, Philip Hoffman, Mrs. Leonard M. Sperry and Dr. John Slawson was received by the Pontiff. Also present was Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, who earlier that month had met with Jewish and other non-Catholic spokesmen at the Committee's New York headquarters.

A Briefing prepared for the Pope and shown to the visitors suggested that a dialogue rather than a mere ceremonial exchange of prepared statements might be intended. The briefing characterized the Committee as the most influential of American Jewish organizations, referred to Cardinal Spellman's speech, and described the Committee's recent

successful intervention against anti-religious propaganda in the Soviet Union. One of the points listed for possible discussion was the widespread concern, particularly in America, that the third session might "diminish the clarity" of the two controversial chapters.

In a brief opening speech, Mr. Abram emphasized that the Committee had always stood for the rights of all religious groups, citing the Oregon case of 1925. The Pope read a message which commended the Committee's resolution "to safeguard the religious and cultural freedom of all people," condemning any curtailment of human rights on racial grounds, and acknowledged "particular consideration for the Jewish tradition with which Christianity is so intimately linked, and from which it derives hope for trusting relations." The closing sentences deplored the Jews' ordeals and wished them every favor from God.

Mr. Abram turned the conversation to the deicide problem-- a topic on which the Pope's message had been silent. He voiced the hope that this centrally important subject would

be dealt with, and said his feeling was shared by Secretary of State Rusk, as well as Cardinal Spellman. The Pope replied: "I hope the Council will adopt the substance of what I have just read to you ... I have seen Cardinal Spellman's speech, and he speaks my sentiments."

Mr. Abram then announced that Mrs. Sperry had agreed to endow a Center for Intergroup Relations at Pro Deo University in memory of her late husband. The purpose of the new unit, he explained, was "to help carry out the spirit of the Council's work in the field of intergroup relations" through analyzing and combatting prejudice in the teachings of different faiths, as well as through other psychological and sociological research.

The Pontiff appeared genuinely pleased and impressed.

Mr. Abram believed he might be thinking of letting the proposed center become an embryonic administrative apparatus for relations with non-Christian faiths. The Pope warmly thanked Mrs. Sperry and blessed certain objects she had brought on behalf of Catholic friends.

The audience thus ended on the most cordial terms. Yet it was plain that the central issue had not really been clarified. The next day, to the delegation's surprise, L'Osservatore Romano, prominently featured the Pope's prepared statement; but no mention was made of the conversation about deicide and the references to Cardinal Spellman. There was as yet no telling whether these portents meant there would be no explicit statement on deicide, or merely reflected the Pontiff's care not to prejudge the Council's deliberations.

On June 3, Zachariah Shuster was informed that the deicide clause had indeed been deleted, under instructions of the Coordinating Commission under Cardinal Cicognani and with Pope Paul's assent. The revised document definitely was to deal both with Jews and other non-Christians. Moreover, it was not to be a "constitution," as originally intended, but merely a "declaration," i.e., of less judicial force. Cardinal Bea and members of his staff were said to have objected strongly, but to no avail. The new document

was to be printed and distributed to the Church Fathers between June 15 and 25, the informant asserted.

Two days later, Father Morlion, on Cardinal Bea's behalf, notified the Committee of the latest changes. As the Cardinal put it, the declaration "had been brought to a higher plane," had been broadened to condemn hatred for any human group, and particularly condemned the idea of the Jews as a cursed people. Speaking for himself, Father Morlion put a more hopeful construction on the latest version than Mr. Shuster had done. He confirmed that the word "deicide" (which he characterized as a theological absurdity) was being omitted, but claimed that the substance of the document had, if anything, been strengthened. It was not true, that copies would be circulated soon after June 15. In a radio interview, a week later, he predicted that Catholic-Jewish relations would remain under Cardinal Bea's jurisdiction.

