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CONSULTATION BETWEEN MEMBERS OF  
THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND  
REPRESENTATIVES OF JEWRY

Geneva, 27-30 May, 1969.

Report from:  
THE COMMITTEE ON THE CHURCH AND  
THE JEWISH PEOPLE

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND PREJUDICES

The period since the last meeting has mainly been focused on preparations for the World Assembly in Uppsala in 1968 and following up of the work of the Assembly. Inevitably this has meant that the question of religious education and prejudice has not been given so much attention as would be desirable.

The CCJP Newsletter no. 4/1968 gives both the preparative material for the Assembly (page 1 - 3) - the Work Book material (page 3 - 4) and a report on the discussions and decisions at the Assembly (page 4-6).

During the Assembly the Secretary of CCJP was asked to prepare a questionnaire to be circulated among participants at the Assembly which should provide guidelines for the way the work of the Committee should be presented to the plenary session of the Assembly.

This led to three points made in the presentation:

1. to urge member churches to implement the New Delhi statement where this had not yet been done.
2. to recommend that the theological study based on the paper from Bristol should continue on a broader denominational and geographical level.
3. to recommend that the functions of CCJP and the place of the Committee within the WCC structures be reviewed.

A considerable time has been spent on the third point, and it was discussed at the Committee meeting of DWME. It will be discussed further by the CCJP Committee when it meets in September in USA.

At the same time the Executive Committee has changed the membership of CCJP. There is still a majority of persons who are directly involved in Jewish-Christian relations of different kinds. A new category has, however, been added. It has long been felt within the WCC that the Committee only consisted of persons who were experts in one way or another. This has given the impression that it consisted of a group of persons who have chosen the Jewish-Christian relations as their special interest, but it was not understood as a matter of vital importance in many other aspects of the life of the Church and of WCC. It was therefore decided to include a new category of members from Orthodox Churches, from the Middle East countries, from other Asian and African countries in order to break the entirely Western character of the Committee.

The second point has been followed up in various ways. While much of the theological thinking in recent years has been made within the Reformed churches, I now find that Lutherans are moving forward. The Lutheran World Federation has for some time had a study commission. This has been working on a theological paper since the Lögumkloster consultation in 1964. The result is a document which will be brought before the Lutheran World Assembly in Brazil in 1970. (The document is now available.)

In America the theological department of the Lutheran Council in the U.S.A. pursues the matter in co-operation with Jewish organisations. In Germany an Arbeitskreis für Kirche und Judentum was established within the union of German churches to continue the study, and prepare educational and other material for the churches. Some German churches have established their own committee to work on these matters and similarly in Denmark a group of theologians pursue the study.

The first point has been the most difficult one and still is. Reactions in Uppsala revealed that some of those who were not too interested in implementing the statement said that this was already taken care of and did not need to be repeated. This is a warning to be realistic about what can and ought to be done. The following observation may be useful for a discussion on this matter:

1. In order to help the churches which have not yet implemented the New Delhi statement staff members of the WCC have discussed whether it would be useful to prepare a letter to be sent to all the member churches of the WCC.

If a circular letter to member churches can help to clarify which are the issues, they may discover why it is necessary to re-examine the material.

In order to find out what kind of letter would be useful, a theological paper prepared jointly by Roman Catholic and Jewish scholars in Austria was sent to a number of Protestant scholars for comment. The reactions are very different. Some were enthusiastic about the paper, and others were very critical. Those who had some experience in education, suggested that papers of doctrinal character are not very useful for educational purpose, but rather should one aim at publications which would more thoroughly deal with certain passages in the Bible and the way the New Testament speaks about the Jews, the Pharisees, etc.

On the basis of these reactions we are in the process of working further on the paper.

2. Statements of Assemblies and publications and letters from the WCC are useful as working material - if they are used. But this is just the problem. A statement made in Uppsala or Geneva does not automatically commit member churches to take action. Some of the churches do not even have structures which make it possible to do so. On the other hand there are churches which can and will act on such material, and they should be approached in that way.

3. It is a general experience that most of the work depends on personal

initiative. The structures may be unsatisfactory in many churches and the lines of communication between the World Council of Churches and its member churches and even within the church structure to the congregations and the educational institutions. If, however, persons become concerned about the matter and commit themselves to do something, one may expect that they will be able to find some way of bringing their concern forward within the churches.

This is, of course, a slow process, and often very difficult and discouraging, but I see no other way in a number of cases. One can, therefore, not expect striking achievements overnight.

4. The study of Prof. Bernhard Olson has shown that considerable results can be achieved if churches are exposed to the problem; this is, however, more difficult in Europe and even more so in the Orthodox churches, and all the churches in Africa and Asia. The best work has been done in Germany and France (see the book list). I have personally checked some of the Danish material and am surprised both by the very scholarly approach to the questions and the improvement in the last twenty years. There is a complete lack of stereotypes in the interpretation even if probably none of the writers are in contact with Jews. Groups in the other Scandinavian countries have been asked to look into the material, but I am convinced they will have a similar experience.

5. One of the experts in this field has stressed that we should not develop an anti-anti-Semitism. The important thing is to help to produce material which gives a correct and sympathetic image of Jews and Judaism, without concealing where difficulties and differences are to be found. This can only be done by educational experts and in many instances only on a national or denominational basis.

What I think very important and should be encouraged wherever possible, is the co-operation between Christian and Jewish scholars which leads to a new understanding of the Jewish-Christian relationship. An example of a very promising project is the plan to publish in Holland a scholarly book on the Jewish background and Jewish material, relating to the New Testament. This should replace the classical book by Strack-Billerbeck.

6. At a conference for educators organized by the International Consultative Committee of Organisations for Christian-Jewish Co-operation one of the Roman Catholic participants reported on how they had thoroughly examined their educational and devotional material and suggested the necessary changes. The general reaction was rather surprising. It was felt that this kind of work was not very efficient and did not really go to the root of the problem. One got the impression that a much more important problem is to help Christians in the churches and in education to learn how to relate to people of another faith and way of life which even challenges and questions their own faith. This does not just mean to improve material how useful it may be, but it is an educational process in which many branches of the life of the church should be involved. The need to prepare the churches for living in our religious and cultural pluralism with full respect for other faiths and yet without feeling that one relativises and compromises the Christian conviction, seems to me to be the major task ahead.

Anker Gjerding

BOOK LIST

1. Bernhard Olson: Faith and Prejudice (Yale University Press 1963)
2. Jules Isaac: The Teaching of Contempt (Holt, Rinehart, Winston 1964)  
- L'Enseignement du Mépris (Fasquelle 1962)
3. F. Lovsky: Le peuple d'Israel dans l'éducation chrétienne (Société des Ecoles du Dimanche, 15, Rue de Buci, Paris 6e, 1969)
4. E. Krippendorf: Erziehungswesen und Judentum (Nor Tamid Verlag München 1960)
5. H. J. Gamm: Pädagogische Studien zum Problem der Judenfeindschaft (Luchterhand 1966)
6. W.P. Eckert, N.P. Levinson, M. Stöhr: Antijudaismus im Neuen Testament? (Chr. Kaiser Verlag 1968)
7. W. Neidhardt: Psychologie des kirchlichen Unterrichts (Zwingli Verlag 1960)
8. A. Quervain: Das Judentum in der Lehre und Verkündigung der Kirche heute. (Theologische Existenz heute No. 130 - Kaiser Verlag)
9. Eckert-Ehrlich: Judenhass - Schuld der Christen?! (Hans Driewer Verlag, Essen)
10. Darstellung des Judentums in der Katechese (Memorandum vorgelegt vom Christlich-Jüdischen Koordinierungsausschuss, Wien dem Kardinal Franz König)

CONSULTATION BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE WORLD COUNCIL  
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MAY 27-30, 1969

JERUSALEM - VIEWED FROM THE CHRISTIAN WEST

by Prof. A. Denis Baly

Christian Pilgrimages to Jerusalem

Of the great importance of Jerusalem to the Christian one cannot speak too emphatically, for without Jerusalem there could be no Christian community at all. First, all Christians must be for ever debtors to the Jewish Scriptures, whose hope is centered on Jerusalem, and it is the argument of the New Testament that it could be only in Jerusalem that the work of Jesus could come to fruition, and from Jerusalem that the word of salvation must go out to the world. The hymns of the Western Church are filled with imagery from the Old Testament:-

Jerusalem the Golden  
With milk and honey blest !

City of God, how broad and far  
Outspread thy walls sublime !

Glorious things of thee are spoken,  
Zion, city of our God !

Second, just because the culmination of the work of Jesus could take place nowhere else, the profound scriptural significance of Jerusalem has been for Christians enriched and enhanced by their conviction that here in this city, and nowhere

else, did the salvation of man in fact take place. They have rejoiced to trace those events, step by step, as they are recorded in the Gospels, and lovingly to identify every detail with some particular place, even with some particular stone, upon the road. This has certainly been carried to excess, but it has been an excess of love, and the means whereby the visitor may for himself re-enact and relive the life of his Master. They have therefore stood upon the Mount of Olives to gaze down upon the magnificent panorama of the ancient city, and have remembered how Jesus wept over it; they have visited Bethesda to meditate upon the healing of the cripple; they have followed the winding ascent of the Via Dolorosa; they have stood upon Gabbatha, the pavement where Jesus was condemned; and above all they have knelt on Golgotha, and have kissed the marble which now enshrines the empty tomb.

Christian pilgrimages to the city seem to have begun in apostolic times, though the first pilgrimage of which actual record survives is that of Bishop Alexander of Cappadocia in A.D. 217. After the conversion of the Emperor Constantine in the early fourth century pilgrims began to converge upon Jerusalem in great numbers, and the city was made all glorious within by great basilicas and churches. This steady ascent of pilgrims from the Christian west has persisted throughout history until modern times, though waxing and waning in numbers according to the political and economic conditions of the times. Of the great importance of the Jerusalem pilgrimage during all the Middle Ages we have ample evidence, not only from religious writings, but also from references in secular literature. It is true that modern Christian historians no longer view the Crusades with the same enthusiasm as did their predecessors, and indeed, because of the brutality of the period, find themselves often embarrassed by the crusading movement. Nevertheless, whatever view one takes of the political, military, and religious activity of the Crusades, one cannot deny the fact that for Christians of the west the name of Jerusalem was a

word to set their hearts aflame, and the concept of this earthly city was one which could stir them to the greatest devotion, or, alas, to excesses of violence.

It is true that there have been for Christians in the west other centres of pilgrimage, Rome, Santiago di Compostella, St. David's, Canterbury, Chartres, and so on, just as for Muslims Jerusalem does not stand alone - there are also Mecca, Medina, and Kairouan. I have seen it argued, therefore, that Christians and Muslims have a somewhat lesser interest in Jerusalem than that of the Jewish people, for whom Jerusalem stands alone. There are, it is suggested, for Christians and Muslims alternatives centres for their earthly aspirations. Admittedly it would make the problem of Jerusalem a great deal easier if this were so, and admitted also the Jewish people have no alternative, but I am not persuaded that for either Christians or Muslims Jerusalem has ever been thought of as an alternative, or that within the context of either Christianity or Islam it would be possible so to consider Jerusalem.

Even in the great heyday of Christian pilgrimage during the Middle Ages, all the other centres were sacred to Christians only within the context of Jerusalem. They would have had no Christian significance apart from Jerusalem, and though the pilgrimage to Rome or Santiago di Compostella or Canterbury was certainly meritorious, it was never suggested that in their devotion to these cities men might perhaps be excused for forgetting Jerusalem.

#### The Importance of Jerusalem after the Reformation

The primary, and indeed altogether unique, significance of Jerusalem became abundantly clear at the Reformation, when, on the part of the non-Catholic churches, there was a strong reaction against pilgrimage, and the great shrines of western Christendom ceased to attract the devotion of those who had broken company with the Roman Catholic Church. There was not, however, a

similar reaction against Jerusalem, which continued to summon men to visit her in devotion and worship. We have, for instance, the evidence of William Lithgow, a Scotsman, who visited Jerusalem in 1612, that "at last we beheld the prospect of the City, which was not only a contentment to my weary body but also being ravished with a kind of unwonted rejoicing, the tears gushed from my eyes for too much joy," and of Frederika Bremer, a Swedish woman, who arrived in Jerusalem in 1859, that she was "unspeakably thankful to have arrived safe in Jerusalem... free as a bird to look around me spiritually and physically," and though, like most Protestant visitors of that date, she had little sympathy with the Orthodox Church, she says, "the small Evangelical Community celebrate on Mount Zion a divine worship, in spirit and in truth, which is both an enjoyment and an edification of witness." This persistent attraction of Jerusalem, even to those Christians who tended to distrust pilgrimage as such, as something "popish" and "medieval," rested in their conviction that the significance of Jerusalem was securely based upon fact, whereas the significance of all other centres of pilgrimage rested only upon the pious legends of the devout. As they understood the matter Jesus of Nazareth had in fact entered the city of Jerusalem on a donkey on Palm Sunday, had taught in the Temple, had been arrested, tried, scourged within the city walls, and then taken out to execution beyond the gates to rise again triumphantly on the third day. The non-Roman Christians, therefore, could forget Glastonbury and Santiago di Compostella, because it was only legend that attributed their founding to Joseph of Arimethea or to Saint James; they could even forget Canterbury, even though the martyrdom of Thomas Becket was an undoubted fact of history, because they had rejected the adoration of saints and martyrs, but they could never forget Jerusalem, just because it was in the name of Jesus of Nazareth that they had rejected the adoration of anyone else, and one cannot separate Jesus from Jerusalem. Indeed, it was

their insistence upon the fact of the biblical Jerusalem that led so many Protestant Christian in the west to be sympathetic to Zionism.

Among the Catholic communities, of course, there was no rejection of pilgrimage, and Jerusalem continued to be for them the centre of their spiritual world, in no sense supplanted by Rome, however important Rome might be. It is noteworthy that when in modern times the Pope for the first time journeyed outside Italy, it was on pilgrimage to Jerusalem that he went. There was no other place to which he could go first; every other place must wait.

#### Catholic and Protestant Attitudes to Jerusalem

Nevertheless, despite the primacy of the city of Jerusalem in both Catholic and Protestant thought, there has been a marked difference of attitude. The Catholic understanding of the Church as the Mother of the faithful, entrusted with the spiritual care and nurture of her children, has led to emphasis being placed upon Christian devoting being properly conducted within the bosom of this great family, and consequently to an emphasis upon corporate devotion. It is quite true that within the Catholic Church every encouragement is given to the development and growth of the private, personal spiritual life, but not to the extent of assuming that an individual could be left wholly to himself in this matter. Therefore, Catholic pilgrimages have remained much more the traditional corporate pilgrimage, sometimes in very large numbers, especially at the great feasts, and the Church has maintained numerous buildings for the reception of these pilgrims. By comparison, the Scots' Hospice of St. Andrew, and two Anglican hostels at Christchurch and St. George's are much more modest. Secondly, more emphasis has been placed upon spiritual realities than upon literal accuracy. The devotions every Friday at the Stations of the Cross on the Via Dolorosa are an excellent example of this. Thirdly, Catholics tend to feel that ideally the Holy City ought to be under Catholic, or at the very least Christian, government, and I well remember in the years immediately following 1948 the anger, and the bitterness, of certain of my Catholic friends because the British government had allowed the Holy Places to pass into the hands of those who were not Christian.

It was a view which I did not share, and I confess to having been taken aback to hear it so vehemently expressed. It has, of course, become evident during the last twenty years that there is no possibility whatever of even a theoretically Christian government taking over the administration of the Holy Places, but the objection to the city of Jerusalem being in the hands of non-Christians still remains a powerful one in the Catholic community, and most of those whom I know would argue strongly in favor of internationalization.

The Protestant have been less concerned about problems of political administration. This has been in part because their devotion has tended to be of a more personal and pietistic kind, and, especially in America, they conceive of "freedom of Religion" as meaning the freedom of each individual person to worship as he wishes. They would almost certainly prefer an internationalized Jerusalem, but it is not a matter about which they become very excited. There is among non-Roman Christians in the West no concerted movement of peoples anxious to press for internationalization. This does not mean in the least that they do not think Jerusalem to be important. They think it very important indeed, and have built their own churches there, and given money freely for charitable purposes in the city. It springs, I think, from a certain inability in the popular Protestant mind to think clearly about Jerusalem. Protestants, probably more than Catholics, find difficulty in disentangling the earthy Jerusalem from the heavenly one. The concept of two Jerusalems, one of them here on earth and the other in heaven, plays an important part in New Testament writings, and it has continued throughout the ages to be a powerful concept in Christian thought and in Christian worship. The Old Testament imagery in the hymns which I quoted at the beginning of this paper is, of course, directed towards the heavenly Jerusalem, having been transferred from the earthly Jerusalem, to which it belongs in the Jewish scriptures. Admittedly, Catholics as well have made constant use in their thinking of this concept of two Jerusalems, and have also frequently identified the two, but I believe them to have been less guilty of confusing the two. They have been more able to see through the Jerusalem which now is to the Jerusalem which is above, whereas the Protestants who visit Jerusalem often find the actual Jerusalem distracting to their worship.

They are seriously shocked, for instance, by the quarreling that has unfortunately taken place between the Christian communities in the city, certainly much more shocked by it than Catholics have been. This may, of course, reveal a certain weakness in the Catholic outlook.

This confusion in the popular Protestant mind has, I believe, a double cause. First, Protestant devotion is much less disciplined than Catholic devotion, and is left very much more to the free activity of the Spirit, and this has led to a lack of clarity and precision in Protestant devotional thought. The other cause is the undoubted tendency in popular Protestantism towards a literalist interpretation of the Bible. Here there has developed a very sharp division between Protestant scholarship on the one hand, and Protestant preaching and popular Protestant thought on the other. Protestant scholarship is not literalist at all, and is openly scornful of literalism, but Protestant preaching for the last century has moved steadily away from biblical exposition towards the making of theological assertions and giving of moral advice and exhortation. The Protestant laity, therefore, have been very little instructed in the achievements of Protestant scholarship. It is true that there have been very many popular books presenting these achievements to the general public, and these have sold well, but all this has remained in the realm of the intellect. It has not entered into the devotional thinking of Protestants, and has not affected at all those large numbers of people who do not read books of even popular scholarship.

This literalism has carried over into Protestant pilgrimage, and to Protestant semi-devotional books about the Holy Land. What the Protestant pilgrim wishes to see when he goes to Galilee is fisherman casting their nets, and farmers casting their seed on the ground, "just as they did in the days of Jesus." When they visit Jerusalem, they are very deeply moved emotionally by the thought that they may be walking on the actual stones on which Jesus walked, and looking at the very hills upon which he gazed. They want to clear away the accumulations of centuries, and get back to the actual Jesus, and so the unbroken tradition of worship in the great churches of the Nativity and the Holy Sepulchre means little to them. In fact, many Protestants

find themselves repelled by these churches, and would much prefer a bare hillside. It is true that there is much which is naive and sentimental about all this, and it is true also that Protestants have not been averse to creating holy places of their own which have no factual support at all, notably the Garden Tomb in Jerusalem and the Shepherds' Fields near Bethlehem. Yet it is important to consider the kind of Holy Place which Protestant devotion has created. The Garden Tomb attracts them just because it is a quite evident tomb cut out of the rock, even though it is not of the right date, and here they can read the twentieth chapter of Saint John's Gospel, and, what is very important to them, visualize the scene in relation to an actual tomb in an actual garden. They dislike the Holy Sepulchre because they cannot visualize a tomb there at all. For the same reason they like the Shepherds' Fields at Bethlehem because out there in the open they can identify themselves with the shepherds to whom the announcement of the birth of the Christ was made. I do not personally share their outlook, and even after many Easters and Christmases spent in Jerusalem it comes regularly as a shock to me to meet so many people who would actually prefer to attend the Sunrise Service in the Garden Tomb at Easter or the Christmas service in the Shepherds' Fields instead of attending those places where throughout the centuries the birth and resurrection of Jesus have always been celebrated.

But the fact that I do not share their outlook is irrelevant. I cannot deny the fact of their conviction, nor can I deny that "the Jesus of History", however difficult it may be to re-discover him, is of fundamental importance to the Christian faith. It is very important that the so-called "Christ-Event" shall never be allowed to become merely an intellectual and theological concept, but remain what the Christian creed has always proclaimed it to be, something which actually happened in history. The scholar can, of course, afford to be scornful of the naive literalism of Protestant devotion in the Holy Land, but it is true devotion, and their concern for the "actual" is a reminder of the importance of the actual person who lived and worked in first century Palestine. Popular Protestantism, therefore, is not greatly concerned about problems of the Holy Places and their administration, but it is likely to become very disturbed if Jerusalem

develops into a great modern metropolis, because this will be just as much an obstacle to them as the great churches which have covered up the ancient sites. They will say with Mary, "They have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid him."

### Anglicans in Jerusalem

It is necessary to mention also the peculiar position of the Anglican Communion, which contains many representatives of both attitudes, and has always resisted being classed exclusively as either Catholic or Protestant. Anglican activity in Jerusalem has always been marked by a certain oddity, some of it good, and some of it not so good. There was, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the curious phenomenon of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric, and there is today the anomaly of an Anglican Archbishop in Jerusalem, who is under another archbishop, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Visser 't Hooft once remarked to me that only the Anglicans could have thought of anything so unusual, to which the answer must be that even the Anglicans could have thought of it only in connection with Jerusalem! Their anomalous position has, however, been of considerable importance in the city, because it has enabled them to play a neutral role in an often bitterly inflamed situation. They have taken the Holy Places extremely seriously, but they have not become identified with them (fortunately Queen Victoria was advised not to accept the Turkish offer of the Church of Saint Anne after the Crimean War), and therefore, during the Jordanian administration of the Old City an Arab Anglican was always appointed as advisor to the Jordanian Government on questions concerning the Holy Places. They have also maintained a strictly neutral political position, and this role has been recognized by others. At the surrender of Jerusalem in 1917 the Turkish commander and the British commander met in the library of Saint George's Cathedral, and thirty years later the armistice between the Jordanians and the Israelis was arranged when the two commanders met in Saint George's School. The Anglican schools in Jerusalem during the Mandate were more successful than any others in having both Arabs and Jews together in the same classroom (though it should not be forgotten that the Jerusalem Y.M.C.A. had both Arab and Jewish members).

It has been, moreover, in St. George's Cathedral that all the churches have been able to meet together for common worship, the first occasion the Latins (i.e. Roman Catholics) took part as participants rather than as friendly observers being the memorial service for King George VI. Whether she will again be enabled to play this reconciling role politically remains to be seen, but the fact that St. George's Cathedral is there is perhaps not without importance for the future.

### The Future of Jerusalem

It remains briefly to consider the future, and here I am bound to say that I can do no more than express my personal opinion, for there is no consensus of Christians. There is very little doubt, however, that the great majority of those who know Jerusalem would probably urge strongly the continuation of what has come to be known as the principle of the Status Quo, by which is meant the principle that the status and jurisdiction of the Holy Places shall remain as it was before. This is now a well-established principle with a respectable history. It is usually accepted that it was first stated in Turkish firman of 1852, and it was confirmed by the Congress of Berlin in 1878, as well as by the proclamation made by the British when they occupied the city in 1917. However, the principle that what had been done in the past was to be a guide for the future is clearly older than 1852. Already in 1840, when the question of repaving the area immediately in front of the Western Wall (i.e. the "Wailing Wall") was raised, the following order to the Governor of Jerusalem, dated May 25th, 1840, was made: "The deliberations of the Consultative Council in Jerusalem show that the place the Jews petitioned to pave is adjoining the wall of al-Haram ash-Sharif ... that it is included in the waqf of Abu Madyan ... and that the Jews never repaired such things in that place.

There can be little doubt that in general the continuation of this principle would be, from the point of view of both Christians and Muslims, highly desirable, as tending to stabilize a tense and emotional situation. The temptation, when places are held to be so sacred, for the politically dominant community to enlarge its holdings is very strong indeed, and in the past no such community has been able to resist it. Yet, the principle of the status quo has difficulties of its own. Clearly, it tends to penalize any who in the past have been excluded from what they believe to be their rights. Secondly, it tends to fossilize what is bound by the nature of things to be a dynamic and changing situation, and to make of the Holy City of Jerusalem something of a "museum piece". Nevertheless, I would myself argue that, the situation being what it is, the resolute continuation of the status quo principle would serve to allay many fears, and prevent much future bitterness.

One important matter on which I find myself in disagreement with many of my Christian friends, who know and love the city of Jerusalem no less than I do, is whether Christians can properly claim any "rights" in the Holy City at all. Merely to mention the possibility that Christians have no such "rights" is, I know, certain to raise a storm of protest, and in the hope of preventing such a storm let me make it perfectly clear that I am convinced as they are that it is altogether reasonable, and altogether just, that Christians shall have places of worship in the city of Jerusalem, and that these shall include those sites associated with the earthly life, and death, and the resurrection and ascension, of Jesus of Nazareth. I also believe that it is entirely fitting that Christians be allowed to continue their devotions along the Via Dolorosa, even though this is a public street, much of which is lined with shops, provided, of course, that these devotions are conducted in a quiet and orderly fashion. From the point of view of impartial, international justice, it is right and proper that these should be secured to Christians, and Christians have every reason to request this. What I question

is whether the New Testament ethic allows Christians to insist upon these "rights", and to bring political pressure to bear in order to obtain them. I find it difficult to justify this kind of demand with the love which "seeketh not her own," nor can I persuade myself that we have any authority in the New Testament to claim as of right this or that place associated with Jesus, of whom it is recorded that he "had nowhere to lay his head." I should grieve indeed, I confess, if the great sanctuaries of Christendom should pass out of Christian hands, but I trust that I should make no violent protest. I believe, moreover, that Christians should accept with humility whatever form of political government should come upon Jerusalem, always provided that it does not mean discrimination, oppression, or tyranny, practised against other people. I would even go so far as to argue that Jerusalem ought not to pass under specifically Christian government (of which, of course, there is no possibility at present), lest the Church should be exposed to those temptations to aggrandisement of which I have already spoken. An essentially neutral, probably an international, administration of the area containing the Holy Places still seems to me to offer the greatest promise of peace in Jerusalem, but in the present very emotional situation I wonder very much whether it is a practical political possibility.

#### Christian Concern for Muslim Holy Places

I have long been convinced, and I should add that it was a conviction that came upon me strongly in the years that I lived in Jerusalem, that for Christians justice should never be something they seek for themselves, always something they seek for other people. Therefore, the function of Christians in Jerusalem should properly be to recognize how profoundly the city is sacred to both Jews and Muslims, and to seek with all their power to understand these concepts of sanctity, which are not necessarily the same as their own. In a consultation of Christians and Jews the importance of Jerusalem for Islam is likely to take second

place, as indeed it has tended to take in most Western considerations of the city. It is therefore fitting that we remind ourselves continually how deep, and how abiding, the Muslim love for Jerusalem has been. We must not assume, as do so many western writers, that it rests upon no more than the legend of Muhammad's miraculous journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, and thence into heaven. This tradition is based upon a single verse in the Qur'an (XVII,1), "Praise be to him who carried his servant from the sacred mosque, whose precincts we blessed that we might show him our signs. Surely, He is the One who hears, the One who sees!" The Masjid al-Haram, the sacred place of prostration, is certainly the Haram in Mecca, but the Masjid al-Aqsa, the farthest place of prostration, was surely not intended originally to be understood in any literal sense, but rather as being the ultimate sanctuary, in the heavenly sphere, just as Paul speaks of himself having once been caught up to the third heaven ... into Paradise - whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows." The Masjid al-Aqsa came to be identified with the site of the Temple in Jerusalem because Jerusalem was already sacred to Muslims. This was the city which Muhammad had first faced in his prayers, the city of David, and the City of 'Isa ibn-Mariam, Jesus the son of Mary, of whom the Qur'an speaks so frequently. With the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty, less than thirty years after the death of Muhammad, it became the great center of pilgrimage, which it has remained ever since. Here was built one of the most beautiful of all Muslim places of worship, and the city was continually enriched by the bounty of the faithful. The mosques, and the charitable institutions, which they built, and the fervent devotion of both rich and poor, are witness to the complete Muslim identification with this city. During the fast of Ramadhan, the last fast before the June war, I saw over 100,000 people prostrate before God on the terraces of the Haram ash-Sharif, so rightly called "the Noble Sanctuary." Any plan for the future of Jerusalem which does not take full account of the profound spiritual and emotional attachment of Muslims to the city is a plan doomed to failure.

Two acute and practical problems arise when the Holy Places are visited by people other than members of the community to which they belong. Certain buildings on sites sacred to either Christians or Jews, or sometimes both, are also sacred to Muslims, and the buildings themselves are now Muslim property. These include, for instance, the Crusaders' chapel of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, now a mosque, the Coenaculum, or House of the Last Supper, again built by the Crusaders, but sacred also to Jews, because tradition holds that this is the site of the Tomb of David. When the fortunes of war in 1948-9 left the Jewish people excluded from the Old City of Jerusalem, and therefore from access to the Western Wall, this became the chief center of pilgrimage for the Jewish people, and a most moving memorial to all those who had been slaughtered in the Nazi persecutions. This has undoubtedly impeded Christian and Muslim use of the building. I do not know the situation since the June war, but on previous occasions when I visited this shrine I was not able, even though a Christian, also to visit the Upper Room. A reverse situation existed in Hebron where the great mosque, the Haram al-Ibrahimi, is built over the traditional sites of the tombs of the Patriarchs, but where Jewish pilgrims were not permitted to go further than half way up the steps leading to the door. At present there is very bitter Muslim resentment because the situation has been altered, very much to the Muslim disadvantage.

Nothing is more difficult than to adjudicate what is the right thing to do in cases of this kind. It has, alas, not been possible to prevent outbreaks of violence even between Christians in sacred buildings which are shared between different communities. The situation has not been made any easier by the fact that pilgrimage is giving way to tourism, and the Holy Places inevitably becoming secularized. It is perfectly true that this lessens the danger of violence, for tourists come out of curiosity, and not out of an excess of devotion, and they are not likely to get angry about the places they visit. But they are equally not inclined to treat

them with great respect, or perhaps to treat with respect only those belonging to their own tradition. The others are for them little more than show-cases in the museum of Jerusalem.

Tourism is essentially a western phenomenon. Muslims and Arab Christians who before 1967 came up to Jerusalem came to worship and not to gaze or take photographs. Few Middle Eastern countries, however, and certainly no country without oil resources, can afford to neglect tourism, and it was the growth of tourism which was beginning to place the Jordanian economy on a more secure basis before the June war. They are forced, therefore, by economic circumstances to open doors which otherwise they would have kept closed. The word haram, used in Islam for the great shrines, literally means a forbidden area, and for the devout Muslim it is truly an offense that those places which are so dear to him should be invaded by those who cannot, or will not, say the shihadah. The behavior of tourists in the Holy Places is for the Christians and the Muslims who have maintained them for so long often a desecration and an abomination. The western visitor is very apt to be impatient with their prejudices, and with the restrictions they still desire to impose, for instance restrictions upon dress and deportment. It is earnestly to be hoped, however, that tourism will not altogether take over, and that the Holy City will remain holy.

#### The Holy City and the Political City

There is one final question which I feel compelled to raise, even though I fear again that it may give offense, and even though, also it does not appear at present to be a very practical question, and that is the question of whether a sacred city ought also to be a political city, and whether Jerusalem ought to be anybody's capital city. I fully grant the compulsion behind the transfer of the Israeli administration from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, and I fully grant that it is no sense practical politics now to suggest that it would have been better if it had not happened. But it was, I be-

lieve, beneficial for Islam that the center of administration moved so soon after Muhammad's death away from Mecca, never to return there, and it was wise of King Ibn Sa'ud to make Riyadh his capital. It was not a happy period for Christendom when the sacred city of Rome also served as the capital of the Papal States, and though Rome is still a political capital, it is surely fortunate that the Vatican City is a separate entity. The problem of the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem is a problem which exists for all great centers of pilgrimage. The actual city which the pilgrims visit never fulfills their expectations of the ideal city upon which their yearning has been fixed. This problem becomes even more acute when the city is not set apart, when it is not in some visible sense what Muslims would call haram, a sacred area, separate from the profane world.

There is always, unfortunately, something sordid about a sacred city. It has never been possible to protect the devout from the rapacity of the merchant, and the deceit of the pilgrim guides, though often very valiant efforts have been made to do so. Nor has it ever been possible to exclude the meritricious and superficial. The nature of man does not change, alas, because he lives in an atmosphere of sanctity, and these things have characterized, not merely Jerusalem throughout the ages, but all sacred cities. Much can be done to limit these evils, but they cannot be excluded altogether.

The sanctity of a holy city becomes much more difficult to maintain when it is not set apart, but is also the seat of government, and the focus, therefore, of all the antagonisms, and rivalries, which are involved in politics. It cannot but be that divisions will develop within the body politic, that there will be struggles for power, and perhaps even outbreaks of violence, and the forcible seizure of authority. No country has ever been preserved from these political manifestations, and even if it is possible, by wise government, to prevent the political passions of men going to extremes, there will always be at the very least an

opposition party. If this should be suppressed, only tyranny would ensue. When a sacred city is also a political capital, there will therefore always be those for whom it symbolizes not only their highest aspirations, but also the things against which they are fighting, and which they wish to overcome.

It is, therefore, I believe, urgent that Jerusalem should become, in some valid sense of the word, "negotiable". If it is to become altogether absorbed into the center of government of a particular country, and wholly identified in people's minds with that political system, I see very little hope for Jerusalem. It would, of course, be convenient if the Old City, behind its impressive medieval walls could be set aside as a sacred area, under a separate administration, but nothing in Jerusalem is ever as neat as that. The Holy Places are not confined to the Old City, nor are they confined to Jerusalem. The sacred area would certainly have to include the Old City, the Hill of Zion just outside it, the Mount of Olives, and probably also Bethlehem, eight kilometers away. The problems of Hebron and Galilee would have to be dealt with separately. The administration of the sacred area would certainly have to be neutral, though Jews, Muslims, and Christians would certainly have to be equally represented. It would be very difficult area to administer, because it would depend so very much upon the good will and the restraint of those who governed the surrounding territory. I cannot promise at all that the existence of such an enclave would guarantee peace; I cannot even promise that the sanctuary provided by this area would not be used by men of all persuasions for plotting and planning. "The heart of man is desperately wicked, and deceitful in all things." I can only state my conviction that if something of this kind is not at least seriously attempted, you can be sure that there will be no peace.

CONSULTATION BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE  
WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND REPRESENTATIVES  
OF JEWRY

GENEVA, MAY 27th - 30th, 1969.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND PREJUDICES

A consideration of efforts to eliminate unconscious  
anti-Semitism in Christian religious teaching  
in the U.S.A.

By Dr. David Hunter

Over a period of at least three decades there have been varying degrees of concern expressed about the anti-Semitic effects of the teaching which takes place in Sunday Schools, in adult education, and through the liturgy and other worship forms of churches covering the spectrum of Protestant and Roman Catholic Christianity in the U. S. A. These concerns have included:

1) the appearance in educational materials of overt expressions of anti-Semitism which attribute directly to the Jewish people as a whole responsibility for sins or other behaviour which set them apart as an inferior or despised people. 2) treatment of Old Testament and New Testament material pertaining to the Hebrews which results in unconscious anti-Semitism. 3) the use in the liturgy of New Testament material reflecting the anti-Judaism of the early Christian community which becomes transformed into anti-Semitism in our day. 4) programs of evangelization of the Jews which produce anti-Semitic effects. While there have been a number of organized and planned attempts to explore and affect these various sources of anti-Semitism within the religious community the most painstaking and carefully conducted exploration of all was that produced by Bernhard E. Olson as a doctoral dissertation at Yale University.\* A popular but still scholarly report on this investigation was published in 1963 under the title Faith and Prejudice, Bernahrd E. Olson (Yale University Press).

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\* The Victims and the Oppressors, a doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1959.

The Olson study confined itself to a careful analysis of the junior and senior high school material and adult programs produced by four different religious publishing houses. The analysis was not so much a treatment of prejudice and tolerance as it was an exploration of ethnocentrism and its opposite. It was an attempt to examine the inter-group content of Protestant textbooks and to distinguish between content which has a negative effect upon inter-group relations and that which has a positive effect. In carrying out this evaluation two factors or principles were given a central place: the generality of out-group rejection or acceptance, and the warranted or unwarranted nature of the total portrait. The method employed was fairly complex one which did not focus so much on discrete references in the texts but rather on clusters of opinion and patterns of attitude.

The four publishing houses selected covered the spectrum of American Protestant life about as well as any four could have done although if circumstances had permitted a larger sample the more minute variations within American Protestantism would have been revealed. The four publishing houses were those maintained by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, the Council of Liberal Churches (Unitarian and Universalist), the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Scripture Press, a non-denominational publishing house used predominantly by conservative evangelical congregations both within and outside the mainline Protestant churches. The survey and analysis began in 1953 and reached initial publication in 1959.

A very brief, thumb-nail sketch of the outcomes of this study and a report on Dr. Olson's own impressions in 1969 of the effects on this study follow: The study definitely dispelled the impression publishers often have that their materials contain little or no content bearing upon inter-group relations. Whereas it was common for editors to welcome the

study even though they thought they had no inter-group problems and their materials had very little to say about other groups, the study revealed that an astonishingly high percentage of lessons contained references to other groups. In the four sets of materials studied from 67 % to 88 % of the lessons and articles contained such references. From 44 % to 61 % of all the material contained references to Jewish leaders, Jewish people and Judaism as a religion. In this frequency factor alone was to be found perhaps the most significant result of the entire study, for it revealed the potentiality for affecting inter-group relations and it highlighted the need for alertness and analysis. In formulating summary ratings for the four different kinds of materials arrived at on the basis of balancing positive content against negative content, thus placing one set of materials in a more honorable position than another, the spotlight of attention is centered not so much on the imbalance scores but on the very existence of so many negative factors. It is interesting but not necessarily of primary significance to know that the Unitarian-Universalists and the United Presbyterians attained positive scores of 59.2 and 58.2, that the Lutheran-Missouri Synod materials had an almost exact balance between negative and positive, and that Scripture Press had a negative score of 21.3. This meant that two of the publishers were predominantly positive in their depiction of other groups, one was essentially ambivalent and the fourth was predominantly negative. But all of them had more than an insignificant amount of negative materials. (Appendix A.) The differences were much more intricate and profound than any such general scoring can communicate, since every religious group has its own set of forces which determine how and to what extent it will look favorably or unfavorably upon other religious and non-religious groups. This is especially clear in relation to references to the Jews, even though

Jews are more advantageously presented by the materials in this study than are all other religious groups. These differences in themselves suggest the possibility that there is probably no one approach to the reduction of prejudice and the lessening of ethnocentrism which could wisely be made with all or even most religious groups. In any case there was no organized follow-through program for the project as a whole. Dr. Olson's impressions concerning any practical follow-through provided by each of the four churches includes the following:

1. The Unitarian-Universalists do not appear to have done very much as a result of the study. This may have been due to an almost 100 % turn-over in the staff during the years immediately following the completion of the study. No new procedures appear to have been adopted.
2. The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod completely revised their procedures with regard to this concern and have adopted an on-going means of making use of the study report. Faith and Prejudice is now required reading for all staff.
3. An attempt was made within Scripture Press to affect editorial policy, but no change occurred. The negative publicity received by this publishing house as a result of the study was felt to be undeserved and militated against organized use of the findings.
4. The reaction of the United Presbyterians was positive and evidenced gratitude, but there has been no evidence of the introduction of any new procedures or policy. To a significant degree concern about anti-Semitism in the 1960's had to give way to an increasing priority which was given to race relations and the Black revolution.

Dr. Olson's impressions concerning the effect of his studies upon the four publishing houses were the result not only of his own observations but were also affected by a new study which

began in 1968 under the direction of Gerald Strober. This new study, like the original Olson study, was generously funded by the American Jewish Committee and is indicative of the careful, scholarly and restrained approach which that responsible Jewish institution has made to the blight of anti-Semitism in the U.S.A. Dr. Strober's purpose has been to assess the outcomes of the Olson study, including the original publishing houses in his sample, but going beyond them and beyond the original study to relate not only to the existing situation but to specific procedures which hopefully would produce change. The Strober sample included: 1) the Council of Liberal Churches, 2) United Church of Christ, 3) the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 4) The United Methodist Church, 5) the Southern Baptist Convention, 6) the Church of the Nazarene, 7) Assemblies of God, 8) National Baptist Convention of America, 9) the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc, 10) the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, 11) the Episcopal Church, 12) Scripture Press, 13) David C. Cook Publishing House (an independent publisher serving a constituency somewhat comparable to that of the Scripture Press).

While Dr. Strober's study is not yet complete he had granted the writer of this paper an interview and has authorized the use of his verbal report in the World Council of Churches conference scheduled for May 1969.

It is obvious that this sample of publishing houses runs the gamut of the theological spectrum in American Protestantism. The first factor to be reported is the observation that in no one of these publishing houses is there any indication that the authors start from an anti-Jewish position with an anti-Semitic motivation. Were negativism with reference to Jews enter the material, as they do, they often come as a product

of a tradition of teaching which has not given way to the effects of scholarship. One example of this would be the treatment of the Pharisees as a ritualistic, stilted group practicing a dead religion. Even groups which take a very literalistic view of the Scriptures and claim that they are only expositing the Scriptures tend to adhere to a particular tradition without being open to any of the positive elements which modern scholarship may have revealed.

The Strober study to date has confirmed Dr. Olson's impression about the effect of his study but has gone on to provide additional observations. Perhaps the greatest effect of the Yale study has been the degree to which it has sensitized the Protestant community, as well as the Roman Catholic community, to some of the problems and subtleties of dealing with Jewish content in Christian educational material. Both Dr. Olson and Mr. Strober single out the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod as the publishing house which has made the greatest use of the Yale study and has been most careful in its revision of its own procedures with reference to content. Standard procedures were adopted in the Concordia Publishing House which exposed all editors to the Olson study and developed an internal and continuing follow-up which meant that a new editor coming on the staff four to five years after the study still found himself confronted with the necessity to scrutinize and analyze all of his work in the light of the study. The result was that, whereas there was no material submitted to the editors which could be said to contain the charge of deicide, there was often emotional language used and a fundamentally negative approach to situations practised which so colored reference to the Jews as to produce some of the same affective results as a direct charge of deicide might occasion. The simple substitution of the pronoun "we" for "they" often not only made a world of difference in emotional tone but also provided a necessary theological

correction, e. g. with reference to the crucifixion, "we were responsible...we scorned...we stood at the cross..." rather than "they". As a result of such continuous scrutiny of materials the Missouri Synod Lutherans have made the most dramatic change and have had the most significant inter-group impact upon the development of curriculum materials.

Other publishing houses have also experienced a greater sensitivity to the problem, but for a variety of reasons there has not been follow-up or implementation in other houses and communions to the degree that this took place in the Concordia Publishing House.

The Strober study has included a direct attempt to work with all of the publishers in the interest of developing procedures which would result in conscious follow-through. Strober's procedure was simply to inform thirteen different houses that he was available for consultation if they found it desirable to use his services. All thirteen responded in one way or another. Most of them accepted the invitation either to the extent of scheduling consultation interviews or through submitting materials for review and analysis. In two cases there has been an opportunity to meet with writers in a training capacity. Most of the groups have availed themselves of the opportunity to receive on a monthly or bi-monthly basis resource material on Jewish life which can be of assistance to an editor in handling material about Jewish life either in biblical days or in the present era.

Strober also confirmed an observation of Bernhard Olson that there are certain crucial themes in Jewish-Christian relationships which have a potential for tension, such themes as the Old Testament, Judaism, Jesus as a Jew, Jesus and the Pharisees, the crucifixion, the rejection of Jesus, as well as a variety of themes pertaining to present day relation-

ships which can have either a positive or negative impact. A series of guidelines on these themes has been developed (Appendix B) which is available for the evaluation of biblical and historical material. Editors have been known to keep these guidelines on their desk as a check list in the development of materials having any relationship whatsoever to the crucial themes. Again, the Missouri Synod Lutherans made and continue to make the most extensive use of the guidelines. The United Methodists have adapted them and are using them in a resource unit of their own for writers and editors. Both the Nazarenes and the David C. Cook Publishing House are cooperating in the use of the guidelines which indicates a readiness on the part of conservative houses to be sensitive to the inter-group effects of their educational materials.

Beyond the thirteen publishing houses which have constituted the initial panel in the Strober study an additional twenty communions and publishing houses will be contacted, initially through sharing with them a copy of the report on the study to date.

In general Strober's approach to Christian groups, he being a Christian himself, has been a low key approach. He knows from experience that material of a biblical nature is most likely to lend itself to the development of inter-group tensions, and in approaching publishing houses and editorial boards he makes it very clear that he wishes to look at Scripture as they look at it with no attempt to water it down or get the shears out to cut passages which offer potential tension but rather to accent the possibility for realizing the full positive potential of the Scriptures as they are.

According to Strober the curriculum materials studied to date which seem to have the most positive material bearing upon Christian-Jewish relationships and the least negative material are the publications of the United Church of Christ and the Episcopal Church. There has been no opportunity as yet

to examine the new materials of the United Presbyterian Church still in the process of development.

The report of Mr. Strober's study now approaching completion and due to be available for circulation in the late spring will include: a chapter on the impact of Faith and Prejudice, an exposition of the guidelines for evaluation, and a theme by theme treatment of current curriculum materials containing examples and excerpts demonstrating both the negative and positive development of materials. Direct identification of sources is avoided, although a full report is offered to each publishing house concerning its own material.

Mr. Strober's mood as he completes the first phase of his project is one of enthusiasm. He believes that the tendency now is in favor of greater exploration of these issues and a greater openness to confrontation between editor and analyst in the evaluation of materials. There is a greater readiness to have a presentation given before an entire staff whereas in the earliest contacts an analyst usually saw only the editor-in-chief. There is a corresponding greater sensitivity to the need for being alert to the negative potential of materials than was true when Dr. Olson conducted his study. Strober expressed "cautious optimism" that his present project of analysis and follow-through will have positive results with some potentiality for beginning a process that can continue.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 2, 1969  
to Bert Gold CONFIDENTIAL  
from Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum NOT FOR PUBLICATION  
subject 1. Meeting of World Council of Churches - Jewish groups -  
Geneva  
2. Meeting with Cardinal Willebrands and Rev. C.A. Rijk,  
Rome

This report will begin with a statement of the results and/or problems that emerged from the Geneva consultation, May 26-30, and the meetings in Rome, May 30-June 1. Background details on both meetings will then be added in a separate memo. I want to highlight the "results" or "problems" because several require immediate attention.

THE WCC-JEWISH CONSULTATION IN GENEVA

During these deliberations, the following was revealed:

I. Dr. Elfan Rees of the WCC staff told me privately that (a) progress was being made in the release of the Jews in Egypt, and that he was "pleased" with the way things were going there; (b) he was meeting this week (June 2) with Iraqi authorities in Geneva to explore the possibility of their allowing the 3,000 Iraqi Jews to emigrate together with 20,000 Iranians who were leaving Iraq shortly as a result of the Iraqi-Iranian tensions. He asked me to convey this information to Zach Schuster and said he would let him know if anything comes out of his conversation with the Iraqi authority (Minister of Social Welfare). During the general consultation, Dr. Rees informed the group, en passant, about these developments, but mentioned no details.

II. While the WCC-Jewish consultation was called for the ostensible purpose of trying to clarify theological and historical questions regarding the place of Jerusalem in Christian and Jewish traditions, I am persuaded that the WCC had an underlying political intention - namely, that of preparing the world Jewish community for a shift in position of the WCC toward a pro-Arab line regarding (1) a proposal for internationalizing the holy places in Jerusalem, and elsewhere in Israel - Hebron, Bethlehem, the Galilee, etc.; (2) the intended adoption of a pro-Arab League resolution focusing primarily on the Arab refugee problem in

Israeli occupied territory at a forthcoming WCC conference in Canterbury, August 1969, and a WCC Executive Board meeting in Cyprus, September 1969.

On the internationalization of holy places, Elfan Rees quite deliberately disclosed that the "Four Power" talks in New York had asked WCC for its position on the holy places in Israel, and the WCC was preparing to respond. Ideally, he said, the WCC would prefer an "inter-confessional" agreement regarding supervision of the holy places, but he knew that was not realistic in the foreseeable future and therefore some formula would shortly have to be worked out involving "international agreements". He did not specify the contents of that formula as conceived by the WCC.

Dr. Rees, in his opening remarks, said that "The WCC has no right to pass judgement on the secular status of the city...the unity of Jerusalem cannot be ignored...we don't believe in divided cities...but we can speak on the holy places...". He added that he had recently met with the Israeli Minister of Religions, Dr. Zerach Warhoftig, and was given written assurances on (a) free access to the holy places; (b) their security; (c) their self-administration. Dr. Rees said that he was personally satisfied with these assurances but that "real politik" compelled the WCC to explore "international guarantees." In subsequent discussion, Dr. Rees and Dr. Lukas Vischer of WCC indicated that Arab Christian members of the WCC were bringing great pressure to bear on them, and Dr. David Hunter of NCC also stated that Jews are certainly aware of the meaning of such "political reality".

That the WCC is engaged in exploring some new international presence in Jerusalem was further underscored, at least to me, in the principal Christian paper delivered at the Conference by Prof. Denis A. Baly of Kenyon College, Ohio. Dr. Baly, who is a known pro-Arab apologist, wrote a pious and confused paper, but on the section on "The Future of Jerusalem," he said,

"An essentially neutral, probably international, administration of the area containing the Holy Places still seems to me to offer the greatest promise of peace in Jerusalem..."

Later on, Prof. Baly raises the question "of whether a sacred city ought also to be a political city, and whether Jerusalem ought to be anybody's capital city...(p. 15)...It is, therefore,

I believe, urgent that Jerusalem should become in some valid sense of the word, 'negotiable'. If it is to become altogether absorbed into the center of government of a particular country, and wholly identified in people's minds with that political system, I see very little hope for Jerusalem." He suggested, rather innocently, that "the Old City...be set aside as a sacred area, under a separate administration... (which) would certainly have to include the Old City, the Hill of Zion just outside it, the Mount of Olives, and probably also Bethlehem...Hebron and Galilee would have to be dealt with separately. The administration of the sacred area would certainly have to be neutral, though Jews, Muslims, and Christians would certainly have to be equally represented."

The significance of the above development can be understood only in relation to the past policies of the WCC and the Vatican. In July 1967, the WCC was the first international Christian body to speak out saying that it had no standing to discuss the reunification of Jerusalem because it was a political problem. Its primary concern, the WCC said, was with the protection of the holy places, and it was prepared to discuss that with Israel after the political problem was resolved. In the meantime, the WCC said it had assurances from Israel that all Christians and Muslims would have free access to their holy places, and the WCC was satisfied.

Earlier, the Pope had raised publicly the question of 1947 proposals for internationalizing Jerusalem as a corpus separatum, and his representative at the UN, Msgr. Giovanetti circulated such a document to all UN delegates. When the WCC issued its July 1967 statement, AJC met with Msgr. Giovanetti and pressed him not to complicate the possibilities of peace settlement between the Arabs and Israel, especially since the WCC had spoken out to relieve the pressure on the Jerusalem question. Msgr. Giovanetti said he appreciated the logic in our position and would communicate personally our views to the Pope on his impending visit to Rome. Subsequently, as you know, the Vatican ceased to press the internationalization scheme and has remained silent since 1967. Two weeks ago, Msgr. Giovanetti told me in New York that "the Holy See will say nothing about the Jerusalem question until peace is arranged in the Middle East."

Should the WCC proceed at either its August or September conferences to adopt formulae on the internationalization of the holy places, I fear that it might very shortly compel: (1) the

Vatican to reconsider its present views, since ecumenical considerations play such a major part in its "foreign policies," and also because the Pope was clearly influenced by the WCC position in 1967, and could change his line as the WCC changes its line; (b) the "Four Power" talks to be seriously influenced on "the holy places" issue (the last item on its agenda) by a WCC recommendation of some form of internationalization, since the Christian groups are obvious principals. A joint WCC-Vatican position - and we certainly need to expect that the Arabs will intensify both political and religious pressures on the Holy See - will become a new political reality in the Middle East scene affecting negatively Israel's interests in Jerusalem and other holy places.

When Elfan Rees completed his intervention as commentary on the discussion of Baly's paper, Zwi Werblowsky, Arthur Hertzberg, and I reacted very sharply against what was obviously taking place. While we paid personal tribute to Dr. Rees for what he meant to the Jewish people, all of us pressed that we came to Geneva to discuss moral and religious issues and not political deals that on the basis of "real politik" were intended to compromise Israel's interests and/or security.

Unfortunately, Dr. Rees had to leave the room prior to this heated discussion (some of the Jewish delegates were not happy with our outbursts of strong feelings, but we knew what was taking place, and we also knew that the WCC had to feel the weight of strong Jewish opposition to what they were trying to manipulate, and with the suggestion of our tacit consent).

The next day, Lukas Vischer, by far one of the ablest WCC executives, reported on the WCC-Muslim dialogue held in March in Cevigny. In clear response to the Jewish reaction described above, he asked whether the Jewish community would be interested in exploring the possibilities of a "trialogue" - in Christian-Jewish-Muslim dialogue in Geneva. There were halting, ambivalent Jewish reactions that amounted to "yes - but no traps."

That night, Vischer confided to several of us that they had not realized there would be such Jewish anger and strong feelings, and that clearly they had to find a way out of the Arab box next August and September. The proposal for a "trialogue" was tried out, Vischer indicated, in order to see if they could propose that to their Aug-Sept conference as a substitute for

taking action on any resolutions.

What all this boils down to, as I see it, is that we will have to do some hard work - together with the Israelis and other Jewish organizations - to make the WCC staff and some of its key member bodies feel the weight of the Jewish concern very shortly, much before August since Arab pressures will undoubtedly mount on them during June and July.

I would also urge that Zach Schuster make a special trip to Geneva to meet with Vischer and Rees, especially since both of them have high regard for Zach. And the sooner the better. Above all, the situation needs to be watched closely.

In terms of substance, I had the impression that following our strong statements that Vischer and Rees would consider a formula of "international guarantees" that might be more symbolic than real. That is to say, if Israel and the Christian communities agree to continue the status quo, perhaps an international resolution establishing the support of that arrangement, with guarantees of its implementation could be proposed for adoption as a face-saving gesture to the Arabs. Personally, I don't see the Arabs buying such a transparent gimmick.