Father Morlion, added, off the record, that for the time being only the innermost circle knew what the text contained, and that Cardinal Bea would not welcome attempts to obtain further information from him at this stage. He explained

that the Pope had gone against the Cardinal's advice in receiving the Committee delegation, because he wanted to confront the opposition with an irreversible commitment. The warning was borne out within a few days: During a visit to the United States, the Cardinal declined a meeting with Dr. Heschel on the grounds that the text of the decrees was secret.

On the same day, Bea's aide, Father Schmidt, privately acknowledged to Rabbi Tanenbaum that things had not gone well but expressed the hope that the draft would be amended from the floor; from other sources, Tanenbaum gained the impression that the purpose of the prelate's visit was to lay the groundwork for action on the Council floor, and that Cardinals Spellman and Cushing planned to take prominent part in it. Another member of the Cardinal's staff, Father Thomas J. Stransky, stated confidentially that the Pope now had the revised text, and that Cardinals Spellman, Cushing, Meyer and Ritter had already urged him to restore the crucial point about deicide.

The next day, June 12, the news of the watered-down decree and its impending distribution to the Council Fathers was printed on the front page of The New York Times. The article, by Robert C. Doty, who had succeeded Milton Bracker in March and had been in regular contact with the Committee, stated that political as well as theological considerations were behind this development, and that amendment from the Council floor was unlikely.

Mr. Abram immediately sent a cablegram to Pope Paul, thanking him for the audience of May 30 and pointing out that any new statement would inevitably be read against the strong draft prepared the year before. Whether this intercession and others then in process cleared the hurdles at the Vatican Department of State and actually reached the Pope could not be determined.

The press service of L'Osservatore Romano countered the Times report with a rather oblique reply. The text, it was said, had not been distributed--the implication being that it might yet be altered. →

Father Morlion told the Committee that the Times story had created much commotion at the Vatican, because it seemed to be based on a leak--moreover, a leak by an incompletely informed person.

Father Morlion also supplied what purported to be an up-to-date confidential summary of affairs. This document denied that Cardinal Bea had suffered a defeat and again insisted that the declaration was not essentially weakened, though "for reasons of terminology" the deicide charge was no longer specifically condemned. Details revealed three weeks later by Don Carlo Ferrero of Pro Deo University seemed to confirm that a reasonably strong document might be in the making after all.

But on the heels of these moderately hopeful tidings arrived word of a disastrous new development. In early July, Dr. Heschel was informed that the conservatives, lead by Cardinal Cicognani, would let neither the document on the Jews nor that on religious freedom come to a vote at the third session, after which Cardinal Bea would no longer

be in charge. Zachariah Shuster confirmed this news; he had learned that the drafts might be submitted but would be held up under a procedural pretext. Only Cardinal Cicognani or the Pope could stave off such a disaster now, Mr. Shuster stressed.

Faced with these alarms and uncertainties, the American Jewish Committee all through the summer intensified its contacts with clerics whose voices, it was hoped, would be heard in Rome. In Boston, Cardinal Cushing and Dr. Slawson reviewed the rejection of the deicide charge by the Council of Trent, four centuries ago--an important precedent which Dr. Slawson also commended to Father Morlion's attention. A draft statement was prepared to aid Cardinal Cushing in determining his strategy for the forthcoming Council session. Dr. Slawson also maintained contact with Msgr. Higgins, who was working quietly against any watering down of the decree.

In Baltimore, Jacob Blaustein again called on Archbishop Shehan, who promised to consult Cardinal Spellman about a possible appeal to the Pope and subsequently wrote to

Cardinal Cicognani. From Kansas City, Bishop Helmsing discussed his concern in an exchange of letters with Rabbi Tanenbaum; from San Antonio, Archbishop Robert E. Lucey corresponded in a similar vein with Ralph Friedman. Archbishop Lucey felt letters to Rome were of little use; he suggested that, failing an effective Council delegation, the American hierarchy might adopt a statement of its own.