(continued)

III. Rome, May 30-June 1

On Friday morning, I stopped off in Rome on the way back to New York to meet with Rev. Cornelius Rijk, director of the Vatican Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations. He asked me for a report on the WCC-Jewish meeting, and I gave him my general evaluation, including a guarded statement about the debate over Jerusalem and the Arab refugees. He understood what I was saying, and volunteered to be supportive at the appropriate time in any joint Vatican-WCC discussions that will involve him. (Earlier that day, he told me, he took part in a Vatican-Lutheran World Federation discussion, and made some interpretive remarks about Israel to the Lutherans that he thought were necessary).

Father Rijk indicated that he was interested in the Geneva meeting because, as he had indicated in earlier letters to me and to Zach, he was planning a Vatican-Jewish consultation. After lengthy exploration of alternatives, we agreed on the following possibilities:

(1) a "get acquainted" consultation involving representatives of world Jewish bodies with representatives of major Vatican Congregations and Secretariats - i.e., the State, Holy Office, Education, Bishops Christian Unity, Non-Believers, etc. After discussing respective structures, an opportunity might be provided to examine an inventory of outstanding issues, such as, the situation of the Jews in Latin America, the Middle East, anti-Semitism, secularism, development problems in the third world, religious education and prejudice, etc. Father Rijk said he would keep in touch with us and other Jewish groups as he began to develop plans. He was indefinite about the date, possibly the Fall of 1969 or early 1970.

(2) in addition to opening up institutional communication, he wishes to pursue more intensively academic and theological conversations, similar to those which he has already held. Operating on his often-stated conviction that social behavior will not change unless religious and psychological attitudes are deeply affected, he plans to increase the theological dialogues around basic questions arising out of inter-testamental studies, a better Christian understanding of Judaism and Israel. Rijk will not turn to Jewish institutions necessarily for these, but will follow his earlier pattern of choosing participants on the basis of particular intellectual or academic competence.

During a long and pleasant dinner together, Rijk suggested that it would be useful if I would meet with Cardinal Willebrands, recently

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elevated to succeed Cardinal Bea. I agreed and he made arrangements for me to meet Willebrands the next afternoon (from the Great Synagogue to Vatican City, the story of my Italian life).

We had an excellent meeting which lasted about 45 minutes with Rijk present. I congratulated the Cardinal on his appointment, and we reminisced about our meeting in March 1963, when he accompanied Bea to our building for the meeting with Jewish scholars. We discussed a number of issues relating to the theology of Jewish-Christian relations in a frank manner. Rather unexpectedly, Willebrands made an eight to ten minute speech about his conviction that "the relationship between the church and the Jewish people is unique, it is so by God. That is why I felt so strongly that the Jewish question must remain with this secretariat and not with that of non-Christian religions. It is true that Christian unity is one thing, a separate thing, and Christian-Jewish relations is a separate thing. But they belong side-by-side. We seek good relations with the Moslems, Buddhists, and others, but our relation with you is special. The Koran is a great book, written by a man or men of great talent, but it is not a divine book. You have God's book and we have it through you, by the grace of God.

"I believe the Jewish people preserve special values, very important and precious, and they are of permanent meaning. The Jewish people have a permanent mission in the world, and we must work together side by side to serve God's people, and to help bring the kingdom for the whole human family."

Those are pretty close to verbatim quotations. Both Rijk and I were deeply moved by his evident sincerity and conviction, which Rijk later said is growing as he (Willebrands) comes to know more about Jews and Judaism. As we parted, Willebrands told me that his first experience with Jews and Judaism took place during the Nazi occupation of Amsterdam. He helped hide a number of Jews in his home and was handed over several Torah scrolls for safekeeping until the war was over.

Willebrands and Rijk also said that the Cardinal was coming to the U.S.A. on June 21 and 22, and that he had accepted an invitation from the Synagogue Council of America to meet with them on June 22 (a Sunday morning). I volunteered an invitation for him to meet with AJC leaders. He said he would like to, but would have to decline since he will be here on a very brief and tight schedule.

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Rijk suggested then that perhaps Henry Siegman could invite Jewish leaders from other agencies to join them. Willebrands said he would welcome that. Rijk said he would write to Siegman and suggest this. If we are interested - and I think we should be - then we should talk to Siegman about arrangements.

One final - and very confidential - note. Rijk confided that during Vatican Council II Bea had sent Willebrands on numerous occasions on secret trips to Arab countries to help pacify the Arab Christians - especially the Eastern Orthodox - who were bringing much pressure against adoption of the "Jewish declaration." As a result of that experience, Willebrands has strong ties with the Arab world, and cannot be expected to take any leadership - at least for the present - in <sup>causes</sup> supportive of Israel, especially on political grounds. Rijk said he is hopeful that in quiet ways the Cardinal will deepen his understanding of the meaning of Israel to Jews and Judaism, and that he will do everything prudently possible to encourage that understanding. Eventually, he said, he hopes to arrange for Willebrands to come to Israel for a visit - but quietly, with no publicity.

Saturday night, I met with Father Morlion to review the textbook projects in Italy and Spain. He says progress is being made, but I have the impression it would be useful to monitor the implementation program. Morlion discussed the possibility of a textbook study program in Germany and I left it open saying we ought to talk about it with you when he next comes to New York. He plans a visit early in July.

In summary, I feel these were two good days in Rome, justifying the hustle and fatigue (and expense).

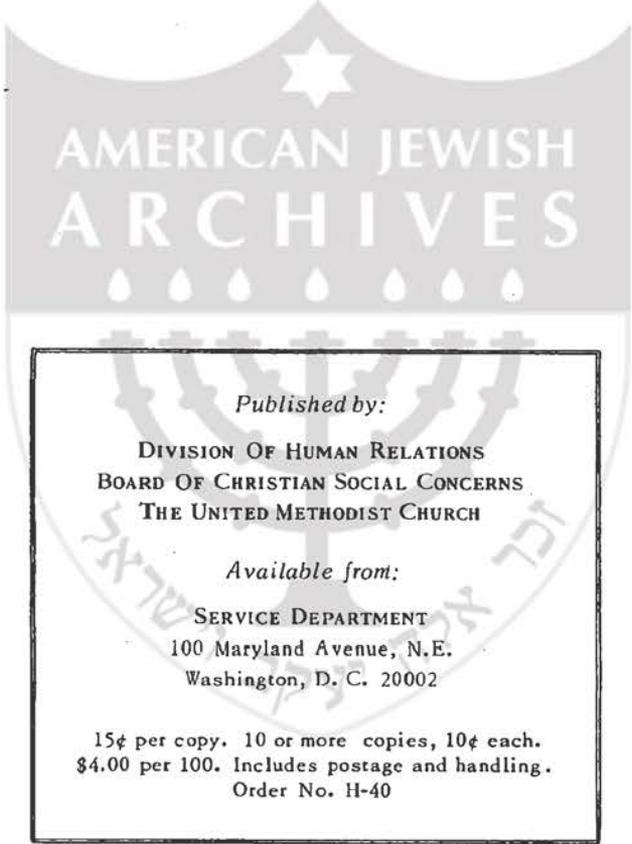
CC: Simon Segal  
Zach Shuster

Marc H. Tanenbaum  
(Dictated but not read)

out of a tradition which represents a priceless heritage in which we find ourselves together as members of the household of God.

"In light of this heritage, and in view of present developments in the relations of Christians and Jews, this General Conference asks the Board of Christian Social Concerns, the Commission on Ecumenical Affairs, and the Board of Missions to establish a working group to prepare for the next General Conference a basic statement on Christian-Jewish relations."

<sup>4</sup> Statement of a "Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People," meeting in Logumkloster, Denmark, April 26-May 2, 1964; See *The National Lutheran Magazine*, November, 1964, pages 18f.



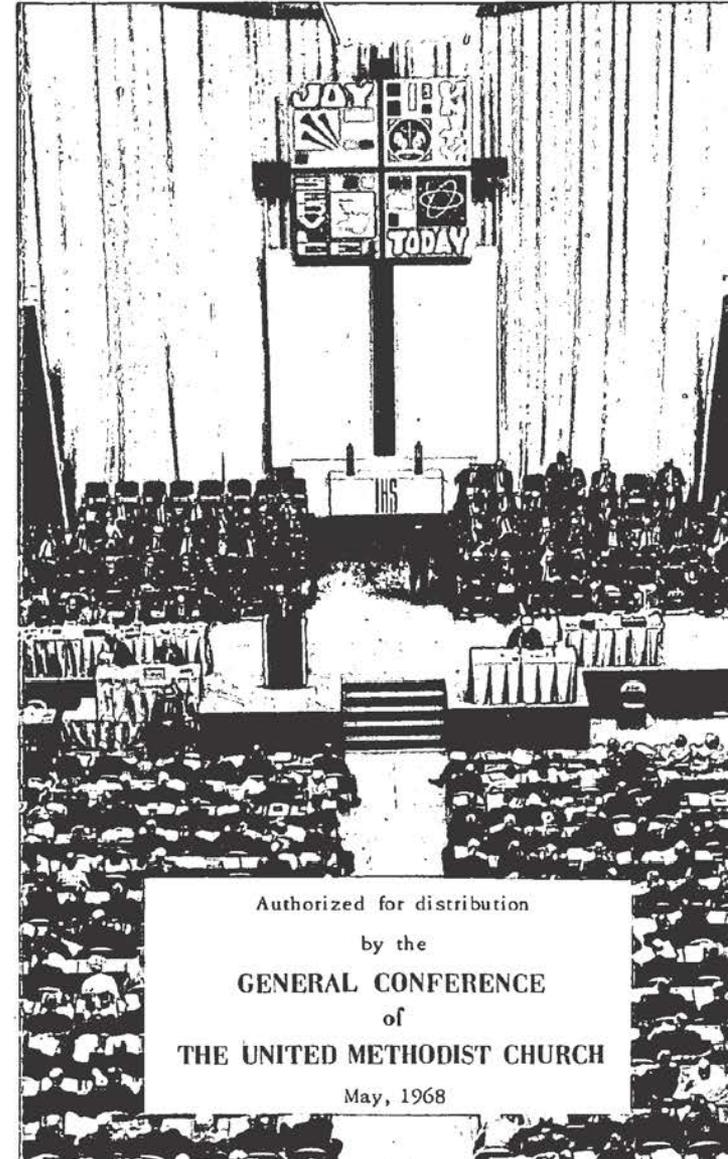
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# CHRISTIANS AND ANTI-SEMITISM

A STUDY DOCUMENT



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by the  
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of  
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May, 1968



## CHRISTIANS AND ANTI-SEMITISM

### Introduction

*The statement presented here on the subject "Christians and Anti-Semitism" was approved by the 1968 General Conference of The United Methodist Church for release as a study document. The General Conference, because of time pressures, did not come to a consideration of the content of this statement, and therefore neither approved nor disapproved that content in itself. Consequently, this statement is not an official policy statement of The United Methodist Church. Rather, it is a statement approved for study,<sup>1</sup> which approval is based on the fact that the General Conference legislative committee on Christian Social Concerns recommended it for General Conference adoption by a vote of 41 to 0 with one abstention.<sup>2</sup>*

*Grover C. Bagby  
Associate General Secretary  
Board of Christian Social Concerns*

<sup>1</sup> See *DAILY CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE, Proceedings of The Uniting Conference of The Methodist Church and The Evangelical United Brethren Church, pages 792f.*

<sup>2</sup> See *DAILY CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE, Ibid., page 572.*

"The United Methodist Church, understanding itself to be within 'the covenanted people of God,' gladly acknowledges its spiritual patrimony as rising out of the faith of historic Judaism. In the words of Pope Pius XI, 'spiritually we are all semites.'

"Christianity is to Judaism as is a younger to an elder brother. The New Testament presupposes Hebrew Scripture. Christ was a Jew, and the first Christians were Jews. Profound revelations of faith came to Christianity from Judaism. We Christians and our brethren the Jews should not be threatened by the equally profound differences centering around the name, nature and work of Jesus as the Christ—differences which crucially distinguish our beliefs. We can only be true to our respective traditions of faith if we are together as elder and younger brothers. God is one, and we as Christians and Jews, if truly obedient to him, will look forward with St. Paul to that great glad day when we shall all be one in His Mercy (Romans 11:25-32).

"Meanwhile, we will remember that our brethren the Jews 'are Israelites, and to them belong the sonship, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises . . .' (Romans 9:4)

"How profound is our sorrow, then, to acknowledge the dread fact that the sin of anti-semitism (hatred of Jews) has reached its most virulent and terrible expressions within the bounds of Christendom. The Nazi holocaust and the systematic destruction of nearly six million Jews in the 20th century, represents an incredible horror. We confess to our profound shame, as those who stand in the Christian tradition, that nearly every repressive law against Jews in the Nazi era, had its earlier counterpart in Christian ecclesiastical law and practice.

"At the root of 'Christian anti-semitism' (a phrase truly self-contradictory), lies the ancient calumny of

'Christ-killer.' The calumny grows in part out of the anti-Jewish tone of certain New Testament passages which themselves reflect the conflict of Church and Synagogue in the first two centuries of the Christian era.<sup>3</sup>

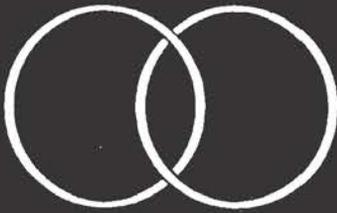
"From such passages, a tradition arose to the effect that God has 'rejected the Jews.' This is the heart of the distorted tradition within Christianity which has brought so much woe to Jewish people in Christian lands. From the fact that a few Jewish rulers in the Jerusalem of Jesus' day were his enemies and conspired to secure his death, it was assumed that all the Jerusalem party sought Jesus' death. Then it was assumed that all the Jewish people of that time did this. Finally, it was concluded that all Jewish people of all times are to be held responsible for the death of Jesus. Such is the spurious but fatal logic on which Christian anti-Semitism bases itself.

"While the scriptures attest that Jesus was tried, sentenced and executed by Romans, it is more nearly true to state that his death was the result of human rebellion against his life and message, the kind of rebellion of which we are all guilty.

"A group of Lutheran scholars has said ' . . . anti-Semitism is primarily a denial of the image of God in the Jews; it represents a demonic form of rebellion against the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; and a rejection of Jesus the Jew, directed upon his people. 'Christian' anti-Semitism is spiritual suicide.<sup>4</sup>

"Therefore, we recognize our relationship to and our concern for our brothers—our elder brothers—in this relationship which embodies a family responsibility. Such concern and relationship grow

<sup>3</sup> See e.g., Matthew 27:25; John 1:19, 2:18,20; 3:25; 5:10, 16, 18; 6:41, 53; 7:1, 11, 13, 15; 8:22, 48, 52, 57; 9:18, 22; 10:31, 33; 11:8, 54; 13:33; 18:14, 31, 36; 19:7, 14-15, 31, 38; 20:19; Acts 2:23; 7:51, I Thessalonians 2:14-16.



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May 5, 1969

Friends,

The enclosed booklet comes to you with my compliments and cordial good wishes. It is an address I recently gave at the convention of the National Catholic Education Association. Since I consider the speech a programmatic one, I would be happy to have your comments.

May I use this opportunity to put before you a concern of mine? It is the first time that I write a letter of this kind, and I trust you will receive it in the spirit in which it is written. As you know quite well, before the Six Day War in 1967, many Christians, who should have spoken out, kept silent. Several Jewish spokesmen castigated this muteness; some even questioned the value of Christian-Jewish dialogue and asked "What good did we get out of it?" I hardly need add that I consider this last question a wrong one. It is not the purpose of dialogue to "get something out of it"; ontologically, dialogue is not a quid pro quo. Once our approach to one another is "Who will receive greater benefits from our dialogue-- Christians or Jews?" we spoil the encounter.

Yet, dialogue and encounter spell mutuality. It is almost necessary that psychologically partners expect a certain reciprocity. This brings me to my point. Though nothing of it gets into the papers, Catholics (particularly Irish Catholics) are disappointed that no Jewish spokesman has come out for the suppressed Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. I have heard comments by some Catholics that Jews do not live by their own principles, they do not do for us what they expect us to do for them.

Please do not misunderstand me. I am not trying to prescribe, I am not even trying to suggest what you should do, but I think it my duty to make you aware of the situation. If Jews in this country remain silent on the injustices committed against Ulstermen, most Catholics will come as little to Israel's aid in the future as they did before. Many will live by the maxim: "I will do as much for Jews as Jews do for us, and no more." I am not trying to justify this un-Christian attitude, nor am I implying that the plight of Israel and the plight of Catholics in Northern Ireland are in any way identical. But looking at the situation realistically, I cannot help seeing potential dangers to our common concern and work.

Now that I have unburdened my heart, I can say even more fervently,

!הצדק אלה  
 מ. ד. ט. כ. ל.

# SHALOM

THE ENCOUNTER OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS  
AND THE CATHOLIC EDUCATOR

BY MONSIGNOR JOHN M. OESTERREICHER



The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies  
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*An address given by Monsignor Oesterreicher  
at the 66th Annual Convention of the National  
Catholic Education Association in Detroit,  
Michigan, on April 10, 1969, under the title  
Shalom: The Catholic-Jewish Encounter – A  
Service to Church and Society.*

Fellow-Members, Friends:

There is an Israeli folksong whose initial words are Shalom Chaverim, "Peace, My Friends." You may have heard it, you may even have joined in singing it. Shalom Chaverim is a parting song, thus a good way to end the Eucharistic Service. Still, what made the song journey from the youth of Israel to the worshippers of our churches? Was it its haunting melody? Was it the power of briefness? Was it the sound of Hebrew? Or just shalom, that key word of Scripture? All of these may have attracted us, but mainly the last. The word shalom has truly invaded our ranks. Men and women who speak no Hebrew use shalom as a greeting. The word heads stationery and appears on bumper stickers; not a few Christians wear pins, medals, or necklaces with shalom on them. To top all this, some novitiates have been christened Shalom.

#### THE GOAL: SHALOM

What is behind this word explosion? A time of violence, restlessness, and alienation--this is also, if not chiefly, an age in search of peace. The admonition of the poet: "Seek after peace and pursue it" (Ps. 33:15) resounds even in the souls of many who otherwise do not listen to the voice of Scripture. But why is this longing expressed in Hebrew? Why not in English? "Peace," after all, is a strong word; related to the Latin pax, it bespeaks a pact, an agreement between warring powers to stop the bloodshed. Covenants that could bring killing to an end are worthy of praise.

Yes, let us honor the word "peace." The power of shalom, however, is greater. It opens biblical horizons: Prophets and psalmists prayed for it. The Lord Jesus greeted His disciples with shalom; it is His messianic gift. Shalom derives from a root that means "whole," "unblemished," "intact." Hence, it is more than a cessation of hostilities, more than the silence of guns and bombs. It is well-being, prosperity, unity within a man, among men, and above all, between God and man. It prevails where there is strength, where there is abundance and security, where things are as they ought to be. To render it into contemporary idiom, shalom is integrity of existence, integrity of relationships.

I wonder how many of those who sing Shalom Chaverim send this greeting in the direction of the men and women who gave it birth. Is shalom not the mark of the true relationship between Christians and Jews? Is it not also the goal of all Catholic education? Is it not, in particular, the motto of every enterprise that fosters brotherliness

between the two communities? Indeed, this kind of peace is the particular burden, responsibility, and challenge of today's generation. It is a special responsibility of Christians in this country.

#### THE REQUIREMENTS

##### Understanding the Holocaust

The conciliar Statement on the Jews speaks clearly of the rich patrimony common to Christians and Jews, of the need for mutual knowledge and respect, of the importance of theological studies and fraternal dialogues. It also implores teachers and preachers to speak of Jews in such a way that their instruction follows, not the letter but the true meaning of the Gospel. The guidelines of the American Bishops' Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations are quite explicit on all this, they even list a number of the themes that "merit the attention and study of Catholic educators and scholars."

Before I discuss more fully the challenge we face, I would like to advert to a basic phenomenon: Jews have changed. Jews today are different from what they were thirty or forty years ago. A cataclysmic experience has left its mark on them; the Nazi annihilation of six million of their brothers makes their hearts ache. People counter: "Why cannot Jews forget what happened to their kinsmen in Auschwitz and in the other death camps? Why do they have to cling to the calamity that befell them over twenty years ago? Other nations had to suffer, too. At the turn of the century, for instance, a million Armenians were massacred by the Turks. In the Potato Famine of 1847 and after, two million Irish people perished. Stalin built his economy and rule on the death of, some say, fifteen millions of Kulaks. The victims of World War II from many nations, women and children included, numbered fifty millions."

This is true; indeed, these are painful truths that none of us must forget. Yet, for Jews to know that other peoples suffered as well does not do away with their own agony. The Holocaust is, in many ways, unique. The extermination plants were organized to the last detail. Prepared on the drawing board, death was delivered on the assembly line. The mass murder of Jews was born, not of momentary passion, but of a hatred that was like no other, a fiendish, diabolical hatred.

But it is not just this fiendish character of the "death factories" that makes the hearts of Jews still ache. Nor are they still agitated only because their relatives and friends were Hitler's victims. Almost every Jew experienced the Holocaust as something that happened to him: he himself was abused, degraded, deceived, and choked to death. Under the Nazis, Jews were called "sub-human"; they were compared to vermin: they were considered a danger to the body politic like the most dreaded disease; in the concentration camps, they were pushed around; they were taken to what were called shower baths, only to discover that

the shower heads did not work and that the room was slowly being filled with fumes of poison gas. Horrible though the agony of suffocation must have been, the worst pain, present at every step but most of all at the abyss, was the feeling of being alone, of being forgotten by the world. To most men today, the destruction of European Jewry is a thing of the past, a part of history's dark frame. But to Jews, the Holocaust is a unique phenomenon, a continuous event, an everpresent nightmare. Every Jew has had to descend the ladder of horror--if not in his waking hours, then in his dreams.

If we wish to understand Jews, their needs and concerns, their fears and hopes, their actions and reactions, we must descend that ladder with them. Hence, the Holocaust is a theme for our pulpits. It must be given its legitimate place in our teaching of religion and history. First, a few words on its universal impact.

The man-made hells of Auschwitz and similar places would not have been possible without modern technology. The blessings of the technical advance in our time are obvious. But the boon is, at the same time, a threat to humanity. Just think of the invasion of our privacy made possible by all sorts of modern inventions. This is just one example, and not the worst. The Nazi Holocaust is a warning to us to guard against the pitfalls of the computer age. Never must we be its slaves.

If a man of passionate faith looks at the Nazi design against the Jews, he knows himself to be face to face with evil. To quote Toronto's Jewish philosopher, Emil Fackenheim:

Where else and at what other time have executioners ever separated those to be murdered now from those to be murdered later to the strain of Viennese waltzes? Where else has human skin ever been made into lampshades, and human body fat into soaps--not by isolated perverts but under the direction of ordinary bureaucrats? Auschwitz is a unique descent into hell. It is an unprecedented celebration of evil. It is evil for evil's sake.<sup>1</sup>

Long before the Holocaust, in 1939, the German Catholic thinker Theodor Haecker realized that Nazism was a child of hell. In his Journal he recorded this prayer: "You have shown us, O God, the very nature of evil, arrogant, triumphant in an undreamed-of measure and to the point of despair."<sup>2</sup>

The Nazis were able to triumph, though Hitler in no way concealed his murderous design. Hardly anyone would believe that man could be so monstrous. Though trust is a virtue, credulity is not. There were far too many Christians and non-Christians who fooled themselves with that hollow adage: "Things will straighten themselves out." To my

mind, Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, or Maidanek summon us to watch out for evil on the social horizon. The Holocaust begs us not to repeat the ostrich pose of men the world over who blinded themselves to Hitler's scheme.

The celebration of evil that took place in Auschwitz or Treblinka has led some Christians and some Jews to pronounce the death of God. Yesterday, the "God is Dead" theology was much thought, talked, and written about. Today it is outworn, as dead as the fossils in the deep layers of the earth. It could not live because it was no answer to the problem of evil.

After the war, allied soldiers found a lonely inscription, written on a cellar wall of the then devastated Cologne:

I believe in the sun,  
even when it is not shining.  
I believe in love,  
even when I feel it not.  
I believe in God,  
even when He is silent.

The answer to the many faces of evil in the world is not less or no faith, but more faith; not less or no concern, but deeper concern. All evil, in particular the Holocaust, is a summons to exert ourselves to do in God's name what we would like Him to do for us, in some easy--miraculous--way. The Holocaust and all the other evils of the world, are a summons to make the Christian message that God is Love heard again, not by our repeating the words, but rather by our being new women, new men.

#### Doing Justice to Judaism

I called "God is Love" the Christian message, and so it is. But it is also a tenet of Judaism. I stress this simply because it is so; it is this kind of truthfulness, of doing justice to Judaism, that the Holocaust demands of us.

Scripture tells that Moses and the Israelites greeted their rescue from Pharaoh's hand with song:

The Lord is my strength and my courage  
He has been my savior. . . . (Ex 15:2)

Miriam, too, with tambourine in hand, led the women in dance and chanted:

Sing to the Lord, for he is gloriously triumphant;  
Horse and chariot he has cast into the sea.  
(Ex 15:21)

Thus the Bible. The talmudic narrative is different. There, the angels appear, shouting God's praise: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts." But the Lord rebukes them: "My creatures are drowning in the sea, and you would sing?" (Meg 10b).

Jewish tradition considers all national catastrophes God's judgements--yet the same chastising God mourns at having permitted the punishment. In one instance, the plaint of the prophet,

And mine eye shall drop tears and tears  
And run down with tears  
Because the Lord's flock is carried away captive,

becomes God's own lamentation (Hag 5b).<sup>3</sup>

Again, Scripture says that the Lord laughs at the wicked who rebel against Him or who plot against the just (Ps 2:4 and 36[37]:13). The Talmud, however, maintains that God never laughs at man, though He may laugh with him. When God and man laugh together, righteousness triumphs, grace is victorious, and the messianic times are at hand.

For a Christian, the messianic times began with the coming of Christ, His luminous life, His loving death, and His glorious resurrection. They proclaim the splendor-to-come, the new heavens and the new earth. Jews, however, desire more than seeds of hope; they long for the final harvest when trees will bend under the heavy beauty of their fruit, and they long for its appearance now.

As long as the ultimate fulfillment has not come, as long as sin is rampant, as long as the evil impulse tends to turn man away from his Creator, man needs to plead with God for strength and forgiveness. To show you something of the deepest wellsprings of Judaism, let me quote from the Selichot, the "Penitential Prayers" of the Synagogue. Time allows only a few snippets; still, they should convince you that Judaism is not, as Christians have often held, a dead worship. On the eve of Yom Kippur, the devout Jew humbly states man's situation in the sight of God:

As clay in the hand of the potter  
Who widens or narrows it at will,  
So are we in your hands, Gracious Keeper  
Heed your covenant, not our evil turn....

As silver in the hand of the smith  
Who makes it pure or impure at will,  
So are we in your hand, Healing God.  
Heed your covenant, not our evil turn....

Convinced of God's mercy, the devout Jew calls on Him with the whole community, in utmost trust:

Our God, and God of our Fathers  
Forgive us, pardon us, cleanse us.  
We are your people, and you, our God;  
We are your sons, and you, our Father....  
We are your faithful, and you, our Beloved;  
We are your chosen, and you, our Friend.

Though the Jewish man of prayer feels himself a beggar, he knows at the same time that he is only asking for what God is eager to give:

Our God, you defer your anger,  
You treat with forbearance the wicked and the good,  
And this is your fame.

Our God, act not for our sake, but for your own.  
Look at us who are poor and low.

Bring healing to us, lost as a leaf adrift;  
Have mercy on man who is mere dust and ashes,  
Cast away our sins and have pity on your creation.

Can there be any doubt that prayers like these are heard? That men who speak this way, do not speak into a void, but address the living God? The Siddur, the Jewish prayerbook, calls Him Ba'al ha-selichot ve-ha-rachamim, "Lord of forgiveness and of mercies," that is, Judge and Pardonèr; Giver of breath and of grace; Lover of all His creatures and, in particular, of His special possession, Israel. I cannot imagine anyone who, knowing the Siddur, denies the quickening power of Judaism.

My reason for stressing Judaism's vitality and vigor is first this: there can be no dialogue between Christians and Jews, no true meeting, unless we recognize Judaism at its depth. Second, we cannot be happy in our own faith-convictions if we are misers, if we begrudge, as it were, others the love of God, if we deny free reign to His grace.

One instance of what grace accomplishes in a Jewish heart may suffice. The prejudice of Christians has always been that the God of the Old Testament is but an avenging God, that the love of enemy is entirely unknown to Judaism, and so on. Let me, therefore, read the prayer of a Nazi victim. I know neither his name nor the name of the concentration camp whose prisoner he was. I am taking the prayer from a small book by a German Protestant scholar. Even there, the prayer and the man who said it are not identified. To me, the prayer is truly a monument to "the unknown Jew":

Peace be to men of ill will, and may there be an end to all vengeance and to all talk of penalty and punishment.... The deeds of horror mock all yardsticks. They pass the limits of human understanding, and the martyrs are many indeed....For these reasons, do not weigh their sufferings, O God, with the scale of justice; do not ascribe these

sufferings to the executioners, do not demand of them a dire accounting....Rather credit the sufferings to the hangmen, the informers, the spies, and all evil men, and reckon onto them all the courage and strength of the victims, their resignation their highmindedness and dignity; also their quiet efforts, their hope which did not admit defeat, their brave smile that dried their tears, all their love and sacrifice, all their ardent love,... their harrowed, tormented hearts, hearts that nonetheless remained strong and confident, even in the face of death, in death itself and in the hour of extreme weakness....May all this, O my God, count in your eyes as ransom so that the guilty might be forgiven and the just rise--may all that is good count, and not what is evil. And in the memory of our enemies, may we no longer be their victims, no longer their nightmares or the ghosts that frighten them, but an aid against their fury.... Only this is demanded of them, that they abandon their rage. And may we, when all this is over, live again as men among men, and may peace come to this poor earth for all men of good will, and peace for all the rest, too.<sup>4</sup>

Please, do not misunderstand me. I do not wish to imply that most victims prayed thus; that the unknown worshipper was typical of Jews--how could this superhuman attitude ever be typical? Alas, it is not even typical of Christians! What I wish to say most emphatically is that if only one Jew spoke like this before God, Hitler was overthrown and his murderous scheme defeated. That Jews survived Hitler's "final solution," that they survived centuries of persecution, was, not a chance event, not so much a happy constellation of historical factors--it was that, too--but above all an act of divine providence, an evidence of divine fidelity. God cares for the people He chose at Sinai; He will not abandon them; they are for all times His covenanted people. Not because of their merits, but for the sake of the patriarchs, that is, for the sake of God's loving pledge, they remain a people treasured, dear, and beloved (Rom 11:28).

The words of the song that goes under Moses' name are still valid:

For the Lord's portion is his people  
Jacob his own allotment.  
He found him in a desert region,  
In an empty howling waste.  
He engirded him, watched over him,  
Guarded him as the pupil of his eye.  
Like an eagle who rouses his nestlings,  
Gliding down to his young,  
So did he spread his wings and take him,  
Bear him along on his pinions.

(Dt 32:9-11)

No less true is the prophet's warning:

Whoever touches you  
Touches the apple of my eye.  
(Zach 2:12)

Lest I give you a wrong impression, let me say that I do not hail Judaism as the banner of God's fidelity in order to please Jews. I do it, rather, in order to please God. If God is the ever-faithful One, if "he has not withdrawn his calling" (Rom 11:29), faith demands that a Christian acknowledge this wonder of grace. No doubt, in recognizing God's abiding love for His people, we contribute to the reconciliation of Christians and Jews. Less obvious is the fact that the affirmation of the Jewish people as lastingly covenanted contributes to the well-being of the body politic, for it strengthens cooperation in social matters. Paradoxically, it also serves the Church: it widens her horizon, enriches her spiritual life, fortifies her role as pilgrim.

#### THE WAY: A NEW SENSITIVITY

The positive vision of Jews and Judaism I am advocating sharpens our sensitivity to God's dealings--a quality that ought to animate the Church at all times and all places. "Sensitivity," then, becomes the word that best sums up our new, post-conciliar attitude toward our Jewish brethren. Let me clarify its meaning by giving a few examples from various disciplines. I am beginning with the one that ought to be an area of major concern on all levels of education, English Literature.

#### English Literature

As you well know, one of Shakespeare's great plays, "The Merchant of Venice," is a stumbling block for many. There are Christians as well as Jews who would like to see it taken off the curriculum or consider its performance by the drama club of any school taboo. I am not one of them. As a matter of fact, I think it a perfect means for transmitting this sensitivity. It is not a play hostile to Jews, rather does it castigate Christians and Jews, that is to say, the sinfulness of man.

Not a single character in the play is a person of moral integrity. Antonio, for instance, appears to be a man of noble heart, kind and unselfish; in reality he is no less a seeker after profit than Shylock. The difference is that Shylock's business is despised, whereas Antonio's is praised. Yet, even the praise discloses its metal: "Your mind is tossing on the ocean"--his friend tells him--"where your argosies with portly sail.., do overpeer the petty traffickers" (I,1,9,12). There seems to be so little difference between the big trader and the money lender that, at the end of the play, Portia--disguised as a young lawyer--can ask: "Which is the merchant, and which the Jew?" (IV,1,174). The

arrogance and hypocrisy of the Christians of the play are most obvious at the elopement of Lorenzo with Jessica. Before she is ready to join her lover, she returns to the house for some more money to take with her. When Gratiano hears her resolve to add theft to the betrayal of her father, he says: "Now, by my hood, a gentile, and no Jew" (II,vi, 51). These Christians, whose faith is no more than skin deep, welcome Jessica's "conversion," but she does not turn to Christ--Christ is not even mentioned--she only wishes to escape the boredom of her home and her father's shame in the world of glitter.

The climax of hypocrisy is the little drama in the court of justice. What some will take to be Portia's noble attempt at saving Bassanio is, to her, little more than a prank. (The affair with the ring confirms her as a practical joker.) She plays her role well. For a moment, she even surpasses herself and grows ecstatic. Her rapturous praise of mercy reaches evangelical heights; yet, her whole line of defense is meant to trick Shylock. He leaves the court ill. He is given this choice: either he becomes a Christian (IV,i,387)--or presently he must die! Need I add that this is an utter travesty of everything Christian? Though Shylock lives, his spirit is broken, his will crushed. Without faith, he is forced to become a Christian--and all this by the champion of mercy. As I see it, "The Merchant of Venice" is far from being an anti-Jewish play; it is, rather, an unmasking of all sham Christians. It could be a textbook for Christian-Jewish relations; it condenses a millenium to the life of one generation. If taught with discretion or played with sensitivity, it would convey to the student or spectator the sins of Christendom and implant in him the desire to make amends, to turn the conciliar Statement on the Jews into a living reality.

I am not one of those who believe that the Holocaust was the inescapable consequence of two thousand years of Christian anti-Judaism. Yet, the attitude of Christians of the kind Shakespeare portrays somehow made possible the netherworld attack on the Jews by the Nazis. Antonio calls Shylock a misbeliever, a mongrel; he is always ready to spit on him (I,iii,112,131). For Gratiano, he is a damned inexorable dog (IV,i, 120), and Lancelot sees in him the devil incarnate (II,ii,228). As if this were not enough, all his Christian neighbors--at the head of them, Antonio--treat him, not as a person but a label. To them, his name is not "Shylock," but "the Jew." He is even less than that; he is just a thing, a tool that one uses for one's convenience and then casts into a corner. There are almost limitless possibilities for a sensitive teacher or a creative producer to use the play for casting out the old yeast of Jew-baiting and for implanting in the heart of the reader or viewer the new leaven of respect and kinship. I do not have to spell out--do I?--what benefit the growth of this leaven would have for society as a whole and for the entire Church?

#### Social Studies

To move to another discipline, Social Studies. Never before has

there been a generation that has had as much knowledge about its Jewish neighbors as does ours. In former times, the information often came from anti-Semites and was wrong. At present--I am not speaking of the excellent scholarship of our day that has made vast contributions to a deeper understanding of Judaism--the average gentile takes his image of Jews from novels and musicals by Jewish authors, from "Fiddler on the Roof and Fiedler on the Raft," to quote a modern literary critic.<sup>5</sup> They, too, I am sorry to say, mislead. In its mildest form, the distortion is simply that Jews are quaint, that they are individuals brought up on bagels: at its worst, they are all obsessed by their mothers, they are all like Portnoy.

Social Studies can correct this false vision. I am not thinking here of an anatomy of prejudice every sensitive social science teacher will offer to his students. Rather I am thinking of some tangible, sober facts. To name only a few: the number of Jewish immigrants; the reasons, the motivations of their coming; their various backgrounds--to understand them one must know the special history and heritage they brought with them. Other factors that should be discussed are the occupations and professions of Jewish newcomers; their distribution over the United States; the impact of the American way of life on them and, as a result, the keen difference between the first and second, and between the second and third generations of American Jews. Additional circumstances on which the teacher will have to dwell if he wishes his students to understand his Jewish neighbors are the economic structure into which the immigrants entered; the jobs wide open, and those firmly closed to them; their social stratification--to most non-Jews it would come as a bolt out of the blue, upsetting their neat categories, if they were told how many low-income Jews there are; finally, the organization of Jewish life, the welfare, educational, and cultural agencies, the representative and the religious bodies. To single out only the last, it is impossible to understand Jews without understanding the religious plurality among them, its causes and consequences. Nor can one understand modern Jewry without grasping the exposure of Jews to contemporary ideologies and the consequent polarities in Jewish identification.

All these points sound abstract, but behind them are some acute problems. One of the best background books, Marshall Sklare's The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group,<sup>6</sup> treats many of these problems. The inside flaps of the jacket single out three:

Is it possible that alcoholism is increasing among Jews as the result of more frequent contact with non-Jews?

Why is psychoanalysis so much more attractive to Jews than non-Jews, and how does the mental health of Jews compare with other groups?

Are Jewish delinquents different from others? And what are the differences between those of the past generation and those of our own?

The sensitive and competent social scientist will not disdain what other sciences have to contribute to a clear vision. Above all things he will seek to convey to his students an awareness that the individual Jew is not merely the member of a group, however special, but also a man, a woman, a child, in short -- a person.

### History

History is another quarry from which to gain knowledge leading to shalom between Christians and Jews. Since our history books are largely silent on Christian-Jewish relations, it is most important that the teacher discuss the Crusades and the Inquisition, in terms of their impact on Jews and Judaism; or to analyze--I am tempted to say "X-ray"--the legislation on the co-existence of Christians and Jews by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215 A.D.). It is intriguing--is it not?--that here the Church took a course Christians have always castigated when taken by the rabbis. (The rabbis thought it necessary that a "fence be made around the Torah" [Ab I,1], in other words, that the Law be surrounded by prohibitions. These prohibitions were to warn and to prevent willful or involuntary trespassing.) The discriminatory policy against the Jews by the Fourth Lateran Council strikes us modern men as lacking in justice and respect; still, it may be understandable in its historical context. More difficult to defend, however, is that the Lateran Council went the way of the rabbis; that it wanted to safeguard the loyalty of the faithful by proscriptions and "stoplights" like the yellow badge; that it could find no other solution to the problem of the coexistence of Christians and Jews than a sort of spiritual apartheid. This is a rather sad topic.

A promising note could be struck if the teacher treated the rebirth of the State of Israel. I happen to think that its rebirth is evidence of God's favor, the sign of His fidelity, indeed, a token of the constancy of His love. Please do not misunderstand me--I do not base Israel's right to exist merely on the thought that her founding may well be divine compensation for the slaying of most European Jews. In an age when treaties were sacred documents and began: "In the name of the most Blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," God's continuous Covenant with the Jewish people could have had constitutional value and legal weight. Yet, as a man of this age--a man aware of the frequent misuse of spiritual principles in the power struggle among men--I do not rest Israel's claim to a sovereign, secure existence on theological grounds. Rather do I base it on an act of the world community. In 1948, the majority of the then member nations of the United Nations midwived her birth. She has made swamps, hotbeds of disease, into fertile and healthy stretches of land. For twenty years, her people have not only worked the land but defended it; what is more, they have gotten married, raised children, and died there. Their blood, their sweat, their tears have "baptized" their soil; their dreams and hopes, their laughter and prayers have bedewed it. For centuries, the land was utterly neglected; as soon as Jewish pioneers settled there, it was lovingly cared for.

In saying this, I do not wish to force my views on the Middle Eastern crisis on you, nor do I wish to suggest that, were you to take my view as your own, you should impose it on those you educate. But I do suggest, and this most strongly, that it is the responsibility of the teacher to give his students the facts so that they can form their own opinions, unhampered by slogans or cliches. One of these cliches calls Israel the creature and outpost of Western imperialism. True, the influence of the Western Powers on the recognition of the newly born state was considerable, but it is important to remember that, in May 1948, one of the Russian delegates to the U.N., Ambassador Tarasenco, denounced the war of the Arabs against the young state in these words:

I should like to point out that none of the [Arab] states whose troops have entered Palestine can claim that Palestine forms part of its territory. It is an altogether separate territory without any relationship to the territories of the states which have sent their troops into Palestine.<sup>7</sup>

Nor ought one to forget that all the Arabic-speaking states of today are creations of the Western Powers.

To begin with Egypt: For years prior to World War I, she had been under the guidance of Great Britain. In 1914, she became a British protectorate. Yet, it was not till 1921 that she was declared an independent sovereign state and not till October 1922 that she received a constitution. -- In World War I, Arabs throughout the Ottoman Empire revolted against the Turks, and so did the Transjordanian tribes. After the war, Transjordan was freed from the rule of the sultans and administered by Great Britain. In 1922, when Palestine became a British mandate, the country East of Jordan was given to Emir Abdullah who ruled the country as a benevolent dictator till 1939. In the same year, a move toward some form of democracy was started: a cabinet was formed and a small legislature elected. -- In 1920, France received a mandate from the League of Nations over what today is Syria and Lebanon. Lebanon's boundaries were the work of that mandate. In 1925, she was granted a constitution and declared a republic. The first free elections (under French supervision!) were held in the fall of 1943. -- When still under French control, Syria was made a kingdom. Yet, the reign of King Feisal, disliked by the French army as well as by the Syrians, did not last long. His removal in no way ended the troubles of the land. It was not until 1943 that Syria received its independence from the Free French. -- A knowledge of these facts is important, I think, in order to evaluate the claims of Israel's neighbors.<sup>8</sup>

Our students ought to know, too, that an impressive American tradition favors a Jewish state in Palestine. Declarations by several of our presidents prove it. As far back as October, 1818, John Adams said in a New York synagogue: "I really wish the Jews again in Judaea, an independent Nation." In March 1919, Woodrow Wilson declared: "I

have before expressed my personal approval of the declaration of the British Government regarding the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine.... [The] Allied Nations are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." Calvin Coolidge again took up this theme when he stated in June 1924: "I am...glad to express again my sympathy with the deep and intense longing which finds such fine expression in the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine." In September 1928, Herbert Hoover echoed these sentiments. He stated: "I have watched with genuine admiration the steady and unmistakable progress made in the rehabilitation of Palestine which, desolate for centuries, is now renewing its youth and vitality through the enthusiasm, hard work, and self-sacrifice of the Jewish pioneers who toil there in a spirit of peace and social justice." Franklin D. Roosevelt said: "It is a source of renewed hope and courage, that by international accord and by the moral support of the peoples of the world, men and women of Jewish faith have a right to resettle the land where their faith was born and from which much of our modern civilization has emanated." In a letter to the King of Saudi Arabia, Harry S. Truman reiterated the American position: "It is only natural...that this Government should favor...the entry into Palestine of considerable numbers of displaced Jews in Europe, not only that they may find shelter there but also that they may contribute their talents and energies to the upbuilding of the Jewish National home."<sup>9</sup>

Though these presidential statements have no binding force, they must not go unheeded either by us or by our students. It is obvious, I think, that the implications of my suggestions are wide. If carried out, they would lead our students to mature political judgments, to responsible thought not tied to apron strings.

### Theology

Now to the science or wisdom that should be close to us, whether it is our professional field or not, Theology. Let me prove my contention by discussing an existing text, though it is not taken from one of our manuals but from the notes accompanying the Latin-English version of the Breviary published by the Liturgical Press in 1964. They are by the late Canon Pius Parsch, a liturgist of considerable merit. Matins of Friday is prefaced by this comment:

The Matins psalms present a history of the Jewish people which is at the same time a history of falling away from God. It is an unbroken chain of sin, infidelity, ingratitude; and its final, logical link is the greatest crime of all: the murder of their Messias.<sup>10</sup>

This, I maintain, is wrong from beginning to end. Though the old Testament abounds with the sins of the people of Israel, it is not the

history of her sin. The history of Israel, like the history of Christendom or, to stay closer to home, my life and yours, is an up and down of God's call and man's failing to respond, of God's gift and our ingratitude. Pius Parsch goes on to say: "In the story of Israel's sins, we must not fail to recognize our own sins..."<sup>11</sup> This is all very well, but saying this as an afterthought cannot undo the blasphemy--and I mean "blasphemy"--of the first comment. For to give, as it were, priority and predominance to man's infidelity rather than to God's faithfulness is not only to misread revelation; it is to rob God of His glory, to deprive Him of His reign and initiative. Again, to interpret the Passion as but the logical link in a chain of Jewish infidelities is to turn it into a local affair and to forget that the Jewish actors in the drama of salvation were but the vicars of every sinner; it is to treat the Suffering Servant of God as if He were no more than one of many rulers to be assassinated by their rivals.

Dr. Parsch annotates a number of psalms in which he finds the history of Israel's infidelities retold, but it never seems to occur to him that when the psalmists, or, for that matter, the prophets, dwell on Israel's failings, they warn and woo the people and repent in its name. That the sacred writers so freely confess the sins of Israel--of people, priests, and princes, of the multitude as well as the elite--is to Israel's great credit. To my knowledge, there is no history of the Church that is written with the same candor, the same openness, the same humility. Again, commenting on Psalm 80 that the Lord of the Covenant offers the people of Israel this choice, Dr. Parsch writes: "In your hands lie death and life; choose: life, if you obey--death, if you are faithless like your fathers." He goes on: "Christ's death on the cross shows that the Jews chose death and final rejection."<sup>12</sup> Who, may I ask, revealed this to him? Who told him that the Jews are forever rejected by God? This is not the doctrine of Vatican II, nor is it the doctrine of the New Testament. Having said that not all in Israel responded to the Good News, having repeated Isaiah's accusation against the Jews as "an unruly and recalcitrant people" (Rom 10:21; Is 65:2), St. Paul continues--"I ask, then, has God rejected his people? Never!" (Rom 11:1). How are we to explain that so many commentators contradict St. Paul, and do not know it?

To charge the Jewish people with "the murder of their Messias" is perverted theology. Moreover, it clearly violates the letter as well as the spirit of Vatican II. Canon Parsch wrote thirty years before the Council--that the Liturgical Press reprinted his words close to the end of the Council shows denseness to the problem of reconciliation, to the shalom between Christians and Jews. This is all the more difficult to understand since the men at and around the Liturgical Press are otherwise men of great vision. I have only one explanation: An inner inertia makes many Christians continue in the rut of centuries. Writers on Christian spirituality have endlessly quoted St. Paul that, when hearing the Torah, a veil "lies over the minds" of Jews (2 Cor 2:15) so that they cannot recognize Jesus as the Christ. It never seems to occur to our spiritual writers that, when thinking of the role

of Jews in the history of salvation, Christians, more often than not, hide behind a steel curtain, a curtain that keeps them from recognizing the hand of God in the life of the Jewish people.

It is the task of our generation to strike down this curtain so that no Christian will ever forget that Jesus suffered in freedom--the new Eucharistic Prayer II expressly reminds us of the "death He freely accepted." To shift one's attention from the meaning to the mode of the Passion, from the great Sufferer to the little executioners, is dangerous. It threatens Jews and maims Christians: It makes Christians insensitive toward their Jewish brethren and toward the great singularity of Christ's pain. The mystery of that pain is, after all, its ability to absorb every other pain and to hallow it. Any shift from the center to the periphery loses sight of the fact that the Man of Pain draws all those in anguish to Himself. Anyone who blurs this vision revolts against the Christ. Yet, whoever does not tire of orientating himself, again and again, to the so-called Jewish Declaration of Vatican II contributes to the rejuvenation of the Church.

#### CONCLUSION

All things must come to an end, and so must this long paper. Despite its length, much has remained unsaid. That is probably as it ought to be. For this address has only two key words: shalom, the goal of the new encounter, and "sensitivity," the way to it. Without sensitivity on your part, no amount of suggestions, rules, examples of mine would help.

I hope it is obvious that my plea for sensitivity has nothing to do with the new fad for sensitivity sessions. When I speak of sensitivity, I have in mind Isaiah's injunction to his fellow prophets:

Comfort, give comfort to, my people,  
Says your God.  
Speak tenderly to Jerusalem.  
(Is 40:1-2)

To "speak tenderly" is the translation of the Hebrew idiom to "speak to the heart." The centuries of strife, indifference, even hatred have lasted too long; it is time that Christians speak with their hearts: that they speak with heart of the People of the Holocaust and that they speak to its heart. Hence the prophet demands of us:

Nachamu, nachamu 'ammi.  
yomar elohevkem.  
Dabru 'al-leb yerushalayim.

Comfort, give comfort to, my people,  
Says your God.  
Speak tenderly to Jerusalem.

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# Catholics and Jews after 1967 —a New Situation<sup>1</sup>

15

by C. A. Rijk

## *The new awareness of Judaism in the Church since Vatican II*

Since the Vatican Declaration *Nostra Aetate*, concerning the relations between the Catholic Church and non-Christian religions, was promulgated on 28th October, 1965, a slow, but sound and effective change has been taking place in the Church. Obviously, the painful misunderstandings of centuries cannot be removed in a single year, but there is no doubt that the Church, during the Vatican Council, sincerely sought a new and better understanding of itself. Praying, discussing, listening, struggling, it discovered many new insights into its very being. One of the points most discussed was the relation between the Church and the Jewish people. Israel is either a stumbling block for the Church or else points out a deep mystery of divine revelation, in which both the Church and Judaism participate. It is not necessary to digress here on the history of relations between the Church and Judaism for the past twenty centuries, because there have been many dark patches. Nor do I need to speak about the difficult and painful struggle of the Vatican Council to reach a positive statement. The final result was neither very good, nor very bad: it was a compromise addressed to Catholics; a pastoral document in a positive spirit, and as such a revolutionary declaration compared with statements of former Councils.

Here, I would like to draw attention to the particular way in which the Vatican Declaration approaches its relation to Judaism. Unlike the way in which it refers to other religions, it begins with the words: 'As this Sacred Synod searches into the mystery of the Church, it recalls the spiritual bond linking the people of the New Covenant with Abraham's stock.'

It was at the very moment when the Council was searching most profoundly into the mystery of the Church, that the relation between the Church and Israel was mentioned. This relation, therefore, is not just one of the many points of the Church's doctrine, but one that touches the very mystery of the Church as such; this relation is connected with the very essence of the Church.

The word 'recalls' is remarkable, too. It is as though after a long period of oblivion and unawareness, the Church, in a new situation of reflection and development, remembers this essential link, this essential aspect of her being. It is further remarkable how many

<sup>1</sup>This article is based on a paper originally given earlier this year by the Rev. Dr Rijk at the Centre for Biblical and Jewish Studies, Our Lady of Sion, London.

times—more than in any other of the Council documents—words indicating this ‘remembering’ are used. For example: ‘the Church of Christ *acknowledges* that . . . the beginnings of her faith and her election are *already* found among the patriarchs. . . .’ ‘She (the Church) *professes* that . . . the salvation of the Church was mystically *foreshadowed*. . . .’ ‘The Church cannot *forget* that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God, in His inexpressible mercy, designed to establish the Ancient Covenant.’ ‘Also, the Church ever *keeps in mind* the words of the Apostle about his kinsmen. . . .’ ‘The Church *recalls* too that from the Jewish people sprang the Apostles. . . .’ ‘Since the spiritual *patrimony* common to Christians and Jews is thus so great. . . .’ *Mindful* of the *common patrimony* with the Jews . . . she deplors hatred. . . .’<sup>1</sup>

In today’s *aggiornamento*, the Church is reflecting deeply on her origin, all too easily overlooking a long sad history and then, almost as a surprise, she recalls—rediscovers—her essential link with Judaism. At a time of changes of world-wide dimensions, the Church is rediscovering Judaism, recalling a forgotten, but essential, aspect of the divine plan of salvation. The Canadian theologian, Bernard Lambert, describes it in these words:

Judaism remains outside the Church and still does not cease to work on her and in her. It works in the Church through the Jewish origin of Christianity; it works on the Church through a sort of solidarity in destiny, that makes Jews and Christians encounter one another unceasingly on the cross-roads of history.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, a new awareness found expression in the Vatican Declaration. No doubt, this new awareness was prepared by several events, and by an increasing understanding in certain circles, both inside and outside the Catholic Church. The Vatican Document is an important step, but it is only a first official step. It is a theoretical statement, the result of a painfully-won insight on the part of leaders of the Catholic Church. All will depend on whether—and how—this document is put into practice, as many Jews have observed very understandably.

Since the Council, several bishops have been active in implementing this declaration in their dioceses—in England, the United States, Chile and other countries. The work is slow, because it is not just a question of changing certain texts in catechetical, homiletical, and liturgical books, nor of finding another social attitude—a more open, human and biblical attitude—towards Jews. All these things are necessary and important, but the question lies still deeper. It concerns a change in a deeply rooted, traditional mentality, which,

<sup>1</sup>*Foi au Christ et dialogues du chrétien*, Michel de Goedt, Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, 1967, pp. 145-147.

<sup>2</sup>*Le problème oecuménique*, Bernard Lambert, Paris, 1962, p. 599.

as a religious conviction, has consciously, or even more—unconsciously—an impact on all aspects of human behaviour.

*The intervention of the Six Days War*

An important event took place in 1967 which had its effect on this new consciousness of the essential bonds between Christians and Jews: the increasing tension in the Middle East which led to the Six Days War of June. And, coming to the central topic of this conference, we wonder whether a new situation in Jewish-Catholic relations has not arisen since this war. I will not discuss the political or the military aspects of the question; indeed, I am incompetent to do so. Nor will I speak of the creation of the State of Israel and the events which led to it. What I want to point out is the meaning of this war for Catholic-Jewish relations.