With the situation so grave, and with time ticking away, the Committee became convinced that approached to the Holy See would have to be sought outside the Church as well as inside. Mr. Shuster solicited the help of Karl Barth, the famous Protestant theologian in Basel, but could not convince him that the decisive issue was of central importance. He was more successful with Vittorino Veronese, a leading Italian businessman, former Director General ^{of} UNESCO and close friend of the Pope, whom he met through the Alliance Israélite. Signor Veronese presented the Pope with a document prepared by the Alliance, and declared himself in agreement with the spirit of the views expressed.

In New York, Mr. Abram and Dr. Slawson sought the aid of Archbishop Iakovos, the head of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America--a move prompted by the recent rapprochement between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, and by the Archbishop's participation in the agapê for Cardinal Bea the year before. Iakovos was cordial and sympathetic; he promised to carry word to Patriarch Athanagoras, with whom Pope Paul had so dramatically met during his recent journey to the Holy Land, and indicated he might also approach Pope Paul directly.

Meanwhile, without fanfare, the American Jewish Committee was pursuing the most crucial diplomatic undertaking of all. When Zachariah Shuster reported, early in July, that no one but Cardinal Cicognani or the Pope himself could prevent the Jewish issue from again being tabled, he added: "Only a major action from Washington can possibly obtain the desired results." Actually, the Committee had been reckoning with this necessity for some time. In late May, the delegation to the Pope had visited Secretary of State Rusk, to broach the question whether American sentiment on the issue could

somehow be communicated to the Vatican. Mr. Rusk found it hard to believe that the Vatican, having gone so far, would reverse itself, but promised to bear the problem in mind.

Toward the end of June, Morris B. Abram appealed to Sargent Shriver, the Director of the Peace Corps, whom he knew from having served as legal counsel to that agency. Mr. Shriver thought that the White House would not care to become involved in the issue; in any case, he felt intervention by high-ranking persons within the Church would do more good.

Simultaneously, Sidney R. Rabb--one of the Committee's most active members in the Boston area--made it possible for Mr. Abram and Dr. Slawson to meet with the Speaker of the House of Representatives, John W. McCormack of Massachusetts. The Speaker was much impressed with the presentation made to him. Within 24 hours, he telephoned Messrs. Abram and Slawson; he had just had breakfast with President Johnson, and the President was thinking of sending a private emissary to Pope Paul. As far as ~~it~~ is knowⁿ, however, this plan was not carried out.

(VERIFY)

On July 2, Rabbi Tanenbaum of the Committee met with two White House aides, Meyer Feldman and Ralph Dungan. He stressed that Rome ought to be made aware at once of "a genuine concern here at the highest levels," so as to forestall further deterioration. The immediate objective was to arrange ^{an} appointment with the President for Mr. Abram; but Mr. Dungan apparently did not share the Committee's sense of urgency, and during the next three weeks, both Mr. Abram and Dr. Slawson found him adamant.

On July 23, Father Morlion finally reported a forward step to Dr. Slawson. He said he had just seen Mr. Dungan, who had told him the President was not inclined to send an envoy to the Pope before election time, but had conveyed to him the White House's concern "for unofficial transmission to the Pope." Soon, a somewhat similar report came from Mr. Rabb, who was in constant touch with Washington: The White House would send no envoy now, but President Johnson was thinking of transmitting a letter to the Pope through Ambassador Frederick Reinhardt in Rome on the opening day

of the Council's third session. Mr. Rabb, incidentally, had also learned that Cardinal Ottaviani was replacing Cardinal Cicognani as leader of the opposition against the proposed decree.

Five days later, Father Morlion telephoned from Rome, with the news that he had verbally transmitted to Pope Paul what he described as "the message from the President ... confirming the political necessity in America that the new decree should be stronger than the old one." The "political explanation" had been received with particular interest and would serve to prevent a filibuster. Things once more looked well, Father Morlion added, and no further representations by the United States were needed. ⁶ or ~~very~~ ^{even} desirable.