Much has already been written about the disappointment of most Jews at the silence of the Catholic Church—and of other Churches—during May and June of last year, when a large section of the Jewish people stood in real danger of extermination. There has been mention of blackmail for political involvement, of the bitterness of many Jews, of the senselessness of further Christian-Jewish contacts, and, in some countries, of the complete failure of all preceding talks and dialogue. All these reactions are very understandable, and, in fact, we are faced with a new, unhappy phase in Jewish-Christian relations. And yet, I think some factors were overlooked:

- (1) the complexity of the situation and the problem, and
- (2) the positive and promising points that will, finally, be the result of these events.

Let me digress a little on both points.

(1) Most Christians, and certainly most Church leaders, had not followed the developments of the Middle East situation. They considered the tension, and the war which followed, as one of the many centres of unrest in the world, and more especially in the Middle East itself, where throughout history, so many unfortunate wars and troubles have taken place. Church leaders received demands for help and support from both sides of the battlefield. It was not easy to distinguish right from wrong; many were afraid of becoming politically involved. They wanted to separate politics clearly from religion, and that meant, in actual fact, that they wanted a clear separation between the State of Israel and Judaism as a religion, because they considered Judaism primarily, or exclusively, as a religion.

I think it is true to say that in the Jewish world, too, the situation was more complex than is sometimes suggested. Before the events of May and June, the link between Diaspora Jewry and Israel displayed every possible degree of strength and weakness. A considerable section of world Jewry was certainly not deeply conscious of its personal and existential link with the country of Israel. I was

rather surprised, and disappointed, at the beginning of last year, to discover from talks with American Jews, that many showed very little interest in the real meaning of Israel and its development. Israelis also complained about this lack of interest in their fellow Jews in various countries of the Diaspora. A result of the war is that world Jewry suddenly became aware of an existential and essential link between their own person and the life of the entire Jewish community, and the land of Israel. This came to the fore during May and June of last year, and expressed itself in sharp and violent accusations as well as deep disappointment towards Christians who remained silent. For Christians this reaction was a surprise. They were faced with a Judaism which differed considerably from what they had imagined, and they still have not realized either its importance or its implications.

(2) Now I come to the second point: the positive and promising aspects of the experiences of the last months. I am convinced that this painful struggle between Jews and Christians will prove really fruitful. Sometimes events help to awaken a new consciousness of reality; painful experiences can open one's mind to the true dimensions of existence. First of all, Jewry itself is probably more closely united now than ever before. In particular since the Enlightenment and the more or less free entrance into society which followed so many centuries of unjust restrictions, the danger of division and opposition was not chimerical. Tragic events and explosive situations, such as the last world war and the June war of 1967, seem to play a role in the Lord's providential guidance. What is more, this unity is connected with the country of Israel which is seen more clearly than ever before as an essential part of Jewish existence.

For Christians this development and this well-expressed self-awareness are very revealing. They must acknowledge that their conception of Judaism was faulty, that they had placed Judaism in their own categories of thinking; they had considered Judaism simply as a religion, but now it has become clear that Judaism is a very complex reality of which religion is one aspect. In addition, they are faced with an unaccustomed phenomenon: they must begin to discover and to respect this reality.

And, finally, the events of last year have shown clearly that so-called dialogues between Jews and Christians—the conversations which took place in various countries—have not yet touched the real problems. They were a first reconnaissance undertaken with much zeal in some countries. If we study this development carefully, there is no objective reason for not continuing these efforts at contact. To avoid them would be all the more difficult in a world which is becoming daily smaller, and where men depend increasingly on one another. On the Catholic side, the implementation of the Vatican document will continue, and I think that the last few months have helped us to base this implementation on the reality of our relations.

This will not make the task easier, but it will prove to be more realistic, and finally will serve real understanding better. It will even serve obedience to the Lord in view of the full accomplishment of the message of divine revelation. It has become very clear that now we must begin the fundamental problems of Jewish-Christian relations.

*Implications of these developments*

After this brief survey of the present situation, I would now like to indicate some *concrete implications of this development*.

(1) The building up of *better social relations* between Jews and Catholics is of primary importance, and, against the background of history, an urgent concern. However, social relations are but one question, and for three reasons not the *most direct* point of Jewish-Christian *rapprochement*. First, good human relations must be established among all men, in which we do not necessarily meet *as Jews*, and *as Christians*. Secondly, social relations must rest on a sounder foundation. Without a solid base of real conviction, social relations can become superficial and, in the event of a change in society, they could take a dangerous turn. And, thirdly, in history the social relations between Jews and Christians have largely been determined by theological and religious considerations. A change in the social behaviour of Christians towards Jews also needs to be founded on and accompanied by theological conviction.

(2) *Judaism* must be acknowledged as it is, according to its own self-awareness and not as Christians want to see it. Too many Christians have regarded Jews as a remnant of the past, or as future Christians. According to a largely traditional theological view, there was no place for Jews in Christian thinking after the coming of Jesus as the Messiah. They had failed in their mission, rejected the Messiah and been replaced by the Gentile nations. Hence, their only way to salvation lay through conversion to Christianity. However, this attitude overlooked several essential aspects of the question:

- (a) Judaism at the time of Jesus was not just legalistic and formalistic, but a very living religious community with a strong messianic and eschatological expectation. There can be no doubt about this fact, since more and more Jewish sources have become available, as, for instance, the Qumran scrolls.
- (b) Most Christians did not, and still do not, know anything about the development of Judaism itself. Some time ago a priest who attended a religious service conducted by a rabbi said: 'I did not know that Jews could pray so intently.' There is an almost complete lack of knowledge here. The deep spiritual and religious movements within Judaism are unknown, and, apart from some external forms, the simple daily Jewish life with its great values is a closed book for most Christians. Therefore

they do not realize that Judaism is based on Holy Scripture and divine revelation, and that it has a special value in the eyes of the same Lord that the Christians adore.

- (c) Another traditional Christian attitude consists in considering the *Scriptures of the Hebrew Bible*, or the Old Testament, only as a preparation and pre-figuration of the New Testament. Thus they are considered as having no value in themselves, and as exclusively related to the New Testament. Fortunately, the Vatican Constitution on Divine Revelation formulated the doctrine of the Church more carefully and states (No. 15): 'the *principal* [not the only] purpose to which the plan of the Old Covenant was directed, was to prepare for the coming, both of Christ, the universal Redeemer, and of the messianic kingdom.' And then it goes on: '... the books of the Old Testament ... reveal to all men the knowledge of God and of man and the ways in which God, just and merciful, deals with men. These books ... show us true divine pedagogy. These same books, then, give expression to a lively sense of God, contain a store or sublime teachings about God, sound wisdom about human life, and a wonderful treasury of prayer...' In the second century, Marcion and his disciples tried to abolish the Old Testament; the official Church rejected this theory and excommunicated Marcion in 144. But this tendency survived in the Church and resulted in an under-estimation of the Hebrew Bible by many Christians.
- (d) With regard to the *recognition of Judaism* in its true identity, it must be admitted that the *Vatican Declaration* on the relation between the Church and Judaism, did not express this. It aimed at giving the basis of a positive Christian attitude towards Judaism, and, therefore, stressed the common patrimony. Although Pope John and many members of the Vatican Council had in mind the improvement of the actual attitude, and of relations between Jews and Christians today, the Council did not succeed in expressing this in the best terms for real understanding. It was probably not possible, as a dialogical way of thinking particularly in relation to Judaism began to develop only about this time. So the Declaration speaks in Christian terms of the Jewish religion. While it deals with the values of other religions in the way and form in which they exist today, it does not speak of the religious and other values of Judaism today. But, it must be said, that by quoting the words of Paul in Romans 9, 5 concerning the permanent gifts to Israel, the document offers the possibility of clear recognition of these values. A further statement is needed as a sequence to the Vatican document, particularly after the events of 1967, in which the identity of Judaism as such is respected.
- (3) When we Christians consider Judaism seriously, according to

its own self-awareness, it is clear that the *first thing to do is to listen* in order to discover what Judaism is. I think that at this stage of development, this is the main point for Christians—to discover the reality, and not a caricature of Judaism. If it is true that many Jews do not know what the Church really is, then I hope that they, too, will be prepared to listen and to discover. . . .

Information and instruction are of primary importance. And this is not just because it is more or less interesting, but as so to be *more obedient to divine revelation*, to perceive the mysterious plans of the Lord for his people and for mankind. Among other things, then, we will discover the essential link between the three elements of which Judaism is composed, according to Professor Chouraqui of Jerusalem, namely, the revelation of God, the people, and the country. In Judaism, we find a *profound fidelity to the Word of God in Tanach*; the Hebrew Bible, a life inspired by the permanent presence of the Lord.<sup>1</sup> This inspiration has borne fruit in many spiritual movements, and in the lives of many Jewish saints.

More difficult to understand will be the *bond between the people and the country*. As Christianity has had a strong tendency to over-spiritualize religion and faith in connexion with its universalism, the importance of such a close link between the people of the Book and a particular country will not be grasped easily. It must be admitted that, in Christianity and especially in some Christian denominations, a particular veneration has been preserved for the land of Israel as the privileged place of divine revelation. Pilgrimages and visits have always been the sign of this veneration. . . . Although this is a different type of link from that of the Jews, it could be the starting point for a serious study of the bond between Judaism and the Land, which could have an important impact for a more realistic Christian living. It could bring Christians to an awareness of this almost forgotten part of revelation which speaks about the coming of a new heaven and a new earth.

(4) However, taking Judaism in its entirety according to its own identity will raise *serious problems* in Christian self-understanding. If this question is studied in detail, several traditional standpoints will have to be reconsidered. Let me explain more fully.

Two facts, one outside the Church and the other inside, demand that a careful study of this question be made. The *first* is the exceptional survival of Judaism throughout the centuries as a strong, living, religious community, in spite of persecutions, difficulties and vicissitudes, and in this we must try to read 'the signs of the times'. Is this a sign of the Lord? What does this mean for Christians and for the Church? And, *secondly*, Paul's words about those Jews who did not recognize Jesus as Messiah: 'They have the adoption as sons, and the glory and the covenant and the legislation and the

<sup>1</sup>*La légitimité du Judaïsme d'après le Christianisme*, H. Cazelles, *L'Amitié Judeo-Christienne de France*, No. 3 (1967), 12-18.

worship and the promises; they have the fathers and from them is Christ according to the flesh' (Rom. 9, 4-5). And further on: 'they remain most dear to God', and 'the gifts of the Lord are without repentance' (see Rom. 11, 28-29).

Accepting these points, we can understand the words of a famous Protestant theologian: 'There are now many good contacts between the Catholic Church and many Protestant Churches, between the Secretariate for Christian Unity and the World Council of Churches; there is a daily increasing number of mixed working groups all over the world; the ecumenical movement is driven by the Spirit of the Lord; but do not forget, there is only one really important, deep ecumenical question: our relation to Israel.'<sup>1</sup>

*Towards a theology of the relationship between Judaism and the Church*

It is true that Christians have overlooked both facts—the importance of Jewish existence and the words of Paul. Now, however, under the influence of several events, the meaning of these two data is beginning to be understood; the question of the relation between the Church and Judaism must be posed on the theological level. This is necessary in order to form a deep religious conviction from which will stem a firmly based social behaviour. The question then is: *how can we reconcile the universalism of the Church's mission with recognition of Jewish identity, and its particular place in the salvation plan of the Lord?* Today we are only at the beginning of a serious approach to this problem, so I cannot give a definitive answer. But let us honestly try to find a solution.

(a) The well-known *traditional solution* was simply the conversion of the Jews to the Church. In the darkest times of Church history, Jews had to choose between conversion and persecution or death. Many resisted and chose persecution or death. In other, less violent times, Christians saw the only solution in conversion. They forgot that Jesus was a Jew and that Paul had spoken about a mystery of Israel. This attitude, nevertheless, showed deep conviction—that there is a special link between the Church and Judaism, and that the plan of God would not be fulfilled without the participation of the Jews—only they simply translated the word 'mystery' by conversion.

(b) The *Vatican Council* struggled with this problem. In the first draft of the declaration, nothing was said about conversion. In a later proposal the hope was expressed that the Jews would join the Church, but this was rejected and replaced by a more eschatological sentence, in which the words of the prophet Sophonias were quoted: 'In the company with the prophets and the same apostle (Paul), the Church awaits the day, known to God alone, in which all the peoples will address the Lord in a single voice and "serve him with one accord"' (see Soph. 3, 9; cf. Is. 66, 23; Ps. 65, 4; Rom. 11, 25-32).

<sup>1</sup>Karl Barth in a private talk in Rome, at the end of 1966.

This is certainly a more biblical approach, an expression of the eschatological expectation common to Jews and Christians, but it leaves the question open as to how the relationship between the Church and Judaism must be seen.

(c) Since the Council, several Catholic theologians have expressed the opinion that the Christian attitude to Jews may not be one of conversion. Among others, Professor Schelkle of Tübingen, Germany, Professor Hruby of Paris and Mgr. Oesterreicher of Seton Hall University, New Jersey, have subscribed to this opinion. The Guidelines for Catholic-Jewish relations issued by the Secretariate for Catholic-Jewish relations in the United States, declares: 'It is understood that proselytizing is to be carefully avoided in dialogue.' There is, of course, a difference between a sincere conversion and proselytism in the derogatory sense of the word. Proselytism has had, especially in Jewish history, a very meaningful positive sense. However, today it has, generally speaking, a negative meaning in so far as conversions are sought by unfair means, and are not the result of conviction. Respecting the freedom of personal decision and conviction, I think we must always accept the possibility of a conversion; as Christians, we will consider a Jew who becomes a Christian as one who, receiving the grace of Christ, anticipates an eschatological event. This, then, would not be a conversion in the accepted view of abandoning his Jewish faith and tradition, but the acceptance in full consciousness of the new development given to it by the event of Jesus of Nazareth. Because of past persecutions, the position of these people is very difficult. They bear the burden of centuries of misunderstanding, and, nevertheless, they have a special vocation in the Church. But this is different from the attitude of the Church as such towards Judaism. Here we must take into account other elements of divine revelation.

(d) A solution to the problem of the relation between the Church and Judaism has been proposed by some Jewish and Christian theologians. Rosenzweig, among others, suggests this solution: there are two covenants—one for Jews based on the revelation on Mount Sinai, and another for the Gentiles based on the New Testament and the Noachitic commandments. But this seems an unacceptable solution for two reasons:

- (i) Christians, in their identity and self-awareness, are convinced that they participate in the covenant of the Lord with Abraham and Moses, and they consider the Old Testament—the Hebrew Bible—as sacred to them as the New Testament. To deny this would mean the acceptance of the Marcionite tendency.
- (ii) There are not two covenants. I would say that there is only one covenant, as there is only one God and one revelation and one plan of God. But the single covenant has been renewed,

and we Christians believe it has been renewed in Jesus in a unique and definite way.

Here I want to add a word about the people of God. The Vatican Declaration does not use the expression 'people of God' when it speaks about the Jews after the coming of Christ. However, in another document, the dogmatic constitution on the Church (*Lumen Gentium*), it speaks in number 16 about the Jews as 'the people, which remains most dear to God'. In the 'expensio modorum', in the evaluation of the modii on the Declaration concerning the Jews, it is said: the Secretariate for Christian Unity (which dealt with this question) does not intend to decide in what sense the Jewish people remains the people dear to God. Several theologians, such as Démann and Congar, explain that Jews according to the Christian view still remain people of God. The explanation then is that the coming of Jesus caused a schism which divided this people of God. But there still remains the question of the relation between the two parts of the people of God.

(e) Another solution of this problem has been suggested by James Parkes<sup>1</sup> and others who say that Judaism is intended for the people as a social group, while Christianity is directed to the individual. Thus they have their own place in the plan of God. But this view is exaggerated in that it over-stresses one aspect of both Judaism and Christianity.

(f) Before coming to my final point, let me say a word about the necessity of conversion. When we rethink this word in its original meaning, then conversion, *t'shuvah*, is necessary for both Jews and Christians. It means the conversion of the heart to the Lord to obey his commandments more faithfully. It does not mean changing from one religion to another, but discovering more clearly God's plan of salvation, and following the ways of his providence. This teaching about conversion is certainly very much needed by Christians; particularly in their attitude and behaviour towards Jews is radical conversion needed. In such attitude of sincere conversion and real penance, we will, perhaps, receive the grace of discovering the mystery of Israel and its relation to the Church.

#### *A relationship of dialectic?*

In my last point, I will try to indicate a possible view on the *dialectic relation* between the Church and the Jewish people. Here, I borrow largely from a recent article by Professor Hruby of Paris, 'Le Judaïsme dans le plan du salut après l'avènement du Christ'.<sup>2</sup> There are two fundamental theses both of which must be seriously considered.

(a) *The Church has a universal mission.* At the beginning of her existence she was exclusively composed of Jews who had recognized

<sup>1</sup>Elder and Younger Brothers, A. Roy Eckhardt, *New York* 1967, pp. 82ff.

<sup>2</sup>*L'Ami d'Israel*, 1967, No. 6, pp. 127-137.

Jesus as Messiah. Then, she opened the door to the Gentiles to participate in the covenant of God with Israel, which had come to fulfilment in Jesus. The majority of the Jewish people, living outside Palestine for the most part, did not follow this movement. But this non-acceptance of the Christian message, according to Paul, was 'for your sake' (Rom. 11, 28), for the sake of the Gentiles. It is considered as the condition of the salvation of the Gentiles. The Church has the mission of preaching the Gospel to the whole world, and it would be wrong to exclude the Jews deliberately—it would be unjust not to present the Gospel message to the whole of mankind, the Jews included. (See how the Gospels and the apostles speak of this mission first to the Jews and then to the Gentiles.) This, I think, is true in principle, but it does not give approval to proselytism and conversion activities such as have taken place in the past. So, in the concrete situation it is clear that, first of all, a real and deep conversion of Christians themselves is needed, and even then the question of the concrete presentation of a message of love must be considered. It has to be conveyed much more by deeds than by words. As a fellow Dutchman once said: 'for the first hundred years, Christians must be silent in their contact with Jews, and just listen and learn.'

But I think we must be honest in this, too, and say that it belongs to the Christian self-understanding and identity to live and to preach the Gospel of the New Testament everywhere.

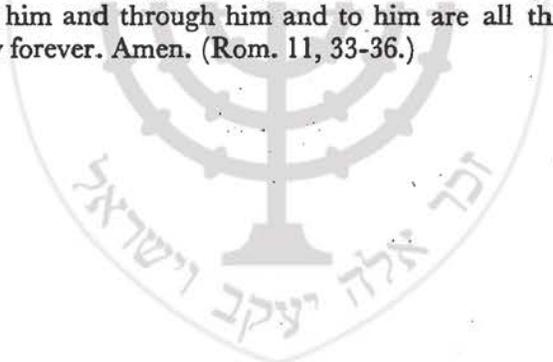
(b) But there is a second thesis to be considered, a thesis of equal importance, but scarcely recognized by Christians. This is the other part of the dialectic relation, namely: *Israel has its own authenticity and identity* which it preserves, and this it does according to the plan of God whose gifts are without repentance and whose call is irrevocable. It is here that Paul speaks of a mystery (Rom. 11, 25). Israel as a concrete, complex and religious reality outside the Christian order, has its own function in the plan of divine salvation that is intended finally to include the whole of mankind in a new heaven and a new earth, when all will serve the Lord with one accord (Soph. 3, 9) and the Lord will be 'everything to everyone' (1 Cor. 15, 28). In true fidelity to its vocation and election Israel will survive. The very specific existence of the Jewish people with its own characteristics is a sign of God's fidelity to his grace and his gifts, always with a view to the final accomplishment of all the promises. Christians must truly recognize and respect this identity and authenticity of Judaism, in order to be faithful to their own beliefs based on the whole Bible.

Accepting these two poles of the dialectic relation, it is understandable that a certain tension will always exist between them; a tension which will find its solution only in the eschatological realization of the plan of God, when the whole people of God with all mankind will form one unity. There are several consequences of this point of view which I will not develop now but only mention in passing:

- (i) The recognition of the Jewish identity with its essential aspects is, of course, the first point.
- (ii) Conversations and dialogue between Jews and Christians must take place in a really ecumenical, unselfish spirit.
- (iii) Christians must seriously listen and study; they must learn what Judaism can mean for them. That Jews are not eager to listen to Christians is understandable after centuries of bitter experience.
- (iv) There is a large field of collaboration open to Christians and Jews, in relation to the problem of faith in the world, in relation to the final and complete accomplishment of the Covenant between God and man.

These are only a few indications which need working out. After the events of 1967, and after reflection upon their implications, it must be admitted that some aspects of the Jewish-Christian relationship received greater clarification and new insistence. This is all the more reason for referring to a new and more explicit situation in which we feel we are beginning to realize better that divine mystery of which Paul said:

O the depth of the riches and the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgements and how inscrutable his ways! For who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been his counsellor? Or who has given a gift to him that he might be repaid? For in him and through him and to him are all things: to him be glory forever. Amen. (Rom. 11, 33-36.)



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Board of Governors Meeting  
Tuesday, June 24, 1969

David Sher, Chairman

A G E N D A

- Opening Remarks of Chairman. . . . .David Sher
- Special Presentation . . . . .Philip E. Hoffman
- Report of the Executive Vice President . . .Bertram H. Gold
- 1) Miscellaneous Items
- Discussion
- 2) IFCO: Next Steps in Programming to Meet the Needs of the Poor
- Discussion
- 3) Impact of Arab Propaganda: New Developments and Programmatic Implications
- Discussion
- Some Observations on Budget and Finance. . .Morris H. Bergreen  
Chairman, Budget and Evaluation Committee
- Status of Jews Abroad. . . . .Richard Maass  
Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee
- President's Report . . . . .Philip E. Hoffman
- Executive Session

WCC - Geneva - May 27-30, 1969

- End -
- Representatives - Protestant, Anglican, Orthodox
- U.S.
- Britain
- France
- Germany
- Holland
- Russia
- Switzerland
- Denmark
- Israel

Jewish - <sup>Guest</sup> U.S., Britain, Romania, Israel, Switzerland

Purpose - JERUSALEM - Christian and Jewish Perspectives, Historical, Theological, Contemporary

1st Session: RELIGIOUS EDUCATION & PREJUDICE

David Hunter - based entirely on AJC textbook studies; Strober guidelines

- [Footnote: U.S. Catholic Bishops - St. Louis study, Atlanta study]

- INTL CONF. XANS & JEWS - May-June Germany  
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION - Pro Res - Italy, Spain, France, Latin America

## JERUSALEM - INTENDED THEORETICAL

### 2 Jewish papers - Arthur Hertzberg

Shim'on Talmon - Hebrew Univ. - great impact

### 2 Yan papers -

Dennis Baly - murky, pro-s - [pro-Arab - Multitud  
ni Dene

"THE QUESTION OF WHETHER A SACRED CITY  
OUGHT ALSO TO BE A POLITICAL CITY,  
AND WHETHER JERUSALEM OUGHT TO BE  
ANYBODY'S CAPITAL CITY.

SEPARATE SACRED CITY FROM POLITICAL CITY

"It is therefore, I believe urgent that Jerusalem  
should become in some valid sense of the  
word, "negotiable". [p. 17-

also Bethlehem, Hebron, Galilee

JERUSALEM IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION

Dr. John Karavidopoulos

"After the death & resurrection of Jesus,  
Jerusalem considered as a topographical  
locality has transferred its theological  
significance to Jesus and his church,  
it has acquired a theological rather  
than a historical consequence

## POLITICAL INTENTION

III preparing world Jewish Community  
for shift of WCC toward pro-Arab line

(1) proposal internationalizing holy places in  
Jerusalem - Hebron, Betlehem, Galilee = CANTON  
BI'AH  
Aug.

(2) proposal one-sided resolution on  
Arab refugees problem CYPRUS  
SEPT-OCT.

- Elfan Rees (Iraq, Egypt) - Four Power  
TALKS ASKING WCC FOR POSITION ON HOLY PLACES

- would prefer inter-confessional,  
not realistic, need for  
"international agreements"

- Washofsky written assurances  
free access, their security, self-administration

- RENZ POLITIK - Arab. Xan pressure

Baly - "An essentially neutral, probably  
international, administration of the area  
containing the Holy Places still seems  
to me to offer the greatest promise  
of peace in Jerusalem"

- VISCHER - WCC - MUSLIM DIALOGUE  
ATTENDED SUPPORT OF XANS FOR ISRAEL - GUILT

- TRIALOGUE - JWS, XANS, MUSLIMS - WHY OUT

VISCHER LETTER -

<sup>wcc</sup>  
Xav. Muslim -

- Nov. Xav suggested need for dialogue w. Muslims
- relatively unrepresentative - who represents Islam
- = 14 Muslims - from non Arab & Arab countries
- no discussion w. a. Palestine  
4 questions put to West. Xav
- 1) credibility of Xav questioned because relation  
bet. Xav & Jews, not
- 2) Islam, J & X universal  
identity w. national Zion
- 3) compensation for Nazi experience & facts: support of Israel
- 4) support for national revolution, democratic Palestine
- 5) technological power - support of Israel government colonization
- = J & X, Islam spiritually

ZACH SUTHERLAND MEMO - June 18 - Gold, Segal, Not  
REES - June 17

- (Confirmed) pressures - Greek extradition, Coptia
- Concerns of Arab refugees - France needs to do more [after elections - Oct.
  - Jerusalem - will not ask for internationalization
  - only guarantee protection of holy places
  - free access, maintenance
- State dept has asked for WCC views

CANTORBURY AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

- 1) A DECLARATION OF GUILT OF KEY FOR INJUSTICES & PERSECUTIONS AGAINST JEWS THROUGHOUT HISTORY;
- 2) A SOLEMN RECOGNITION OF RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST AS A STATE, AND EXPRESSION OF WISHES FOR ITS FUTURE GROWTH & PROSPERITY
- 3) EXPRESS MAJOR CONCERN WITH CONDITIONS OF ARAB REFUGEES & BASIC OF MEASURES TO BRING ABOUT RADICAL IMPROVEMENT IN THEIR SITUATION

FUTURE CONVICTIONS -  
RELIGION, NATIONALISM, BIGOTRY



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LV/jmm  
17th June 1969

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum,  
The American Jewish Committee,  
165 East 56 Street,  
New York, N.Y. 10022,  
U.S.A.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Dear Marc,

Thank you very much for your letter of June 3rd. I am very grateful to you for explaining again your concerns about the present situation. I will keep them in mind as we approach the Summer meetings of the World Council of Churches. It is, of course, difficult to predict what will happen, but at least you can be assured that I will do my best to avoid partial statements.]

As you, I thought that our consultation was a useful one. Of course the second meeting is always somewhat more difficult than the first. First encounters are almost bound to succeed and as they go on they require more preparatory efforts. I think that we shall have to spend some more time in preparing our third conversation next year. I liked the meeting we had as an opportunity of becoming aware of the present situation and from this learned many things. I was particularly impressed with the presentations of Arthur Hertzberg and Shmaryahu Talmon.

Yours,

*Lukas*

*above sent to all on Israeli list - per Mett*



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

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... from the ... any other ...

FO-Eur

June 18, 1969

... to all ...

...

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022



Dear Marc :

Last night I returned from Geneva, where I had a long conversation with Elfan Rees. You will find a summary of this conversation in the enclosed memorandum.

I believe that the difference in your report of June 2nd, after you returned from Geneva, and the views stated to me by Dr. Rees, is the result of a misunderstanding which has arisen perhaps because of the great emphasis laid by Dr. Rees on the question of refugees. As I tried to indicate in my memorandum, he is really passionate about the subject, and for the legitimate reason that he has been involved in this matter for decades. However, I must state frankly that I am fully confident that with regard to the issue of the holy places his own views and those of the WCC are as he stated them to me.

Of course, I was delighted to hear from him as to the substance of the statement on the Jews and Israel that is being proposed for the Canterbury conference. I have no doubt that the point about refugees will be made in strong terms, but I do not see how we can object to the expression of such concern, which is made on humanitarian grounds. We must allow disagreement on this issue and take it in the proper spirit; and I am convinced that this does not involve any political angle.

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## PARIS OFFICE

30, rue la Boétie  
Paris VIII

FO-Eur  
June 18, 1969

### MEMORANDUM

**TO:** Messrs. Gold, Segal, Tanenbaum  
**FROM:** Zachariah Shuster  
**SUBJ:** Meeting with Dr. Elfan Rees on Position World Council of Churches toward Israel

On June 17 I had an extensive conversation in Geneva with Dr. Elfan Rees with regard to the present condition of Jews in the Arab countries and especially concerning the attitude of the World Council of Churches toward Israel, with particular reference to the recently held consultation in Geneva with representatives of Jewish bodies, in which our own Rabbi Tanenbaum participated. Dr. Rees, who is an old friend of mine, is in charge of the major international political and social activities of the WCC, and I feel that he was frank in communicating to me both his own outlook and the position presently held by the WCC.

With regard to the Jews in the Arab countries, he told me that he made frequent interventions with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadrudin Aga Kahn, with UN Secretary General U Thant, and other individuals and groups concerned with this subject. He believes that the Egyptian government will continue its policy of releasing the Jews who were imprisoned after the six-day war, and permit emigration of all those who want to leave. In his view, the fact that there are still 95 Jews held in Tourah prison is not the result of an agreed policy but represents a delay due entirely to bureaucratic complications; and that eventually they too will be released. For what concerns Iraq, he is as perplexed as everyone else as to whether there is a change in the behavior of the Baghdad government toward the Jews, and has been in touch about this with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

In the center of our discussion, however, were the problems arising from the Israel-Arab conflict and the position of the WCC.

He began by saying that the WCC has been increasingly subjected to pressure from affiliated churches in the Middle Eastern area, primarily the Greek Orthodox and Coptic churches, to take an unfavorable position toward Israel on various political and social aspects of the Middle East situation. The WCC, however, up to now has not developed an overall point of view on the purely political issues, for the reason that, by the very nature of its composition, it contains within itself many contending points of view, although, as it will be indicated below, it definitely is committed to the objective of recognizing and helping to maintain the existence of the State of Israel.

Rees further said that the major concern of the WCC and of himself has been the fate of the Arab refugees. He spoke on this subject with strong personal feelings and for the reason that for more than two decades he has been involved in the destiny of refugees throughout the world. He told me with pride that he was one of the first who entered immediately after the liberation the camps of Auschwitz in Poland and Theresienstadt in Czechoslovakia; and of the work he has done for Jewish survivors and refugees after World War II. His major contention with regard to the Arab refugee problem is that the Israel government has not made the large-scale generous effort required by the magnitude of the problem to bring about a fundamental improvement in the lives of the Arab refugees. He said that, for instance, a great deal could be done by creating more employment opportunities for young Arabs who have graduated from secondary schools and universities. (In this respect, he said that he had conversations with Arabs who have lived in Israel since 1948, and they stated that while there were better educational opportunities for the young Arabs in the State of Israel than ever before, there are few outlets for them after they graduate.) Rees believes that Israel could also do more in establishing vocational schools among the refugees in occupied territories; in preparing projects for permanent work, etc. He said he discussed this matter at great length only six weeks ago during his visit to Israel with Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon, Mr. Jacob Herzog, Director General of the Israeli Cabinet, and other political leaders whom he knows well from his previous visits. He received the impression that some of the leaders in Israel are coming around to realize the importance of developing a new approach to the refugee problem, and that perhaps something will be done about it after the elections to the Knesset in October. He pointed out, however, that the pattern he has in mind would have to be done on a comprehensive scale, and would require large funds.

I then discussed with him at length the present position of the WCC with regard to the future of Jerusalem, and the holy places in other localities. He stated categorically that the WCC is "not interested in places, but in people," and that is the reason why it is more concerned with refugees than with any of the other concrete issues involved in the Middle East conflict.

The WCC does not and will not, he said, ask for the internationalization of the city of Jerusalem, and its objective is limited in this connection to a guarantee of protection of the holy places proper. This means free access to followers of all religions and the dignified maintenance and preservation of the holy sites. The WCC would not ask for any changes in the civil administration of the city which could bring about again a division of the city; and the WCC is fully satisfied to see that Jerusalem is administered by Israel as a unified city.

I then asked him specifically if the kind of guarantee for the holy places the WCC desires ought to be in the nature of an international accord initiated by a political body as the UN, or if the WCC would consider it satisfactory to have assurances given to this effect by the Israel government to the major religious Christian and Moslem bodies. He said unequivocally that such assurances on the part of the Israeli government would be absolutely adequate, and that his recent conversations with the Israeli Minister of Religion, Zerach Warhaftig, and the subsequent written assurances by the Minister have given complete satisfaction to the WCC.

Rees also informed me that Dr. Graham Martin, of the US State Department, on his recent visit to Geneva, indicated that in the course of the four-power talks on the Middle East the WCC might be asked its views with regard to the future of the holy places. Naturally, other religious bodies will also be sounded out, and it is as yet too early to forecast the outcome of the discussions which various religious groups will hold on this subject.

I then asked Rees about the attitude intended to be taken by the WCC conferences scheduled to be held in Canterbury in August and in Cyprus in October, 1969. He replied that the Cyprus conference will probably not deal at all with this matter, but a statement will probably be issued by the Canterbury conference, and as matters stand now the essential points of this statement will be the following:

- a) A declaration of the guilt of Christianity for the injustices and persecutions committed against Jews through the centuries;
- b) A solemn recognition of the right of Israel to exist as a State and an expression of wishes for its future growth and prosperity;
- c) Express major concern with the conditions of Arab refugees and the lack of measures to bring about a radical improvement in their situation.

In his opinion, no other points of importance on this issue will come out of this conference.

While Dr. Rees has not shown me any draft of the statement planned for the Canterbury conference -- perhaps such a draft does not as yet exist -- I had the impression that this is the consensus arrived at by the leading authorities of the WCC for presentation at the Canterbury conference.

With regard to the address delivered at the recent consultation by Prof. Denis A. Baly, of Kenyon College, which contained negative remarks and suggestions about the holy places and Jerusalem, Dr. Rees emphatically stated that this was the view of one individual who delivered a paper on theological grounds, and whose views were not shared by any of the other participants.

While in Geneva I met also with Mr. Kidron, Israel Ambassador in Geneva, and I told him of the WCC position as stated to me by Dr. Rees. He said that this corresponds fully with his own information and he was satisfied to hear what I told him about the planned statement for the Canterbury conference.



C O P Y

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

PARIS OFFICE

30, rue la Boétie  
Paris VIII

FO-Eur  
June 19, 1969

MEMORANDUM

To: Messrs. Gold, Segal, Tanenbaum  
From: Zachariah Shuster  
Subj: Follow-up memorandum June 18

This is a footnote to the report I sent you yesterday on my conversation with Dr. Elfan Rees.

In the course of our talk I posed the question with regard to reports on growing pro-Arab tendencies within the National Council of Churches in the U.S. Dr. Rees confirmed these reports, and the reason for them, he said, is that individuals in the National Council who are actively engaged in Middle East affairs are to a large extent former missionaries who have lived for a number of years in Arab lands and have developed one-sided views on the Israel-Arab conflict.

F- WCC Geneva meeting

57-16

# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

CONGRESO JUDIO MUNDIAL

1211 GENÈVE  
1, RUE DE VAREMBÉ  
TELEPH. 3413'25

NEW-YORK N.Y.  
15 EAST 84th STREET  
TEL. TRAFALGAR 9-4500

LONDON W.1  
55, NEW CAVENDISH STREET  
TELEPH. WELBECK 0335

PARIS 8e TEL-AVIV  
78, AV. CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES 128, YEHUDA HALEVI STR.  
TELEPH. ÉLYSÉES 9463 TELEPH. 29189

GR/MB 15 352

Geneva, May 6th 1969

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
Director  
Interreligious Affairs Department  
The American Jewish Committee  
New York  
=====

Dear Marc,

Further to my letter of April 21st, I am sending you herewith enclosed the provisional list of participants and the provisional programme for the consultation with the World Council of Churches.

I have informed our friends of the World Council that we want to raise the question of Arab propaganda in the Christian Churches during the meeting. We have agreed not to put this item formally on the agenda, but it is understood that it will come up either under the first point of the Agenda or at another appropriate moment of the meeting.

Looking forward to see you in Geneva, I am,

With kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Gerhart M. Riegner

# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

CONGRESO JUDIO MUNDIAL

1211 GENÈVE NEW-YORK N.Y. LONDON W.1 P A R I S 8e T E L - A V I V  
1, RUE DE VAREMBÉ 15 EAST 84th STREET 55, NEW CAVENDISH STREET 78, AV. CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES 123, YEHUDA HALEVI STR.  
TELEPH. 34 13 25 TEL TRAFALGAR 9-4500 TELEPH. WELBECK 0335 TELEPH. ÉLYSÉES 9468 T E L E P H. 2 9 1 3 9

Geneva, May 6, 1969.

MEMO

To : Participants in the Consultation with Representatives  
of the World Council of Churches (Geneva, May 27 - 30)

From : Gerhart M. Riegner

Please find herewith enclosed the provisional list of participants and a provisional programme for the meeting with the World Council of Churches.

I would be grateful to all participants who have not yet done so to let me know as quickly as possible the date of their arrival in Geneva to enable me to make the definite hotel reservation for them at the Hotel du Rhône in Geneva.

CONSULTATION BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES  
AND REPRESENTATIVES OF JEWRY, GENEVA, MAY 27-30, 1969

Provisional List of Participants

Participants from the Jewish side:

Rabbi Balfour Brickner	Director, Joint Commission on Interfaith Activities, Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Central Conference of American Rabbis	U.S.A.
Dr. Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich	European Director, International Council of B'nai B'rith; Secretary, Swiss Council of Christians and Jews	Switzerland
Mr. Benjamin R. Epstein	National Director, Anti-Defamation League	U.S.A.
Rabbi Solomon Goldman	Rabbi; Adviser of the U.K. Chief Rabbi on Christian-Jewish Relations	U.K.
Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg	Rabbi; Lecturer in History, Department of Graduate Studies, Columbia University, New York Author of one of the papers on "Jerusalem"	U.S.A.
Rabbi Wolfe Kelman	Executive Vice-President, Rabbinical Assembly	U.S.A.
Rabbi Dr. Joachim Prinz	Chairman, Governing Council, World Jewish Congress	U.S.A.
Dr. Gerhart M. Riegner	Secretary-General, World Jewish Congress	Switzerland
Chief Rabbi Dr. Moses Rosen	Chief Rabbi of Rumania; President, Federation of Jewish Communities of Rumania	Rumania
Rabbi Henry Siegman	Executive Vice-President, Synagogue Council of America	U.S.A.
Prof. Shmaryahu Talmon	Professor of Bible, Institute of Jewish Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem Author of one of the papers on "Jerusalem"	Israel

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum      Director, Interreligious      U.S.A.  
Affairs Department, American  
Jewish Committee

Prof. Moses D. Tendler      Professor of Talmudic Law,      U.S.A.  
Yeshiva University,  
New York

Prof. R.J. Zwi Werblowsky      Dean of the Faculty of      Israel  
Humanities, Hebrew  
University, Jerusalem;  
Chairman, Israel Inter-  
faith Committee

Participants from the W.C.C. side:

Prof. A. Denis Baly      Department of Religion,      U.S.A.  
Kenyon College, Gambier,  
Ohio

Author of one of the papers  
on "Jerusalem"

Prof. Dr. Maas Boertien      Faculty of Literature,      Netherlands  
University of Amsterdam;  
Secretary, Council of  
Christian Churches in Israel

Father Vitaly Borovoi      Associate Director,      U.S.S.R.  
Secretariat of the Commission  
on Faith and Order, W.C.C.

Pastor Anker Gjerding      Secretary, Committee on the      Denmark  
Church and the Jewish People,  
W.C.C.

Dr. Franz v. Hammerstein      Amt für Industrie und Sozial-Germany  
arbeit der Ev. Kirche Berlin-  
Brandenburg

✓ Rev. Dr. David R. Hunter      Deputy General Secretary,      U.S.A.  
National Council of the  
Churches of Christ in the  
U.S.A., New York

Prof. Dr. John Karawidopoulos      Professor of Theology,      Greece  
Faculty of Theology,  
University of Thessaloniki  
Author of one of the papers  
on "Jerusalem"

One representative of the	Lutheran World Federation	
Mr. A. Dominique Micheli	Assistant General Secretary, <del>Switzerland</del> World Council of Churches	
✓ Rev. Peter Schneider	Secretary, Ecumenical Theological Research Fraternity in Israel, Jerusalem	Israel
✓ Rev. W.W. Simpson	Chairman of the Inter- national Consultative Committee of Organisation for Christian-Jewish Cooperation; General Secretary, The Council of Christians and Jews, London	U.K.
✓ Dr. Lukas Vischer	Director, Secretariat of the Commission on Faith and Order, W.C.C.	Switzerland
Mr. Charles Westphal	President, Protestant Federation of France, Paris	France
The Ven. Carl Witton-Davies	Archdeacon of Oxford; Chairman, Executive Committee of the Council of Christians and Jews	U.K.

- 3 -

CONSULTATION BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES  
AND REPRESENTATIVES OF JEWRY, GENEVA, MAY 27 TO 30, 1969

PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME

10.00 a.m. - 1.00 p.m. - .m.a 00.01  
and suggestions for the following

Tuesday, 27 May 1969

Morning

-----Arrival of Participants

3.00 p.m. - 6.00 p.m.

Opening Session

Presentations and discussion of  
the topic "Religious Education  
and Prejudices".  
The topic will be discussed  
on Wednesday, 28 May 1969

Wednesday, 28 May 1969

10.00 a.m. - 1.00 p.m.

Presentation and preliminary  
discussion of two of the papers  
on "Jerusalem in the Christian  
and Jewish Traditions"

11.00 p.m.

Lunch for all participants at  
the Hôtel du Rhône

3.00 p.m. - 6.00 p.m.

Presentation and preliminary  
discussion of the other two  
papers on "Jerusalem in the  
Christian and Jewish Traditions"

Evening

free

Thursday, 29 May 1969

10.00 a.m. - 1.00 p.m.

"Jerusalem in the Christian and  
Jewish Traditions"

1.00 p.m.

Lunch for all participants at  
the Hôtel du Rhône

3.00 p.m. - 6.00 p.m.

Continuation of the morning's  
discussion

Reports on Human Rights and  
Religious Liberty

Evening

Participants should keep that  
evening free from other  
engagements. Small groups may  
have to meet to prepare  
conclusions.



5/27-5/29  
Geneva

March 24, 1969

Dr. Gerhart Riegner  
10, Rue De Varemba  
1211, Geneva 20  
Switzerland

Dear Gerhart:

Since receiving a letter from our mutual good friend, Dr. Joachim Prinz, I have had an opportunity to discuss your invitation relative to the meeting with the World Council of Churches with Mr. Bert Gold, our Executive Vice President, whom I am sure you know.

Mr. Gold has encouraged me to attend the meeting and I am therefore pleased to let you know that I expect to join you for the conference. I will probably arrive either on May 25 or early on May 26. I would appreciate your making the necessary hotel reservations for me.

As I indicated to Dr. Prinz in my last letter, I hope it will be possible for you to place on the Agenda the question of Arab propaganda in the Christian churches. This has become a pressing problem in this country, and ultimately elsewhere, and the WCC simply must become aware of our deep concern. If you decide not to place it formally on the agenda, then I would want to make clear my feelings that I will want to introduce the subject in non-formal ways.

I am sending a copy of this letter to my colleague, Mr. Zachariah Shuster, with a view toward ascertaining whether he will have an interest in taking part in this matter.

With warmest good wishes for a healthy and happy Pesach, I am,

Cordially as ever,

Marc H. Tanenbaum

Director

Interreligious Affairs Department

MIT:rd

cc: Bert Gold  
Dr. Joachim Prinz  
Dr. Simon Segal  
Zachariah Shuster



May 15, 1969

✓  
The Rev. Cornelius A. Rijk  
The Vatican Office for  
Catholic-Jewish Relations  
Via dei Corridori, 64  
00193 Rome, Italy

Dear Cornelius:

I appreciate your letter of April 26th.

From the schedule that I have just received from Geneva it appears that I will not be able to come to Rome before the morning of May 30th. I plan to stay at the Hotel Mediterraneo and will contact you as soon as I arrive there.

If there are no other complications, I would think an early afternoon meeting might be feasible for me, if it is all right with your schedule.

I look forward with both anticipation and pleasure to seeing you again.

Cordially,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director  
Interreligious Affairs Department

MHT:MSB  
Dictated but not read

NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF  
CATHOLIC BISHOPS



SECRETARIAT FOR CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS

SETON HALL UNIVERSITY, SOUTH ORANGE, N. J. 07079  
TEL: 201/762-9000 - 762-8850

MOST REV. FRANCIS P. LEIPZIG, D.D.  
MODERATOR

REV. EDWARD H. FLANNERY  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

June 2, 1969

TO: DIOCESAN SECRETARIATS FOR CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS  
FROM: REV. EDWARD H. FLANNERY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
SUBJECT: TEXTBOOK EVALUATION.

In accordance with the intent of our office to supply the dioceses with suggestions, information, and projects, that might be helpful in their efforts to implement the Vatican Council's Statement on the Jewish people and the American Bishops' Guidelines for Catholic-Jewish Relations, we are sending you materials that might be helpful for a program of examination and evaluation of religion textbooks. Among the programs recommended in the Bishops' Guidelines we read:

"School texts, prayerbooks, and other media should, under competent auspices, be examined in order to remove not only those materials which do not accord with the content and spirit of the (Vatican Council) Statement, but also those which fail to show Judaism's role in salvation-history in any positive light."

Experience has shown that inaccurate or tendentious teaching in the classroom has often been a source of false and biased opinions with respect to minority groups, including Jews. It is important that this source be eliminated. To this purpose some dioceses and schools, both here and abroad, have undertaken programs of textbook evaluation. Particularly successful have been those undertaken in the Archdiocese of Atlanta and at St. Louis University. We are enclosing descriptions of what has been done in those two programs together with general directives and bibliographies for setting up similar programs.

We urge you to do whatever possible to examine your textbook situation and, if necessary, correct it. We shall be pleased to render whatever help or services we can by providing further information or putting you in touch with persons expert in this area. We should like, of course, to receive your comments and a description of whatever you may do.

# the christian CENTURY

an ecumenical weekly

## Catholic - Jewish Team

### Reviews Textbooks

#### A 'First' in the Nation

Since the winter of 1966 a unique ecumenical group has been operating in Georgia: a study committee made up of Catholics and Jews, working to eliminate anti-Semitic elements from textbooks used in the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Atlanta.

The Jewish members of the group are Rabbi Richard Lehrman of Temple Sinai; Charles Wittenstein, southeast area director for the American Jewish Committee; Edward Abrams, vice-chairman of the Atlanta A.J.C. chapter, an alumnus of Notre Dame University; Katherine Hertzka, a resource teacher for the Atlanta public schools. Their Catholic counterparts are the Rev. Aloysius Clarke, director of archdiocesan projects to aid underprivileged groups both urban and rural; Sr. Dolores Beatty, G.N.S.H., a history teacher in a Catholic high school; Sr. Claire McCormick, S.N.D. de N., dean of studies in the same school; Robert Hall, a layman; and this correspondent, teacher of religion in a high school and chairman of the committee.

The enterprise was first proposed by Bishop Joseph L. Bernardin in a public address made while he was auxiliary to the late Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan, who immediately gave the proposal his wholehearted backing. Assistance of the American Jewish Committee was offered by Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, its director of interreligious affairs.

This is the first *joint* study of Catholic textbooks to be made in the nation. There had been previous studies, but none made with the assistance of Jews, who naturally are more sensitive than others to offensive or inaccurate passages in the textbooks under consideration. One of the most important earlier studies, known as the "St. Louis Report," was done as a doctoral thesis at St. Louis University by Sr. Rose Albert, O.P.

#### Traces of Distortion Sought

Books studied by the Atlanta committee are painstakingly reviewed, in accordance with the volume *Guidelines for Catholic-Jewish Relations*, published by the Roman Catholic bishops in the U.S. Each member of the committee reads the textbook in question and notes those passages he finds offensive. At monthly meetings the passages are discussed by the entire group, and the conclusions reached are set forth in a final report.

So far two high school religion texts have been reviewed and the reports on them sent to the author and publisher. The first was found to contain considerable objectionable material; the second (a later publication in the same series, one more influenced than the first by the thinking of Vatican II) did contain some anti-Semitic elements, but far fewer than were discovered in its predecessor.

Almost all the anti-Semitic passages noted in the two books resulted from unconscious presuppositions or inadequate biblical scholarship. The committee's objections fell roughly into five categories: passages disparaging because of tone, implication or statement; references to Jewish messianism; distortions of Jewish, even Catholic, teaching; passages from the New Testament which require clarification; generalizations on



inadequacies or guilt of some of the Jews. Throughout, a tendency to build a foundation for Catholicism on the alleged shortcomings of Judaism was discovered. Both author and publisher have indicated willingness to incorporate the committee's suggestions in future editions.

#### Model for Wider Effort

As the committee continues its study of textbooks it is increasingly realizing that it can be really effective only if its work expands to include education of teachers and students by means of workshops, lectures and so on — and if it can exert an influence nationally. For that reason a teachers workshop is being set up in Atlanta; it is to be addressed by Judith Banki, assistant to Rabbi Tanenbaum, and by members of the committee itself.

An encouraging outgrowth of the group's work is the interest shown in it by Fr. Edward Flannery, executive director of Catholic-Jewish relations for the U.S. Bishops' Commission and author of *The Anguish of the Jews*. He is planning to set up similar groups in other cities, thereby expanding the influence of the original committee, providing a means to prevent duplication of studies, and exerting a direction which will affect the publication of future textbooks and revision of existing ones.

Meanwhile, the original members of the committee have discovered an unexpected and valuable "plus" beyond their work and discussion together — friendship which, spontaneous from the beginning, has been satisfying in a way no member had anticipated.

SR. MARY ALICE MUTR, S.N.D. DE N.  
636 W. Ponce de Leon Ave.,  
Decatur, Ga., 30030.

SECRETARIAT FOR CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS, SETON HALL UNIVERSITY

PLAN FOLLOWED IN ATLANTA ARCHDIOCESE TEXTBOOK STUDY

(In collaboration with the American Jewish Committee)

1. Approach bishop of diocese for permission and support.
2. Get in touch with the Ecumenical Commission or the Department of Education to formulate plans. The Department of Education is recommended.
3. Ask assistance of the local chapter of the American Jewish Committee.
4. Seek four Jewish and four Catholic members, including a Rabbi and a Catholic member knowledgeable in current Catholic theology. Also suggested are educators and other competent persons.
5. Select a chairman and secretary. Monthly meetings are suggested.
6. Choose the book or service to be reviewed. Choice should be of one currently and widely in use in the diocese and not already in the process of revision. Religion books are a logical place to begin despite the fact that they are very quickly out of date.
7. Each committee member should read the book or books in question and then bring questionable passages to the attention of the committee for discussion.
8. Careful records should be kept by the secretary for compiling a final report, which would summarize the findings of the committee.
9. This report should be sent to the bishop of the diocese (for approval and signature), the author and the publisher of the book, and the teachers of the diocese. A letter from the diocesan Director of Education should, if possible, accompany the report.
10. The report should indicate the need for teacher education in order to sensitize educators to the problem of anti-Semitism. It might also suggest that students be given the opportunity to learn from Rabbis and Jewish educators.

BLUEPRINT OF A RELIGION TEXTBOOK STUDY

(Conducted on the Diocesan Level)

1. **PURPOSE** -- To correct in accordance with the directives of the Second Vatican Council objectionable material regarding the Jews and Judaism in religion textbooks used in Catholic schools and to give suggestions for a more positive and accurate presentation.
2. **INITIAL STEPS** -- A Catholic group or organization, with proper diocesan authorization, should take the initiative by approaching Jewish experts to form a joint committee, which would formulate a plan and direct the study. Four or five persons from each faith, specialists in fields related to the study, should be selected. It is suggested that these include a clergyman, an educator, a historian, a theologian, and an expert in Jewish-Christian relations. It is also suggested that the project be conducted in collaboration with the ecumenical commission and the office of education of the diocese.
3. **METHOD** -- The method may be decided upon by the committee. The following model is proposed: A certain number of working sessions could be devoted to each grade level of a textbook series. Each book would be read by each member of the committee. Questionable passages should be discussed by the whole group. Contact is then made with the author and publisher of the series.
4. **RESULTS** -- The results of the study should be presented to the office of education of the diocese and to the publisher and author of the book series involved.
5. **POINTS TO LOOK FOR:**
  - A. The following themes denote an inaccurate view of Judaism and Catholic theology:
    - 1) The Jews have been dispersed by God as punishment for their infidelity and their rejection and/or the Crucifixion of Christ.
    - 2) God has rejected the Jews as a people and annulled His covenant with them.
    - 3) As a deicide people the Jews have suffered and will continue to suffer in accordance with divine decree.
    - 4) Judaism at the time of Jesus was a lifeless, legalistic and decadent religion, and all its leaders were corrupt and hypocritical.
    - 5) The Jews of today are either unbelieving and irreligious, or adhere to empty religious form.
    - 6) By comparison with Christians or Christianity, Jews or Judaism are deficient and inferior.
  - B. The following points are part of an accurate and positive presentation of Jews and Judaism:
    - 1) The Judaism of the first century is the true setting of the life of Jesus and the early Church.
    - 2) New Testament references to "the Jews" and their leaders must be interpreted according to the situation of the time and the intention of the sacred writer.
    - 3) Jesus' teaching and the New Testament as a whole cannot be fully understood unless seen as part of the Jewish religious milieu in which they were expressed or written.
    - 4) Judaism at the time of Christ was a complex and living reality that should not be oversimplified or distorted.
    - 5) Judaism's role as a covenanted people did not end with the advent of Christianity but continues as a permanent call of God, as is clear in St. Paul (Rom 9:29).

APPENDIX A

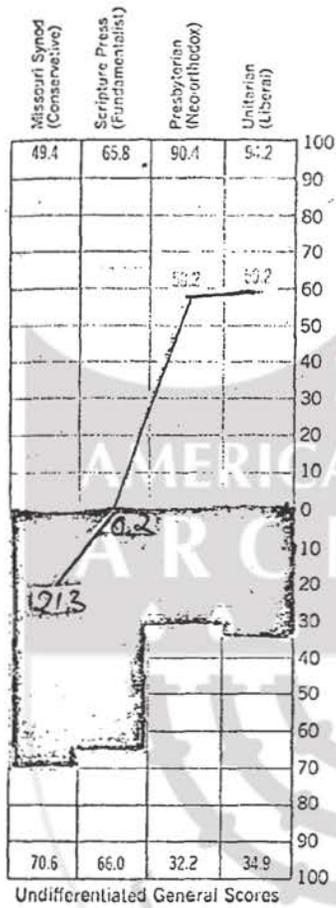


Fig. 1. General Distribution and Imbalance Scores for Four Publishers, Showing Their Respective Inter-group Orientations. (All the group category general scores are grouped indiscriminately in this graph.)