Before the Public

All through the critical spring and summer of 1964, the Committee sought to keep the need for a significant decree before the Catholic public. Rabbi Tanenbaum spoke challengingly on this topic to a variety of groups; an

address he gave before the Catholic Press Association evoked numerous favorable editorials in religious journals. An article by him, published in the St. Louis Review (July 17) and reprinted in other diocesan papers, interpreted the proposed decree against the background of Catholic-Jewish friction through the centuries.

The general public was also being reached. During May, a column explaining the problem and incorporating Pope Paul's hopeful statement to Bishop Helmsing (March 7) was disseminated by the Chicago Daily News Service; and late in June, Bob Considine, columnist for the Hearst syndicate and a prominent Catholic layman, described at length how the Committee had "campaign[ed] with great tact" for a strong declaration. The column, which appeared in more than 200 papers, came about through the good offices of Nathan Appleman, the Chairman of the Committee's Board of Trustees.

Under the stresses of the period between the Council's sessions, a difficulty came to the fore which further confused the picture and sowed doubt in sympathetic circles

of the Church. Jewish groups in the United States, it became clear, were by no means unanimous in their attitudes and hopes concerning the Council.

As early as February 1964, Rabbi Dr. Joseph B. Soloveitchik, who was regarded as the spiritual leader of non-Hasidic Orthodox Jewry in the United States, sharply criticized the proposed decree as "evangelical propaganda" which dealt with Jews only as potential converts. He argued that discussion between Christians and Jews should be limited to non-religious subjects, and that the Council should be asked solely for a condemnation of anti-Semitism, not for assertions of religious brotherhood. Dr. Soloveitchik's strictures received only limited publicity at this time.

During June, in the National Jewish Post, the Orthodox leader reiterated his criticism and ~~and~~ announced that the Rabbinical Council of America might publicly ask at its forthcoming convention that the proposed Council decree not be passed. He was believed to have encouraged in this direction by Dr. Nahum Goldman of the World Jewish Congress.

The Committee feared that such a move would play directly into the opposition's hands. Rabbi Tanenbaum wrote to Dr. Soloveitchik, informing him of recent changes in the draft which should meet his objections, and deploring widespread misconceptions about the document among Orthodox rabbis.

In the end, Dr. Soloveitchik did not attack the proposed decree at the convention (June 22), but several others did.

Rabbi Israel Klavan attacked Jewish secular groups for involving themselves "in areas of theology in which they have no competence," and thereby blurring the distinctive character of different faiths. Other spokesmen said Orthodox Jews were offended because the Committee's delegation had visited Pope Paul on a Saturday.

Simultaneously, an attack was launched by the Reform rabbinate. At a convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, the president of the organization, scored "obsequious appeals" being made to the Council, describing them as "insulting to the Jewish spirit." Jews need not press for a statement about the Crucifixion,

most of the rabbis present seemed to agree; the problem was solely a Christian one.

Father Stransky, with whom Dr. Heschel discussed these new difficulties, revealed that the Orthodox group had made great efforts to see Cardinal Bea on his visit to Boston, but that the Cardinal would not receive them. The rabbis' statements were a source of concern, Father Stransky said; just to what extent they would influence the Vatican would depend on how much the Church's conservative forces decided to publicize them.

The Committee decided that the Orthodox accusations required a public reply. A press release rejected the charge of amateurish dabbling in theology, emphasizing that the Committee had planned its dealings with the Council in consultation with theological scholars representing all three branches of Judaism. The Reform rabbis' objections were answered in a letter which was given only limited publicity, so as not to prolong public controversy. The notion of Jewish collective guilt had always been a

cause of anti-Semitism, Morris B. Abram wrote to Rabbi Feuer, and no more important step could be taken for the welfare of world Jewry than to eradicate it.



Addenda:

Approach to Cardinal Spellman (Charles Silver)

Delegation to Latin America

Subsequent developments