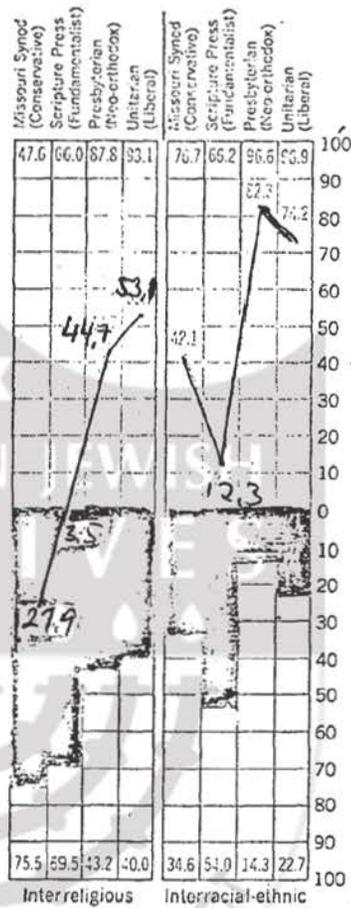


Fig. 2. Breakdown of General Distribution and Imbalance Scores into (1) Interreligious and (2) Interracial-Ethnic Areas. Interreligious scores: Non-Christian, Jewish, Catholic, and Other Christian group categories. Interracial-ethnic scores: Negro, Other Ethnic, and International group categories.

FAITH AND PREJUDICE  
BERNARD E. OLSON

MHT



UNITARIAN  
UNIVERSALIST  
ASSOCIATION  
OF CHURCHES AND FELLOWSHIPS IN NORTH AMERICA

U. N. OFFICE

DANA E. KLOTZLE  
Director

DIVISION OF  
SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY  
HOMER A. JACK  
Director

ROBERT E. JONES  
Washington Office

777 U. N. PLAZA  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017  
212 YU 8-5165

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director  
Interreligious Affairs Department  
The American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, New York, 10022

Dear Marc,

I have delayed responding to your letter of March 10, until I had received the official minutes of our Board Meeting in Boston (Feb. 14-15), which adopted a statement on anti-Semitism. A copy of the complete resolution is attached to this letter for your use in any way you see fit.

I deeply regret that you are unable to serve on the Executive Committee of the Ad Hoc Committee on Middle East Peace and Development. If my recollection serves me correctly, it was agreed that we would use your name as a member of the Committee, but would anticipate that Rabbi Rudin and/or Judy would represent you on the Committee. Both Jim and Judy will remember this conversation, I am sure.

I have been trying to assemble the Executive Committee for a special session which would discuss the future of the Ad Hoc Committee. There are those like Tom Manton of the United Church of Christ, who feel that the meetings are very helpful, but there are others who do not believe that they serve any useful purpose.

Marc, I would like to ask a very special favor of you as the Director of Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, namely, to do all in your power to encourage your associates and Zionist members of the Jewish community in particular, to make a careful distinction between anti-Semitism, which I have opposed throughout the years at great cost, and basic disagreement with Israeli foreign policy, particularly, when it operates in such a way as to destroy the United Nations concept which some of us feel so essential, not only for peace in the Middle East but also peace in the world.

All good wishes,



Reverend Dana E. Klotzle,  
Director and U. N. Representative

Enc.

April 9, 1969

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THE PROGRAMS  
AND SERVICES OF THE  
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST  
ASSOCIATION  
ARE SUPPORTED BY  
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## Resolution on Anti-Semitism

Convinced that urban tensions in the United States and Arab-Israeli tensions in the Middle East have given rise to new upsurges of anti-Semitism,

Remembering the brutality of Hitlerism,

Acknowledging the more subtle anti-Semitism still virulent in many parts of the world today,

Conscious that the Unitarian Universalist Association and its predecessor denominations have in the past tried to be sensitive to anti-Semitism on local, national and international levels,

The Board of Trustees of the Unitarian Universalist Association meeting in Boston on February 14-15, 1969, asserts:

- 1.) We Unitarian Universalists will not be silent at the scapegoating of a people. We confess that "those who allow the actions of bigots are equally guilty of bigotry." We agree that "the challenge of our time is not only inhumanity but indifference; the enemy is not only slander but silence."
- 2.) We must speak against those who violently seek to blame the Jews for the plight of the Blacks in the ghettos and those who solely blame the Israelis for the high political tensions in the Middle East.
- 3.) The responsibility of continued racism in the U.S. rests on many shoulders, principally white, but no faith can be singled out to serve as a scapegoat for what is undeniably a shared guilt.
- 4.) The Jews in America, both as individuals and as a community, have outstandingly participated in the long struggle for racial justice.
- 5.) Since both Jews and Blacks have felt the bitterness of prejudice and the fruits of discrimination, their compact of suffering should continue to make them allies in the current American crusade against racism, and in this crusade, they should have the continued support of all Americans.
- 6.) We express our support for the existence of the sovereign State of Israel as we express our concern for the thousands of Arabs still displaced by the creation of Israel. We urge that persistent efforts continue, especially through the United Nations, to stabilize the political situation in the Middle East, guaranteeing the integrity of Israel and doing justice to the Arabs. We deplore alike the terroristic acts of Arab guerilla fighters and some Arab states and the acts of war by which Israel has confronted threats to her integrity.
- 7.) Anti-Semitism must be eliminated in our churches, in all American institutions, and in the world. Jews, as a historic minority and the forerunners of Christianity, must be given the respect due to them as human beings. Anti-Semitism is not a Jewish issue; it can only be eliminated by non-Jews.
- 8.) We endorse the following Brotherhood Pledge and urge its wide adoption: "As a human being, I do solemnly swear that I will not voice, nor harbor nor tolerate anti-Black, anti-Jewish, or anti-White sentiments, statements, or acts, open or subtle. I will condemn them as unjust, unfair, and destructive of the fabric of friendship and respect which enables the people of our diverse cities and nations to live creatively in cooperation and peace. Every man must have the right to be judged as an individual, without prejudice, or our society will split into warring tribes. I do solemnly pledge to do all in my power to make my city and country a place where everyone will have full equality of opportunity regardless of his race, religion, nationality, or wealth."

## VATICAN II AND THE JEWS

THE OCCASION when a group confronts itself, subjecting its goals and purposes to reconsideration, is a crucial time in its history. Such occasions of self-confrontation spur us on to new growth in thought and life. It is in this sense that the achievements of Vatican II must be seen as a great milestone in the history of the Church. The pronouncements of Vatican II on the internal life of the Church and on the diverse problems posed by a world in its present state of bewilderment and peril are important in themselves, as offering a clue to the mind of Christianity in our time. But perhaps more significant is the fact that the Church had convened its Ecumenical Council in solemn session to examine and update the teachings and practices of Catholicism in the light of the realities which every religious community faces in our time.

The decisions of Vatican II are of importance to those outside the Christian community even as they are to those within it. They are surely of importance to Jews. Some of the Vatican II documents address themselves specifically to the Church's attitude toward Jews and Judaism. But even those documents which do not deal specifically with Jews or Judaism should be read by Jews with the greatest interest. For they enable us to assess the present state of the doctrinal relations between Judaism and Christianity. They enable us to see where the two faiths agree or stand on similar ground, and where they remain apart and continue to offer the world divergent perspectives in meeting the problems which beset it. The delineation of such divergence is not inconsistent with the inter-faith understanding toward which we strive. Indeed it should prove a contribution to it. For while men may differ with charity and sweet-reasonableness, the blurring of the boundaries which mark the ground where men stand only leads to confusion and misunderstanding.

The present review is based on a study of the Vatican II documents as assembled in the collection entitled *The Documents of Vatican II* with notes and comments by Walter M. Abbott, S. J., with the Very Rev. Msgr. Joseph Gallagher as translation editor, and published by the America Press in 1966. This collection also includes responses to each document by Protestant and Orthodox scholars. We have also consulted the proceedings of the International Theological Conference on the significance of the Vatican II pronouncements, held at the University of Notre Dame March 20-26, 1966 and published by the University of Notre Dame Press under the title *Vatican II: An Inter-*

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faith Appraisal with John H. Miller, C.S.C. as editor. Protestant and Jewish scholars joined with Catholics in this conference in submitting papers on assigned themes, as well as in the discussions, which were a noteworthy feature of these sessions. Noted Vatican experts, some of whom participated in the drafting of the Vatican II documents participated in this conference. Especially when seen in the context of these interpretive and critical reactions the texts of the Vatican II documents disclose impressive progress in some areas of religious thought, but they likewise reveal a stubborn conservatism in the vital doctrinal issues on which the Church has often collided with modern life.

One of the most elaborate documents emanating from Vatican II, the Pastoral Constitution on the Church and the Modern World, probes into all the ills of mankind, and calls on the Church to engage in a ministry of healing and redress. There is eloquence and power in the words with which this document speaks to the world: "The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of . . . this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these, too, are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ. Indeed, nothing genuinely human fails to raise an echo in their hearts. . . . Though mankind today is struck with wonder at its own discoveries and its power, it often raises anxious questions about the current trend of the world, about the place and role of man in the universe, about the meaning of his individual and collective striving, and about the ultimate destiny of reality and humanity. . . . The Council brings to mankind light kindled from the gospel, and puts at its disposal those saving resources which the Church herself, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, receives from her Founder. For the human person deserves to be preserved; human society deserves to be renewed. Hence the pivotal point of our total presentation will be man himself, whole and entire, body and soul, heart and conscience, mind and will." (pp. 199 ff.).

The document goes beyond the generalities to point to the reality of social crisis which threatens contemporary man: "Never has the human race enjoyed such an abundance of wealth, resources, and economic power. Yet a huge proportion of the world's citizens is still tormented by hunger and poverty, while countless numbers suffer from total illiteracy. Never before today has man been so keenly aware of freedom, yet at the same time, new forms of social and psychological slavery make their appearance. Although the world of today has a very vivid sense of unity and of how one man depends on another in needful solidarity, it is most grievously torn into opposing camps by conflicting forces. For political, social, economic, racial, and ideological disputes still continue bitterly, and with them the peril of war which would reduce everything to ashes" (pp. 202 f.).

One is impressed with the affirmative position taken in this document towards the problems of the secular world. A Christian is exhorted to involve himself in economic, social and political affairs, to strive with others—even atheists—in pursuing the goals of justice. The document affirms the basic patterns of welfare state legislation. It goes so far as to support labor's right to form unions, and to strike for a redress of grievances. It speaks warmly of modern art and encourages its use in church decoration. It hails the triumphs of modern science as an expansion of man's vocation to explore God's creation. It does not endorse a pacifist doctrine but it calls for a concerted endeavor to eliminate the causes of war and to establish world peace. The doctrinal basis for all its ethical judgments is the dignity of the human person which it derives from the scriptural account of man's creation in the divine image. According to Canon Charles Mueller it is the verses from Psalm 8:5-7 which "sum up the fundamental intention of the pastoral *Constitution on the Church and the Modern World*" (*Vatican II: An Interfaith Interpretation*, p. 414). These verses are: "What is man, that thou art mindful of him; or the son of man, that thou art concerned about him? And thou hast made him a little less than the angels; thou has crowned him with glory and honor, thou has given him power over the works of thy hands; thou has placed all things under his feet." The spirit of the Hebrew Bible does indeed pervade this entire document.

There are, however, some serious reservations that a Jew must feel about this document. All the pronouncements are expository and prescriptive, as though the world's problem were primarily the lack of an adequate blueprint for a viable world order. One misses the note of prophetic judgment against the degradation of man in various social and political practices condoned or fostered in many societies, such as racial discrimination, or the trampling of human freedom by various authoritarian regimes. The document is often specific in its prescription but it nevertheless appears somewhat irrelevant to the moral crisis of our contemporary world. There are reservations, too, that a Jew must feel about this document on some of its specific provisions. Thus this document lists abortion in the same category as murder and genocide. This is surely a debatable judgment. In some circumstances, such as peril to the life of the mother, Jewish ethics calls for sacrificing the unborn child as the lesser tragedy.

One who is not a Christian must also record his disappointment that this document lapses repeatedly into sectarianism. The ground of ethical concern is the shared ground on which all religions stand. While it is understandable that each religious tradition will find unique sources of inspiration for its ethical vision, we are troubled by the

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repeated intrusion of suggestions that only through Christianity can the world's existential dilemmas be resolved. Here is one such declaration: "If anyone wants to know how this unhappy situation can be overcome, Christians will tell him that all human activity, constantly imperiled by man's pride and deranged self-love, must be purified and perfected by the power of Christ's cross and resurrection" (p. 235). The contextual reasoning of this document is that the root of the world's disorders derive from original sin, and that only in Jesus can the defects which thus entered human nature be corrected. As interpreted by Canon Mueller: "The text of the Constitution insists that the disorders existing in the world are not only due to 'technical defects,' to accidental error in organization, but are rooted more deeply in an inclination to evil which splits man within himself. This is what sin is, the fundamental disorder that human remedies can never completely heal." A Jew can accept this analysis, though he would phrase it differently, and he derives from it the recognition that a margin of failure clings to all human achievements, even the noblest, and that the need for penitence is, therefore, a constant for his life. But this document draws other—purely sectarian—inferences from this analysis. In the words of Canon Mueller, the fact that human remedies can never completely heal the world's disorders "means that human hope ought to be based on Christian hope. . . . Thus, the center of gravity of this document on man is Jesus Christ" (*Vatican II: An Interfaith Interpretation*, p. 415).

It is in dealing with other religions that the Vatican II documents betray the greatest compromise with the ideal of religious universalism. These documents reiterate continually the Church's claim of being the sole custodian of the full and final truth, and it anticipates displacing all other religions and converting the adherents of all other religions to Christianity. The Declaration on Religious Freedom put it thus: "This sacred Synod professes its belief that God himself has made known to mankind the way in which men are to serve Him. . . . We believe that this one true religion subsists in the Catholic and Apostolic Church to which the Lord Jesus committed the duty of spreading it abroad among all men" (p. 677). The Dogmatic Constitution of the Church speaks of non-Christians as "those who have *not yet* received the gospel" (p. 34).

The Church acknowledges some elements of truth in other faith-communities, and speaks of them in reverent terms. The Declaration on Non-Christian Religions affirms that "other religions to be found everywhere strive variously to answer the restless searchings of the human heart by proposing 'ways', which consist of teachings, rules of life, and sacred ceremonies. The Catholic Church rejects nothing which

is true and holy in these religions. She looks with sincere respect upon those ways of conduct and of life, those rules and teachings which, though differing in many particulars from what she holds and sets forth, nevertheless, often reflects a ray of that truth which enlightens all men." But the sentence which follows continues thus: "Indeed, she proclaims and must ever proclaim Christ, 'the way, the truth, and the life' (John 14:6), in whom men find the fullness of religious life" (p. 662). Those who, "through no fault of their own do not know the gospel of Christ or His Church, yet sincerely seek God, and . . . strive by their deeds to do His will" will be saved, according to the Dogmatic Constitution of the Church (p. 35). But what of those who had the opportunity of weighing the claims of the Church and decided to reject them because they found them repellent? This document, moreover, asserts that the truths of other faiths are intended to be only transitional, to bridge the movement of their followers to the Church: "Whatever goodness or truth is found among them is looked upon by the Church as a preparation for the gospel. She regards such qualities as given by Him who enlightens all men, so that they may finally have life" (p. 35). The Church asserts, too, that she will absorb these goodly elements deriving from other faiths, and through this absorption these elements "will be saved from destruction" and "healed, ennobled and perfected unto the glory of God, the confusion of the devil and the happiness of man" (p. 36).

These documents of Vatican II are all permeated with evangelical anticipations. "The pilgrim Church is missionary by her very nature." declares the Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church (p. 584). The Dogmatic Constitution of the Church closes with a reference to the hoped for time when "all the peoples of the human family . . . are gathered together in peace and harmony into the one People of God for the Glory of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity" (p. 96). One of the goals of the renewal to which Vatican II summoned the Church is to make itself more potent in its missionary goals of winning the world for Christianity.

One must respect a Christian if he believes his is the only true faith, and that he seeks to convince the world of it. If salvation depends on accepting the doctrines of Christianity then the Church is indeed conferring a boon on non-Christians by seeking to share its spiritual treasures with them. Let it be noted, too, that a special document was issued by Vatican II cautioning against any undue pressures on the conscience in the realm of religious belief. Only a free affirmation of religious faith is valid, and those engaged in spreading the gospel are reminded that conversions must be sincere and motivated by a free prompting of the conscience. But all this must not deter us from judg-

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ing the Christian claim itself, that only the Church holds a monopoly of the means of salvation, and that Christian truth is complete and final and meant to replace the truths of other faiths by radical displacement or absorption. Looking at these claims from the point of view of Judaism one would have to characterize them as a parochial and particularistic. It is the conviction of Judaism that men cannot win God's grace by professing one faith or another or by performing one set of rites or another, its own included. One wins God's grace by the simple acknowledgement of a universal God and the practices of the moral law, as summed up in the so-called seven Noahide commandments, and these could be attained by men of other faiths—or by those outside a formal faith community. Judaism saw itself as possessing a unique treasury of religious truth and it conceived of its mission to share these truths with other men, but this did not require their formal conversion to Judaism. For every religion is capable of spiritual growth, and religious values can be integrated with any structure of rites. The people of God which in Christian interpretation was limited to the Christian fellowship was given in Judaism a universal scope, and, as expounded by Rabbi Saadia Gorn, it was inclusive of the entire human race. It was to serve this very universalism that Judaism saw its mission in the world, and it sought to serve it not by displacing the other religions but by stimulating them toward a higher spiritual development. The test of religious universality is the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of diverse paths to God. One is disappointed that the Church has thus far failed to move toward this acknowledgement.

The noted Jewish theologian, Dr. Abraham J. Heschel participated in the International Theological Conference which offered an interfaith assessment of the achievements of Vatican II. His comment on the deliberations of this conference are likewise pertinent to the doctrinal stance taken by Vatican II itself. Speaking as a Jew he decried the eclipse of God in the Christ-centered theology which formed the context of Vatican II discussions. In the words of Dr. Heschel: "I heard some very great and beautiful statements, and they are all Christ-centered. But where is God? Don't you think too much Christology could be a screen, a dangerous screen, between the God of Abraham and ourselves? I had hoped that a new awareness of the ultimateness and sovereignty and the pathos of the creator of heaven and earth would come to the fore. After all, whom did Jesus himself worship? And what was the Holy Scripture for him? My prayer is for a new realization of what is ultimately real, namely, God and his presence" (*Vatican II: An Interfaith Interpretation*, p. 326).

Looking at it from the point of view of Judaism one would also have

to say that a Christ-centered doctrine of salvation compromises the sovereignty of the moral law. The Constitution on the Church and the Modern World insists that once a person has acknowledged Jesus as the messiah and the son of God he will automatically act morally and that no fully moral deed is possible without this. But experience tells us that the moral deed cannot be derived automatically from a prior doctrine, and that faith in Jesus has sometimes occurred together with the moral deed as well as moral misdeed, that this faith by itself, is, in other words, no solution to the problems of morality. A devout Christian like Torquemada could become the world's foremost bigot who never hesitates to take life in the name of his bigoted creed. Millions of Christians in Nazi Germany found no conflict between their faith in Jesus and their loyalty to the Nazi state. Did not the Vatican itself conclude a concordat with Nazi Germany which remained in effect throughout Hitler's reign. There were tensions between the Vatican and the Nazi state but these resulted from the Nazi infringement of the Church's ecclesiastical interests. The Nazi offense to morality had little to do with it.

The opening document in our collection of Vatican II documents is the Dogmatic Constitution of the Church. Albert C. Outler who was a Protestant observer at the Vatican II sessions hails this document as "the masterpiece of Vatican II," constituting as it does "the first full-orbed *conciliar* exposition of the doctrine of the Church in Christian history" (p. 102). For this document sets forth a conception of the Church as seen in its own terms. Indeed all the subsequent documents adopted by Vatican II rest on the ideological foundations of this basic pronouncement which the Fathers of the Church have chosen to call *Dogmatic Constitution of the Church*.

This document makes the claim that the founding of the Church was part of God's design in creating the world, and that its organizational structure had its beginnings in Judaism. It claims that *it* is Judaism, the culmination of the authentic tradition; it declares the Jewish scriptures to be a Christian scripture, reading into it the basic doctrines of the Christian faith; it declares the heroes of Israel to be Christian heroes, whose purpose had been the founding of the Christian Church. Jews who continue to cling to the Jewish faith are declared trespassers in their own heritage which the Church has proclaimed its own ecclesiastical domain. Here are some characteristic statements setting forth this position: "Already from the beginning of the world the foreshadowing of the Church took place. She was prepared for in a remarkable way throughout the history of the people of Israel and by means of the Old Covenant" (p. 15). The Church is alleged to be the successor to the Jewish people as the people of God, and heir of God's

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covenant with Israel. In the words of the document: "It has pleased God... to make men holy and save them not merely as individuals without any mutual bonds, but by making them into a single people, a people which acknowledges Him in truth and serves Him in holiness. He, therefore, chose the race of Israel as a people unto Himself. With it He set up a covenant... All these things, however, were done by way of preparation and as a figure of that new and perfect covenant which was to be ratified in Christ, and of that more luminous revelation which was to be given through God's very Word made flesh" (p. 25).

The same claim is reiterated in the Dogmatic Constitution of Divine Revelation. Its section on the Old Testament puts it thus: "The principal purpose to which the plan of the Old Covenant was directed was to prepare for the coming both of Christ, the universal Redeemer, and of the messianic kingdom, to announce this coming by prophecy, and to indicate its meaning by various types... God, the inspirer and author of both testaments, wisely arranged that the New Testament be hidden in the Old and the Old be made manifest in the New" (p. 122). Rev. Barnabas Ahern, speaking on "The Scriptural Aspects of the Constitution on Divine Revelation" restated this claim thus: "All the wondrous elements of Israel's life—its living sense of God, its clear knowledge of the ways of God with man, its inspired treasury of prayers—all the perennial values that nourish the piety of Judaism even in our own day are now seen to have their full meaning as a positive preparation of God's People to hear and answer the perfect Word of God, Christ Jesus" (*Vatican II: An Interfaith Interpretation*, p. 61).

How does the document establish these claims? The claim is, of course, conventional Christian doctrine and its ultimate source is in the New Testament. The Fathers of the Vatican Council naturally drew on the New Testament for their basic conceptions, but they sometimes refined them or added to them. A close study of the Christian substantiation of its self-image as the new Israel discloses it as being based on either arbitrary assertion, the application of metaphors from the figurative language of the Hebrew Bible, or outright misinterpretations of scriptural texts.

Here, for instance, is an allusion to Isaiah's beautiful figure of the people of Israel as God's beloved vineyard, which He cultivated with tender care but which, nevertheless, yielded sour grapes: "Let me sing to my friend the song of love for his vineyard, My friend has a vineyard on a fertile hillside, He dug the soil, cleared it of stones, and planted choice vines in it... And now, inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, I ask you to judge between my vineyard and me. What could I have done for my vineyard that I have not done? I expected it to

yield grapes, why did it yield sour grapes instead? . . . Yea, the vineyard of Yaweh Sabaath is the House of Israel, and the men of Judah that chosen plant. He expected justice, but found bloodshed, integrity but only a cry of distress" (5:1-8). We have quoted from *The Jerusalem Bible*, a Catholic translation from the original Hebrew. The Dogmatic Constitution of the Church turns this figure of the vineyard into a Christian allusion—not in the prophet's use as a basis of stern judgment, of course; the tenderness of the imagery contained in the figure of the vineyard is appropriated for the Church. Citing Isaiah 5:1 as one of its sources the document declares: "The Church has been cultivated by the heavenly Vinedresser as His choice vineyard" (*The Documents of Vatican II*, p. 19).

More startling are the outright misinterpretations of the Hebrew Bible which are indulged in for sake of bolstering the Church's claim to the Jewish scriptures. Jeremiah's vision of the new covenant to be written in the hearts of the people as the Torah will move from formal and outward acceptance to a conquest of the whole man (Jeremiah 31:31-34) is interpreted into an envisioned abrogation of the Torah and its replacement by a new Torah, a new covenant which "Christ instituted . . . in His blood" (p. 25). James Philio Hyatt, professor of Old Testament at the Vanderbilt University Divinity School, noted this misuse of the Jeremiah text when he declared: "The new covenant does not involve the giving of a new law; that is unnecessary. . . . The covenant is to be new in the sense that it will confer a new, inward motivation and power for fulfilling the law already known" (J. A. Hyatt, Commentary on Jeremiah in *The Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press; 1956, vol. 2).

The most glaring instance of this process is to be found in the following: "Israel according to the flesh, which wandered as an exile in the desert, was already called the Church of God" (p. 26). The "Israel according to the flesh" is, of course, a reference to the Jewish people. Part of the Christian defamation of Jews consisted in this distinction between the two Israels. The Jews were the "carnal" Israel, the Church was the spiritual Israel. What interests us here primarily, however, is the sources cited to support this allegation. The sources quoted are: 2 Esd. 13:1; cf. Num. 20:4; Dt. 23:1 ff. 2 Esd. is another name for the Hebrew book of Nehemiah. The Confraternity Version of the Bible—a Catholic work (*The Old Testament*, Guild Press, N.Y. 1965) translates this verse thus: "And on that day they read in the book of Moses in the hearing of the people. And therein was found written that the Ammonites and Moabites should not come in to the church of God forever." A most impressive demonstration! But let us note the Hebrew term which this version of the Bible

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translates as "church." The term is *kehal*, which means an "assembly," or "convocation." *The Jerusalem Bible*, a more recent Catholic version, renders this part of the verse thus: "The Ammonites and the Moabites shall never be admitted to the assembly of God." The Revised Standard Version (Protestant) also translates the phrase "assembly of God." In the two supporting references, Numbers 20:4 and Deuteronomy 23:1 ff. the same Hebrew word *kehal* occurs; and here the Confraternity Version avoids the mistranslation of the term as "church." In the Numbers passage it has "the Lord's community," and in the Deuteronomy passages it has "the community of the Lord." All these passages refer very clearly to the Jewish people; there is no basis whatever for finding here an allusion to the church.

The process of reading Christological motifs into the Hebrew Bible was decried by a noted Catholic scholar at the International Theological Conference which was summoned to discuss the documents of Vatican II. In a discussion on the Constitution of Divine Revelation he submitted the following comment: "It seems to me that the treatment of the Old Testament is one of the weakest parts of the Constitution. The whole Old Testament prepares one to have the mind of Christ in your description of its message. What about the Old Testament in itself? Must we constantly seek the Christian element, the preparation for Christ? A modern understanding would also have to emphasize that even if Christ had never come, the Old Testament would remain a very important spokesman of God. I do not find sufficient emphasis of the Old Testament in its own terms" (*Vatican II: An Interfaith Interpretation*, p. 92). The above comment was submitted in writing, anonymously. Subsequently, in the discussion, Rev. Raymond Brown, professor at St. Mary's Seminary identified himself as the author of the comment, and he added: "One must constantly explain away the mentality of the Constitution. It is not a scriptural mentality; it is a mentality that has been directed by dogmatic concerns... I do not believe that these statements concerning the Old and New Testaments would have been written by an exegete in this way. They were written in view of a dogmatic concern that is extraneous to the Scriptures themselves" (p. 94). One of the characteristic aspects of the contemporary dialogue between Judaism and Christianity is the fact that the excesses of Christology and distortion of the Jewish scriptures for the sake of dogmatic sectarianism are being challenged in the Christian community itself. There should indeed be no denominational division on this issue. Whoever seeks to delineate an authentic meaning of the Biblical text must pursue an unbiased exegesis of Scripture, and must bear witness to the truth as he sees it even when it seems counter to the vested interests of sectarian apologetics.

The Vatican II pronouncement on the Jews is the major theme of the Declaration of the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, but significant comments on this question are also to be found in various other documents. Much has been made of the changes introduced by Vatican II in the conventional Christian conceptions of the Jew and of Judaism. Considering the general conservatism in church doctrine and the centuries of tradition behind the conventional Christian teachings about the nature and destiny of the Jew and Judaism, any change in the direction of mitigation is significant. A careful study of the documents discloses that there has been some change, and that this change is an effort to mitigate the traditional teachings, but it also discloses that the basic problems which the conventional Christian teaching about the Jew and Judaism has posed for Jews—and for Christians—remain unresolved.

The traditional Christian conception of the Jew and Judaism is founded on the teachings of the New Testament, but it received continued elaboration in the subsequent centuries. We have already noted some of its elements. The Jew carried a divine mission during the pre-Christian epoch, according to the Christian view, to preserve a Scripture and a faith which was preparatory to Christianity. This mission, it is alleged, was completed with the appearance of Jesus, whose life and death became the center of a new cult that displaced Judaism. The Church is thus conceived as the heir to Judaism, the heir to the synagogue and to the Jewish Scriptures, all of which have been taken over by Christianity. But what of the Jews who continue to cling to Judaism, for whom Judaism, the synagogue, the Jewish Scriptures, still function as the basis of their faith? What of the Jews who refused to follow Jesus? Indeed, according to the New Testament account, did they not take the initiative in bringing him to the cross?

The Christian answer to these questions was, gradually, to turn the Jews into a satanic force, the true villains in the drama of salvation. In the gospel of John the term, "the Jews," designates all the worldly forces arrayed to defeat the gospel. The Jews were alleged to have chosen to deny the messiah, to seek to nullify his redemptive ministry, and to have taken the ultimate step of slaying Jesus. Thus they were said to have brought a curse on themselves—in Matthew the crucifixion scene includes a Jewish crowd clamoring for the death of Jesus with the invocation of the curse on themselves: "his blood be on us and on our children". In consequence of this offense the Jews were alleged to be a rejected people, doomed to suffer in retribution of their crime, in which the entire people was declared to be implicated, and which was said to travel by heredity to all generations of Jews to this day and those yet to be born. This image of the Jew became a

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source of the rabid hostility toward the Jews—and Judaism—which has been a characteristic of Christian culture.

What contribution do the Vatican II documents make toward a repudiation or mitigation of this characterization? There is no formal repudiation. There is no acknowledgment that Christian teaching has fostered an inequitable attitude toward the Jews, and Judaism. But there is a mitigation. There is a denial of corporate guilt which is involved in blaming the entire Jewish people in the offense of the crucifixion, and there is a denial of inherited guilt which is involved in the allegation that all generations of Jews are implicated in the crucifixion. These denials are of great moment for Christianity itself, since it marks a purging of its doctrinal system of two morally repugnant concepts. The Document on the Non-Christian Religions puts it thus: "What happened in His passion cannot be blamed upon all the Jews then living, without distinction, nor upon the Jews of today" (p. 666). This document also declares that the Jews should not be presented as repudiated or cursed by God, as if this followed from the holy Scriptures" (*ibid*). Elsewhere this document asserts that "the Jews still remain most dear to God because of their fathers, for He does not repent of the gifts He makes nor of the calls He issues" (p. 664). In addition this document reiterates the call to Christians to shun anti-Semitism, and, instead, to cultivate friendly relations with the Jewish people.

But these very statements are made in a context which indicates that the Christian malignity of Jews and Judaism has by no means ended. The denial of a corporate or inherited Jewish guilt in the offense of the crucifixion is prefaced by the following: "True, authorities of the Jews and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ (cf. Jn. 19:6)."

Modern historical scholarship to which Christians have contributed their impressive share has made it clear that the crucifixion was primarily a Roman action to discourage the messianic movements which dreamt of a kingdom of God to supersede the kingdom of Caesar. The so-called Jewish authorities—the High Priest and his associates—were Roman appointees to serve the purposes of the Roman occupation which ruled over Judea. The Jewish High Priest under Rome was modelled after the Pontifex Maximus—the chief priest of the Roman state religion. This "ecclesiastical" office was borne by none other than the Roman emperor himself, and the Jewish High Priest—as the Romans reconstituted this office—was in effect a secular prince whose ecclesiastical role was only an adjunct to his secular duties.

The Vatican II document on Revelation acknowledged that the gospel writers wrote "in view of the situation in their churches, and preserving the form of proclamation" (p. 124). These writings are,

therefore, not objective histories, to preserve a record of objective historical authenticity of the events covered, but, as scholars have shown they are rather tracts inspired by catechetical and evangelical goals. This does not detract from the reverence with which faithful Christians will rightly regard them, but it suggests the need of cautious interpretation to authenticate the core of historical fact and to distinguish it from the embroidery that might well represent the contribution of the evangelists. In the words of Rev. Barnabas Ahern who served as consultant to the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity and to the commission which drafted the conciliar document *On Revelation*: "The history of Jesus... differs from history in the modern sense of the word... The gospels, instead, follow the style of the ancient world where 'history' was often enough an amalgam of earlier oral traditions, and where an interpretive philosophy of history was quite as important as the facts themselves. Utilizing with competence the emergence of gospel study in our present century, this article of the Constitution [on Revelation] recognizes the validity of the sound and proven elements in the methods of Form-Criticism and Redaction-Criticism. An authoritative precedent for this approach to the gospels was already provided by the masterful instruction of the Pontifical Biblical Commission *Sancta Mater Ecclesia*, published in April 1964. This letter... pointed out the significant fact that both the early apostolic community and the evangelists themselves have shaped the history of Jesus according to their own Spirit-guided understanding of its profound significance and have also given to the materials of this history the literary forms required to adapt the words and deeds of Jesus to the preaching of the early Church, to her liturgy, doctrinal instruction, controversy and other activities" (*Vatican II: An Interfaith Interpretation*, pp. 62f).

The treatment of the crucifixion narrative reflecting a hostility toward the Jews for resisting the claims of Christianity as the successor faith to Judaism and a desire to placate the Romans who proved more responsive to those claims tended to shift the primary responsibility on the Jews. It is important that Christian ecclesiastical leaders follow the lead of scholars and, through a process of interpretation set the record straight as to the Jewish and Roman involvements in the events of the crucifixion. A recent article by Dominic M. Crossan in the Jesuit periodical *Theological Studies* (June 1965) offers a good summary of the historical context in which the crucifixion narrative must be set. It is disappointing that the ecclesiastical world remains bound by the traditional version and fails to reflect the corrective findings of historians. A call for re-examining the gospel narrative, especially in the versions of Matthew and John, with a view of dealing

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with their anti-Semitic elements, was indeed made by Rev. Thomas F. Stransky, a staff member of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, who originally helped draft the Document on Non-Christian Religions (*Vatican II: An Interfaith Interpretation*, p. 346). It is admittedly difficult to change a basic and long hallowed tradition in the church, one that is supported by the New Testament and subsequent Christian writers. But when a falsification is repeated over the centuries it does not thereby take on the aspect of truth. On the contrary, it becomes all the more imperative to correct it, especially since this falsification has bred hostility toward other people, whom by an even prior mandate Christians are summoned to love as themselves.

This document asserts that the Jews are still dear to God, insisting on the basis of a citation from the apostle Paul that "God does not repent of the gifts He makes nor of the calls He issues" (Romans 11:28-29). It denies that the Jews may be "presented as repudiated or cursed by God." What then is the status of the Jewish people? A careful reading of the document makes it clear that *the Jews by their failure to accept the messiahship of Jesus are held in effect to have excluded themselves from the people of God. They remain not without hope because in the fullness of time it is anticipated that they will finally see the light and join the Church. The Jews are declared still to be "most dear to God because of their fathers"—not for what they are in themselves. In themselves, in their present state of unbelief they are in a kind of suspension of divine favor. They have forfeited their once high station but God patiently waits to reinstate them—when they finally acknowledge Jesus as the messiah.*

These pronouncements do not appear in the document explicitly, but they are clearly implied. The statement that "the Jews should not be presented as repudiated or cursed by God" is preceded by the affirmation: Although the Church is the new people of God—the Church, in other words, has superseded the Jews in this august role. After the statement that "the Jews still remain most dear to God because of their fathers" comes the following affirmation: "In the company with the prophets and the same Apostle the Church awaits that day, known to God alone, on which all peoples will address the Lord in a single voice and serve Him with one accord (Soph. 3:9; cf. Isa. 66:23; Ps. 65:4; Rom. 11:11-32)." Following the reference to the Jews, the "all people" is obviously pointed to them primarily. The verses cited from Romans offer us Paul's specific anticipation that the Jews will eventually acknowledge Jesus as the messiah and embrace the new faith of Christianity. The citations from the Hebrew Bible—the prophets and the book of Psalms—speak in general terms of the eventual recognition of a universal God by all mankind, but

they are cited here, presumably in the spirit of the Christian practice of reading a Christian content to all passages in the Hebrew Bible which speak of the general hope of human enlightenment in the knowledge of God and faithfulness to the law of righteousness.

The attitude of Vatican II to the Jews became a subject for discussion at the International Theological Conference at the University of Notre Dame. Rev. Yves M. J. Congar, a spokesman for the Vatican, was asked explicitly: "To what extent do non-Catholic Christians enter into this People of God? In what way are the Jewish people included in this notion of the People of God?" His reply was: "I think that the Jewish people are still the People of God in the sense that God's choice is definitive. But the Jewish people do not have the benefit of the New Alliance, i.e., all the goods that are constitutive of the People of God as the body of Christ with the holy spirit as the very soul of this People of God."

A second question was asked of him: "Is the synagogue still a means of salvation?" He replied: "It is impossible to answer definitively, yes or no. One can say yes, in the sense that the synagogue has as its internal constitutive principle some real goods of the Alliance, primarily the word of God. But one would also have to answer no, in the sense that it does not have as constitutive principle, the fullness of the goods of the Alliance particularly the eucharist, which is the very sacrament of the New and Eternal Alliance" (*Vatican II: An Interfaith Interpretation*, p. 232).

The status of the Jews continues to baffle the Christian theologian. Rev. Stransky, another Vatican spokesman whom we have quoted earlier, has acknowledged the need for further studying the theological significance of the Jewish people: "Christ reconciled Jews and Gentiles making them both one in Himself. . . . But this reconciliation which is *already* realized at its source is *not yet accomplished* in history. . . . What is the eschatological destiny of the Jews in relation to their permanent election . . . and to the incomplete, wounded universality of the Church as long as this proto-schism is not healed?" Rev. Stransky lists this among the unanswered theological questions on which further reflection is necessary (*Vatican II: An Interfaith Interpretation*, p. 346).

It is good to know that Vatican authorities will continue to reflect on the Jewish question. The old theology is certainly inadequate, on purely moral grounds. It has sought to despoil the Jews of their heritage, to appropriate for itself their name, their Scripture, their destiny as a people; and it has declared them outcasts from the edifice of faith their seers and prophets fashioned out of the anguish, the struggles and triumphs, the frustrations and the hopes which their people experienced in the long centuries of their history. And

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when the Jews refused to concur in this act of their spoliation and banishment they were berated as blind carnalists, the enemies of God and man.

There is much that is noble in Christianity. It need but offer this to its adherents and to the world. It is unworthy of a great religious tradition to seek its own enhancement by degrading another faith. In God's house there are many mansions—there is room for those who wish to serve Him by way of the Church, and there is room for those who wish to serve Him by way of Judaism. Christianity has taken some significant steps to correct its once sinister views on the Jews and Judaism, but more needs to be done. May those who will study the question be guided by the divine light which leads to the truth when we are but predisposed to follow its direction.

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LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION- Commission on Theology

Moshi, Tanzania, July 24 - August 1st, 1969

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On the Theology of the Church's Relation to Judaism

The "Committee on the Church and the Jews", as a standing committee of the Lutheran World Federation under the Commission on World Mission, was created by action of the LWF Executive Committee in 1964 to serve until the next Assembly. It presents this report as the fruit of its work to date.

We are conscious that we have only begun to see the full extent of our task, and that the questions involved in the relations of Christians and Jews touch basic theological, christological and ecclesiological issues. These issues must remain the occasion of ongoing and ever-new reflection by Christians on the meaning both of God's revelation of himself in his covenant with Abraham and of his self-disclosure in Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ.

This committee came into being as the result of a consultation called by the LWF Commission on World Mission at Løgumkloster, Denmark, in April 1964. The results of that consultation were published in the July 1964 issue of Lutheran World to which we wish to draw attention (see also Christian, Jews and the Mission of the Church, a reprint of the October 1963 and July 1964 issues of the Lutheran World). These results need no apology, but it is quite clear that they represent but the beginning of a long-term effort.

The committee itself was given the task of "completing" the work of Løgumkloster at one point, viz. of carrying further the discussion of "the theology of the church's relation to Judaism" which had led to a certain impasse in one of the working groups at Løgumkloster.

We have been unable to do this with any finality. We have been led into an increasingly deeper wrestling with the underlying problem presented for the Christian church and Christian theology by Jews and by the history of Christian-Jewish relations. We note that the ecumenical discussion of these questions is also just in its beginning stages. We nevertheless present the following points for consideration in our churches at this time, with the strong conviction that consideration of Jewish-Christian encounter must be an ongoing concern of our Lutheran churches and of the Lutheran World Federation.

Our experience as a committee points up how essential it is that Lutherans from various traditions and from various national backgrounds wrestle together toward a common understanding and approach. We therefore recommend that the work of this committee be continued in close connection with the LWF Commission on World Mission and the Commission on Theology and in liaison with ecumenical efforts in the same direction. It is important that the work be done in close collaboration with appropriate groups in the member churches. It lies in the nature of the question that the closest possible contact be maintained with Jews even if on an informal rather than official basis.

1. We as Christians can only speak of the Jewish people if we say that we all are human beings standing under God's judgment and in need of his forgiveness. We are all men and women before we are Jews or Christians. What we say here in a special way about Jews must be understood in the light of this assertion.

The relationship between Jews and Christians has been confused through the centuries by two wrong assumptions. The first assumption falsifies the Christian understanding by seeing the Jews of all times as identical with that Jewish group which in the first century rejected Jesus of Nazareth as Messiah. The second falsifies the Jewish understanding by seeing all Christians as in principle involved in the hate and persecution which were inflicted on the Jews by the official church and by nations claiming a Christian tradition. While this committee claims no competence to remove the existing negative opinions held by Jews, it must contribute to the task of eliminating all those barriers raised by past and present Christian misunderstanding which stay in the way of our conversation with the Jews and our understanding of their faith.

We shall have to engage in an ongoing encounter with Jews and Judaism which takes seriously both Jewish and Christian history. In deepening the Jewish-Christian relationship we expect to find ways of understanding each other which have been lost due to historical circumstances. Theological education - and the teaching of church history in particular - will have to undergo considerable revision if this is to be done. Teachers and pastors must be given information and materials so that in their interpreting of biblical texts they will be sensitive to the false assumptions Christians have made.

The distinction between law and gospel which in Lutheran tradition becomes a key for interpreting the whole scriptural revelation is connected with this hermeneutical problem. This specific emphasis places a particular burden on Jewish-Lutheran relations. But for this reason it lends increased urgency to theological encounter. As Lutherans we believe, on the basis of Paul's witness, that it is God's action in Christ which justifies the sinner. Thus we cannot speak about the law and about righteousness as though it were obedience which lays the foundation for relationship to God. The theological issue here touches both Jewish-Christian dialogue and Christian use of the Old Testament. Our understanding can be traced to Luther and his reception through Augustine of certain Pauline motifs. It is possible, however, that our whole outlook has been shaped and our relationship to the Jewish people has been vitiated by a strongly negative understanding of the law and its function. This, it seems to us, might well be a matter for consideration by the Lutheran World Federation Commission on Theology in cooperation with a possible future committee on the Church and the Jews.

2. As we try to grasp the theological meaning of the problem we face, we recognize two aspects of the Christian understanding of God's self-disclosure, both of which lead us to the limits of human perception and speech. The first is the fact that with the coming of Jesus into the world a development began which is incomprehensible in its dimensions. It can only be described as an act of God's love for all men. In the moment when, according to Christian faith, God acted to bring his revelation to its

fulfillment, among those who had first received his revelation many did not find themselves able to respond in faith to what God was now doing in Jesus of Nazareth. In spite of this rejection, however, God's saving grace found a way into the world and no human guilt or rejection could negate it. The faith and the universal proclamation that God became man, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, that Jesus of Nazareth was the Son of God, is an offence to human wisdom and particularly to the religious view of God's glory. It is as if God had of necessity to meet rejection and to suffer the consequences of his love in order to bring life and salvation to mankind.

The second aspect is closely related to the first. Because Jesus took upon himself his cross and became obedient unto death, God raised him from the dead. His death and resurrection constitute a special Christian hope for the whole world. This implies the crucial paradox that for the Christian faith there is a divine future for mankind since Jesus the Nazarene was rejected. Thus we are here directed toward the mystery of God's inscrutable ways with men.

Mystery and paradox - the point where human logic leads no further - stand at the center of all Christian thought. That is the case with christology, but it is equally true of eschatology, and it applies to ecclesiology as well. God has not only prepared a future for all mankind, but has bound this future to the cross and resurrection of the man Jesus of Nazareth. It is our conviction that the central position of the cross and resurrection of Jesus has fundamental consequences for the understanding of the church. This was perceived and expressed in a unique way by Luther. He did not accept identification of the elect people of God with a specific ecclesiological tradition. This view had led to the fatal alternatives of medieval church-centered theology, in which the Jewish people were treated from a position of superiority. Luther opposed any kind of a "theology of glory", i.e. any attempt to see and proclaim God and his deeds and works (including the church) primarily in terms of might, of lordship, of victory and triumph. The theological paradox which confronted Luther in his historical situation, however, proved to be too much for him. This one can see from his later writings against the Jews. In these polemic tracts a theology of glory does break in. Luther's anxiety about the church's existence became so strong that he found himself no longer able to let the future rest in God's hands, but, in anticipation of what he read to be God's future judgment, called upon the secular arm to effect that judgment in the present. In doing so he overstepped the bounds of what it lies in human authority to do, to say nothing of love. The consequences of this are still with us. The lessons which the church had had to learn in the midst of the holocausts of our century compel us to find a new, more profound, more sober, and at the same time more Christian attitude.

Because of the deep and tragic involvement of men of Christian tradition in the persecution of Jewish people, the cruel and dangerous anti-Jewish attacks in some of the writings of the old Luther and the continuing threats in our time to the existence of the Jews as a community, we assert our Christian responsibility for their right to exist as Jews.

3. Jews, on their side, insist that there can be mutual respect and dialogue only if the "legitimacy" of Judaism is recognized by Christians. We believe that this includes not only ethnic and political but also religious factors. What does it mean for us to acknowledge its "legitimacy"? Remembering past Christian criticism of Judaism Jews demand of Christians recognition of Judaism as a "living" religion. Can such recognition be given? Does it mean that we see two separate but necessary ministries within the one economy of salvation? Is it possible to acknowledge that the survival of Judaism is an act of God without also saying that this survival is a definitive event of salvation history? Does affirmation of the survival or acknowledgement of the legitimacy of Judaism cancel the responsibility of the Christian to bear witness to the Jew at the right time and in the proper way?

In the light of these questions we offer the following affirmations:

We as Lutherans affirm our solidarity with the Jewish people. This solidarity is legitimized in God's election and calling into being in Abraham's seed a people of promise, of faith, and of obedience peculiar unto him, a people whose unity will one day become manifest when "all Israel" will be saved. The Lutheran churches, therefore, may not so appropriate the term "people of God" and "Israel" to the church in such a way as to deny that they applied in the first instance to the Jewish people. They may not assert the continuity of the church with the covenant people of Abraham in such a way as to question the fact that present-day Judaism has its own continuity with Old Testament Israel.

This our solidarity with the Jewish people is to be affirmed not only despite the crucifixion of Jesus, but also because of it. Through his death Jesus has brought about reconciliation with God, has broken down the barriers between men, and has established a ministry of reconciliation which encompasses all men, both Jews and Gentiles.

This our solidarity with the Jewish people is grounded in God's unmerited grace, his forgiveness of sin and his justification of the disobedient. Whenever we Christians, therefore, speak about "rejection" and "faith", "disobedience" and "obedience" in such a way that "rejection" and "disobedience" are made to be attributes of Jews while "faith" and "obedience" are made to be attributes of Christians, we are not only guilty of the most despicable spiritual pride, but we foster a pernicious slander, denying the very ground of our own existence: grace, forgiveness and justification.

After all that has happened, the existence of the Jewish people in the world today cannot therefore be seen in the first instance as a problem to be encountered, much less as an embarrassment to be faced by the churches, but as a profound cause for wonder and hope. Despite all the inhuman actions of men and the frightful ambiguities of history, God remains faithful to his promise. We have here tangible evidence that God's grace is yet at work countering the demonic powers of destruction and guaranteeing a future for mankind which will bring the full unity of God's people.

In understanding ourselves as people of the new covenant which God has made in Jesus the Christ, we Christians see the Jewish people as a reminder of our origin, as a partner in dialogue to understand our common history and as a living admonition that we, too, are a pilgrim people, a people en route toward a goal that can only be grasped in hope. The church, therefore, may never so understand the Word which has been entrusted to it, the Baptism which it must administer, and the Holy Supper which it has been commanded to celebrate as possessions which give Christians superiority over the Jews. The church can only administer in humility the mysteries which God has committed to it - preaching the crucified and risen Christ, baptizing into his death, showing forth his death till he come.

The word, which our churches, in bearing witness to Jesus the Christ, must share with Jews as with other men is a joyful message of imperishable hope. This message shows forth a time when God's purpose with his covenant in Abraham and with his covenant in Jesus the Christ will be fulfilled. Then God overcomes all blindness, faithlessness and disobedience and will be all in all.



UNITARIAN - JEWISH

Resolution on Anti-Semitism

Convinced that urban tensions in the United States and Arab-Israeli tensions in the Middle East have given rise to new upsurges of anti-Semitism,

Remembering the brutality of Hitlerism,

Acknowledging the more subtle anti-Semitism still virulent in many parts of the world today,

Conscious that the Unitarian Universalist Association and its predecessor denominations have in the past tried to be sensitive to anti-Semitism on local, national and international levels,

The Board of Trustees of the Unitarian Universalist Association meeting in Boston on February 14-15, 1969, asserts:

- 1.) We Unitarian Universalists will not be silent at the scapegoating of a people. We confess that "those who allow the actions of bigots are equally guilty of bigotry." We agree that "the challenge of our time is not only inhumanity but indifference; the enemy is not only slander but silence."
- 2.) We must speak against those who violently seek to blame the Jews for the plight of the Blacks in the ghettos and those who solely blame the Israelis for the high political tensions in the Middle East.
- 3.) The responsibility of continued racism in the U.S. rests on many shoulders, principally white, but no faith can be singled out to serve as a scapegoat for what is undeniably a shared guilt.
- 4.) The Jews in America, both as individuals and as a community, have outstandingly participated in the long struggle for racial justice.
- 5.) Since both Jews and Blacks have felt the bitterness of prejudice and the fruits of discrimination, their compact of suffering should continue to make them allies in the current American crusade against racism, and in this crusade, they should have the continued support of all Americans.
- 6.) We express our support for the existence of the sovereign State of Israel as we express our concern for the thousands of Arabs still displaced by the creation of Israel. We urge that persistent efforts continue, especially through the United Nations, to stabilize the political situation in the Middle East, guaranteeing the integrity of Israel and doing justice to the Arabs. We deplore alike the terroristic acts of Arab guerilla fighters and some Arab states and the acts of war by which Israel has confronted threats to her integrity.
- 7.) Anti-Semitism must be eliminated in our churches, in all American institutions, and in the world. Jews, as a historic minority and the forerunners of Christianity, must be given the respect due to them as human beings. Anti-Semitism is not a Jewish issue; it can only be eliminated by non-Jews.
- 8.) We endorse the following Brotherhood Pledge and urge its wide adoption: "As a human being, I do solemnly swear that I will not voice, nor harbor nor tolerate anti-Black, anti-Jewish, or anti-White sentiments, statements, or acts, open or subtle. I will condemn them as unjust, unfair, and destructive of the fabric of friendship and respect which enables the people of our diverse cities and nations to live creatively in cooperation and peace. Every man must have the right to be judged as an individual, without prejudice, or our society will split into warring tribes. I do solemnly pledge to do all in my power to make my city and country a place where everyone will have full equality of opportunity regardless of his race, religion, nationality, or wealth."

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE CONSULTATION BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND REPRESENTATIVES OF JEWRY  
HELD IN GENEVA, JUNE 5-7, 1968

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CORRECTIONS

I. The following corrections of the record concerning contributions made by Father V. Borovoi should be made:

1. On page 6, lines 34 and 35: 'He fully agreed that there should not be special organisations for conversion.'

2. On page 14, lines 4 and 5 from below: 'In addressing the group here he represented the feelings of his people - Russians, Byelo-Russians, Ukrainians and Poles.'

On page 15, lines 14 and 15: 'The Slav people, were, however less guilty than the Western Powers.'

On page 15, lines 19 and 20: 'He was a witness how the Slav population had helped Jewish people, although some of them had sometimes a hostile attitude to them.'

3. The text on pages 15, lines 23-29 should be replaced by:

'The overwhelming majority of Christians had helped Jews in the occupied territories. However, it was necessary to admit that some Poles (especially from the West), some Ukrainians (especially from the Western Part of Ukraine - Galicia and the Carpathian Mountains), a few Byelo-Russians, and some Russians had participated in the Nazis' crimes against Jews (extermination and mass murder), and they had been as cruel as the German Nazis. They all were now in the U.S.A., Canada, Germany, Australia, and in other Western countries. They had been accepted and welcomed there as anti-Communists and were for that reason even forgiven their crimes against Jews and their compatriots. Germany, as a whole nation, could not be regarded as guilty of the Nazi crimes and the extermination of Jews.'

4. The text on pages 22 (bottom) and 23 (first para) should be replaced by the following:

'Father Borovoi stressed that for Orthodox Christians Jerusalem was not a secondary problem. The question of the status of the Holy Places was not of temporary importance...They recognised that Jerusalem, with regard to its history and religion, was basically a Jewish city. But the Israel Government had negotiated only with the Roman-Catholic Church which was powerful but was not a local Church. Historically, the only local Christian Church was the Orthodox Church of the Jerusalem Patriarchate. The Russian people and the Russian Church had kept Christianity alive in the Middle East for centuries and, therefore, had always been very interested in any changing of the situation of the Orthodox native population there. Of course, the Soviet Communist Government did not care about Holy Places and took, for reasons of international politics, a mild stand with regard to Jerusalem.'

II. In the contribution by Dr. G.M. Riegner on page 28, line 4, it should read:

'After the Six-Days-War the efforts to rescue the Jews in Libya...'

